

Christian-Muslim Relations  
A Bibliographical History

# History of Christian-Muslim Relations

## *Editorial Board*

Jon Hoover (*University of Nottingham*)  
Sandra Toenies Keating (*Providence College*)  
Tarif Khalidi (*American University of Beirut*)  
Suleiman Mourad (*Smith College*)  
Gabriel Said Reynolds (*University of Notre Dame*)  
Mark Swanson (*Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago*)  
David Thomas (*University of Birmingham*)

## VOLUME 37

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

*The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, Texts and Studies* presents the surviving record of past encounters in a variety of forms: authoritative, text editions and annotated translations, studies of authors and their works and collections of essays on particular themes and historical periods. It illustrates the development in mutual perceptions as these are contained in surviving Christian and Muslim writings, and makes available the arguments and rhetorical strategies that, for good or for ill, have left their mark on attitudes today. The series casts light on a history marked by intellectual creativity and occasional breakthroughs in communication, although, on the whole beset by misunderstanding and misrepresentation. By making this history better known, the series seeks to contribute to improved recognition between Christians and Muslims in the future.

A number of volumes of the *History of Christian-Muslim Relations* series are published within the subseries *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*.

The titles published in this series are listed at [brill.com/hcmr](http://brill.com/hcmr)

# Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 13. Western Europe  
(1700-1800)

Edited by  
David Thomas and John Chesworth

with Clinton Bennett, Luis Bernabé Pons,  
Emanuele Colombo, Vincenzo Lavenia,  
Emma Gaze Loghin, Karel Steenbrink, Ann Thomson



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2019



Arts & Humanities  
Research Council

*Cover illustration:* This shows a detail from 'A View of the Wilderness ... in the Royal Gardens at KEW', a coloured engraving by William Marlow in William Chambers, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew*, London, 1763. Courtesy of the Richmond Borough Art Collection, Richmond Arts Service and Orleans House Gallery.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>

LC record available at <http://lccn.loc.gov/2009029184>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 1570-7350

ISBN 978-90-04-40282-9 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-40283-6 (e-book)

Copyright 2019 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

## CONTENTS

|                                                                                                                                         |                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Foreword .....                                                                                                                          | xi                      |
| List of illustrations .....                                                                                                             | xv                      |
| List of maps .....                                                                                                                      | xvii                    |
| Abbreviations .....                                                                                                                     | xviii                   |
| Clinton Bennett, <i>Introduction: Western Europe and Islam in the long 18th century. Demonisation to dialogue</i> .....                 | 1                       |
| Jan Loop, <i>Islam and the European Enlightenment</i> .....                                                                             | 16                      |
| Avner Ben-Zaken, <i>Intellectual, scientific and technological relations between Christian and Muslim civilisations 1580-1822</i> ..... | 35                      |
| Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800 .....                                                                                     | 47                      |
| <i>North-west Europe</i>                                                                                                                |                         |
| British Isles .....                                                                                                                     | 51                      |
| Edward Pococke Junior                                                                                                                   | Nabil Matar and         |
|                                                                                                                                         | John Chesworth .....    |
| Thomas Smith                                                                                                                            | Clinton Bennett .....   |
| Lancelot Addison                                                                                                                        | Joshua Mugler .....     |
| Nöel Aubert de Versé                                                                                                                    | Justin Meggitt .....    |
| Humphrey Prideaux                                                                                                                       | Nabil Matar .....       |
| Henry Maundrell                                                                                                                         | Nabil Matar .....       |
| Simon Ockley                                                                                                                            | Clinton Bennett .....   |
| Mary Pix                                                                                                                                | Bernadette Andrea ..... |
| Delarivier Manley                                                                                                                       | Bernadette Andrea ..... |
| David Jones                                                                                                                             | Clinton Bennett .....   |
| John Toland                                                                                                                             | Clinton Bennett .....   |
| <i>Miscellanea Aurea: Or the Golden</i>                                                                                                 | Clinton Bennett .....   |
| <i>Medley</i>                                                                                                                           | 157                     |

|                                                                                                                        |                                  |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| John Hughes                                                                                                            | Clinton Bennett .....            | 164 |
| John Trenchard                                                                                                         | Denise Spellberg .....           | 172 |
| John Sheffield                                                                                                         | Khadeega Ga'far .....            | 179 |
| Jean Gagnier                                                                                                           | Clinton Bennett .....            | 182 |
| Joseph Morgan                                                                                                          | Nabil Matar .....                | 188 |
| Daniel Defoe                                                                                                           | Nabil Matar .....                | 197 |
| <i>Reflections on Mohammedanism and<br/>the Conduct of Mohammed</i>                                                    | Clinton Bennett .....            | 208 |
| Joseph Pitts                                                                                                           | Paul Auchterlonie .....          | 214 |
| Thomas Shaw                                                                                                            | Rachel Finnegan .....            | 220 |
| David Mallet                                                                                                           | Khadeega Ga'far .....            | 230 |
| Charles Perry                                                                                                          | Rachel Finnegan .....            | 235 |
| Richard Pococke                                                                                                        | Rachel Finnegan .....            | 244 |
| Thomas Chubb                                                                                                           | Clinton Bennett .....            | 267 |
| Three Anglican Unitarians: Stephen<br>Nye, William Whiston and<br>Samuel Clarke                                        | Clinton Bennett .....            | 275 |
| Alexander Russell with Patrick<br>Russell                                                                              | Maurits van den<br>Boogert ..... | 289 |
| John Henry Grose                                                                                                       | Norbert Schürer .....            | 300 |
| Lady Mary Wortley Montagu                                                                                              | Maurits van den<br>Boogert ..... | 307 |
| George Sale                                                                                                            | Clinton Bennett .....            | 325 |
| James Porter                                                                                                           | Maurits van den<br>Boogert ..... | 344 |
| Elias Habesci                                                                                                          | Tobias Mörike .....              | 350 |
| Edward Gibbon                                                                                                          | Clinton Bennett .....            | 355 |
| James Bruce                                                                                                            | Jane Aptekar Reeve .....         | 369 |
| Orientalist tropes, themes and<br>pseudo-Orientalist novels,<br>plays and poetry in 18th-century<br>English literature | Clinton Bennett .....            | 379 |
| Scandinavia .....                                                                                                      |                                  | 405 |
| Petrus Laurbecchius                                                                                                    | Klaus Karttunen .....            | 407 |
| Erland Dryselius                                                                                                       | Gábor Kármán .....               | 410 |
| Ludvig Holberg                                                                                                         | Jørgen Bæk Simonsen ....         | 413 |
| Georg Hjersing Høst                                                                                                    | Jørgen Bæk Simonsen ....         | 420 |
| Danish captivity narratives                                                                                            | Jørgen Bæk Simonsen ....         | 426 |

## Netherlands ..... 433

|                                                                               |                                                |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Simon Oomius                                                                  | Karel Steenbrink .....                         | 437 |
| Wouter Schouten                                                               | Lucien van Liere .....                         | 440 |
| Heinrich Seike                                                                | Clinton Bennett .....                          | 447 |
| Georg Everhard Rumphius                                                       | Lucien van Liere and<br>Karel Steenbrink ..... | 451 |
| Adriaan Reland                                                                | Leendert Jan Joosse .....                      | 457 |
| Maria ter Meetelen                                                            | Gé Speelman .....                              | 462 |
| Johan Ægidius van Egmond van<br>den Nijenburg and Johannes<br>Wilhemus Heyman | Maurits van den<br>Boogert .....               | 466 |

### *South-west Europe*

## France ..... 475

|                                             |                                      |     |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Albert Jouvin                               | Filippo Screpanti .....              | 477 |
| Madeleine de Scudéry                        | Filippo Screpanti .....              | 482 |
| Sieur de La Croix                           | Jonathan Haddad .....                | 491 |
| Richard Simon                               | Anne Fastrup .....                   | 496 |
| Jacques Abbadie                             | John Chesworth .....                 | 503 |
| Pierre Bayle                                | Luisa Simonutti .....                | 511 |
| Mathurin Veyssière de la Croze              | Ann Thomson .....                    | 518 |
| John Chardin                                | Rudolph Matthee .....                | 522 |
| Antoine Galland                             | Frédéric Bauden .....                | 529 |
| Paul Lucas                                  | Henri Duranton .....                 | 548 |
| Philémon de La Motte                        | Fayçal Falaky .....                  | 556 |
| Henri de Boulainvilliers                    | Diego Venturino .....                | 566 |
| Jacques Phillipe Laugier de Tassy           | Ann Thomson .....                    | 572 |
| René-Aubert de Vertot                       | Catherine Volpillhac-<br>Auger ..... | 576 |
| Andrew Michael Ramsay                       | Marialuisa Baldi .....               | 582 |
| Jacques Villotte                            | Rudolph Matthee .....                | 589 |
| Laurent d'Arvieux                           | Julia Landweber .....                | 593 |
| Abbé de Saint-Pierre                        | Carole Dornier .....                 | 608 |
| Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens             | Ann Thomson .....                    | 619 |
| Antoine Prévost                             | Pierre Berthiaume .....              | 635 |
| Jean-Frédéric Bernard and<br>Bernard Picart | Giovanni Tarantino .....             | 643 |

|                                                                                                 |                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----|
| Montesquieu                                                                                     | Rolando Minuti .....                      | 657 |
| Joseph de Guignes                                                                               | Rolando Minuti.....                       | 673 |
| Nicolas Antoine Boulanger                                                                       | Maria-Susanna Seguin.....                 | 680 |
| 18 <sup>th</sup> century Encyclopédistes                                                        | Ann Thomson .....                         | 684 |
| Vincent Mignot                                                                                  | Anne Fastrup .....                        | 690 |
| Voltaire [Francois-Marie Arouet]                                                                | Susanna de Vries .....                    | 698 |
| Claude-Étienne Savary                                                                           | Alastair Hamilton .....                   | 745 |
| François de Tott                                                                                | Ferenc Tóth .....                         | 757 |
| Louis de Chénier                                                                                | Ann Thomson .....                         | 762 |
| Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier                                                                       | Sylviane Albertan-                        |     |
|                                                                                                 | Coppola .....                             | 767 |
| Guillaume-Thomas Raynal                                                                         | Ann Thomson .....                         | 773 |
| Jean Michel Venture de Paradis                                                                  | Ann Thomson .....                         | 784 |
| Iberia .....                                                                                    |                                           | 789 |
| Manuel Godinho                                                                                  | Vasco Resende .....                       | 791 |
| Tirso González de Santalla                                                                      | Emanuele Colombo .....                    | 796 |
| Manuel Sanz                                                                                     | Youssef El Alaoui .....                   | 806 |
| Félix de Alamín                                                                                 | José F. Cutillas .....                    | 811 |
| Francisco Ximénez de Santa Catalina                                                             | Miguel Angel de Bunes ..                  | 815 |
| Italy and Malta .....                                                                           |                                           | 819 |
| Girolamo Bascapè                                                                                | Elena Dini .....                          | 821 |
| Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri                                                               | Francesca Bellino .....                   | 828 |
| Angelo Legrenzi                                                                                 | Vincenzo Lavenia .....                    | 835 |
| Niccolò Manuzzi                                                                                 | Sabina Pavone .....                       | 848 |
| <i>Novelle arabe divise in mille e<br/>una notte</i>                                            | Roberta Denaro .....                      | 857 |
| Antonio Maria Lucchini                                                                          | Luca Berardi .....                        | 861 |
| Giuseppe Assemani                                                                               | Valentino Cottini and<br>Arianna d'Ottone |     |
|                                                                                                 | Rambach .....                             | 864 |
| Luigi Ferdinando Marsili                                                                        | Vincenzo Lavenia .....                    | 870 |
| <i>Racconto della prodigiosa<br/>conversione di un maomettano<br/>alla santa fede cattolica</i> | Chiara Petrolini .....                    | 882 |
| Ildefonso da Palermo                                                                            | Michele Bosco .....                       | 887 |
| Stefano Evodio Assemani                                                                         | Arianna D'Ottone                          |     |
|                                                                                                 | Rambach .....                             | 892 |



|                                                                                       |                                  |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Relazione istorica della congiura<br/>de' schiavi turchi di Malta</i>              | Rita Foti .....                  | 896 |
| Carlo Camucio                                                                         | Felicita Tramontana .....        | 901 |
| Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca                                                         | Luca Berardi .....               | 905 |
| Leandro di Santa Cecilia                                                              | Paola Orsatti .....              | 912 |
| Felice Tempia                                                                         | Chiara Petrolini .....           | 923 |
| <i>Distinta relazione di un caso<br/>assai funesto avvenuto in<br/>Costantinopoli</i> | Rita Foti .....                  | 932 |
| Alfonso Maria de' Liguori                                                             | Gianluca Padovan .....           | 935 |
| Giovanni Antonio Ciantar                                                              | William Zammit .....             | 942 |
| <i>Carteggio tenuto dal gran turco<br/>con papa Pio VI fin dall'anno 1782</i>         | Marina Caffiero .....            | 948 |
| Vincenzo Abbondanza                                                                   | Luca Berardi .....               | 953 |
| Giambattista Toderini                                                                 | Maurits van den<br>Boogert ..... | 956 |
| Esteban de Arteaga y Lopez                                                            | Francesca Bellino .....          | 963 |
| Contributors .....                                                                    |                                  | 971 |
| Index of Names .....                                                                  |                                  | 981 |
| Index of Titles .....                                                                 |                                  | 995 |



## FOREWORD

David Thomas

Volume 13 of *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history* (CMR 13) is one of the three that cover relations between followers of the two faiths through the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It includes all the works from western Europe known from this period, nearly all of them by authors who called themselves Christians (there are very few Muslim works here, and some works by authors whose ties to orthodox Christianity were flimsy), and they cast light on Christian attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in the period 1700-1800. Importantly, they also attest to new social and political outlooks thanks to growing amounts of direct information about the Islamic – in effect, the Ottoman and Arab – world from travellers, merchants and diplomats, and the growing secular outlook that favoured rational enquiry and direct experience over inherited dogma.

The entries collected here show that one clear consequence of the new ways in which Islam and its culture were conceived by western Europeans in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was changed portrayals of Muḥammad. While some authors continued to see him as self-promoting, lascivious and despotic, others regarded him as a strict monotheist and a foil to outmoded, irrational beliefs. People wanted to know about him and his teachings, and they were able to do so through a sequence of translations of the Qur'an into vernaculars. They could also find out about the religious teachings and early history of Islam, as well as the contemporary Ottoman and Safavid worlds, from a swelling stream of works, some based on direct experience or research into original sources, many derived from a relatively small number of authorities. Facility in Arabic was infrequent, though the translations that were made in this century provided accurate information that could be disseminated among what publishers came to see was a lucrative readership.

As this information was made more easily available, some people came to appreciate how different the Islamic world was from Europe. Those with direct experience of the Ottoman Empire sometimes noted with admiration the order within its society, and acts of caring and kindness they were evidently surprised to find in a non-Christian setting. But for the wider public the Islamic world was a distant place of wonder and fantasy, characterised by unrestrained passion and cruelty. Fuller

knowledge of the East underlined for many the sense of its dissimilarity from the familiar, the opposite of what they saw around them at home.

The overall intention of the *CMR* series is to provide full accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about the other and against the other in the period 600-1914 in all parts of the world. As in earlier volumes, here the team of editors (listed on the back cover) have been generously helped by scholars who are both new and established. These have often written at length and in considerable detail, and in many instances they have produced entries that not only sum up past and present research but also make fresh contributions to it.

Following the pattern of its predecessors, *CMR* 13 starts with introductory essays that treat details of the political, cultural and religious situation in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic principle has been to choose works that were written substantially about or against the other faith, or that contained significant information or opinions that cast light on European Christian attitudes towards Islam in this period. By their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters, religious treatises and works of travel and history also often qualify. Everything is present that is judged to contribute in any significant way towards conveying the information about the religious other that 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europeans possessed, and towards constructing the impressions about the religious other that they generally held to be true.

This principle is easily applicable in many cases, though it proves difficult in some instances. The approach has therefore been inclusive, especially regarding works that may contain only slight though insightful details, or only appear to touch obliquely on relations. Another principle is that inclusion of works within this volume, like its predecessors, has been decided according to the date of their author's death, not the date when the works themselves appeared unless the author is unknown and the date of the work is all we have. The adoption of this approach has led to evident anomalies at either end, where authors were mainly or almost entirely active in one century but died at the beginning of the next. Other principles could have been adopted, such as an author's most active period, though while this could have worked for some, it would not have helped at all for many others.

Each entry is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the author, and it contains biographical details, an account of their main intellectual activities and writings, the major primary sources

of information about them, and scholarly works on them that have appeared since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. A small number of entries are concerned with clusters of authors or works on the same theme, in which case they are situated in their place and time as appropriate. Without aiming to be exhaustive in biographical detail or scholarly study, this biographical section contains enough information to enable readers to pursue further points about the authors and their general activities.

The second part of the entry is concerned with the works of the author that are specifically devoted to the other faith. Here the aim is completeness. A work is named and dated, and then in two important sections its contents are described and its significance in the history of Christian-Muslim relations is appraised, including its influence on later works. A list of publication details follows (manuscripts where known, and then editions and translations, except in cases of famous authors where these are too many to list), and then studies from roughly the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Both these sections are intended to be fully up to date at the time of going to press.

With this coverage, *CMR* 13 provides information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and the latest studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from the same region written at the same time, though this grouping should be regarded as more a matter of organisational convenience than anything else. Proximity between entries is definitely not an indication of any direct relationship between the works analysed in them let alone influence between them (though this may sometimes be discernible). In this period, just like any other, it is as likely that an author would be influenced by a work written in another country or century as by a work from their immediate locality or time.

The task of bringing together *CMR* 13 has involved numerous contributors, and it is gratifying to note that they have often readily undertaken to write entries. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer) and Emma Loghin (Research Associate) in the Birmingham office, Clinton Bennett (British Isles and Scandinavia), Luis Bernabé Pons (Spain and Portugal), Emanuele Colombo and Vincenzo Lavenia (Italy and Malta), Karel Steenbrink (The Netherlands) and Ann Thomson (France). They are members of a much larger team that comprises 25 specialists in total, covering all parts of the world. Other specialists gave time and attention to identifying relevant material, finding contributors and generally lending their

expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of assembling the material in this volume could not have been completed. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Rachel Finnegan, Nabil Matar, Rudolph Matthee and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen. In addition, Carol Rowe copy-edited the entire volume, Phyllis Chesworth compiled the indexes, Louise Buglass prepared the maps, Cai Lyons worked on the illustrations and Alex Mallett provided links with the staff editors at Brill. We are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed to bringing this volume into being.

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

Extensive efforts have been made to ensure the information in the volume is both accurate and complete, though in a project that crosses as many boundaries of time, place, language and discipline as this it would be unrealistic and presumptuous to claim that these have succeeded. Details must have been overlooked, authors and whole works could have been ignored, new historical works may have come to light, new dates and interpretations may have been put forward, and new editions, translations and studies published. Therefore, corrections, additions and updates are warmly invited. They will be incorporated into the online version of *CMR*, and into any further editions. Please send details of omissions and corrections to David Thomas at [d.r.thomas.1@bham.ac.uk](mailto:d.r.thomas.1@bham.ac.uk).

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

|   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |     |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1 | William Marlow, 'A View of the Wilderness, with the Alhambra, the Pagoda, & the Mosque, in the Royal Gardens at KEW', coloured engraving in William Chambers, <i>Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew</i> , London, 1763. Courtesy of the Richmond Borough Art Collection, Richmond Arts Service and Orleans House Gallery .....                  | 8   |
| 2 | Illustration from Henry Maundrell, <i>A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697 ...</i> , London, 1817, facing p. 350. Courtesy of Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum It.sing. 1453 g .....                                                                                                                                                                                           | 99  |
| 3 | Plate 59 from Richard Pococke, <i>A description of the East and some other countries</i> , vol. 1. <i>Observations on Egypt</i> , London, 1743, facing p. 198. Courtesy of Dr Rachel Finnegan .....                                                                                                                                                                                                | 252 |
| 4 | Painting attributed to Jean Baptiste Vanmour, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu, and attendants' (detail), oil on canvas, c. 1717. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3924 .....                                                                                                                                                                 | 309 |
| 5 | Illustration from James Bruce, <i>Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773</i> , vol. 1, Edinburgh and London, 1790, facing p. 256. Illustration published 1 December 1789 by G. Robinson & Co. ....                                                                                                                                        | 373 |
| 6 | Simon Fokke, 'Schipbreuk van het oorlogsschip Huis in 't Bosch voor de kust van Marokko en de terugkeer van de bemanning uit slavernij, 1751-1753', 1753/4, etching. Courtesy of the Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-AO-28-71 .....                                                                                                                                                                    | 435 |
| 7 | Frontispiece of Wouter Schouten, <i>Oost-Indische Voyagie: vervattende veel voornamen voorvallen en ongemeene vreemde geschiedenissen, bloedige Zee- en Landt-gevechten tegen de Portugeesen en Makassaren</i> , Amsterdam, 1676. Courtesy of Zentralbibliothek Zürich, NR 876, <a href="http://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-38517/">http://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-38517/</a> / Public Domain Mark ..... | 444 |

|    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |     |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 8  | Frontispiece of Antoine Galland, <i>Les Mille et une nuit: contes arabes</i> , The Hague, 1714. Courtesy of Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum, A.or. 1543-1/2 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 545 |
| 9  | Illustration from J.-B. de la Faye, <i>Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis, fait en 1720, par les Pères François Comelin, Philémon de La Motte et Joseph Bernard</i> , Paris, 1721 'Audience du Deï D'Alger donnée le 2 Dec 1719. A Mr. Dusault Envoïé de France Accompagné des Religieux Trinitaires pour le rachat des Captifs', engraving, 1719, facing p. 1. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (88) ..... | 563 |
| 10 | Jean Baptiste Vanmour, 'Painting of the Grand Vizier crossing the Atmeydanı in Istanbul', between 1720 and 1737. Courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-1998 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 622 |
| 11 | Illustration from Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, <i>Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde. ... Tome Cinquieme, qui contient les Cérémonies des Mahometans</i> , Amsterdam, 1737, facing p. 257. Courtesy © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 38041800760472 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 649 |
| 12 | Francesco del Pedros, engraving of a scene from Voltaire's play <i>Zaïre</i> , late 18th century. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1904-4004 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 702 |
| 13 | Antoine de Favray, 'Portrait of Charles Gravier, Count of Vergennes and French ambassador, in Turkish attire', (1766). Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Orientalist Paintings Collection (Photo: Uğur Ataç) .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 763 |
| 14 | Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, 'Barbaresque enveloppé dans son manteau', hand-tinted engraving, c.1797. Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Costume Council Fund M.83.190.276 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 787 |
| 15 | Frontispiece from Tirso González de Santalla, <i>Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum</i> , Dilingae, 1689. Courtesy of Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum, Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Jud 696 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 802 |
| 16 | Title Page from Giambattista Toderini, <i>Letteratura turchesa</i> , Venice, 1787. Courtesy of Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum, A.or. 5736-1 .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 961 |



## LIST OF MAPS

|   |                         |     |
|---|-------------------------|-----|
| 1 | North-west Europe ..... | 50  |
| 2 | South-west Europe ..... | 475 |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BL    | British Library                                                                                                                                                          |
| BNF   | Bibliothèque nationale de France                                                                                                                                         |
| BSOAS | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>                                                                                                            |
| DİA   | <i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> , Ankara, 1988-2013                                                                                                     |
| DNB   | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford, 1885-1996                                                                                                              |
| ECCO  | <i>Eighteenth Century Collections Online</i> ; <a href="http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/dispatchBasicSearch.do">http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/dispatchBasicSearch.do</a> |
| EEB   | <i>Early European Books</i> ; <a href="http://eeb.chadwyck.com/home.do">http://eeb.chadwyck.com/home.do</a>                                                              |
| EEBO  | <i>Early English Books Online</i> ; <a href="http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home">http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home</a>                                                            |
| El2   | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition                                                                                                                              |
| El3   | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam Three</i>                                                                                                                                      |
| Elr   | <i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> ; <a href="http://www.iranicaonline.org">http://www.iranicaonline.org</a>                                                                   |
| ESTC  | <i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> ; <a href="http://estc.bl.uk">http://estc.bl.uk</a>                                                                                 |
| ICMR  | <i>Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations</i>                                                                                                                              |
| JAOS  | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>                                                                                                                          |
| MW    | <i>Muslim World</i>                                                                                                                                                      |
| ODNB  | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford, 2004- ; <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a>                                         |
| Q     | Qur'an                                                                                                                                                                   |

# Introduction: Western Europe and Islam in the long 18<sup>th</sup> century. Demonisation to dialogue

Clinton Bennett

Between England's Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the end of the long 18<sup>th</sup> century, marked by the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, there are continuities and discontinuities of themes, tropes and images of Muslims in western Europe. Carried over from the 17<sup>th</sup> century were concerns about Barbary piracy, slavery, and those who 'turned Turk'. Perceived as less threatening after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Ottoman Empire became a source of interest for reasons other than its threatening military prowess, including ways in which it tolerated non-Muslim subjects and managed to maintain, with some territorial losses, a large multi-cultural empire. While many old literary tropes remained in vogue, Oriental references that represented the East as a sphere where unheard-of luxury and liberties existed became more common. These were frequently used as devices by European authors to criticise European governments and social norms, giving rise to the genre of pseudo-Oriental literature, including Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721), and to the artistic fashion known as *Turquerie*, initially another carry-over from the previous century. As images of Turkish monstrosities gave way to the allure of Turkish mystique, Turkish styles became increasingly popular. This taste flourished throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but barely survived into the 19<sup>th</sup>.

Contact also increased with other Muslim contexts, as the Dutch and British East India Companies found they had to deal with Muslim institutions, laws and social customs in their territories. The Dutch in Indonesia and the British in India both began developing hybrid legal codes that incorporated their version of Islamic law<sup>1</sup> over which colonial officials

---

<sup>1</sup> Warren Hastings, the Governor of the Bengal Presidency, 1771-85, in his Judicial Plan of 1772 commissioned the formulation of what became known as Anglo-Mohammedan Law. Initially developed by the great Orientalist Sir William Jones (1746-94), Anglo-Mohammedan law developed as a textual tradition of translated works mainly interpreted by British jurists. When Muslims were admitted into the judicial service, they were also required to keep to the translations and could be chided for consulting other texts, even in the original language. The British adapted this law for use in other colonial territories, including in Africa. The New Statutes in Dutch Batavia of 1766 contained a chapter concerning Muslim personal law. This was also applied to Muslims in Ceylon

asserted an interpretive authority that overrode that of Muslims. Many states also negotiated treaties with Morocco and the Barbary regencies. While difference was recognised between the Islamic world and Europe, to an increasing extent this did not mean that the former was automatically represented as inferior, or as waiting to be subordinated. Rather, each could benefit from encounter with the other. As demonisation gave way to humanisation, in novels, dramas and travel narratives, and also in some scholarly works, the 'dialogic' replaced the 'monologic' mode, to use Mikhail Bakhtin's terms.<sup>2</sup> Some Christians, or those who were culturally Christian, found means by which to re-evaluate Islam, and to affirm common ground and the moral duty to extend religious toleration to atheists, Muslims and Jews. Scholars such as Adrianus Relandus (Adriaan Reland) (d. 1718) in Utrecht, Johan Jacob Reiske (d. 1774) in Leiden and Joseph De Guignes (d. 1800) in Paris made significant contributions to this rethinking process. Outside the academy, Mary Wortley Montagu (d. 1762) played a pioneering role in seeing the Orient through fresh, female eyes. Elizabeth Craven (d. 1828), another British aristocrat, later famously challenged many of Montagu's representations, though she endorsed her assertion, shocking to many, that elite Muslim women were socially empowered.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the long 18<sup>th</sup> century, the term 'Mahometan' was still routinely used to refer insultingly to freethinkers, deists and anti-Trinitarians. Those who did abandon anti-Muslim polemic and move towards a more conciliatory view, such as John Toland and Henri de Boulainvilliers (both died in 1722), were usually marginal figures within the wider Christian constituency. The radical clandestine literature associated with some of these writers oscillated between praising Muḥammad on the one hand, and on the other denouncing Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad as imposters, and all organised religions as oppressive, priest-ridden, corrupt and false.

---

(Sri Lanka) after the Dutch left in 1796. A hybrid of Dutch, English and Islamic law developed, isolating Muslims living there from the 'mainstream of Islamic jurisprudence' for 150 years; D.B. McGilvray, 'Dowry in Batticaloa', in H.L. Seneviratne (ed.), *The anthropologist and the native*, London, 2011, 137-62, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> See M.M. Bakhtin, *The dialogic imagination. Four essays*, ed. M. Holquist, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Austin TX, 1981, where he develops the terms 'dialogic', 'monologic' and also 'interanimate' to describe how cultural encounter can result in mutual enrichment, as each is animated by the other.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Elizabeth Craven hated almost everything she saw in Turkey, but agreed with Montagu that veiling and seclusion gave elite women power and autonomy. She comments, 'The Turks in their conduct toward our sex are an example to all nations – a Turk has his head cut off, his papers seized, but the wife is provided for – her jewels are left her' (*A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, London, 1789, pp. 234-5).

Extended periods of European-Ottoman peace, between 1718 and 1730, and 1740 and 1768, together with intensified diplomatic engagement, also gave additional impetus to this dialogical tendency. Rather than hoping to bring about the demise of the Ottomans, Christian rulers in western Europe were now more likely to ally with them against other powers. The translation of the *Arabian nights* into French in 1706 and from French into English later that year, and reports of the delights of Ottoman harems, did much during the century to stimulate the creation of an imagined Orient, an Orient that was often attractive and alluring, not one that needed to be transformed by European intervention. Nonetheless, by the end of the century, negative tropes and assumptions of an us-them binary, symbolised by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, were gaining momentum. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this epoch-making event helped launch a rampant Orientalism that saw the Muslim world as a place to be penetrated, possessed and defined. When the 18<sup>th</sup> century started, however, fewer assumed that the West could assert ineffable superiority, although Montesquieu (d. 1755) laid some foundations for such an attitude. The survey made here begins with captivity and conversion, focusing on the new phenomenon of accounts and stories by women, examines new literary tropes and representations of the Orient, together with scholarly and diplomatic developments, and concludes with the emerging tendency towards binary opposition.

*The Barbary coast. Piracy, slaves, converts*

Ann Thomson argues that for Europeans in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Barbary states 'fell between several stools'. To them, this was relatively familiar territory that 'had been part of the Roman empire', and with which Europeans had diplomatic and trade relations. Thus, even though there was an almost 'perpetual state of war' between Europe and these states, mainly due to loss of ships, their passengers and crews to piracy and the slave markets, the region was not yet perceived as waiting to be colonised.<sup>4</sup> However, Barbary piracy had been a major problem over several centuries. Pirates conducted raids along most of the shores of western Europe and beyond, most captives being adult males to man oars in the galleys, though women and children were also enslaved, possibly as many

---

<sup>4</sup> A. Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment. European attitudes towards the Maghreb in the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, 1987, Leiden, p. 2.

as 35,000 at any one time.<sup>5</sup> Europeans from as far afield as Scandinavia in the north to Iberia in the south made attempts to ransom captives, with churches usually organising these efforts although governments sometimes ransomed elite captives. Conditions in captivity varied depending on who purchased the slaves and whether they were used for household chores or manual labour; women were almost always kept for sexual enjoyment or domestic work. While Barbary captivity narratives and associated fiction started to appear in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, a significant development in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the emergence of accounts, both autobiographical and fictitious, by women.

Men's accounts 'rarely allude to female experiences in North Africa', although they did usually mention that women were captured with them. The first account by an Englishwoman was Elizabeth Marsh's *The female captive* (1769), which recounts her experience in the sultan of Morocco's palace. Earlier, the Dutchwoman Maria ter Meetelen had published *Wonderbaarlijke en merkwaardige gevallen van een twaalfjarige slavernij* (1748), while the English novelist Penelope Aubin (d. 1731) had written *The noble slaves* (1722). From the opposite direction, the heroine in Eliza Haywood's *The fair captive* (1721) was a Turkish woman.<sup>6</sup>

The theme of conversion is common in both men's and women's captivity writings, including inducement to convert and voluntary conversion, usually to secure better treatment. Called renegades, these converts caused consternation in Europe. Those who returned after manumission, escape or ransom were treated with suspicion, though few of them actually knew much about Islam as a religion. The fact that hardly any Muslims converted to Christianity made 'turning Moor' or 'turning Turk' an affront to Christian pride, and there were numerous warnings to European seafarers and travellers that the consequence of apostasy was eternal damnation.

Conversion also became an issue elsewhere. As more British became resident in India and found Mughal Muslim culture attractive, some adopted local dress and customs and some, mainly officers and highly educated individuals, converted. It was most disturbing to confront the possibility that these conversions were sincere, and that these people found Islam more spiritually fulfilling than Christianity. Captain A.N.

---

<sup>5</sup> R.C. Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters. White slaves in the Mediterranean and Barbary Coast, 1500-1899*, New York, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> For Marsh, Aubin and Haywood, see C. Bennett, 'Orientalist tropes, themes and pseudo-Orientalist novels', in *CMR* 13, 379-403.

Mathews (d. 1820), who in 1809 translated the popular Hadith collection *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*, the earliest to be rendered entirely into a European language, is believed to have been a convert.

The main distinguishing feature in accounts by women was that they ‘turned increasingly to a purely sexual focus on the East’ as a dominant theme.<sup>7</sup> This produced or fuelled the trope of Muslim and Oriental sensuality, with men enjoying polygamy and unlimited concubinage, accompanied by women’s subordination and exploitation. Chaste European female captives were doubly at risk – of being converted and also sexually molested; Ter Meetelen’s account (see the entry on her below)<sup>8</sup> tells how she avoided both by pretending to be pregnant. Narratives and novels featuring noblewomen describe sexual ravishment, or how they preserved their honour by escaping, a titillation to the imagination. Thus, Penelope Aubin’s female captives face ‘threats of Oriental lust, bodily constraint, seduction, rape, and forced marriage to help reinforce ... Western integrity and self-possession’.<sup>9</sup>

Some women adapted this motif to turn the tables on negative representations of the Orient. Eliza Haywood’s heroine is not a victim ‘fighting for her chastity’, but ‘a figure of illicit carnality ... corrupted and empowered by a dangerous sexual system’.<sup>10</sup> This alternative view of women in the harem and how they exercised power and autonomy challenged European mores and sexual repression, making Islam, which was allegedly less repressed, attractive to some European women as well as men. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s *Embassy letters* represent this trend.<sup>11</sup> During her time in the Ottoman Empire, between 1716 and 1718, she deliberately aimed to give a woman’s perspective – hardly mentioning men – and to correct what she believed were men’s misrepresentations of Ottoman life. There is little doubt that her preconceptions were influenced by the *Arabian nights*, which, as her friend and correspondent Alexander Pope (d. 1744) famously hinted, predisposed her to find a fantasy world of sensuality in which she could shed her identity. Perceptively, Pope

---

<sup>7</sup> D. Hoevler, ‘The female captivity narrative. *Blood, water, and orientalism*’, in D. Hoevler and J. Cass (eds), *Interrogating Orientalism. Contextual approaches and pedagogical practices*, Columbus OH, 2006, 46–71, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> See G. Speelman, ‘Maria ter Meeteelen’, in *CMR* 13, 462–6.

<sup>9</sup> J. Snader, *Caught between worlds. British captivity narratives in fact and fiction*, Lexington KY, 2000, p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> Snader, *Caught between worlds*, p. 160.

<sup>11</sup> See M. van den Boogert, ‘Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’, in *CMR* 13, 307–24.

suggested that, by doing this she might directly experience Muslim life and reduce the distance between Europeans and Turks:

I doubt not but I shall be told ... how pretty a manner you accommodated yourself to the customs of the true Muselman. They will tell me at what town you practiced to sit on the Sopha, at what village you learned to fold a Turbant, where you was bathed and anointed ... that ... the good Bashaw ... was charmed with your agreeable manner of pronouncing the words Allah and Mohamed, and how earnestly you joined with him in exhorting your friend to embrace that religion.<sup>12</sup>

Having in London moved in the Deist circle of Pope, William Whiston and Samuel Clarke, Montagu wrote on 1 April 1717 that they would find a receptive audience in Turkey, where, despite sectarian differences, the 'prevailing opinion' among the Effendis 'is pure deism'.<sup>13</sup> In this literature, the sultan's palace is also a place between stools. For some it imprisoned and objectified women, while for others it empowered them as agents of their own destiny. Montagu even compared the buying of women slaves to the aristocratic marriage market system at home.<sup>14</sup> These female captivity accounts, with their allure of an exotic, richly decorated, sexually liberated Orient also fed the taste for Oriental art and fashion.

*Literary tropes, artistic styles and scholarly trends.  
Asserting Christian-Muslim commonalities*

An exotic Orient full of beautiful interiors and rich carpets, which feature in Elizabeth Marsh's description of the Moroccan Sultan Sidi Mohammed's palace,<sup>15</sup> may not immediately suggest more positive Christian views of Islam. However, the very word 'Muslim' was so intimately associated with North African Moors and with Turks that anyone who purchased Turkish art or decorated a boudoir in Turkish style knew that Muslims had produced their artefacts. This appreciation for the artistic production of the Islamic world could soften a harsher view of a barbaric, uncivilised religion and a civilisation that was only interested in

<sup>12</sup> Alexander Pope, *Complete works*, London, 1822, vol. 7, p. 176.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Wortley Montagu, *Embassy letters*, ed. T. Herrernam and D. O'Quinn, Toronto, 2013, pp. 115-16. In the view represented by Montagu, elite women of the harem were powerful, autonomous agents who carried out business, influenced politics and endowed charities.

<sup>14</sup> Herrernam and O'Quinn, 'Introduction', in *Embassy letters*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Hoeveler, 'Female captivity narratives', p. 63.



oppressing women and conquering new territories. Perhaps the most famous Turkish boudoir is Queen Marie Antoinette's at Fontainebleau, completed in 1777 (later refurnished by the Empress Josephine). The taste for Oriental art, too, included the building of mosques. The first was at Kew Gardens, London, in 1761, designed by William Chambers and built in time for George III's (r. 1760-1820) coronation in 1761.<sup>16</sup> Complete with reflecting pool, the mosque in Schwetzingen Palace gardens, south of Frankfurt, Germany, built in 1795, was 'even more ambitious and substantial'.<sup>17</sup> Even though those who commissioned these structures did not build them for use by Muslims, they spent considerable sums on them.<sup>18</sup> William Wright's *Grotesque architecture, or, rural amusement* (1762) included designs for four mosques 'to show the true taste of Turkish buildings and the singularity of their stile of art', which 'will render it a very pleasant ornament'.<sup>19</sup> Interest in acquiring Ottoman *objets d'art* began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. When Sir Thomas Roe (d. 1644), who had already served in Mughal India as English ambassador, went to Istanbul in 1621 he took with him a list of items that friends wanted him to acquire. Rooms were decorated in Turkish style, music was composed with Turkish themes, nobles posed for their portraits wearing Turkish dress, Turkish and Persian carpets, mosaics, tables and cupboards were imported or crafted. Garden kiosks, reflecting pools and other Turkish-themed buildings were constructed.

Coffee became both a fashion for the wealthy and also a pleasure for the less privileged, who spent time in coffee houses often called the Turk's Head. These became places for gossip and for discussing politics and current affairs. Samuel Johnson's exclusive Literary Club met at the Turk's Head Inn, Gerrard Street, Soho, where the historian Edward Gibbon, and the Orientalist Sir William Jones gathered with other members.<sup>20</sup> Johnson's 1759 moral tale *The history of Rasselas* used an Oriental setting to question whether any single philosophy can be universally satisfying. It does not elevate East over West but invites people to explore

---

<sup>16</sup> For the mosque in Kew see Illustration 1 in this volume, and for the mosque in Schwetzingen see the cover illustration of *CMR* 14.

<sup>17</sup> H. Williams, *Turquerie. An eighteenth-century European fantasy*, London, 2004, p. 125.

<sup>18</sup> Later, Gottlieb William Leitner (d. 1899), who wore Muslim clothes, built the Shah Jahan Mosque in Woking, Surrey, in Indo-Saracen style. It is still in use today.

<sup>19</sup> Cited in Williams, *Turquerie*, p. 125.

<sup>20</sup> For Johnson, see C. Bennett, 'Orientalist tropes'; for Gibbon, see C. Bennett, 'Edward Gibbon', in *CMR* 13, 355-68; for Jones, see H. Baghaei-Abchooyeh, 'William Jones' in *CMR* 12, 560-72.



Illustration 1. A View of the Wilderness in the Royal Gardens at Kew, with the Alhambra, the Pagoda, and the Mosque

what different cultures can offer. Writing to Governor Warren Hastings (d. 1818) in India on 30 March 1774, Johnson encouraged him to find time to enquire 'into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain conjecture', which reflects more negatively on Europe than on the Orient.<sup>21</sup> While Johnson, an Anglican, respected other Christians, there is no evidence that he extended this to other religions. But his moral philosophy of continuing self-scrutiny and his questioning of the universality of any one philosophy of life arguably challenge both Christians and Muslims to arrive at some form of religious agreement.

London's first coffee house opened in 1652, Paris's by 1672, and Vienna's, besieged by the Ottomans as recently as 1683, by 1720. Attitudes obviously varied. Some denounced the thick black liquid as a devilish brew, while King George II of Great Britain (r. 1727-60) saw coffee houses as dens of sedition and tried to shut them down. In 1714, James Paterson complained that coffee houses were full while churches stood empty, and contrasted this with how Muslims dutifully attended their mosques.<sup>22</sup> Others defended coffee as 'a healthier Beverage than Ale or wine'. Paris coffee houses also became places for literary, philosophical and political discussion, and were closely linked with the theatre. Famously, Café de Procope, opened in 1689 opposite the Comédie française, was where Voltaire, Diderot (d. 1784) and other writers and thinkers regularly fraternised.

Novels and poems set in exotic Oriental contexts increased in popularity, including pseudo-Oriental literature. Many writers used this device to criticise their own society. The Oriental visitor became a 'critical observer'<sup>23</sup> who, in dialogue with Europeans, aided exploration of the 'serious' and the 'absurd' in the East and the West alike, as visitor and hosts came to realise that, despite cultural differences, they occupied one world and were equally human. The genre created intimacy between interlocutors and challenged 'long held beliefs'.<sup>24</sup> This refusal to polarise good European and bad Muslim can be seen as another continuity between the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Samuel Pepys' *Diary* has quite a few references to Turks, Barbary piracy, converts, Turkish objects and

<sup>21</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, New York, 1859, vol. 2, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> J. Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis. Or the present ecclesiastical state of London; Containing an account of all the churches (etc)*, London, 1714, pp. 292, 295.

<sup>23</sup> H. Baktir, *The representation of the Ottoman Orient in eighteenth century English literature*, Stuttgart, 2014, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> Baktir, *Representation*, p. 94.

dress, but it was Pepys' visit to Tangier in 1683 to help close the failed English colony that saw him negatively contrast the sober, disciplined and courteous Moroccan army with the corrupt English commander and his drunken, badly behaved garrison. Nor did he assume that the English were automatically to be seen as technologically superior, ridiculing the engineers' lack of skills as they tried to blow up the breakwater they had built to improve the harbour.<sup>25</sup>

Old literary tropes could be adjusted to conform to this new dialogical mode. The Roxana or Roxelana (the historical Hürrem Sultan, d. 1558) trope, for example, was transformed from a symbol of what was wrong with Ottoman society, where women's ambition, cunning and ruthlessness exceeded men's – exemplifying everything Christian women should not be – to what was right about the Orient. This resonated with rethinking about sexuality and women's rights. Daniel Defoe<sup>26</sup> knew what he was doing when he chose the name Roxana for the heroine of his novel *Roxana, the fortunate mistress* (1724), who in one scene wears Turkish dress and performs a Turkish dance.<sup>27</sup> She is a liberated, resourceful woman for whom marriage would mean the end of liberty and who uses her sexuality to maintain her independence.<sup>28</sup>

Two important, interrelated developments occurred during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The first was the translation of more Islamic texts into European languages, which provided new sources for scholars to re-evaluate their attitudes toward Muslims. The second was a move away from polemic towards objective historical scholarship that did much to remove calumny, myth and legend from representations of Islam. The Cambridge professor Simon Ockley<sup>29</sup> (d. 1720) and the German-born scholar Johann Jacob Reiske did both. Ockley translated the Andalusian Ibn Ṭufayl's (d. 1185) philosophical tale *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* into English (1708) (this text was Daniel Defoe's inspiration for *Robinson Crusoe*), and used Arabic works to write his *History of the Saracens* (1718), which followed these

---

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Pepys, *The Tangier papers of Samuel Pepys*, ed. E. Chappell, London, 1935, pp. 27, 89, 149–50.

<sup>26</sup> See N. Matar, 'Daniel Defoe', in *CMR* 13, 197–207.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Roxana*, Cleveland OH, 2016, p. 207.

<sup>28</sup> 'That the very nature of the marriage contract was, in short, nothing but giving up liberty, estate, authority, and every-thing to the man, and the woman was indeed a mere woman ever after, that is to say, a slave' (Defoe, *Roxana*, p. 171). On the Roxana trope, see the essays in G.I. Yermolenko (ed.), *Roxolana in European literature, history and culture*, Farnham, 2010.

<sup>29</sup> See C. Bennett, 'Simon Ockley', in *CMR* 13, 105–14.

sources very closely. His books did much to make Islamic history attractive by highlighting Muslim contributions to philosophy and learning, and by refusing to reduce Islam to a barbaric, violent creed. Ockley also depicted Muslims as tolerant (which others disputed) and chivalrous. For his part, Reiske produced a Latin edition of Abū l-Fidā's (d. 1331) history, *Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (1754). His refusal to allow theological bias to hinder his work helped to establish a new form of objective historical enquiry. Ockley and Reiske both enjoyed posthumous reputations, despite struggling with poverty during their lives. Accidentally, these scholars did not always work on the best or earliest Islamic texts. Kecia Ali comments that Abū l-Fidā became central in European scholarship thanks to the vagaries of manuscript circulation rather than any pre-eminence he held among medieval Muslims.<sup>30</sup> There were now also Arabs in Europe's capitals, pursuing trade or conducting diplomatic missions. Ockley, always concerned to be faithful to his sources and to ensure accurate translation, on one occasion met an Arab in London and was delighted to be able to check 'the meaning of a word'.<sup>31</sup>

Edward Gibbon, in his *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88), drew on Ockley and on Joseph De Guignes' *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turks, des Mogols* (1756)<sup>32</sup> to break new ground in regarding history as universal, not to be divided into 'our' history and 'their' history accompanied by ideas concerning relative importance. Adriaan Reland<sup>33</sup> (1676-1718) also set himself the task of separating myth from fact by comparing the insults Christians hurled at Muslims with how they insulted other Christians with whom they disagreed. Gibbon tended to see Muḥammad's message as straightforward and rational. His followers had preserved this faithfully, unlike Christians who had obscured what Jesus originally taught.<sup>34</sup> Yet Islam and Muḥammad could often still fall between two stools, as illustrated in the voluminous work of France's premier Enlightenment thinker, Gibbon's early inspiration, Voltaire.<sup>35</sup> In his play *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet* (1736), Muḥammad is

<sup>30</sup> K. Ali, *The lives of Muhammad*, Cambridge MA, 2014, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> N. Matar, 'Britons and Muslims in the early modern period. From prejudice to (a theory of) toleration', in M. Malik (ed.), *Anti-Muslim prejudice. Past and present*, Abingdon, 2010, 7-25, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> See R. Minuti, 'Joseph de Guignes', in *CMR* 13, 673-9.

<sup>33</sup> See L. Jan Joosse, 'Adrianus Relandus', in *CMR* 13 'Adriaan Reland', in *CMR* 13, 457-61.

<sup>34</sup> Edward Gibbon, *The decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1788, vol. 5, p. 272.

<sup>35</sup> See S. de Vries, 'Voltaire', in *CMR* 13, 698-744.

a dangerous enthusiast, a fanatic and a madman, who abuses religion and manipulates people for his own gain. Elsewhere, though, especially later in Voltaire's life and in his article on the Qur'an in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (1770-4), which he thought might be a collection of absurdities, he could admire Muḥammad 'for having turned himself from a camel merchant to a pontiff, a legislator and monarch, for having united Arabia, which had never been united before him, and for having made the Roman Empire tremble for the first time'.<sup>36</sup>

*A period of peace, diplomacy and cultural dialogue.  
Asserting shared humanity*

For some, at least, this dialogical mode displaced earlier tropes that demonised Muslims and cast them as the 'other', and sat comfortably with the new emphasis on diplomacy in relations with the Ottoman world. After being defeated at the Battle of Zenta in 1697 and forced to accept the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Ottomans were no longer seen primarily as a threat, although the empire still commanded respect for its size and military capability, even if it was no longer thought invincible. Some speculated that internal weakness caused by female manipulation and scheming would bring about the empire's decline and demise, and some Europeans, with embryonic colonial ambitions, still looked on the Ottomans with envy, though European states could now more easily regard them as potential allies than as foes. Hence a two-sided expansion of diplomacy in which old foes became friends and new players entered. Before Karlowitz, the Ottomans only sent temporary representatives abroad, but now they sent resident diplomats and dealt with nations on more equal terms, following the inspiration of the Peace of Westphalia (1648).<sup>37</sup> These ambassadors were high-ranking officials who travelled with large entourages dressed in splendid, spectacle-creating attire: in 1742, the ambassador to Paris was accompanied by no fewer than 183 attendants. In the years following the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the so-called Tulip Era began in Turkey, during which the Ottomans

---

<sup>36</sup> Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1859, vol. 7, p. 49, from his 1771 article on the Qur'an in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*.

<sup>37</sup> The Treaty of Westphalia, agreed in 1648, that ended the Thirty Years' War is considered to be the foundation of the law of nations, positing that all nations are equal in their dealings with each other regardless of their size.

saw the importance of adapting what they regarded as useful from the technological and other spheres of European culture. Sent to Paris in 1721, Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi had instructions to report home on 'instruments of civilization and education' and to 'submit those that could be implemented to the sultan'. He also negotiated the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the release of Muslim captives in Malta. He wrote about how onlookers 'wanted in particular to watch us eat', a curiosity that was possibly piqued by references in many travelogues to the poor quality of Turkish food.<sup>38</sup>

As new alliances were established, the Italian city states of Venice and Genoa, with which the Ottomans had a long history of trade and war, became less significant as hubs of European-Ottoman relations. Sweden, still a growing power in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, signed a treaty with the Ottomans in 1789, before which Ottoman diplomatic missions went to Stockholm in 1727 and 1733. The Ottomans were especially proactive in cultivating relations with Poland, and strongly defended Polish sovereignty, refusing to recognise the partition of Poland and Lithuania in 1795. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Queen Elizabeth I of England had formed alliances with Morocco and the Ottomans, partly against Spain, but in 1781 Spain agreed a Treaty of Trade and Friendship with the sultan. The Ottomans and Prussia signed a treaty in 1790. The common factor behind these was often Russia. Sweden feared Russian aggression in the Baltic, while Spain was concerned with Russia's possible expansion through the Crimea into the Mediterranean. The British also saw the Ottomans as an important bulwark against Russia, although Prime Minister William Pitt (d. 1809), who pursued a pro-Ottoman policy, failed in 1791 to persuade parliament to send a naval contingent to aid the Ottomans, which he regarded as 'the greatest mortification he had ever experienced'.<sup>39</sup>

Even in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the question of religious liberty was discussed, some explicitly included Muslims living in western Europe within its scope. The English philosopher John Locke, who died in 1704, wrote about this over an extended period (1660-1704) and, apart from his earliest essay in which he argued that Muslim ceremonies and rites should be subject to the judgement of the magistrate, he defended their right to obtain English citizenship and to practise their religion freely. He

---

<sup>38</sup> Williams, *Turquerie*, pp. 41-2.

<sup>39</sup> D. Katz, *The shaping of Turkey in the British imagination, 1776-1923*, New York, 2016, p. 21.

contrasted ill-treatment of non-Anglicans with the freedoms enjoyed by Christians in the Ottoman Empire. His *Letters concerning toleration* were first published in a single volume in 1765, edited by Thomas Hollis, and were widely circulated in Europe and North America.

Locke's references to Muslims as part of his argument for tolerance is evidence of increasing awareness within British society of the Islamic world, and of Muslims in Europe. They may follow a faith that was inferior or deficient, but they could not for the most part be dismissed as the demonic rivals to Christian society that they had generally been in former times. Rather, they had to be acknowledged as social beings with morals and customs of their own, and as such they could not be ignored in the kind of general theories about society that Locke was developing from 1660 through to the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*Latent Orientalism, colonial ambition and the reassertion  
of difference*

Ann Thomson argues that, while in the opening decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the European states did not look at Africa's northern coast as territory waiting to be conquered, mapped, defined and dominated, by its closing decades they did. Increasingly, this was also how Europeans saw the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world beyond. Thomson also observes that, by the end of the century, the more sympathetic attitude towards Islam as a 'tolerant, even philosophical religion' that had characterised the century had yielded to seeing Islam as 'a factor of immobility, backwardness and ignorance'.<sup>40</sup> Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 symbolically ended the dialogical epoch. Initiating a more binary us-them view of the Orient, this eventually led to its domination by Europe. Increasingly, negative tropes of Islam reasserted themselves. Montesquieu's ideas set out in *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) anticipated this shift, with his judgement that Muslim societies (partly because of geographical factors) were naturally – although not inevitably – despotic.<sup>41</sup> Even earlier, in 1687, the former English embassy chaplain at Istanbul, Thomas Smith, had expressed the view that Ottoman strength depended on the tribute system (the *devşirme*) to train European boys as soldiers because 'Asiaticks ... make the worst Souldiers, the pleasantness of the Soil, and

---

<sup>40</sup> Thomson, *Barbary and enlightenment*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>41</sup> See R. Minuti, 'Montesquieu', in *CMR* 13, 657-72.



the mildness of the Air having an influence upon their tempers'.<sup>42</sup> John Foxe (d. 1597) had regarded the Ottoman Empire as an illegitimate state because it did not conform to the laws of nations.<sup>43</sup> By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Barbary states were condemned in a similar way. In 1734, the Dutch jurist Cornelius van Bynkershoek (d. 1743) judged that the rulers of these states could sign treaties under international law, but in 1758 the Swiss jurist Emmerich de Vattel (d. 1767) in his *Le droit des gens* declared the Barbary states lawless, ungovernable and ungoverned territories, whose so-called rulers had no right to enter treaties with lawful states.<sup>44</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the monological mode largely, though never completely, silenced dialogue.

---

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, government and religion of the Turks*, London, 1687, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> C. Bennett, 'John Foxe', in *CMR* 6, 732-42, p. 740.

<sup>44</sup> See W.J. Brenner, *Confounding powers. Anarchy and international society from the Assassins to al Qaeda*, Cambridge, 2016, p. 179.

# Islam and the European Enlightenment

Jan Loop\*

## *Introduction*

In 1779, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81), one of the most remarkable representatives of the German Enlightenment, published his play *Nathan der Weise* ('Nathan the wise'). It premiered in 1783 in Berlin and has continued to be played on stage up to this very day. Its central moral claim for religious tolerance has lost none of its relevance and is often seen to encapsulate the Enlightenment attitude to religious diversity in general and Islam in particular.

Set in Jerusalem during the crusades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the play's denouement reveals how the protagonists – the Jewish merchant Nathan, his adopted daughter Recha, the Muslim ruler Saladin, and a Christian Templar – overcome their religious differences. In the most famous part of the work, Saladin asks Nathan to tell him which of the three Abrahamic religions is the true one. Nathan replies with a tale, the famous 'ring parable', a version of which Lessing found in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*: A man had a magic ring, which had 'the hidden virtue him to render of God and man belov'd, who in this view, and this persuasion, wore it'.<sup>1</sup> The ring had been passed down for generations to the son the father loved most. Finally, it came to a father with three sons he loved equally. As he could not decide, he had two imitations of the ring made which were indistinguishable from the original, and he gave one to each of his sons on his deathbed. After his death, naturally, came 'question, strife, complaint – all to no end; for the true ring could no more be distinguish'd than now can the true faith'. The three sons seek advice from a wise judge, who admits that it is impossible to decide on the true ring. Instead he advises the three to 'let each endeavour to vie with both his brothers in displaying the virtue of his ring; assist its might with gentleness, benevolence,

---

\* I would like to thank Alastair Hamilton, Simon Mills and David Rundle for their help with style, content and Latin translations.

<sup>1</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan the wise*, trans. William Taylor, Norwich, 1791, pp. 153-4; see also C. Tauchner, 'Gotthold Ephraim Lessing', in *CMR* 14.

forbearance, with inward resignation to the Godhead (*mit innigster Ergebenheit in Gott*). After a thousand years, the wise judge says, they should appear again and a greater judge will decide.

Lessing's play is not about Islam in particular. Its target, rather, is futile dogmatic competition about religious truth that is inaccessible to man. However, his postulate to replace such quarrels with a competition that aims at good deeds and complete 'inward resignation to God' (*innigste Ergebenheit in Gott*) reflects a new appreciation that Islam had received in certain Enlightenment circles: 'innigste Ergebenheit in Gott' is the literal German translation of 'Islam' that Lessing found in Theodor Arnold's (1683-1771) version of George Sale's (d. 1736) Qur'an translation of 1734.<sup>2</sup> Here, Lessing also found the qur'anic assumption that 'if God had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but he hath thought fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you respectively' (Q 5:48). The following qur'anic instruction to 'strive to excel each other in good works', as well as the promise of a final revelation of the truth at the end of times, are almost literally adopted at the end of Lessing's 'ring parable'.<sup>3</sup>

Lessing's attitude to Islam and the quest for religious truth is inspired by a number of critical movements and aspects that have traditionally been associated with the Enlightenment, such as Socinianism, biblical criticism and Deism. Driven by a critical stance towards supernatural revelation or by critical insights into the historicity and cultural relativity of the biblical texts, some of these movements questioned the superiority of Christianity and tore down the boundaries between Islam, Judaism and Christianity. The most radical of these traditions, the infamous discourse about the three impostors (*De tribus impostoribus*), has been identified as one of the inspirations for Lessing.<sup>4</sup> A more important role was played

---

<sup>2</sup> 'Und dieser Religion leget er den Namen *Islam* bey, welches Wort Resignation, Unterwerffung oder Ergebung in den Willen, Dienst und Befehl Gottes bedeutet.' *Der Koran, oder insgemein so genannte Alcoran des Mohammeds*, trans. T. Arnold, Lemgo, 1747, p. 89. This was first pointed out by Friedrich Niewöhner, 'Das muslimische Familientreffen. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing und die Ringparabel, oder: Der Islam als natürliche Religion', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 129 (5 June 1996) N6.

<sup>3</sup> 'Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and, if God had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws*, that he might try you in that which he hath given you *respectively*. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works: unto God shall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed'; Q 5:48 trans. George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1734, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> See F. Niewöhner, *Veritas sive Varietas. Lessings Toleranzparabel und das Buch von den drei Betrügern*, Heidelberg, 1988.

by the famous *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* ('Apology or defence for the reasonable worshippers of God') left behind by the Hebraist Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768). Lessing had published fragments of the work in instalments between 1774 and 1778. Reimarus's *Apologie* has been described as the 'most profound and devastating attack on Scripture to date'.<sup>5</sup> Deeply indebted to the critical methods of 17<sup>th</sup>-century biblical criticism and Christian Hebraism, the work reads the biblical texts against the framework of secular history, strips them of all typological and allegorical meaning and relentlessly highlights textual inconsistencies. As a result, all stories of miracles and the entire Christian doctrine are exposed as imposture and the ploy of generations of deceitful priests. With the publication of the Reimarus fragments, Lessing provoked a fierce debate with orthodox Lutheran clergy, at the height of which he wrote his *Nathan*. In it, he takes a middle position between the radical imposture thesis and orthodox dogmatism, but shows clear sympathy for the Islamic religion.

Lessing's favourable treatment of Islam reflects a perception shared by many writers of the Enlightenment. The trend is spearheaded by Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) who, in his famous article 'Mahomet' in the *Dictionnaire* (1697), questioned many traditional prejudices against Islam. Above all, he proclaimed Islam's moral superiority and drew attention to the long tradition of religious tolerance within Islam.<sup>6</sup> Its perceived tolerance towards other revealed religions, but also its critical attitude to the Trinity and the absence of miracles, made Islam appear to many Enlightenment authors as more in line with natural theology than Christianity. Voltaire (1694-1778), despite his view of Islam changing repeatedly in the course of his career as a philosopher and critical observer of his times, in the later part of his life gave a description that poignantly encapsulates this idea of Islam as a natural, reasonable religion:

Mahometanism is without doubt more sensible than Christianity. They do not adore a Jew whilst abhorring the Jews; they do not call a Jewish woman Mother of God; they never fell into the extravagant blasphemy to say that three gods are one; and finally, they do not eat the God they adore and they never were going to consign their Creator to the latrines. To

---

<sup>5</sup> U. Groetsch, 'Hermann Samuel Reimarus, the Jewish priests of the Old Testament and the trope of imposture', *Intellectual History Review* 28 (2018) 185-99, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> See M. van der Lugt, 'Pierre Bayle on war, sex, and Islam', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 78 (2017) 21-50; see also L. Simonutti, 'Pierre Bayle', in *CMR* 13, 511-17.

believe in one all-powerful God was the only dogma. It was simple Theism, the natural Religion, and consequently, the only veritable one.<sup>7</sup>

While such an ideal conception of Islam has made it appear to a number of radical thinkers as a valid, Unitarian and rational alternative to Western, Trinitarian Christianity, this was mainly a conception that could be used in contemporary debates as a critical mirror of Christianity and the Christian Church and its servants. For many writers of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries who promoted and cemented the idea of Islam as a natural religion that relied on rationality rather than superstition and miracles, the concern was more with a powerful rhetorical and polemical image than with an adequate representation of Islam. So, even if we here encounter very positive descriptions of Islam, they are often based on a selective and purposeful reading. This is the case with some of the most powerful works in which Islam is portrayed as a 'pure', rational, in short enlightened, religion.

### *Islam as a rational religion*

As with many other aspects of what is commonly considered to be an Enlightenment approach, to see Islam as a 'rational' religion is not the sole prerogative of the 'Age of Reason', but has a longer tradition.<sup>8</sup> It was in fact used at least since the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a polemical argument against Islam and other 'heretical' movements that would exclude everything from religion that was opposed to rational analysis – such as, for example, the doctrine of the Trinity and other divinely revealed mysteries that went beyond human reason: *Summa enim et ipsa ratio religio est* ('The highest reasoning is religion itself'), wrote the Reformed Church historian and Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620-67) in his polemical comparison between the anti-Trinitarian

---

<sup>7</sup> 'Le mahométisme était sans doute plus sensé que le christianisme. On n'y adorait point un Juif en abhorrant les Juifs; on n'y appelait point une Juive mère de Dieu; on n'y tombait point dans la blasphème extravagant de dire que trois dieux font un dieu; enfin on n'y mangeait pas ce dieu qu'on adorait, et on n'allait pas rendre à la selle son créateur. Croire un seul Dieu tout-puissant était le seul dogme. C'était le simple théisme, la religion naturelle, et par conséquent la seule véritable'; *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 6. *Philosophie – Dialogues*, Paris, 1837, p. 210; see also S. de Vries, 'Voltaire', in *CMR* 13, 698-744.

<sup>8</sup> See N. Malcolm, *Useful enemies. Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western political thought, 1450-1750*, Oxford, 2019.

movement of Socinianism and Islam.<sup>9</sup> Among a number of similar doctrines and beliefs, he singled out the alleged conformity between Socinians and Muslims who based their faith on 'reason' and excluded any religious tenet that was opposed to it.

Early modern anti-Trinitarian movements have commonly been associated with Islam, particularly by Catholic thinkers, though also by Protestant opponents who emphasised the similarities in their Christological and Unitarian beliefs. But some anti-Trinitarians, such as the Spanish physician Miguel Servet or Servetus (d. 1553), referred to the Unitarian message of the Qur'an in order to corroborate their own position. In his work, Servetus used the Qur'an as a historical document with which he tried to prove that the dogma of the Trinity was a late invention and not part of Christ's original teachings. Muḥammad, Servetus argued, had actually preserved the original, Unitarian Christian message.<sup>10</sup> He thus laid the foundations of an argument that was to underpin some of the most radical interpretations of Islam during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Variations of this argument for 'Unitarian-Islamic syncretism' (Justin Champion) can be found in a number of anti-Trinitarian pamphlets.<sup>11</sup> The most famous and most radical is Henry Stubbe's (1632-76) *Account of the rise and progress of Mahometanism*. This was only published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century but it circulated widely in manuscript following its composition in 1671. Arguing from a strictly historical perspective, Stubbe presented Islam as a reaction to the moral and theological decline of early Christianity. Again, the argument that the decay of Christianity was the breeding ground for Islam has always been prominent among early modern authors.<sup>12</sup> Ignorance of Scripture, corruption of the clergy and empty meaningless ceremonies were presented as the main reasons for the rapid spread of Islam from its beginning to the present day. It was one of the many ways in which religious parties during the age of confessionalism made use of Islam and its history to attack their foes:

<sup>9</sup> Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Zurich, 1660, p. 366; see also J. Loop, 'Johann Heinrich Hottinger', in *CMR* 9, 906-14.

<sup>10</sup> [Miguel Servetus], *Christianismi restitutio*, Vienne, 1553, pp. 35-6 *et passim*; see also K. Steenbrink, 'Michael Servetus', in *CMR* 6, 645-53.

<sup>11</sup> See J. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken. The Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730*, Cambridge, 1992, ch. 4. On the early modern construction of a parallel history of Unitarianism and Islam, see also M. Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam and the radical uses of Arabic scholarship', *Al-Qanṭara* 31 (2010) 549-86.

<sup>12</sup> See J. Loop, 'The Qur'an in Europe. The European Qur'an', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20 (2018) 1-20.

Roman Catholics could use the argument against the Eastern Churches, and Protestants against Roman Catholics. What was radical – and reminiscent of Servetus's claim – was Stubbe's interpretation of Muḥammad as a reformer of the original, simple form of Christianity and of Islam as a purified religion: Muḥammad's mission was to 'restore an old religion, not to introduce a new one', Stubbe claimed.<sup>13</sup>

The basic outlines of Stubbe's historical argument turn into a radical criticism of church corruption and priestcraft in John Toland's (1670-1722) *Nazarenus: Or Jewish, Gentile and Mahometan Christianity* of 1718. Here, Islam not only appears as purer and more accessible than established Christianity, but it appears as part of Christianity, as *Mahometan Christianity*: 'There is a sense, wherein the Mahometans may not improperly be reckon'd and call'd a sort or sect of Christians.'<sup>14</sup> Islam, it is claimed, is based on the 'earliest monuments of the Christian religion', and it could be seen as closer to the original form of Christianity than the 'corrupted and disguiz'd' institution the Church had become. And giving his bold claim a tolerationist impulse, Toland argues that Muslims 'might with as much reason and safety be tolerated at London and Amsterdam, as the Christians of every kind are so at Constantinople and thro-out all Turkey'.<sup>15</sup>

To this group of prominent radical thinkers who located the concept of a simple and rational Islam in the historical struggle of early Christianity, and in whose works Islam appears as a pure and tolerant Unitarian alternative to a corrupted Trinitarian Christianity, should be added another name: Count Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658-1722), whose *Vie de Mahomet* was published posthumously in 1730. Written from a Deist perspective, Islam is presented here as a religion that is true to the precepts of natural theology and is thus simple, rational and, most importantly, very appealing: 'Everything that Muḥammad said was true, with regard to the essential dogmas of religion.'<sup>16</sup> To be sure, Muḥammad did not receive a divine revelation, according to Boulainvilliers, but he discovered the truths of natural religion by meditating on the true nature of

<sup>13</sup> N. Matar (ed.), *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam. The originall & progress of Mahometanism*, Oxford, 2014, p. 177; see also C. Bennett, 'Henry Stubbe', in *CMR* 8, 468-79.

<sup>14</sup> John Toland, *Nazarenus. Or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*, London, 1718, pp. 4-5; see also C. Bennett, 'John Toland', in *CMR* 13, 141-56.

<sup>15</sup> Toland, *Nazarenus*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Henri de Boulainvilliers, *La vie de Mahomed*, London, 1730, p. 246: 'Tout ce qu'il a dit est vrai, par raport aux dogmes essentiels à la religion'; see also D. Venturino, 'Henri de Boulainvilliers', in *CMR* 13, 566-71.

things and on the compatibility of religion with reason.<sup>17</sup> Because of this correspondence between Muḥammad's religious and political system and natural truth, it was perfectly adapted not only to the understanding of his compatriots, but also to the opinions and ideas of humankind in general. That is why 'his teachings have inspired more than half of humanity in less than forty years'.<sup>18</sup>

Such radical perspectives that use an idealised image of a tolerant, simple and rational Islam as a token to reflect critically and provocatively on Christianity, and to question the basic pillars of the established religious order, have frequently been taken as representative of an Enlightenment attitude towards Islam.<sup>19</sup>

### *Rethinking the Enlightenment*

In recent years, however, the Enlightenment as a concept has undergone significant revision. It is above all the idea of a coherent project of religious secularisation, philosophical and scientific modernisation, and political liberalisation that has been questioned by historians of the early modern period.<sup>20</sup> To many of them, this grand narrative randomly privileges certain trends and ignores others, which often coexist in the work of the same authors. Many thinkers who are commonly seen as 'Enlightened' were not religiously or politically progressive, and only a very small number of radical thinkers substituted traditional religious beliefs with rational, secular or anti-Christian ideas. Convincing cases have been made for a religious Enlightenment, underlining the fact that religion and Enlightenment are not mutually exclusive.<sup>21</sup> This is also true with regard to the more sympathetic attitudes towards Islam that we can find since the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup> As Alexander Bevilacqua has recently shown, most of them are not underpinned by anti-Christian or anti-religious positions. On the contrary, biblical studies, confessional

<sup>17</sup> Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, p. 226.

<sup>18</sup> Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, p. 133.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. J. Israel, *Enlightenment contested. Philosophy, modernity, and the emancipation of man, 1670-1752*, Oxford, 2006, particularly ch. 24, 'Rethinking Islam. Philosophy and the "other"'; and van der Lugt, 'Pierre Bayle on war, sex and Islam', p. 50.

<sup>20</sup> Most forcefully by D. Levitin, *Ancient wisdom in the age of the new science. Histories of philosophy in England, c. 1640-1700*, Cambridge, 2015.

<sup>21</sup> See for instance W.J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment. Orientalism, religions and politics in England and its empire, 1648-1715*, Cambridge, 2015.

<sup>22</sup> The point has already been made by A. Hamilton, 'Western attitudes to Islam in the Enlightenment', *Middle Eastern Lectures* 3 (1999) 69-85, p. 73.



competition, and even missionary ambitions were the key drivers to improve philological tools (such as Arabic grammars and dictionaries as well as teaching models) and to provide more empirically adequate knowledge about Islam in the form of better translations of the Qur'an and other Islamic texts or more accurate accounts of Islamic theology and religious practice.<sup>23</sup>

A case in point is Adriaan Reland (1676-1718) and his manifesto, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* ('Two books about the Mohammedan religion'). First published at the dawn of the century in 1705, it is commonly regarded as a turning point in Western attitudes to Islam. It is a powerful attempt to question and correct traditional misconceptions and misrepresentations and to describe Islam in an objective manner, based on authentic sources and 'as it is taught in the Mahometan temples and schools'.<sup>24</sup> The author, however, was anything but a radical thinker. Brought up in the strictest Reformed orthodoxy, he occupied the chair of Oriental languages at Utrecht from 1701 until his death in 1718. Consequently, Reland's attempt to present Islam as 'it really is' and free of the traditional Christian misconceptions did not grow out of radical freethinking trends of the Enlightenment. Certainly, his approach seems to have been inspired by Cartesian methods and by the idea, illustrated in the famous story of the 'natural philosopher' in *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* by Ibn Ṭufayl, that everybody could attain true knowledge. 'Truth needs to be investigated, wherever it is', was the statement justifying his entire endeavour.<sup>25</sup> But there are also very traditional lines of argument that permeate the preface and the set-up of this manifesto. Reland's book about Islam still bears traces of confessional polemics in the context of which the study of Islam thrived in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> It also gives

<sup>23</sup> A. Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic letters. Islam and the European Enlightenment*, Cambridge MA, 2018.

<sup>24</sup> See A. Hamilton, 'From a "closet at Utrecht". Adriaan Reland and Islam', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 78 (1998) 243-50, and A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies in the Netherlands. A short history in portraits, 1580-1950*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 65-72; see also L.J. Joosse, 'Adriaan Reland', in *CMR* 13, 457-61.

<sup>25</sup> See A. Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht', in P. Hoftijzer and T. Verbeek (eds), *Leven na Descartes. Zeven opstellen over ideeëngeschiedenis in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, Hilversum, 2005, 97-105.

<sup>26</sup> See the preface, where Reland refers to the widespread use of comparisons of the confessional enemy with Islam, from both Catholic and Protestant sides; Adriaan Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo: quorum prior exhibet compendium theologiae Mohammedicae ... Posterior examinatur nonnulla, quae falso Mohammedanis tribuuntur*, Utrecht, 1705 (English trans., *Of the Mahometan religion, two books*, in *Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans*, London, 1712).

repeated expression to the traditional missionary conviction that Muslims can only effectively be refuted and possibly converted on the basis of an accurate understanding of their faith.<sup>27</sup>

This motive behind Reland's objective treatment of Islam in his *Books on the Muhammedan religion* of 1705 is not radically different from the one that stands behind other cornerstones of European interactions with Islam, such as Robert of Ketton's 12<sup>th</sup>-century Latin translation of the Qur'an.<sup>28</sup>

What had changed, however, were the linguistic abilities, the specialist knowledge about Islam accumulated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the availability of primary sources.

A similar picture emerges if we look at another major event in the history of European understanding of Islam, the publication in 1698 of Lodovico Marracci's (1612-1700) ground-breaking edition and translation of the Qur'an, *Alcorani textus universus*. The result of decades of hard work, this translation eclipsed all earlier versions for its accuracy and philological rigour. It was based on a wide use of Islamic exegetical (*tafsīr*) and other sources, and it presented the Latin translation together with the Arabic text, critical notes and a refutation.<sup>29</sup> Marracci's work, again, was not inspired by any motive that would traditionally count as 'Enlightened'. On the contrary, his translation was meant to serve as an effective polemical weapon and to help unmask Islam as a heresy. However, the purely philological work of Marracci's translation and edition could also be separated from the detailed refutations of every sura. It provided the most reliable and most accurate Latin translation of the qur'anic text together with an Islamic interpretative context. Subsequent translations of the Qur'an into European vernaculars, including George Sale's English translation of 1734, which served as the standard version for the Enlightenment, drew heavily on the textual and philological

---

<sup>27</sup> R. Minuti, 'L'image de l'Islam au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle entre érudition et vulgarisation. Notes sur la traduction française du *De religione mahommedica* d'Adriaan Reland', in C. Le Blanc and L. Simonutti (eds), *Le masque de l'écriture. Philosophie et traduction de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, Geneva, 2014, 701-21.

<sup>28</sup> The idea behind this medieval translation project, instigated by the Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, was to confront Muslims 'not, as our people often do, by arms, but by words; not by force, but by reason; not by hatred, but in love'. See J.A. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton NJ, 1964, p. 47; see also D. Iogna-Prat and J. Tolan, 'Peter of Cluny', in *CMR* 3, 604-10.

<sup>29</sup> R.F. Gleason and R. Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at work*, Wiesbaden, 2016; see also R. Tottoli, 'Ludovico Marracci', in *CMR* 9, 791-800.

side of Marracci's work, while dispensing with much of its anti-Islamic paratexts.<sup>30</sup>

Sale and other 18<sup>th</sup>-century authors assessed the Islamic revelation with ever more positive interpretations, which, again, were not necessarily combined with freethinking anti-Christian attitudes. He was an active member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and expressed his conviction that Providence had entrusted the Protestants with the overthrow of Islam.<sup>31</sup> However, his famous 'Preliminary discourse' to his translation promoted such a sympathetic view of Islam and Muḥammad that, according to Arnoud Vrolijk, it provoked widespread criticism from his contemporaries and seems to have led to his exclusion from the SPCK.<sup>32</sup>

If we consider such attempts to clarify the Christian perception of Islam from traditional prejudices and distorted images as a cornerstone of the Enlightenment, then the work of numerous 17<sup>th</sup>-century scholars, most of whom were deeply anchored in the Christian faith, must be seen as central to this movement. The philologically oriented works based on humanist principles of 17<sup>th</sup>-century scholars such as Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) and Edward Pococke (1604-91)<sup>33</sup> paved the way to a more empirically accurate and often more sympathetic interaction with Islamic religion, culture and history in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They published linguistic tools that were necessary for a more adequate understanding of the Arabic language and established critical standards for translations and editions of Arabo-Islamic texts. Erpenius's masterly edition and translation of *Ṣūrat Yūsuf* deserves particular mention here, as it set the mark for any future edition of the Islamic revelation, including the one by Marracci.<sup>34</sup> In the history of scholarship, a direct line also leads from these early modern humanist scholars to the methods and principles of Johann Jacob Reiske (1716-74), who is commonly celebrated as the first scholar to free Arabic studies from the

<sup>30</sup> A. Bevilacqua, 'The Qur'an translation of Marracci and Sale', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013) 93-130; A. Hamilton, 'After Marracci. The reception of Ludovico Marracci's edition of the Qur'an in northern Europe from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20 (2018) 175-92.

<sup>31</sup> George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called The Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1734, 'To the reader', p. iv. On Sale's work and life, see A. Vrolijk, 'Sale, George', in *ODNB*; and C. Bennett, 'George Sale', in *CMR* 13, 325-43.

<sup>32</sup> See Vrolijk, 'Sale, George'.

<sup>33</sup> See G. Wiegiers, 'Thomas Erpenius', in *CMR* 8, 567-72; N. Matar, 'Edward Pococke', in *CMR* 8, 445-58.

<sup>34</sup> *Surat Yusuf. Historia Patriarchae, ex Alcorano*, ed. and trans. Thomas Erpenius, Leiden, 1617.

shackles of Christian theology and biblical studies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup> Although Reiske – and with him the European Enlightenment – owes more to the tradition of Protestant Orientalist philology than is commonly acknowledged,<sup>36</sup> his insistence on an approach to the Arabic language, history and culture that is independent of biblical and theological concerns must certainly be judged as another decisive step towards a more objective understanding of Islam.

### *Islamic history*

Reiske was not only the leading Arabist of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but also an outstanding Greek scholar. It is most evident that his translations and editions of Arabic sources, as well as his appreciation of Arab history and culture, were underpinned by methodological virtues that had characterised humanist attempts to preserve the classical heritage since the Renaissance. The history of the Islamic world, such was Reiske's argument, was as rich, eventful and instructive as was the history of the classical world. It too was driven by great and powerful leaders, scholars and poets; it too had produced scientific and cultural achievements of the greatest significance, on a par with Greek and Roman antiquity:

It is a wonder that those who are accustomed with such desire to consider the manners and minds of men and the remarkable fortunes of empires, have not sought for themselves a field from the Orient. For no event stands out in our European history from which the citizen may learn wisdom or the mind, the admirer of divine wisdom and of the blind paths of fortune, and the person intent on investigating the thoughts of men, may pick out a theme worthy of consideration but that an equally enlightening instance offers itself in that history which I am commending.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> On Reiske, see the collected essays in *Johann Jacob Reiske – Leben und Wirkung ein Leipziger Byzantinist und Begründer der Orientalistik im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. H.-G. Ebert and T. Hanstein, Leipzig, 2005; see also J. Loop, 'Johann Jacob Reiske', in *CMR* 14.

<sup>36</sup> For an assessment of the historical significance of the work of Reiske's teacher, Albert Schultens, see J. Loop, 'Language of Paradise. Protestant Oriental scholarship and the discovery of Arabic poetry', in N. Hardy and D. Levitin (eds), *Faith and history. Confessionalisation and erudition in early modern Europe*, Oxford (forthcoming 2019).

<sup>37</sup> *Mirum illos, qui mores animosque hominum et mirabiles imperiorum fortunas contemplari cum voluptate solent, sibi pabulum ex oriente non quaesivisse, quum tamen in Europae nostra historia non exstet casus, e quo vel prudentiam discat homo civilis, vel meditandi sumat argumentum animus divinae sapientiae coecarumque fati viarum admirator, et scrutandis hominum ingeniis intentus, qui aequae illustris in ea, quam commendamus, historia se non praebeat*, from Johann Jacob Reiske, *Oratio studium Arabicae linguae*

What is indeed characteristic of this approach is a tendency to replace theologically or polemically inspired explanations of the history of Islam with the same anthropological, political and cultural concepts that had been applied to the history of the Romans and the Greeks since the Renaissance. While most medieval and early modern commentators had explained the success of Islam as the fulfilment of apocalyptic prophecies, and would have referred to the common idea that Muḥammad propagated his religion by force and by appealing to man's sensual desires and personal interests,<sup>38</sup> some scholars from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century on had started to argue for a more balanced history of the Islamic world. Their explanations attempted to do justice to the high moral standards, the political skill, and other positive elements they detected in the Islamic faith, as well as the many great cultural, scientific and political achievements brought about by Islamic civilisations.

The fifth Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, Simon Ockley (d. 1720), who presented his two volumes on the first century of Islamic history to the English reader in the vernacular, deplores the fact that so little is known about the history of the Arabs, 'who rendered themselves so very considerable, both by their Arms and Learning, that the understanding of their Affairs seems no less, if not more necessary than the being acquainted with the History of any People whatsoever'.<sup>39</sup>

Ockley, whose *History of the Saracens* had a great influence on Edward Gibbon (1737-94), was one of the first authors to express the opinion that Muslim political, cultural and scientific achievements were equal to those of the Romans, and that they deserved their own historical accounts.<sup>40</sup> A similar point was made by Boulainvilliers in his *Vie de Mahomed*, where he deplores the fact that so little is known about the history of the Arabs, which in many regards is more instructive and more interesting than Greek and Roman history.<sup>41</sup> Sale argued that the study of the political and religious history of the Islamic world should be part

---

*commendans dicta* (1748), in *Conjecturae in Jobum et Proverbia Salomonis cum eiusdem orationes de studio Arabicae linguae*, Leipzig, 1779, 219-92, p. 282. Similar thoughts about the usefulness of the study of Islamic history are expressed in other writings of the late 1740s, e.g. *Prodigamata, Dissertatio de principibus Muhammedanis qui aut eruditione aut ab amore literarum et litterarum claruerunt* (1747).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. M. van der Lugt, 'A taste of Paradise. Early modern encounters with the Islamic afterworld', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 48 (2016) 28-46.

<sup>39</sup> Simon Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1708 and 1718, p. IX; see also C. Bennett, 'Simon Ockley', in *CMR* 13, 105-14.

<sup>40</sup> See Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 140.

<sup>41</sup> Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, pp. 5-6.

of a comparative political science: 'If the religious and civil institutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, those of *Mohammed*, the law-giver of the *Arabians*, and founder of an empire, which, in less than a century, spread itself over a greater part of the world than the *Romans* were ever masters of, must needs be so.'<sup>42</sup>

In the works of these authors, Muḥammad and his successors were not seen as instruments of divine intervention, but as Machiavellian operators whose extraordinary success as lawgiver and religious and military leaders were based on the rationality, simplicity and efficacy of Islamic law and the persuasive power of religious duty and armed force, with which it was promoted. Machiavelli's analysis of the nature and actions of successful legislators offered a most convincing conceptual tool to explain Muḥammad's success as a prophet-legislator. It was used by Stubbe, Boulainvilliers, Sale and many others, who compared Muḥammad to Lycurgus and Numa, figures from the classical world who had also used religion and force in order to establish their laws.<sup>43</sup> For Stubbe, Muḥammad surpassed all other legislators before and after him: he was the 'wisest legislator that ever was'.<sup>44</sup>

### *The beauty of Islam*

For many of these authors, the appeal of the qur'anic revelation was seen not only in its compelling rationality, but also in its rhetorical power; Muḥammad was not only a gifted legislator, but also an artful orator, and the reason for his success lay as much in the contents of his law as in its forceful rhetorical proclamation. His power of persuasion was such, Boullainvilliers wrote, that he induced the coarsest members of the population as well as the greatest heroes of all times to follow his mysterious doctrine without the support of miracles or the promise of prestige or supernatural gifts.<sup>45</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), in his *Essay on the origin of languages*, written around 1754, also stressed the persuasive power of the Qur'an and celebrated the beauty of qur'anic recitation:

Someone who can read a little Arabic smiles when leafing through the Alcoran, who, had he heard Mahomet in person proclaim it in that

<sup>42</sup> Sale, *The Koran*, 'To the reader', sig. A2r.

<sup>43</sup> See A. Bevilacqua and J. Loop, 'The Qur'an in comparison and the birth of "scriptures"', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20 (2018) 149-74.

<sup>44</sup> Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, pp. 192-3.

<sup>45</sup> Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, pp. 133-4.

eloquent and rhythmic language, with that sonorous and persuasive voice which seduced the ear before it touched the heart, and consequently animating his aphorisms with the accent of enthusiasm, would have prostrated himself on the ground while crying out: Great prophet, messenger of God, lead us to glory, to martyrdom; we want to conquer or to die for you.<sup>46</sup>

Rousseau's assessment of the beauty and rhetorical power of the Qur'an sums up the attitude of a number of writers since the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century who have taken Muslim veneration of the Qur'an seriously, although its aesthetic composition and rhetorical devices did not follow the standards of classical Western rhetorical tradition.

Apparently, Muḥammad's 'false' religion appealed to millions of people, who submitted to it freely and fervently.

Particularly among German literati in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, an appreciation of the aesthetic aspects of the Qur'an and of Islam led to some of the most sympathetic attitudes to Muslim culture in the history of Christian-Muslim relations. Poets and scholars in the circles round Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) perceived the Qur'an as an epitome of their idea of ingenious, inspired poetry. In his article *Shakespeare* from 1771/3, commonly seen as the founding theoretical document of the Romantic *Sturm und Drang* movement, Herder cites Muḥammad's Night Journey as an example of the imagination of an ingenious poet-prophet.<sup>47</sup> Stimulated by Herder and his interest in Muḥammad and the Qur'an, but also under the influence of a new German translation by Friedrich Megerlin (1772), in the autumn of 1772 Goethe started working on his play *Mahomet*, which he was to leave unfinished. His exploration of Muḥammad's life as the

---

<sup>46</sup> *Tel pour savoir lire un peu d'Arabe sourit en feuilletant l'Alcoran, qui, s'il eut entendu Mahomet l'annoncer en personne dans cette langue éloquente et cadencée, avec cette voix sonore et persuasive qui séduisoit l'oreille avant le coeur, et sans cesse animant ses sentences de l'accent de l'enthousiasme, se fut prosterné contre terre en criant: grand Prophète, Envoyé de Dieu, menez-nous à la gloire, au martire; nous voulons vaincre ou mourir pour vous*, Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1995, vol. 5, pp. 409-10; translation (revised) from *Essay on the origin of languages and writings related to music*, trans. J.T. Scott, Hanover, 2000, p. 317. See Bevilacqua and Loop, 'The Qur'an in comparison'.

<sup>47</sup> 'And is it not the first and only duty of every genius, of every poet, and of the dramatic poet in particular, to remove you to such a dream?', J.G. Herder, *Shakespeare*, ed. and trans. G. Moore, Princeton NJ, 2008, p. 37; see K. Mommsen, *Goethe und die Arabische Welt*, Frankfurt, 1988, pp. 187-8; see N. Kermani, 'Revelation in its aesthetic dimension', in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'an as text*, Leiden, 1996, 213-24.

subject for a play is connected to the theory of genius and literary production, as well as his own identity as a productive genius.<sup>48</sup>

The aesthetic categories that characterise the work of a genius – sublimity, enthusiasm, passion and originality – allowed for a positive appreciation of the style of the Qur'an that was also reflected in some of the European Qur'an translations of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the almost religious power that this generation of literary critics and authors ascribed to the inspiration of the poet even made it possible to acknowledge a divine origin for the Qur'an, as did Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) in Wieland's *Teutschem Merkur*: 'In den Werken der Dichtkunst spiegelt sich die Gottheit des Genies. [...] Daher ist der Coran Gottes Wort.'<sup>50</sup>

### *Religious pluralism and the 'normalisation' of Islam*

The attainment of a non-polemical view of Islam, but also of other religions, which can be witnessed in numerous works of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, has been convincingly related to the early modern experience of religious pluralism in the wake of confessionalisation and globalisation.<sup>51</sup> The experience of religious pluralism led, in the words of William Bulman, to 'a state of acute awareness among elites that their own religious commitments (or lack thereof) constituted a choice among many available forms of belief (and unbelief), all of which could be held by sane (if erring and partly unreasonable) people, because they were the products of complex historical forces'.<sup>52</sup> This assessment encapsulates an argument expressed by Reland in the introduction to his *Two books on the Mahometan religion*, where he argues that

the Mahometans are not so mad as we think them to be. Sense and reason are equally distributed among Men: And I have always been of the mind,

<sup>48</sup> See Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 158-79.

<sup>49</sup> See A. Hamilton, "To rescue the honour of the Germans". Qur'an translations by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German Protestants', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 77 (2014) 173-209; J. Loop 'Divine poetry? Early modern European Orientalists on the beauty of the Koran', *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (2009) 455-88.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, 'Proben einer metrischen und gereimten Uebersetzung des Corans', *Der neue Teutsche Merkur* 2 (1807) 77-81.

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. W.J. Bulman, 'Introduction. Enlightenment for the culture wars', in W.J. Bulman and R.G. Ingram (eds), *God in the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 2016, 1-41.

<sup>52</sup> Bulman, 'Introduction', p. 18.



that that Religion, which hath largely spread it self over Asia, Africa, and even Europe, commends it self to Men by great Appearance of Truth, which is ready to allure them; nor is it so foolish as many Christians esteem it.<sup>53</sup>

A much improved empirical basis in the form of manuscript collections and also a more intimate acquaintance with the reality of life in the Islamic world thanks to increasing numbers of first-hand experiences of soldiers, merchants, missionaries and travellers, were the background against which the transition from hostile and demonising views to more sympathetic attitudes towards Islam took place.

This again was largely facilitated through an ever tighter commercial and political connection between Europe and the Islamic world in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>54</sup> The extensive trading relations with the Near and Far East that were established by European chartered companies, as well as the diplomatic networks that developed alongside them, made it possible for many Europeans to stay in the Near East over a longer period of time, to experience Islamic culture and religion at close range, and to improve their language skills. The patronage of kings and other powerful individuals throughout Europe incentivised, funded and controlled the collection of manuscripts and other artefacts from the Middle East. It also promoted the study of Oriental languages through the funding of academic positions and the establishment of language training schemes, such as the *jeunes de langues* initiated by Louis XIV's famous minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83). Through these efforts, places such as Paris, Rome, Oxford and Leiden became centres of Oriental learning, and allowed 18<sup>th</sup>-century scholars and philosophers to reject traditional misrepresentations of Islam and to form more accurate, and also more diverse, ideas of the Islamic world.

This is the context in which Antoine Galland (1646-1715) was able to provide Christian Europe with a translation of the *Arabian nights*, arguably the most important document to inspire the European imagination of the Orient in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Galland lived and travelled in the East, particularly in Smyrna and Constantinople with various diplomatic assignments, for extended periods of time between 1670 and 1700. During these stays he collected antiquities, coins and manuscripts for the Bibliothèque royale, but he also wrote two accounts that give a valuable insight into the book-markets of Constantinople and, especially, into life

<sup>53</sup> Reland, *Of the Mahometan religion*, p. 13.

<sup>54</sup> See S. Mills' forthcoming book, *A commerce of knowledge. Trade, religion, and scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1620-1760*, Oxford, 2019.

in Smyrna in the 1680s. He also deepened his knowledge of Arabic, Turkish and Persian and was awarded the chair of Oriental languages at the Collège de France. Upon his return from the East in 1702, he embarked on the translation of the 'contes arabes', which were published as *Les mille et une nuits* in 12/14 volumes between 1704 and 1717, and became the foundation of the European tradition of the 'Thousand and one nights'.<sup>55</sup>

Commercial objectives were by no means the only drivers that enhanced the European acquaintance with the Islamic world. Theological and religious incentives were also still a dominant factor in this process. A case in point is the celebrated Danish expedition to the Arabian Peninsula under the patronage of the 'Enlightened' King Frederick V (r. 1746-66). Conceived and organised by the Göttingen professor Johann David Michaelis (1717-91), the primary goal of this expedition was a better understanding of the texts of the Hebrew Bible. The expedition not only illustrates the paradigm of methodical travelling and instructed observation that had developed in Europe since the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>56</sup> but also exemplifies the significant role that apparent failures and unintended consequences play in the history of ideas, scholarship and travel. The only survivor of the travel party of originally six members, the surveyor Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), produced accounts of his journey that hardly reflect the original purposes for which the expedition was organised. He wrote a *Description of Arabia* (1772) and a number of other publications, which are seen today as masterpieces of Enlightened travel writing, introducing contemporaries to different aspects of life in the Arab world. As such, they played an important role in the process of 'normalising' the Islamic world during the Enlightenment. 'I was pleased to find that the Arabs were just as cultured (*menschlich*) as the inhabitants of other civilised nations', Niebuhr noted, and his accounts illustrated and confirmed this observation throughout.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See R. van Leeuwen, 'Antoine Galland', <https://www.kent.ac.uk/ewto/projects/anthology/antoine-galland.html>; see also F. Bauden, 'Antoine Galland', in *CMR* 13, 529-47.

<sup>56</sup> L.J. Baack, *Undying curiosity. Carsten Niebuhr and the Danish expedition to Arabia (1761-1767)*, Stuttgart, 2014; I. Friis et al. (eds), *Early scientific expeditions and local encounters. New perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and 'The Arabian journey'*, Copenhagen, 2013.

<sup>57</sup> *Ich war zufrieden, daß ich die Araber eben so menschlich fand, als andere gesittete Nationen*; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1774, vol. 1, p. XII.

### Conclusion

In one of his famous scathing reviews of an edition and translation of pre- and early Islamic poems by a student of the Leiden Hebrew scholar Albert Schultens (1686-1750), Reiske accused the translator of having produced a translation that was neither clear nor Latin enough, and thus would 'confirm all those in their opinion who think that the Arabs have lost their minds and that they blurt out whatever comes into their mouths'.<sup>58</sup> To criticise inadequate linguistic knowledge and flawed translations is a constant theme in Enlightened Oriental scholarship. They are seen as the main sources of traditional European misconceptions of Islam and particularly of a view that considers Arabs – as well as other foreigners – as intellectually and culturally deficient. For a scholar like Reiske, who had an intimate knowledge of the greatest products of Arab civilisation and culture and was able to appreciate the linguistic and stylistic sophistication of their poetic tradition, this was preposterous. 'The Arabs are human beings, very similar to us, and they speak very much like human beings, but the ignorance of this translator makes them bray like asses and moo like cows.'<sup>59</sup>

As this essay has tried to show, a similar assessment was gaining currency during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries with regard to Islamic religious and moral life. The traditional idea that Islam was a devilish force, or a completely absurd religion to which human beings would only submit if coerced by force or driven by carnal desire, was at odds with numerous observations by European Christians who had spent extended periods of time in the Islamic world. Travellers, merchants and even captives consistently remarked on the pious, modest and virtuous conduct of most Muslims. And they all brought back accounts of the fervour with which Muslims embraced the message of the Qur'an, and of the futility of any attempts to convert them to Christianity. In short, Islam was a religion chosen freely by millions of human beings 'who are very similar to us'.

Such conclusions, however, must be seen in connection with broader cultural trends. The intellectual developments focused on in this essay

---

<sup>58</sup> *Nam versione neque satis clara, neque satis Latina, eos in opinione magis confirmes, qua occupantur, Arabes insanire, et effutire, quicquid in buccam venit*, in *Nova acta eruditorum*, 1747, pp. 690-1.

<sup>59</sup> *Arabes homines sunt nobis similes, et maxima ex parte humane locuti. Sed interpretatum inscitia eos saepe asinorum instar rudere, et ut vaccas mugire, jubet*, in *Nova acta eruditorum*, 1747, p. 691.

took place in the context of a general shift towards a greater appreciation of Islamic, and particularly, Ottoman culture and society in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The shift also led to a greater entanglement of people, objects, practices and ideas from both the Christian and the Islamic worlds.<sup>60</sup> Not only Ottoman lifestyle, fashion and furniture, but also Ottoman social structures could seem attractive to Europeans living in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and offer viable alternatives to their own.<sup>61</sup> It is in the context of this 'normalisation' of Islamic culture that Islamic religion too lost the apparent absurdity and extraneousness that it had had in earlier centuries.

---

<sup>60</sup> See A. Bevilacqua and H. Pfeifer, 'Turquerie. Culture in motion, 1650-1750', *Past & Present* 221 (2013) 75-118.

<sup>61</sup> On this, see Ian Collier's lucid essay 'Rousseau's turban. Entangled encounters of Europe and Islam in the Age of Enlightenment', *Historical Reflections* 40 (2014) 56-77.

# Intellectual, scientific and technological relations between Christian and Muslim civilisations 1580-1822

Avner Ben-Zaken

Scientific exchanges between Christian and Islamic civilizations passed through several phases from the Middle Ages onwards, each characterized in its own way. In medieval times, intellectually prosperous Islamic civilization passed works on natural philosophy in Arabic to Western Europe, giving the first impetus to the rise of a new form of intellectual inquiry in Europe. The result was not only a transformation in the structure of European universities but also the establishment of a new form of doctrine, based on incorporating Arabic Aristotelian works into the new Thomist theology. For over two centuries, up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Latin translations of the Arab philosophical corpus played a key role in the curricula of European intellectual institutions.<sup>1</sup> But later, with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, ancient Roman and Greek texts surfaced and were circulated, generating a new urge to read Aristotle directly, no longer through the mediation of the Arabs, thus opening the way in art, literature and natural philosophy to the rise of the Renaissance.

At the heart of this new spirit pulsed the claim that ancient wisdom was more perfect and that the imperfect, controversial and uncertain state of natural philosophy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century resulted from exclusive reliance on Latin translations of Arabic translations of the original Greek that brought with them distortions, mistranslations, mistakes and unstandardised scientific nomenclatures and measurements. And thus, the translations of ancient texts from Arabic into Latin that had once given impetus to the rise of natural philosophy and mathematics in Europe, were now responsible for contemporary intellectual confusions, inhibiting its development. The 15<sup>th</sup>-century astronomer Georg von Peurbach (1423-61) called for Latin translations of Ptolemy's *Almagest* from Arabic texts to be abandoned, and for the original Greek to be translated into Latin. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century mathematician Federico Commandino (1509-75)

---

<sup>1</sup> G. Saliba, *Islamic science and the making of the European Renaissance*, Cambridge MA, 2007.

called for the same to be done with the Latin text of Euclid's *Elements* which had been translated from the Arabic. Thus, by the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, a distinct and organic European intellectual tradition was beginning to emerge in the form of a revolutionary natural philosophy that, seemingly, turned away from the medieval Islamic intellectual tradition.

The scientific revolution that was born from the Renaissance radically shifted hegemony in the natural philosophy from the Islamic world to the rising European civilization. Nevertheless, even revolutionary theories in Europe continued to be stimulated by continuing exchanges and negotiations with Islamic natural philosophy, natural magic and mathematics.

It has been long argued that natural magic gave impetus to the scientific revolution. Concepts such as forces, fields and energy, the implication that physical light is only one representation of other intangible lights, and substances that act like light, all replaced the old Aristotelian teleological framework with a new inductive and practical natural philosophy that emphasized the active life of experimentation over the passive life of contemplation. The cultivation of such notions transformed natural magic into the practices of the new science, brought about through the circulation of texts and traditions that had originated in the eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity.

Alongside the Latin translation of the Greek body of Hermetic lore, *Corpus hermeticum*, three major texts that were produced in Islamic cultures stimulated discussion about magic and played a role in transforming its precepts into the new concepts of the rising inductive and practical experimentalist philosophy. First, Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī's (d. 873) *De radiis stellarum* has been seen by some as evidence for the permeation of the theory of rays.<sup>2</sup> Second, the *Summa perfectionis magisterii* ('The height of the perfection of mastery'), a work from the *Latin Pseudo-Geber*, a corpus of Latin alchemical writings (13<sup>th</sup>- and early 14<sup>th</sup>-centuries) attributed to the Muslim scholar Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (c. 721-c. 815), gave rise to the conception of matter as made up of 'corpuscles', the practice of extracting combustion from matter, and the establishment of the laboratory as the place where matter could be transformed and nature manipulated. Third, *Picatrix* or *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* ('The purpose of the sage'),<sup>3</sup> a book of magic originating from al-Andalus, stressed the centrality of the sun as the focus of all influences.

<sup>2</sup> L. Saif, *The Arabic influences on Early Modern occult philosophy*, London, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Pingree (ed.), *Picatrix. The Latin version of the Ghayat al-Hakim*, London, 1986.

References to such works in the writings of early and late Renaissance philosophers such as Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) and Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) appear in connection with discussions about natural magic. These individuals worked to revise the principles of natural philosophy by asserting such notions as action at a distance, natural motion by agency, the centrality of the sun, the linear motion of light rays and the role of the individual, the *magus*, in adding practice to the philosophy of nature.<sup>4</sup> Such radical physical notions established a new philosophical framework for scholars who urged the need to manipulate nature in order to unveil its processes and secrets.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, naturalists and mathematicians appropriated this framework and developed natural philosophy into a coherent system that included not only induction as the principle tool of philosophy, but more importantly notions that a century earlier had been considered as mystical speculations, turning them into physical realities. Thus, Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) believed that the planets were kept in their orbits by *anima motrix* (the motive soul), later modifying this to *vis motrix* (the life force); Robert Boyle (1627-91) took traditional Geberian alchemy, tamed it by means of empiricist mechanical philosophy and transformed it into modern chemistry, which used manipulation of nature not merely for practical purposes but to lay bare the processes of nature and to explain them by the use of reason and mathematics (the sceptical chemist),<sup>5</sup> while Isaac Newton (1643-1727) examined occult traditions in order to find the proper philosophical framework that could underpin ideas of forces, gravity and the medium by which they could be propagated across the universe.<sup>6</sup>

From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, notions of kinetic motion and inertia became the hallmark of modern science. Traditional accounts portray Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), René Descartes (1596-1650) and Boyle as breaking away from Aristotelian laws of motion, opening the way to the rise of dynamics and mechanics. However, as Ernest Moody has insightfully demonstrated, it was medieval criticisms of Aristotle's laws of motion,

<sup>4</sup> A. Ben-Zaken, 'Traveling with the Picatrix. On the cultural liminalities of science and magic', in A. Ben-Zaken, *Religious individualizations. Historical and comparative perspective*, Berlin, 2019 (forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup> W.R. Newman, 'The alchemical sources of Robert Boyle's corpuscular philosophy', *Annals of Science* 53 (1996) 567-85.

<sup>6</sup> B.J. Teeter Dobbs, *The Janus faces of genius. The role of alchemy in Newton's thought*, Cambridge, 1991; P.A. Fanning, *Isaac Newton and the transmutation of alchemy. An alternate view of the scientific revolution*, Berkeley CA, 2009.

particularly by the Iberian-Moroccan philosopher Ibn Bājja, known in Europe as Avempace (1080-1138), that laid the philosophical foundations for such developments. Most of Avempace's writings are lost, though the core of his criticisms of Aristotle are preserved in the commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* by Averroes (Ibn Rushd; 1126-98), who actually aimed at refuting Avempace. Whereas Aristotle claimed that velocity is inverse to the density of a medium, and thus motion in a void is inconceivable since it would necessarily produce an infinite velocity, Avempace argued that a grain of dust is suspended in the air because of the medium, and its natural fall or motion has to be considered as motion without resistance of the medium, i.e. movement in a void. Thus, he argued, all Aristotelian motions are relative to the density of the medium, and if one were to search for absolute motion, this would have to be motion without a medium, motion in a void. Moody argues that such notions led Galileo, Boyle and their successors to look into the possibility of a natural state of motion.<sup>7</sup>

One last philosophical foundation of modern science that came out of relations with Islamic civilization is autodidacticism. The prevailing argument in experimental science, republican politics and liberal pedagogy, that first-hand experience should be the starting point of any investigation, has seemed to many a product of the European Enlightenment. However, even this very fundamental principle was established through exchanges with Islamic civilization. The quintessential source is Ibn Ṭufayl's (1105-85) *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, a philosophical novella written during the 1160s in Marrakesh. It tells the story of a boy, Ḥayy, who was spontaneously generated on a desert island and, without parents, teachers, books or language – a prefect *tabula rasa* – discovered the laws of physics and medicine by exploring his surroundings, discovered the laws of astronomy by observation and set his findings within a framework of coherent metaphysics by unaided intellectual deduction. Finally, on solid foundations of his philosophy of nature, he succeeded in attaining communion with God.

The tale was translated and circulated in Europe from late medieval times, through the Renaissance and into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, leaving its mark upon a sequence of historical moments in which philosophers and naturalists issued calls to abandon received tradition and base all knowledge

---

<sup>7</sup> E. Moody, 'Galileo and Avempace. The dynamics of the Leaning Tower experiment (I)', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951) 163-93, 'Galileo and Avempace. The dynamics of the Leaning Tower experiment (II)', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951) 375-422.



on evidence acquired by first-hand experience. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) and, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Robert Boyle and John Locke (1632-1704) read it and refashioned its contours into the tenets of liberalism, experimentalism and empiricism, arguing that in its natural state humanity can achieve knowledge purely by experience. For Pico, the tale served the purpose of breaking the chains of determinism by demonstrating the unique ability of humans to fashion their lives themselves. For Boyle, it supported inductive philosophy, the practice of trial and error, and experimentation as the principal method for the exploration of the laws of nature. And for Locke, it exemplified the natural state as the origin of all developments, from religion to government, providing confirmation for his empiricist philosophy. For all three, the story of Ḥayy exemplified the crucial role of personal experience in making sense of the world. The story also exerted wider influence, so that the 18<sup>th</sup>-century author Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) adopted the model for his hero Robinson Crusoe, who came to discover himself on his island through countless challenges. The reception of the story of Ḥayy gave birth to the Enlightenment call for the human to 'know yourself', that eventually became the slogan of modernity.<sup>8</sup>

Relations between Islamic and Christian civilizations went beyond the exchanges of theoretical and philosophical principles. They also included the practical discipline of medical botany, laying the foundations of natural history. A significant book in this discipline was *De materia medica* by the ancient Greek physician, Pedanius Dioscorides (d. c. 90), which lists and describes the various plants possessing medical properties and gives instructions about the illnesses for which they should be used. Its major shortcoming was that the plants it discussed were all from Anatolia, where Dioscorides wrote it. Islamic botanists, such as Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī (1166-1239) in al-Andalus, worked to generalise its application and to standardise not only the medical uses of plants but also the system for identifying and classifying them.<sup>9</sup> The traditional medieval solution was to identify the name of a plant in a local ecological system and to synchronise it with the original name. Hence, manuscript editions of *De materia medica* list the names of the plants in various languages. The

<sup>8</sup> See A. Ben-Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqzan. A cross-cultural history of autodidacticism*, Baltimore, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> B. Saad and S. Omar, *Greco-Arab and Islamic herbal medicine. Traditional system, ethics, safety*, Oxford, 2011; M.J. Rogers, 'Text and illustrations. Dioscorides and the illustrated herbal in the Arab tradition', in A. Contadini (ed.), *Arab painting. Text and image in illustrated Arabic manuscripts*, Leiden, 2010, 41-9.

rise of print culture undermined this linguistic system of classification, particularly through the possibilities it allowed of reproducing images of plants and identifying them by visual means. European botanists, such as Andrea Mattioli (1501-77), published for the first time *De materia medica* with images, although these images would be useful only for those who could find the same particular species of the plant. In the light of the problem of classification, the botanist and physician Amatus Lusitanus (1511-68), a Portuguese *marrano* Jew, published his *De materia medica* without images, arguing that the most effective method to identify plants is linguistic morphology, i.e. looking for the names of the plants in various languages.<sup>10</sup> Lusitanus travelled across Europe, from one ecological system to the other, and ended up in Salonika in the Ottoman Empire. Through his travels he came to understand that images are useless, especially if one is interested in incorporating species from different ecological systems, including those from the New World.

In his particular attempt to standardize the names of plants even with historical sources, Mattioli employed the Habsburg ambassador to Istanbul, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-92), to act as a sort of collection hub for men of letters and science who served in the emperor's court, instructing him to purchase the most ancient manuscript of *De Materia medica*, the Anicia Codex, which was in the possession of the sultan's physician, Moshe Hamon.<sup>11</sup> The codex was duly brought to Vienna for inspection and comparison (it can still be found there today in the Austrian National Library). Copies such as this from the medieval Islamic world provided a stimulus to address methodological problems in botany and to create a standardized classification that eventually led to the taxonomy introduced by Carl Linnaeus (1707-78) in his *Systema naturae* of 1735. Ironically, in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century an edition of Mattioli's *De materia medica* found its way back from Christian Europe to the Ottoman Empire and was translated into Ottoman Turkish.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> On Lusitanus's medical botany, see A.M. Lopes Andrade, 'Garcia de Orta and Amato Lusitano's views on *Materia medica*. A comparative perspective', in P. Fontes da Costa (ed.), *Medicine, trade and empire*, New York, 2015, 147-66.

<sup>11</sup> Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *The life and letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Seigneur of Bousbecque, knight, imperial ambassador*, ed. C.T. Forster and F.H.B. Daniell, Cambridge, 2012, vol. 1, p. 415.

<sup>12</sup> The translation was made in 1781, at the request of the grand vizier, Kopruluzade Ahmed Pasha, an Albanian, and it is now kept in the main library of Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque, Sarajevo. I would like to thank Amila Buturović, who brought the MS to my attention.

The two civilizations covered distinct ecological systems, and thus relations between them exceeded the focus on cultural products such as manuscripts, books, and scientific theories and instruments; they also included natural objects, particular specimens from the ecological systems within each civilization. With the rise of interest in natural history in Europe, naturalists searched for unknown and newly discovered specimens not only in the New World but also in the Old World of the eastern Mediterranean. Together with Mattioli, de Busbecq was in direct contact with another scientific figure at the Habsburg court, Carolus Clusius (1526-1609), a botanist who was occupied with creating the emperor's botanical garden in Vienna. De Busbecq reported from Istanbul on the gardens of the sultan, in which a single plant dominated, the tulip.<sup>13</sup> He brought back some bulbs to Vienna, and Clusius experimented with them, but before he could make much progress he lost his job and left, carrying some bulbs with him. In 1593, he was invited to the University of Leiden, where in the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century he gave bulbs to his friends and to other botanists across northern Europe. He carried out research on tulip plants in order to discover the reasons for their mixed colours,<sup>14</sup> hypothesising that this was due to soil, water and climate. Thus began the phenomenon of tulip mania in Holland.<sup>15</sup>

In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the tulip became an emblem of European elegance and minimalism, and its origins in the Middle East were forgotten. This period, known in the Ottoman world as the Tulip Era (Lâle Devri, 1718-30), was a time when the Ottomans recognised the need to catch up with European advances, opening embassies in European capitals, and adopting European cultural, political and technological values, emblems and products. As the Ottoman elite strove to adapt to modernity, it took the tulip as an emblem of reform. Indeed, the Tulip Era brought in processes of modernisation that continued through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>16</sup> As a result, exchanges between the two civilizations took a new direction during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the Islamic world

<sup>13</sup> Ogier de Busbecq, *Life and letters*, vol. 1, pp. 24-5; F. Egmond, *The world of Carolus Clusius. Natural history in the making, 1550-1610*, New York, 2010, pp. 12, 53, 67.

<sup>14</sup> A. MacGregor, 'Carolus Clusius. Towards a cultural history of a Renaissance naturalist', *Journal of the History of Collections* 20 (2008) 144-6; *The botanical gardens at Leyden in the days of Clusius*, Leiden, 1935; B. Ogilvie, *The science of describing. Natural history in Renaissance Europe*, Chicago IL, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania. Money, honor, and knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, Chicago IL, 2007.

<sup>16</sup> C. Erimtan, *Ottomans looking west? The origins of the Tulip Age and its development in modern Turkey*, London, 2008.

came to recognise for the first time the technological and scientific superiority of Europe. Henceforth, the Islamic world adopted from Europe technologies with immediate utilitarian purposes, and at the same time completely overlooked theoretical knowledge that had no practical implications.

For reasons both cultural and religious, Islamic civilization was slow to adopt new technologies. The most conspicuous case was the reluctance to employ print technology, and continuing reliance on the old practice of copying by hand. Whereas print culture transformed European intellectual communities and gave unprecedented impetus to scientific and political revolutions, Islamic regimes and religious hierarchies fought to prevent the spread of this technology. The first printing presses were established by Sephardic Jews in Istanbul and Salonika to produce books in Hebrew, while in 1585 a Muslim leader in Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī (1572-1635), allowed Maronite monks to import a movable type press with Syriac characters from England to the St Antony Monastery at Qozhaya. In 1727, during the Tulip Era, İbrahim Müteferrika (1674-1745), a convert to Islam with Eastern European origins, opened a press in Istanbul. Immersed in philosophy, geography and astronomy, he was well-aware of the gap between the two civilizations. He published 23 books, dictionaries and histories, and also the world atlas of the Ottoman geographer Katip Çelebi (1609-57), to which he added an account of Copernicus's heliocentric system.<sup>17</sup>

Although the press could not withstand opposition from clerics, other modernising processes inaugurated in the Tulip Era continued, and they opened up Ottoman culture, borrowing from Europe mostly technological works. As a result of a series of crushing defeats in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottomans sought to reform their military, but soon realised that any improvements on the technological level would entail wider reforms, particularly in education and scientific training. The main channel of relations between the Ottoman world and Europe was now technical and scientific institutions. The Comte de Bonneval (1675-1747), a French army officer who converted to Islam, offered instruction in artillery techniques, including studies in trigonometry, meteorology and ballistics. François Baron de Tott (1733-93), another French military office,

---

<sup>17</sup> Harun Küçük, 'The Copernican rhetoric of İbrahim Müteferrika', in S. Fransen, N. Hodson and K. Enenkel (eds), *Translating early modern science*, Leiden, 2017, 258-85; see also G. Hagen, 'Katip Çelebi', in *CMR* 10, 265-70, and L. Demiri and S. Ince, 'İbrahim Müteferrika', in *CMR* 12, 154-62.

with Hungarian origins, taught mathematics and military techniques, maritime techniques and navigation. In 1795, the Imperial School of Military Engineering was opened in Istanbul, aimed at teaching science and technology to military officers, and using European text-books to instruct them.<sup>18</sup>

Even when European scientists were developing distinctive methodologies, at this time popular scientific and medical knowledge could still flow from the East to the West. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), the wife of the British ambassador to Istanbul, immersed herself in local occult medicine and practical magic that exposed her to the practice of inoculation as a means of acquiring immunity to smallpox. In a series of letters back to London, she introduced the practice to England and, during the smallpox epidemic of 1721 in London, she inoculated her own children as well as those of the Prince of Wales. In 1722, she published an essay under a pen-name, describing and explaining the practice as effective and proven.<sup>19</sup> Objections from the medical community, who were still hesitant about the practice, finally ebbed away when Edward Jenner (1749-1823) developed it into vaccination, laying the foundations for the emerging discipline of immunology.<sup>20</sup>

Although Napoleon's campaign to Egypt in 1798 was intended to block British trade routes to India, it is best known for bringing knowledge from the East to Europe. Napoleon landed in Egypt with a large military force and also a body of 160 scientists, engineers and artists whose task was to explore and study Egypt and its natural, historical and economic resources. He established in Cairo the Institut d'Égypte, whose aim was to bring the Enlightenment to Egypt, to explore the cradle of civilization before it was taken over by barbarism, and to collect, classify and systematise specimens of nature and ancient culture.

---

<sup>18</sup> V. Inal, 'The eighteenth and nineteenth century Ottoman attempts to catch up with Europe', *Middle Eastern Studies* 47 (2011) 725-56; Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, 'Modernization efforts in science, technology and industry in the Ottoman Empire (18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries)', in Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, *Science, technology and learning in the Ottoman Empire*, Aldershot, 2004, 45-67; see also F. Tóth, 'François de Tott', in *CMR* 13, 757-61.

<sup>19</sup> M.W. Montagu and R. Halsband, *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Oxford, 1965; R. Halsband, 'New light on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's contribution to inoculation', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 8 (1953) 390-405; D. Barnes, 'The public life of a woman of wit and quality. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the vogue for smallpox inoculation', *Feminist Studies* 38 (2012) 330-62; see also M. van den Boogert, 'Mary Wortley Montagu', in *CMR* 13, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', in *CMR* 13, 307-24.

<sup>20</sup> S. Riedel, 'Edward Jenner and the history of smallpox and vaccination', *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings* 18 (2005) 21-5.

The scientific part of Napoleon's expedition specialised in the two major areas of natural history and archaeology, through which ancient Egypt and its civilization were laid open in great detail. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the pyramids had captivated the minds of men of science such as the astronomer John Greaves (1602-52)<sup>21</sup> and the polymath Athanasius Kircher,<sup>22</sup> but now French scientists systematically explored archaeological sites and pioneered excavations. Others focused on copying and deciphering hieroglyphics, though it was only in 1822 that Jean-François Champollion succeeded with the help of the Rosetta Stone and its inscription in hieroglyphics, demotic and Greek.<sup>23</sup>

The French scientists collected, drew and classified varieties of plants, animals and minerals, and compiled the most complete natural description of the country, their findings being brought to print in *Description de l'Égypte*, an impressive 23-volume encyclopaedia published between 1809 and 1823.<sup>24</sup>

The presence of the French expedition in their country disseminated among Egyptians for the first time principles and techniques of modern science and technology. The Egyptian historian 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1753-1822) noted various instruments that were unknown in the Islamic world, among them 'telescopes with which they gazed at the stars and measured their scope, size, heights and conjunctions and also clocks with grading and minutes ... all instruments with wondrous forms and very precious'.<sup>25</sup> The exposure of local Egyptians to Western technology and instruments that measured or replicated nature did not only end in their adapting new knowledge. Such instruments gradually

<sup>21</sup> A. Ben-Zaken, 'Converting measurements and invoking the "linguistic Leviathan"', in A. Ben-Zaken, *Cross-cultural scientific exchanges in the eastern Mediterranean 1560-1660*, Baltimore MD, 2010, 104-38.

<sup>22</sup> D. Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus. Athanasius Kircher and the secrets of antiquity*, Chicago IL, 2015.

<sup>23</sup> J.G.H. Greppo and I.W. Stuart, *Essay on the hieroglyphic system of M. Champollion, jun. and on the advantages which it offers to sacred criticism*, New York, 1842.

<sup>24</sup> G. Nérét, *Description de l'Égypte, publiée par les ordres de Napoléon Bonaparte*, Cologne, 2007; T. Russell, *The Napoleonic survey of Egypt. Description de l'Égypte. The monuments and customs of Egypt selected engravings and texts*, Aldershot, 2001; see also T. Sarfatti, 'Les Égyptiens de l'an VI, and the creation of the *Description de l'Égypte*', Los Angeles CA, 2011 (PhD diss. University of California, Los Angeles).

<sup>25</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *Al-Jabartī's Chronicle of the first seven months of the French occupation of Egypt*, ed. Sh. Moreh, Leiden, 1975, p. 117; A. Ben-Zaken, 'Recent currents in the study of Ottoman-Egyptian historiography, with remarks about the role of the history of natural philosophy and science', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 49 (2004) 303-28; 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥasan al-Jabartī, *Napoleon in Egypt. Al-Jabartī's Chronicle of the French occupation, 1798*, trans. Sh. Moreh, Princeton NJ, 2006.

transformed the cultural values that had underlain Egyptian Islamic civilization for ages. To take a single example, the use of clocks brought with it a transformation in timekeeping that was essential not only for Muslim religious purposes but also for coordinating society.<sup>26</sup> Later, the reception of print technology in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century acted as a spur to imaginations and opened the way to the rise of Arab nationalism.

The discovery by the West of ancient Egypt served to link the Enlightenment and the ancient world directly, ironically skipping the Islamic era and even condemning it for its barbarian corroding and corrupting of the ancient world, whose true heir must be enlightened Europe and no other.<sup>27</sup> This great historical leap cut off the Islamic world from its past and from its great contribution to world civilization, leaving Muslims frustrated and tending to retreat into their own selves. Such historical misconceptions contributed in a major way to one of the great tribulations of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century.

---

<sup>26</sup> D. Stolz, 'Positioning the watch hand. 'Ulamà and the practice of mechanical time-keeping in Cairo, 1737-1874', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47 (2015) 489-510; D.A. Stolz, *The lighthouse and the observatory. Islam, science, and empire in late Ottoman Egypt*, Cambridge, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> A. Godlewska, 'Map, text and image. The mentality of enlightened conquerors. A new look at the *Description de l'Égypte*', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20 (1995) 5-28.

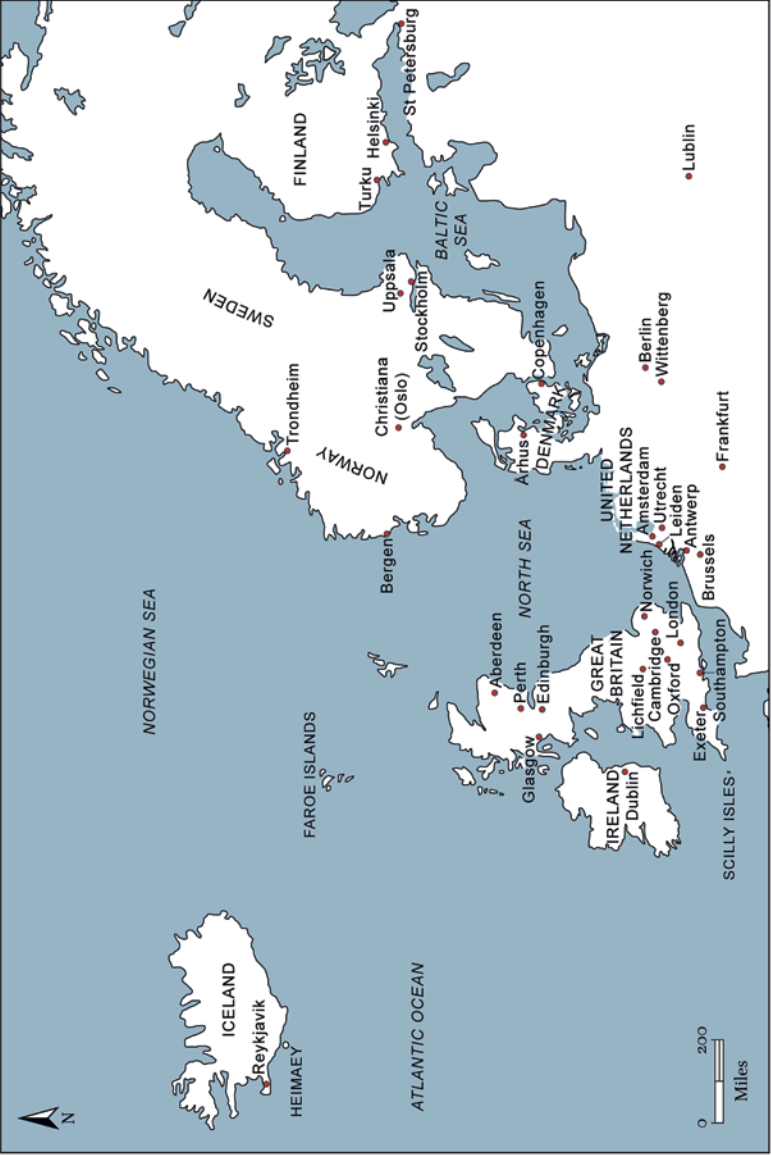




Works on Christian-Muslim relations  
1700-1800



North-west Europe



Map 1. North-west Europe

British Isles



## Edward Pococke Junior

DATE OF BIRTH    October 1648  
PLACE OF BIRTH    27 December 1726  
DATE OF DEATH    Childrey, Berkshire  
PLACE OF DEATH    Mildenhall, Wiltshire

### BIOGRAPHY

Edward Pococke was born in 1648 in Childrey, Berkshire. He was the eldest son of the renowned Arabist Edward Pococke, who left Oxford during the Civil War (1642-51) and became rector of Childrey.

The family returned to Oxford after the Restoration (1660) and the young Edward was admitted as a student at Christ Church in 1661 at the age of 12, where John Locke was his tutor. His father taught him Arabic and Hebrew. He received his BA in 1665 and his MA in 1668.

His father regarded him as his successor in the professorial chair of Arabic and Hebrew and sought to advance his cause, encouraging him to produce a Latin translation of the Arabic philosophical fable *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* by Ibn Ṭufayl. G.J. Toomer reports that 'Although the son was the nominal author, the project was conceived and largely executed by the father, who provided the Arabic manuscript, wrote the introduction, "supervised" the translation and (as a delegate of the university press) arranged for the book's publication as *Philosophus autodidactus* in 1671' ('Pococke, Edward').

Edward was ordained in 1672 and served as chaplain to Thomas Herbert, his contemporary at Christ Church, who became Earl of Pembroke. He married Catherine Davy, of Salisbury, around 1678 and they had seven children.

Edward was encouraged by his father to work on a Latin translation of an Arabic text by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġhdādī (1162-1231), *Abdollarīphī historīae Aegypti compendium*. Only 96 pages were printed, probably due to the font being required by someone else. Following this, he prepared a translation of Moses Maimonides' (1135-1204) *Mishneh Torah* Book 8.3, but abandoned it when he discovered that another edition was being prepared by someone else.

On his father's death in 1691, he was not considered for the Hebrew professorship, and another candidate was preferred for the Arabic

professorship. Abandoning any further academic aspirations, in 1692 Edward accepted the living of Mildenhall in Wiltshire, where he remained until his death in 1726.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Tanner 43, fol. 56r (Pococke senior, letter to Arthur Charlett)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Rawlinson, letters 96, fol. 247 (1746; T. Hunt, 'Proposals for printing Abdollatiphi')

C.F. de Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle, 1811, pp. 150-5

L. Twells and S. Burdy, *The lives of Dr Edward Pocock ... Dr Zachary Pearce ... Dr Thomas Newton ... and of the Rev Philip Skelton*, London, 1816, vol. 1, pp. 31-3, 277-8, 291, 296, 334-5

### *Secondary*

G.J. Toomer, art. 'Pococke, Edward', in *ODNB*

N. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 98-9

G.J. Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 4, 218-20, 272-5, 278, 289, 294-5

G.A. Russell, 'The impact of the *Philosophus autodidactus*. Pocockes, John Locke, and the Society of Friends', in G.A. Russell, *The 'Arabick' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England*, Leiden, 1994, 224-65, esp. pp. 242-3

E.S. de Beer (ed.), *The correspondence of John Locke*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1976, p. 185

Art. 'Pococke, Edward (1604-1691)', in *DNB* (on Pococke senior, but contains a section on Pococke junior)

John Chesworth

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Philosophus autodidactus

### 'Self-taught philosopher'

DATE 1671

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

From the mid-1640s, Pococke started translating passages from *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, the work of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl



(d. 1185). *Philosophus autodidactus* (in full, *Philosophus autodidactus, sive, epistola Abi Jaafar ebn Tophail de Hai ebn Yokdhan in quâ ostenditur quomodo ex inferiorum contemplatione ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit*) is in two parts. The first describes the life of Ḥayy, a baby alone on an island who, as he matures, rises to knowledge of the Supreme Being purely through the exercise of his reason and study of the natural world. The second and much shorter part shows how revelation gives knowledge similar to the rational knowledge of God attained by Ḥayy, though only when interpreted allegorically. Assāl, who finds his way to the island, shows this by seeking the hidden meaning of revelation. For the scriptural literalist Salamān, Assāl's brother whom Ḥayy and Assāl meet when they venture onto Assāl's home island, these two approaches to the knowledge of God are anathema. The tale ends with Ḥayy and Assāl leaving Salamān and returning to the isolation of Ḥayy's island, where each pursues the knowledge of the divine in his own way.

In 1671, the book appeared in Arabic with the facing Latin translation by Edward Pococke junior, the father adding a short preface about the use of patronyms in Arabic. Throughout his scholarly career, Pococke senior had emphasised the importance of Arabic thought and that the Arabs had preserved in translation the wisdom of the ancients. His son realised that *Ḥayy* was a work that was both Arab and universal, describing the religious quest in terms that were both Aristotelian and monotheistic. It was also a short text, containing an intriguing allegorical tale that included references to Arabic medicine and Sufism at the same time as examining the central challenge of scholasticism: the relationship between reason and revelation. The 'Address to the reader' by Pococke junior, at the start of the translation, mentions such Arab luminaries as al-Ghazālī, Ibn Bāja (Avenpace), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and the Sufi martyr al-Ḥallāj.

The opening passages of the text, in which Ibn Ṭufayl invokes, as all Muslim authors did, praise and prayer for the Prophet Muḥammad, were not included in the Latin translation; perhaps Pococke was eager that at the outset, the reader should not approach *Ḥayy* as an Islamic work. Actually, the tale opens on an Indian island and makes no reference to anything specifically Islamic until the very last pages (which Pococke retained), when Ibn Ṭufayl quotes Qur'anic verses to denounce the literalist interpreters of religion.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The book was republished in Latin in 1700, and translated into English from the Latin in 1674 and 1686, and from the Arabic in 1708. It was widely used in the religious debates of Restoration England, serving Quakers, Anglicans and Deists alike at the same time as John Locke alluded to it in his discussion of epistemology in *Essay on human understanding* (ed. G. Fuller et al., London, 2000, p. 64). It probably inspired the first novel in English, *Robinson Crusoe*, and was translated into many European languages. It may well have been the first Arabic text that could be thought to be part of world literature – just over a quarter of a century before the translation of the *Arabian nights*.

## PUBLICATIONS

Edward Pococke jr, *Philosophus autodidactus, sive, epistola Abi Jaafar ebn Tophail de Hai ebn Yokdhan in quâ ostenditur quomodo ex inferiorum contemplatione ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit*, Oxford, 1671; Wing A152 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Edward Pococke jr, *An account of oriental philosophy, shewing the wisdom of some renowned men of the east; and particularly, the profound wisdom of Hai Ebn Yokdan, both in natural and divine things; which he attained without converse with men, (while he lived on an island a solitary life, remote from all men from his infancy, till he arrived at such perfection). Writ originally in Arabick by Abi Jaaphar Ben Tophail; and out of the Arabick translated into Latine, by Edward Pocock, a student in Oxford. And now faithfully out of his Latine, translated into English: for a general service*, trans. George Keith, London, 1674 (English trans.); Wing A150 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Edward Pococke jr, *The history of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian prince: or, the self-taught philosopher. Written originally in the Arabick tongue by Abi Jaafar Eb'n Tophail, a philosopher by profession, and a Mahometan by religion. Wherein is demonstrated, by what steps and degrees, humane reason, improved by diligent observation and experience, may arrive to the knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the discovery of supernaturals; more especially of God, and the concernments of the other world*, trans. George Ashwell, London, 1686 (English trans.); Wing A151 (digitised version available through EEBO)

- Edward Pococke jr, *Philosophus autodidactus sive epistola Abi Jaafar, Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan: in qua ostenditur, quomodo ex inferiorum contemplatione ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit*, Oxford, 1700 (second edition); Wing A153 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Edward Pococke jr, *An account of the improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai ebn Yokdhan*, trans. Simon Ockley, London, 1708 (English trans.); A621570 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Edward Pococke jr, *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai ebn Yokdhan*, trans. S. Ockley, London, 1731<sup>2</sup> (English trans.); ESTC T092886 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Edward Pococke jr, *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai ibn Yakzan*, trans. S. Ockley, Cairo, 1905 (repr.; English trans.)
- Edward Pococke jr, *The history of Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, trans. S. Ockley, revised A.S. Fulton, London, 1929, repr. 1986 (English trans.)

## STUDIES

- S. Aravamudan, 'East-west fiction as world literature. The Hayy problem reconfigured', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 47 (2014) 195-231
- N. Matar, 'The journeys of Hayy ibn Yaqzan', *Arches Quarterly* 4 (2011) 56-62
- A. Ben-Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqzān. A cross-cultural history of autodidactism*, Baltimore MD, 2010
- Z. Elmarsafy, 'Philosophy self-taught. Reason, mysticism and the uses of Islam in the early Enlightenment', in M. Garcia-Arenal et al. (eds), *L'Islam visto de Occidente*, Genoa, 2009, 135-55
- Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*
- Russell, 'The impact of the *Philosophus autodidactus*. Pocockes, John Locke and the Society of Friends', pp. 242-3
- M. Nahas, 'A translation of Hayy B. Yaqzān by the Elder Edward Pococke (1604-1691)', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985) 88-90

Nabil Matar

# Thomas Smith

DATE OF BIRTH 3 June 1638  
PLACE OF BIRTH Barking  
DATE OF DEATH 11 May 1710  
PLACE OF DEATH Soho, London

## BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Smith was born in Barking on 3 June 1638; his father, John Smith, was a London merchant. In 1657, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, where he received his BA in 1651 and his MA in 1653, specialising in Hebrew. That year, he was appointed to a teaching post in Magdalen School, attached to Magdalen College. In 1666, he was elected probationer fellow at Magdalen and entered holy orders, becoming a full fellow the next year. In 1668, he accompanied Sir Daniel Harvey (1631-72) to Istanbul as his chaplain. He returned to Oxford after three years with a collection of Greek manuscripts. Several publications followed, including a series of Latin essays on his observations in Turkey (1672-6), which he translated into English as *Remarks upon the manners, government and religion of the Turks* (1678).

He argued for a closer relationship with the Eastern Churches, encouraging Sir Paul Rycaut (1629-1700), whom he had met in Smyrna *en route* to Istanbul, to promote this. Smith did not like much of what he saw in Turkey, and wrote pejoratively of Turks and their religion. Yet he could not but admire their devotion in prayer.

On his return to England he became dean at Magdalen in 1674, also proceeding to a BD. In 1677, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Between 1678 and 1679, he served as chaplain to Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), secretary of state at Westminster. By 1682, he was the bursar at Magdalen and in 1683 he was awarded a DD degree and became the college's vice-president. In 1684, upset when a junior fellow was appointed over him as Magdalen lecturer in divinity, he accepted the living of Standlake, Oxfordshire, which was offered as 'a sort of consolation', but he resigned after a month (Seccombe, 'Smith', p. 132).

In 1688, he lost his fellowship because he was a non-juror and decided to leave Oxford permanently. Between 1689 and his death, he mainly lived with the Cotton family in Westminster as custodian of their book and manuscript collection, which he expanded. He was briefly a canon

of Salisbury (1687-92). In his later life, he published a series of biographical sketches of leading scholars, which show that he was 'aware of the importance of Arabic' study 'in the intellectual currents of the seventeenth century' (Toomer, 'Thomas Smith', p. 247). The Cottonian collection became the basis of the British Library in 1702, when Sir John Cotton (1621-1702) bequeathed it to the nation.

Smith gained a considerable reputation for his knowledge of books and knew many literary figures. He died on 11 May 1710 in Dean Street, Soho, in a friend's home where he had recently moved from the Cottons'. He was buried on 13 May in St Anne's, Soho.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- Thomas Smithus, R. Huntingtoni D. Edwardi Bernardi vitae*, London, 1704
- Art. 'Smith [Thomas]', in H. Brougham et al. (eds), *Biographia britannica: Or, The lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, down to the present times*, London, 1747, vol. 6, pt 1, pp. 3720-3
- A. Wood and P. Bliss, *Athenae oxonienses*, London, 1813, vol. 4, 598-9 (Wood uses official records and contemporary reminiscences)
- J.R. Bloxam, *A register of the presidents, fellows ... of Saint Mary Magdalen College*, Oxford, 1863, vol. 3, pp. 182-204 (uses official College records)

#### *Secondary*

- T. Harmsen, art. 'Smith, Thomas', in *ODNB* (lists archival sources including diary, letters, mss and notes)
- G.J. Toomer, 'Thomas Smith', in G.J. Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 243-6
- T. Seccombe, art. 'Smith, Thomas', in *DNB*, vol. 53, London, 1898, pp. 131-3

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

*Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks: Together with a survey of the seven churches of Asia, as they now lie in their ruins;*

and a brief description of Constantinople, published in London in 1678, is Thomas Smith's translation 'with some enlargements' of his earlier Latin text, *Epistolae quatuor, quarum duae de moribus ac institutis Turcarum agunt, duae septem Asiae ecclesiarum et Constantinopoleos notitiam continent* (1674). This in turn was an expansion of his earlier *Epistolae duae: quarum altera de Moribus et Institutis Turcarum agit, altera septem Asiae Ecclesiarum notitiam continet* (1672), which was written in the form of letters to Sir Joseph Williamson. The Latin essays had proved popular, and he now wanted to reach a wider readership. The English *Remarks* has 336 pages of which the first 15 are unnumbered, and the last ten, also unnumbered, advertise other books printed by Moses Pitt at the Angel in St Paul's churchyard. The text begins with an imprimatur, followed by the dedication and Smith's 'To The Reader', which covers nine of the prefatory pages. Smith says that he decided to produce an English version 'to prevent the doing of it by another' (p. 3). The next page sets the tone of much of what follows:

...of the brutish ignorance and horrid barbarousness of the Turks, and of the dotages and follies of their worship, you may the more thankfully and seriously reflect upon that most blessed and merciful providence, which has cast your lot in Christendom, and in a Country especially, where the Christian Doctrine is profest in its primitive purity and integrity, and where civility and learning, and all ingenuous Arts flourish, and are in their height and perfection.

The bulk of the book presents Smith's observations during his time in Istanbul (pp. 1-203). This is followed by his description of the remains of the seven churches of Asia, the first in modern times (pp. 205-76). His brief description of Constantinople completes the text (pp. 277-328). Telling his readers on p. 1 that 'The Turks are justly branded with the character of a Barbarous Nation', he proceeds to justify this assessment on the basis of what he observed in Turkey. Nonetheless, here and there when he narrates what he saw and experienced, he strikes a more positive, at times almost contradictory, tone. He credits the Turks with 'discipline' as 'the grand support of their Empire', which he roots in 'fear of their superiors'; Montesquieu (1689-1755) identifies this as the chief principle of despotic governance. He also characterises the Turks as holding all other peoples in 'Scorn' (p. 2). This scorn, he says, is less due to their want of learning than to an 'inveterate prejudice against, and hatred of all others who are of a different Religion' (p. 4). Later, he attributes their 'arrogance' to the belief 'that they are the chosen of God, to whom he

has revealed his Will and his Law by Mahomet the Seal of the Prophets, as they stile him; that they are in the right way which leads to Paradise, while others wander in by-paths of error' (p. 34).

This hatred of and hostility towards non-Muslims becomes a persistent theme. 'Next to the belief of one God, and of Mahomed his Apostle and Messenger', they instil this attitude in their children from infancy (p. 5). Children run after Christians calling them 'hogs', which Smith personally experienced (p. 185; see also p. 6), and he reports that free Christians (those not enslaved) are liable to constant insult and humiliation. He narrates that on one occasion his party requested lodging in 'any Turkish cottage', only to be turned away. 'Upon no condition or reward', they were told, would the occupants 'suffer their Houses to be defiled by Infidels' (p. 12). Later, though, he describes another Turk who did offer them hospitality as a 'Gentleman-Turk for so he shewed himself' (pp. 36-7), and mentions at least two other incidents when he was treated with civility (pp. 59, 209). Smith also comments on the Turks' 'immortal hatred of the Persians' (p. 16) owing to the dispute about who should succeed to the leadership of the Muslim community following Muḥammad's death. In a subsequent passage describing with incredulity how kind Turks were to animals and the lengths to which they go to care for them, he contrasts this with the way the plight of Christians about to perish for want of a little charity attracts no pity (p. 105).

A Turk's religion, he says, is 'made up of folly and imposture and gross absurdities'. There is 'nothing in it to recommend it ... to the choice and acceptance of any sober and wise man ... not so much as an argument, that looks like probable, is to be expected for the defence of it'. 'It's strength', he continues, 'lies more in attacking other Religions, than establishing their own' (p. 27).

Force of arms explains the spread of Islam, although Turks do attempt proselytisation. Smith had himself been asked 'civilly enough' in the portico of St Sophia, 'why will you not turn Musulman, and be as one of us' (p. 32). Those Christians who did convert, he writes, did so either out of desperation for better treatment or from the desire to 'live in bestial sensuality'. Such renegades were paraded with freshly shaven heads on horseback through the Christian quarters 'with a Lance or Dart in his hand, to signifie they are ready to fight for and defend the Religion they have newly taken up' (pp. 41-2). Later, he says that those who do renounce Christianity 'are no longer lookt upon as strangers but pass for natives', referring to those who convert following invasion of their lands

(pp. 145-6). Muḥammad's alleged 'enthusiasm' had not prevented him from 'the use of his reason in other matters, relating to the establishment of his Religion, which was to be kept up and propagated by the joynt aids of ignorance and arms' (p. 156).

Turning to Muslim practices, Smith begins on a somewhat positive note by commenting that 'Mahomet, to better establish the fancies that were to be the peculiar characters of his Religion' pressed upon 'his followers the frequent practice of those great duties of Nature, which refer to the worship and service of God, as if in this they were to out-do both Christians and Jews' (p. 43). Describing ritual washing before prayer, however, he adds that Muslims think that, without this, God will be dead to their prayers (p. 46), which sounds pejorative. His description of the call to prayer is accurate (p. 50). He correctly states that Muslims do not pray to Muḥammad (p. 53) for 'only God is to be adored and worshipped', and that prayer is founded not only on the Qur'an but also on the 'practice and example of Mahomet ... which they call Sunna'.

Surprisingly, Smith saw 'a great semblance of devotion in their Churches', which he judged to be 'the only representation that can be made of them to their advantage' (p. 54). Observing prayer during Ramaḍān in the 'new Moschs' built by the sultan's mother (Yeni Cami, in fact rebuilt by Valid Sultan Turhan Hatice, originally constructed by Sultan Safiye, who had corresponded with Queen Elizabeth I of England), he comments on how silent, reverent and serious all worshippers were. In prayer, a 'sence of Religion influences their behaviour, and makes it extraordinary humble and reverent' (p. 54). However, he also describes an effendi, Vani, renowned for his eloquence, as enjoying a reputation at court for his 'pretensions to extraordinary piety' despite keeping 'a multitude of women'. This, though, was 'consistent ... by the practice of the Law and Country' (p. 172). Vani Effendi engaged in religious debates with Christians, including one described by John Corvel (1638-1722), consular chaplain for seven years (also spelled Covell, Covell, later vice-chancellor of Cambridge University; see Corvel's diary in J.T. Bent [ed.], *Early voyages and travels to the Orient*, London, 1893, pp. 268-72). Corvel described Vani as a 'celebrated preacher' (*Early voyages*, p. 268).

Smith refers to some well-known Christian polemical attitudes towards Islam. He says that Muḥammad borrowed much of his religion from the monk Sergius, thus 'Arianism, which Mahomet learned of the Monk Sergius' is 'one main ingredient of their Religion' (p. 53). He cites, but does not identify, Q 4:171, 'far be it from thee, O Lord, what the Christians



impute to thee; meaning, that thou hast a Son' (p. 52). He also refers to the 'Surat or chapter of the sword', which 'contains a warrant from Heaven to exterminate and destroy all who set themselves against this new Law, revealed by God to Mahomet' (p. 139). He knew that Muslim women can sue for divorce 'when they are not maintained according to the law, and according to contract' (p. 195). There is quite a lot of material not directly linked with Christian-Muslims relations, especially on the fate of captives and slaves. Commenting that most Turks possess at least one slave (p. 146), he describes their condition as 'more or less tolerable' (p. 155), depending on their owner's temper. Few have any hope of freedom, although some captives gain this when various Christian ambassadors intercede for them or if their release is specified in a treaty (p. 156). He judges that the Janissaries represent the empire's strength (p. 122), and adds that 'anciently' they were 'the sons of Christians violently taken from their parents at age six and seven ... from the provinces of Europe'. Asians, he says, anticipating later theories about racial characteristics, make the worse soldiers due to the 'pleasantness of the soil and the mildness of the air', which explains why they prefer Europeans (p. 123). Smith refers to widespread use of opium (p. 180) and to the Turks' fondness for wine overriding the precepts of religion, commenting that they wonder why Christians spoil wine by mixing it with water (p. 170).

His descriptions of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul and the seven churches of Asia do not contain material relevant to Christian-Muslim relations.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Smith's work on Turkey and Islam is relatively modest in length, and he did not return to these topics after publishing *Remarks*. He did, however, maintain an informed interest in Arabic and Oriental studies until his death, not least through his life-long friendship with fellow undergraduate Edward Bernard (1638-97), whose literary executor and biographer he became. While Smith chose Hebrew as his field, Bernard became an Arabist. Toomer says that before serving as embassy chaplain in Istanbul, Smith had started to study Arabic. This suggests that he thought Arabic might be needed for scholarly inquiry which, since he was a theologian, would presumably be through studying Islamic or Christian Arabic texts.

Hardly any English visitors to Turkey at this time learned Ottoman Turkish. The second English ambassador, Edward Barton (d. 1598), became fluent, but the next Englishman to do so was probably Robert Withers, author of *A brief discourse of the greatness of the Turkish Empire*

(1653), who spent ten years in Istanbul (Bowen, *British contributions*, p. 21). Harold Bowen suggests that the necessity of communicating through translators, who were 'usually Greek or other non-Turkish Ottoman subjects' rather than native-speaking Turks, often led to misunderstanding (*British contributions*, p. 12), because these non-Turkish translators were only too happy to depict their rulers in a negative light. Transactions ended up with Turks appearing to the English as 'haughty and suspicious', which only confirmed the disdain they already had for these foreigners (*British contributions*, p. 12). Ignorance that Turkey even had a literary legacy also served to confirm the view that it was an uncivilised country. Those who did learn Turkish, says Bowen, 'were all better disposed towards the Turks than the many who did not' (p. 12). Withers' *Brief discourse*, for example, 'exhibits hardly a trace of religious bigotry and no trace at all of a disposition to regard the Turks as "barbarous"' (*British contributions*, pp. 21-2). One reference to Withers perceptively notes that he 'had the opportunity by speaking the language to be shewed more than any Christian can at present obtain' (S.C. Lomas, 'The memoirs of Sir George Courthop', in *The Camden Miscellany*, London, 1907, vol. 11, 93-156, p. 126).

Smith's interest in Arabic rather than Turkish lends itself to the view that he anticipated 'increasing his knowledge of Oriental languages' in Turkey and that this was among the reasons he accepted the post of chaplain (Toomer, 'Thomas Smith', p. 243). Apparently, however, the upshot of his time in Turkey was that he abandoned any further interests in the study of Arabic. Toomer concludes that his time in Turkey left Smith with 'an invincible disgust for all things having to do with Muslims', adding that his 'narrow and bigoted Christian piety prevented him from treating his experience in the East as anything but a confirmation of his prejudices against the Turks' ('Thomas Smith', p. 243). Nabil Matar, in a brief reference to Smith, describes his *Remarks* as a violent attack on Islam (N. Matar, *Henry Stubbe*, New York, 2013, p. 28). Yet could there be more here than initially appears?

Beginning his book as he did with the customary reference to Turkish barbarity, Smith repeated what was almost a mandatory formula at the time. As is suggested above, this may indicate that he set out to confirm his readers' expectations that they would be disgusted by what they read, because to write anything sympathetic about Islam at this time carried risks. Smith published before the 1697 blasphemy law but lived long enough to see the impact it had on innovative thought. Those who did express admiration for Muḥammad and wrote with appreciation about

Muslim faith and practice were almost all non-Trinitarians outside the university system, nor were they employed by the Church of England. Thus, they could not be removed from office but they could be fined and imprisoned. Smith – at this stage in his career – aspired to academic preferment. It is therefore feasible that he adjusted his observations to disguise a less hostile inclination that, arguably, can be discerned in his really rather positive description of mosque prayer and in his references to acts of civility. The way in which these positive observations almost interrupt the flow of hostile commentary is remarkable if for no other reason than his own apparent unawareness that they run counter to his ‘general aspersions on the Turkish character’ (Toomer, ‘Thomas Smith’, p. 245). Much of what he wrote resembles what other English visitors to Turkey had written, but these incidents have the ring of authentic first-hand narrations. Writing about Paul Rycaut, whom Smith knew, Bowen says that when he parts company from his sources and ‘relies on his own observations ... his descriptions are accurate and vivid’ (*British contributions*, p. 22). Applying this to Smith, his paragraph on observing mosque prayer actually transports the reader into the mosque. Did Smith really dislike Islam as much as some suggest, or did he begin to appreciate certain aspects but could not bring himself to allow this to dominate his work through fear of negative consequences?

Both possibilities are based on conjecture, but the second has some claim to be considered. Awareness of the possible repercussions of expressing appreciation for Islam may have affected Simon Ockley (1678-1720), who generally avoided any discussion of doctrine, focusing instead on historical description. Smith may also have stepped aside from a career in Arabic studies out of awareness that, despite the impetus the field gained from Edward Pococke’s work, enthusiasm ‘soon declined’ (D.A. Pailin, *Attitudes to other religions*, Manchester, 1984, p. 18). A major problem was lack of manuscripts, which caused several Orientalists difficulties in their research. Also, while Smith’s original Latin essays appear to have sold well, the field of Oriental studies offered little financial reward. Ockley ended up in a debtors’ prison, while others struggled to find patrons and their books remained unsold. Describing the decline of Oriental studies in late 17<sup>th</sup>-century England, Peter Holt points out that Pococke himself ‘produced no further works of Arabic scholarship after 1663’, adding that he ‘had few worthy successors in the century that followed his death’ (*Studies in the history of the Near East*, Abingdon, 1973, pp. 21-2). Smith turned down a later invitation to return to Turkey to secure manuscripts in 1677, which could indicate lack of

interest or unwillingness to repeat the long journey. Equally, it could indicate his awareness that Arabic studies was a difficult field to pursue; his friend Bernard used Arabic in the context of scientific study but did not specialise in the field itself. Smith's clerical and academic status may have hindered him from developing his appreciation of Islam any further. He might, for example, have thought more about the role of natural religion in Islam's origin, at which he hinted. In contrast, one of the few 17<sup>th</sup>-century thinkers who dared to challenge Christian assumptions about Islam, Henry Stubbe (d. 1676), was a layman whose non-clerical status may have given him more freedom to rethink how Christians saw Islam (Matar, *Stubbe*, p. 46), though his book remained in manuscript until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which could mean that publishers were uninterested in printing it. Given that Smith was a respected Oxford scholar when he wrote his *Remarks* rather than a free-thinking, non-Trinitarian writer outside the theological and academic establishment, the fact that some more positive statements intrude into his denigration of Islam and of Turks may signal the limits that existed at this time on mainstream efforts to represent Islam and Turkey as anything other than monstrous.

This could strike a note of caution within the Christian-Muslim relations arena of textual analysis, signalling that the presence of stock hostile phrases in a text expressing hostility towards Islam may mask a writer's actual views.

Smith's book is also significant as another contribution to Turkish and Islamic studies from a consular chaplain. He takes his place in the tradition of chaplains writing on Islam and the Ottoman world that had been pioneered by Edward Pococke (d. 1691). Also of interest are several passages in the *Remarks*, such as his comment on the role played by climate and soil in determining how likely people are to make good soldiers, and his rooting of Turkish discipline in the fear of their superiors. In fact, both these anticipate the theories of Montesquieu, who thought that despotism, based on fear, was the preferred form of government for Muslim societies, while Protestants preferred republics and Catholics monarchy. Montesquieu also theorised that climate and topography (such as soil type) contributed to national characteristics. However, his *De l'esprit des lois* had not yet been published in 1747, so Smith could not have known it. Montesquieu drew on Rycaut's work in formulating his ideas, and inclusion of these ideas in Smith's *Remarks* indicates that theories about racial traits, which often ended up positing a binary difference between 'us' and 'others', so that even the quality of European soil contributes to intellectual superiority, were at least embryonic in

the 17<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, this theory also tended to explain difference less in religious and more in secular terms. As Felix Konrad observes, as the 18<sup>th</sup> century progressed this ‘new discourse of alterity’ defined ‘Islam and societies influenced by Islam ... no longer defined ... the “other” in terms of religious criteria, but in terms of secular criteria’ (F. Konrad, *From the ‘Turkish menace’ to exoticism and Orientalism. Islam as antithesis of Europe (1453–1914)?*, Mainz, 2011, pp. 29–30). Thus, Smith’s *Remarks* help bridge 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century intellectual developments.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks: Together with a survey of the seven churches of Asia, as they now lie in their ruines; and a brief description of Constantinople*, London, 1678; Wing 580:13 (digitised version available through EEBO)

#### STUDIES

Toomer, ‘Thomas Smith’

H. Bowen, *British contributions to Turkish studies*, London, 1945

Clinton Bennett

# Lancelot Addison

DATE OF BIRTH 1632  
PLACE OF BIRTH Maulds Meaburn, Westmorland, England  
DATE OF DEATH 20 April 1703  
PLACE OF DEATH Lichfield, England

## BIOGRAPHY

Lancelot Addison was the son of another Lancelot Addison, parson of a small village in northern England. The younger Lancelot attended the Queen's College, Oxford, where he obtained a BA in 1655 and an MA in 1657. A lifelong royalist, he spent the next years ministering privately to royalist families in Sussex, despite the potential danger involved. When Charles II (r. 1660-85) was restored to the throne, Addison's loyalty was rewarded with an appointment as chaplain to the British garrison at Dunkirk. However, Dunkirk was sold to the French in 1662, and in the spring of 1663 Addison's garrison was transferred to Tangier, where Addison remained as chaplain for seven years.

In 1670, Addison returned to England, married Jane Gulston, and was appointed rector in Milston, Wiltshire. He and Jane had six children, of whom three sons and one daughter survived to adulthood: Joseph (b. 1672), Gulston (b. 1673), Dorothy (b. 1674) and Lancelot (b. 1680). Joseph, the most famous member of the Addison family, became an eminent writer and politician.

In 1675, Lancelot Addison was awarded a BD and DD from the Queen's College. He was made Dean of Lichfield Cathedral in 1683, a post he held until his death. In this position, as in all positions, he continued to do all in his power to suppress Anabaptists, Quakers and other non-conformists. After Jane died in 1684, Addison married Dorothy Hacket, *née* Danvers, who survived him. When he died in 1703, he was buried at Lichfield Cathedral, where his son Joseph later erected a monument in his memory.

During his time in Tangier, Addison gained information that he would use to write four books after returning to England. The first was published in 1671, soon after his return, entitled *West Barbary. Or, a short narrative of the revolutions of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. With an account of the present customs, sacred, civil, and domestick*. This book relies extensively on information obtained in personal conversation with

Moroccan Muslims and Jews, following Addison's stated desire to be as accurate and unbiased as possible. His attitude toward Islam is unmistakably negative throughout the book, but he also acknowledges that '*it was one of the Pedantick Vanities of the Grecians to repute all Barbarous but themselves*' and that some of his readers may conclude from his descriptions of the Moroccans that '*what is commonly call'd Barbarous, is but a different Mode of Civility*' (Addison, *West Barbary*, 'To the Reader', no page number; italics original).

This book was followed in 1675 by an innovative study of Jews in Morocco entitled *The present state of the Jews. More particularly relating to those in Barbary. Wherein is contained an exact account of their customs, secular and religious*. In this text, Addison mixes his own personal observations with extensive use of European sources, especially Johannes Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica* (Horowitz, 'Civility', pp. 319-22). Though he does not approve of their beliefs, Addison's attitude towards the Moroccan Jews is generally sympathetic, and he criticises their mistreatment under the Muslim rulers of the country. The popularity of this study may be recognised not only from its quick succession of three reprints, but also from the note on the title page of Addison's later *The first state of Mahumedism* (on which see below), which identifies the book as 'by the Author of *The Present State of the Jews*'.

After *The first state of Mahumedism* (1679), Addison published *The Moores baffled* in 1681, compiling letters and other documents from his time in Tangier, along with his own commentary on the best method of governing the area.

Addison also wrote several books on topics relevant to Church life and controversies in England, such as *A modest plea for the clergy* (1677), *An introduction to the sacrament* (1682) and similar titles. W.J. Bulman's 2015 study *Anglican Enlightenment* focuses on Addison and provides by far the most thorough published account of his life.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Lancelot Addison, *A brief relation of the present state of Tangier, and of the advantages which his Excellence the Earle of Tiveot has obteyned against Gayland*, London, 1664

Lancelot Addison, *The Moores baffled. Being a discourse concerning Tanger, especially when it was under the Earl of Teviot. By which you may find what methods and government is fittest to secure that place against the Moors*, London, 1681

E. Duke, *The life of Joseph Addison, Esq. Extracted from no. III. and IV. of the General dictionary, historical and critical*, London, 1733, pp. 1-10 (lengthy paragraphs describing most of Addison's works)

A.T. Thomson, *Celebrated friendships*, London, 1861, vol. 1, pp. 229-31 (focuses on Joseph, but discusses Lancelot as well)

#### Secondary

W.J. Bulman, 'Hobbes's publisher and the political business of Enlightenment', *The Historical Journal* 59 (2016) 339-364

W.J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment. Orientalism, religion and politics in England and its empire, 1648-1715*, Cambridge, 2015

J. Hopler and K. Johnson (eds), *Before the door of God. An anthology of devotional poetry*, New Haven, 2013, pp. 188-191 (three poems by Addison)

W.J. Bulman, 'Publicity and popery on the Restoration stage. Elkanah Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* in context', *The Journal of British Studies* 51 (2012) 308-39, pp. 324-33 (discussion of *West Barbary*)

Y. Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian eyes. Ethnographic descriptions of Jews and Judaism in early modern Europe*, Oxford, 2012

A. Hamilton, art. 'Addison, Lancelot', *ODNB*

E. Horowitz, "'A different mode of civility". Lancelot Addison on the Jews of Barbary', in D. Wood (ed.), *Christianity and Judaism*, Oxford, 1992, 309-25

N.I. Matar, 'The idea of the restoration of the Jews in English Protestant thought, 1661-1701', *The Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985) 115-48

R. Beddard, 'The Commission for Ecclesiastical Promotions, 1681-84. An instrument of Tory reaction', *The Historical Journal* 10 (1967) 11-40, pp. 31-2

P. Smithers, *The life of Joseph Addison*, Oxford, 1954, 1968<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1-10

I. Abrahams, *By-paths in Hebraic bookland*, Philadelphia PA, 1920, pp. 153-9

E.M.G. Routh, *Tangier. England's lost Atlantic outpost. 1661-1684*, London, 1912 (relevant for Addison's years in Tangier)

F. Espinasse, art. 'Addison, Lancelot', *DNB*, 1885, vol. 1, pp. 131-3

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### The first state of Mahumedism. Or, an account of the author and doctrines of that imposture

DATE 1679

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

The third major book to arise from Lancelot Addison's experiences in Morocco (see above) was published in three editions with identical contents but different titles (it is also known as *The life and death of*



*Mahumed, the author of the Turkish religion. Being an account of his tribe, parents, birth, name, education, marriages, filthiness of life, Alcoran, first proselytes, wars, doctrines, miracles, advancement, &c. and The first state of Mahumedism, being an exact account of Mahomed, the author of the Turkish religion*). The vast majority of sources claim that *The first state of Mahumedism* was first published in 1678, though the date listed in the book itself is 1679; it was doubtless published early in 1679 according to the Gregorian calendar, and recorded as 1678 according to the Old Style of dating. In all three editions, the text is 136 pages long, divided into 24 chapters.

The first 15 chapters are a more or less chronological biography of Muḥammad, from his name, birth and childhood to his death, with a significant digression to discuss the Qur'an and *sunna* in chs 10 and 11. The final nine chapters focus on Muslim doctrines, Muḥammad's treatment of Christians and – especially – the factors that may have helped Muḥammad to spread his religion throughout so much of the world.

Throughout the book, Addison espouses an unabashedly pejorative view of Islam and Muḥammad, '*with whose Cursed Doctrine the greatest part of Mankind is at this very day so egregiously befooled*' ('To the reader', no page number; italics original), and the text seems at first glance to be merely one of many typical Christian polemics. On the other hand, he emphasises that the account is '*free from many ridiculous but usual Stories...which the present Mahumedans laugh at, as the malicious Inventions of the Enemies of their Prophet. And though many odde things are here set down of this Impostor, yet they are all own'd by his Sectaries, and urged as proofs of his Divine Mission*' ('The epistle dedicatory', no page number). As in Addison's other relevant works, *The first state of Mahumedism* draws on personal interactions with Muslims in Morocco, whom he consulted in order to confirm the stories that he relates about the life of Muḥammad. He also cites a number of Arabic texts by both Muslims and Christians in order to support his claim that he is avoiding the ridiculous fabrications of Western polemicists: 'I have kept my self to the Orientals in this account, and am induced to believe they are the fittest to be our *informers*, as dealing in their own story, and in such things as did most nearly concern them, and in which we may imagine their care was to deal fairly' (pp. 99-100). However, there is no indication in the text that Addison knew Arabic well enough to deal directly with the classical sources, and his references seem to come primarily from earlier Orientalist translations of Arabic texts and passages, such as J.H. Hottinger's *Historia orientalis* (1651).

In the sections of the text dealing with Islam and Christianity, Addison, like many Orientalists of his time (Matar, 'Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England', pp. 61-3), notes Muḥammad's tolerance towards other faiths, especially in the early part of his prophetic career, and cites Q 109 (p. 92). He transcribes the full text of a document purporting to be an extraordinarily generous covenant between Muḥammad and the Christians of the world, first published by Gabriel Sionita in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, along with some scholarly opinions regarding its authenticity (pp. 104-16). Though Addison refrains from taking a firm position on the document, he notes that if it is authentic it was composed in AH 4 (625), at an early point in Muḥammad's career when he still had little temporal power and could ill afford to make Christian enemies; this fact, according to Addison, leaves room for the potential legitimacy of the covenant, though its style is nothing like that of the Qur'an and it is therefore likely to be spurious. In any case, Addison claims that Muḥammad treated Christians kindly in the early years of his prophethood, and only later changed his perspective and called for their oppression. He speculates that Muḥammad's initially generous treatment of Christians was one factor in the rapid spread of Islam throughout the known world, along with his hostility towards Jews and pagans, his sensual vision of Paradise, his supposed miracles and the mysterious workings of divine providence.

Addison's primary interest throughout the text, however, is to chastise Christians of his own time for their heretical and quarrelsome attitudes, and to provide political advice to the leaders of England and its Church. He argues that Islam was able to spread, in large part, as a result of the schisms and heresies that were rampant among 7<sup>th</sup>-century Christians, including Collyridianism, Monophysitism, Nestorianism and Monothelitism; these divisions caused Muḥammad to think Christianity 'no better than a *medley of Fanaticks*' (p. 131). Cautioning against '*too much liberty*' (p. 128), Addison calls for those in power to carry out '*a timely suppression of False Teachers, though never so despicable in their first Appearance, lest (like Mahumed) they second Heresie with Force, and propagate Enthusiasm with Conquest*' ('The epistle dedicatory', no page number). Muḥammad, moreover, is similar to many of Addison's contemporary heretics: 'the nearest and most exact Transcript of this great Impostor, was the late Usurper' (p. 35), that is, Oliver Cromwell (r. 1653-8). Both because schisms lay Christianity open to conquest at the hands of false prophets and because false religions – no matter how weak they appear now – may gain power in the future, Addison calls for Christian leaders

to learn the lessons presented by the story of Muḥammad. As a final warning, he notes that Muslims now outnumber Christians six to five worldwide.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*The first state of Mahumedism* was 'one of the first and most successful anti-Islamic histories' (Champion, *Pillars of priestcraft*, p. 114) in modern England: in the face of certain nonconformist and Catholic arguments for toleration on the Islamic model, it uses the threatening history of the rise of Islam to warn Christian leaders against the dangers posed by contemporary Christian heretics, as would several other works in the decades following. *The first state* thus fits securely within a long tradition of Christian polemics against Islam, most of which have intra-Christian controversies in mind throughout their composition. Nevertheless, Addison's attempts to filter out Orientalist fabrications from his account are commendable: even if his efforts are not thorough enough to remove all stories that Muslims would find objectionable, it is significant that he endeavoured to bring the Muslim version of Muḥammad's life to European audiences.

The book proved popular in its time, selling two editions within a year and a third edition eight years later; however, its popularity and influence faded as it was superseded by similar texts such as *The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* (1697) by Humphrey Prideaux. Prideaux did not even mention Addison in his work, and *The first state* thereafter faded into relative obscurity. It was never reprinted after 1687.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Lancelot Addison, *The first state of Mahumedism. Or, an account of the author and doctrines of that imposture*, London, 1679 (first edition) STC Wing A518 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Lancelot Addison, *The life and death of Mahumed, the author of the Turkish religion. Being an account of his tribe, parents, birth, name, education, marriages, filthiness of life, Alcoran, first proselytes, wars, doctrines, miracles, advancement, &c.*, London, 1679 (content identical, despite the change in title)

Lancelot Addison, *The first state of Mahumedism. Being an exact account of Mahomed, the author of the Turkish religion*, London, 1687 STC Wing A519 (digitised version available through EEBO)

## STUDIES

Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, pp. 84-8, 237-7, 249-51 (traces the political context of all three editions)

Hamilton, 'Addison, Lancelot'

N. Matar, 'Alexander Ross and the first English translation of the Qur'ān', *The Muslim World* 88 (1998) 81-92, pp. 89-90

J.A.I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken. The Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 114-15 (emphasis on Islam's use as an intra-Christian rhetorical tool)

N.I. Matar, 'Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England', *The Seventeenth Century* 6 (1991) 57-71, pp. 58-63 (emphasis on tolerance in Islam)

P.C. Almond, *Heretic and hero. Muhammad and the Victorians*, Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 20, 57

Duke, *Life of Joseph Addison*, pp. 6-8

Joshua Mugler

# Nöel Aubert de Versé

DATE OF BIRTH    About 1642  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Le Mans, France  
DATE OF DEATH    1 May 1714  
PLACE OF DEATH    Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Nöel Aubert de Versé was born in Le Mans, France, sometime between 1642 and 1645, to a moderately wealthy Catholic family. Initially educated at an Oratory college in Le Mans, he went to Paris to pursue medical studies. Whilst there, he encountered Protestantism, and in 1662 he converted to the Reformed faith. He subsequently abandoned his medical training to enrol in the Protestant Academy of Sedan, where he encountered anti-Trinitarian and Socinian works. He was to be associated with these ideas for the rest of his life.

Moving from Sedan via Samur, he continued his studies at the Protestant Academy in Geneva, matriculating in 1665, but suspicions about his orthodoxy forced him to return to Paris. There he was accepted as a minister in the Reformed Church in 1667 and began his ministry in Burgundy, only to be suspended the following year for heresy, and expelled from the ministry in 1668.

In 1670, de Versé formally returned to Catholicism, renouncing his Protestantism in the cathedral of Le Mans. He married in 1675, but his wife died within a year and in 1680, as a result of protracted legal disputes with her mother, he was forced to flee France. Settling in Amsterdam, he worked for the Elzevier press and produced a Latin translation of Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678). During this period he also wrote of number of works, including *Le protestant pacifique* (1684), an argument for religious toleration; *L'impie convaincu* (1685), a critique of Spinoza; and *Traité de la liberté de la conscience* (1687), a defence of liberty of individual conscience. He also made a number of trips, including one to England in 1682 in order to present the Moroccan ambassador with Unitarian papers, among them the so-called *Epistle dedicatory*, a text of which he was the sole or chief author. He also sought, but failed, to gain ordination in the Church of England and, during this period he worked as a doctor of medicine.

Anger at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) contributed to his decision to openly declare his Protestantism once again in *L'avocat des protestants* (1686). Moving to Hamburg, he continued his publications, including *Le tombeau du socinianisme* (1687), ostensibly a critique of Socinianism but actually a work subtly advocating it. He then spent a year in England in 1688, meeting individuals concerned with religious toleration, probably including John Locke (Morman, *Nöel Aubert de Versé*, p. 91) before returning to France and Catholicism once again.

This final move appears to have been contingent upon his writing a refutation of his previous theological positions entitled *L'anti-Socinien* (1692), which also resulted in his obtaining a significant pension. He avoided controversy in later life and published little else before his death in Paris in 1714, other than a revised work on the Book of Revelation, *La clef de l'Apocalypse* (1703).

#### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

##### *Primary*

- MS Paris, Archives nationales – G8220, fol. 648, p. 695r (death certificate)  
 Noël Aubert de Versé, *Manifeste de Maître Noël Aubert de Versé*, Leiden, 1687  
 F.H. Blackburne Daniell (ed.), *Calendar of state papers domestic. Charles II, 1682*, London, 1932, p. 391 (brief note about de Versé's visit to England in 1682)

##### *Secondary*

- M. Mulsow, 'The "new Socinians". Intertextuality and cultural exchange in late Socinianism', in M. Mulsow and J. Rohls (eds), *Socinianism and Arminianism. Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and cultural exchange in seventeenth-century Europe*, Leiden, 2005, 49-78, pp. 57-61  
 P.J. Morman, 'Rationalism in defense of Christianity. The apologetics of Noël Aubert de Versé', in Maria C. Pitassi (ed.), *Apologétique 1680-1740. Sauvetage ou naufrage de la theologie?*, Geneva, 1991, 41-57  
 P.J. Morman, *Noël Aubert de Versé. A study in the concept of toleration*, Lewiston NY, 1987  
 E.R. Briggs, 'A wandering Huguenot scholar. Noël Aubert de Versé', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 21 (1970) 455-63  
 P. Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la Révolution*, 1954, vol. 1, pp. 81-9

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Epistle dedicatory

DATE 1682

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

The *Epistle dedicatory* (in full, *An epistle dedicatory to his illustrious Excellency Ameth Ben Ameth Ambassador of ye mighty emperor of Fez and Morocco to Charles the 2nd, King of Great Brittain*) is a manuscript letter in English. It forms the preface to a collection of three Latin papers that Noël Aubert de Versé attempted to deliver on behalf of Unitarians in England to the Moroccan ambassador, Mohammed ben Haddu, as he was about to leave London sometime in August 1682 (MS Tenisoniani 673, fol. 3r). When he discovered that the papers concerned matters of religion, the ambassador refused to accept them, and the original materials found their way to the Lambeth Palace Library. Unitarians circulated copies of the *Epistle* in the following decades, but the first printed edition that we possess only appeared in the preface to the second edition of Charles Leslie's *The Socinian controversy discuss'd* (1708), a work by the prolific Anglican controversialist. There are no substantive differences between the Lambeth Palace manuscript and Leslie's edition. The *Epistle dedicatory* is not a long work; it runs to only five pages in the Lambeth manuscript and ten in Leslie's published version.

The works the *Epistle dedicatory* accompanied were:

1. *Epistola Ameth Benandala Mahumetani* (MS Tenisoniani 673, fols 7r-25r), an excerpt from an earlier work of Muslim apologetics by Muhammad Alguazir, a Morisco originally from Castile, entitled *Apologia contra la ley Cristiana*, which was itself dependent on the apologetic works of Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 1490), the influential North African Ash'arite theologian (Wiegers, 'Andalusi heritage', p. 113). The *Epistola* was written in 1612 in response to questions posed to the Muslim ambassador to the Low Countries, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh, by the Protestant Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and his Catholic nephew, Emmanuel, Prince of Portugal. A Latin version of this was published in Rostock in 1705 by Zacharias Grapius, and Leslie says that a print version of it was in circulation in London in 1708 (Leslie, *Socinian controversy discuss'd*, p. i). We have a handwritten English translation of this document dating from 1701, which forms part of a manuscript that includes Henry Stubbe's *The*

*originall & progress of Mahometanism* (1673) (MS London, University of London, Senate House Library – 537).

2. *Animadversiones in praecedentem epistolam* (MS Tenisoniani 673, fols 27r-45r), which consists of a series of brief responses to the preceding treatise, from a Christian, anti-Trinitarian perspective.

3. *Theognis Irenaeus Christiano lectori salutem* (MS Tenisoniani 673, fols 46r-60v), which takes the form of a sustained anti-Trinitarian polemic, written under the name of an Arian bishop of Nicaea from the fourth century. The author claims it was commissioned to be a preface to a commentary on the *Epistola Ameth Benandala Mahumetani* that was to be published but of which there is no trace (MS Tenisoniani 673, fol. 46r).

Although the *Epistle dedicatory* claims to have been written by ‘two single Philosophers’, ‘orators of the Unitarians’, who are not named in the document (Leslie, *Socinian controversy discuss’d*, pp. ix, xii; references in the following description of the *Epistle* are to this edition), there are good grounds for assuming, as most scholars do, that Noël Aubert de Versé was either the sole or chief author of this text. The reasons for holding this opinion are:

1. The original manuscript includes a note by Thomas Tenison (a future archbishop of Canterbury), stating that ‘The agent of ye Socinians was Monsieur de Verzé’.

2. A letter from Edward Everard to Sir Leoline Jenkins, dated 12 September 1682, refers to ‘M. Aubert, the French minister who writ the Socinian papers directed to the Morocco ambassador’ (Blackburne Daniell, *Calendar of state papers domestic*, p. 391).

3. The author of *Animadversiones*, the second of the Latin works included with the *Epistle*, shows knowledge of the opinions of Christoph Sand, an Arian scholar based in Amsterdam who had died a couple of years earlier (MS Tenisoniani 673, fol. 33r). We know that de Versé was a close acquaintance of Sand and worked with him at the Elzevier press in Amsterdam while translating Richard Simon’s *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*.

4. De Versé was not only a person known to have Socinian tendencies and more than capable of co-authoring the *Epistle* and the two accompanying Christian anti-Trinitarian treatises, but he was also in straitened circumstances at the time and had gained a reputation as a theological gun for hire, open to being commissioned to write such a piece. As the famous Huguenot philosopher Pierre Bayle rather uncharitably remarked in 1684, de Versé was someone who ‘writes for bread, who has



no Religion, and writes as well for, as against, any subject' (*Oeuvres*, vol. 1, p. 143, letter 96).

The other 'orator of the Unitarians' is harder to identify. The pseudonym used in the final treatise is similar to one used the year before by a radical Reformed theologian, Jean Le Clerc (Mulsow, "New Socinians", p. 59), a figure who was regularly accused of Socinian sympathies, and a known associate of de Versé, but Le Clerc was not in England at this time. Nonetheless, whoever this other 'orator' might have been, the fact that the first person singular is used in the text on a number of occasions in preference to the more common plural (e.g. pp. iv, vii, viii, ix), indicates that one author was dominant in the composition of the letter, and the scholarly consensus is that this was most probably de Versé.

The *Epistle* is concerned with the relationship of Unitarian Christianity to Islam. In addition to explaining why the three accompanying treatises are being presented to the ambassador, it describes the state and nature of Unitarian Christianity, emphasises the commonalities between Islam and Unitarian Christianity over and against Trinitarian Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, and ultimately claims that Unitarian Christianity is superior to Islam which, in the letter's view, contains a number of defects that the writers offer to correct.

The text begins by noting the impressive reception the ambassador received on his visit, but declares that no address or gift he has so far received is as important as the papers the authors are presenting to him (p. iii), before stating that they are fellow followers of the 'Religion of an one only Godhead' and that their sect is in agreement with the ambassador over many 'great verities' in opposition to other Christians. The hostility of the latter has caused them to appear before him incognito (pp. iv, ix).

The authors then identify themselves as belonging to 'the Sect of Christians called Unitarians' (p. v) and congratulate the ambassador and his retinue for being 'fellow Worshippers of that sole Supreme Deity of the Almighty Father and Creator', and for preserving, unlike Christians in the 'Western part of the world', 'the excellent Knowledge of that Truth touching a belief on an only Sovereign God (who hath no distinction or Plurality in Persons)' (p. v). The ambassador is informed of a letter written some years earlier by another Moroccan ambassador in answer to some queries about his religion from two Christian princes, one Protestant and one Catholic, the Latin text of which they have included as the second document in their collection (the *Epistola Ameth Benandala*

*Mahumetani*). This letter both expounds Islamic beliefs and criticises the failings of the faith of Catholics and Protestants. However, the authors complain that 'such errors, we Unitarians do abhor as well as the Mahumetans, in which we must agree in such even against our fellow Christians' (pp. vi, xii), and so, in order that the ambassador is properly informed, they have written two further treatises, the aims of which they summarise as:

First ... to set forth ... in what points all Christians do generally agree with the Mahometans in matters of religion. 2ndly In what things Christians Universally disagree from you with the reasons for the same. 3rdly. In what cases you do justly dissent from the Roman Catholicks. 4thly. The Protestant Christians do joyn with you in your condemning of the Romish errors, and theirs and our reasons for the same. 5thly. [...] in what Articles, we the Unitarian Christians do solely concur with you Mahumetans [...] [I]n the 6th place we as your nearest Fellow Champions for those Truths [...] undertake to discover unto you [...] those weak places that are found in the platform of your Religion; and [...] offer to your Consideration some Materials to repair them. (pp. vi-vii)

The final point is especially distinctive, as the authors assert that some parts of the Qur'an do not cohere with the rest of it, or with the 'undoubted sayings of the Prophet, nor with the Gospel of Christ (whereof Mahamet wou'd have himself be but a preacher)' and that such 'contradictions' were 'Foisted into the scattered papers found after Mahomet's Death of which in truth, the Alcoran was made up' (p. viii). This provides the only plausible explanation for the 'many and frequent repugnancies, as are to be seen in those Writings and Laws that are nowadays given out under his name' (p. viii). The writers then claim that they will set out 'by whom and in what time such Alterations were made in the first setting out of the Alcoran' in the additional papers submitted to the ambassador, although they have ten times more material on the subject than they are able to present him on this occasion (p. viii).

Claiming to speak on behalf of 'a great and considerable People' (p. ix), the authors then proceed to give a brief account of the antiquity and extent of the 'Noble Sect' of Unitarians, noting that 'Worshippers of an one only God' (p. ix) began with Adam and included the Patriarchs, the Jews and all the primitive Christians, and include 'the true and purest Christians' today, Christians who are distinguished from 'those backsliding Christians named Trinitarians' (p. ix). Paul of Samosata, Marcellus of Ancyra, Eustatius of Antioch and Arius of Alexandria are described

as openly refuting Trinitarianism, and Photinus of Sirmium and Nestorius are included too, with the authors claiming that ‘they agreed in that main point of the Undistinguish’d Sovereign Unity’ (p. x), as did other Western and Eastern Christians for the century after Constantine (p. x). Bonosus, and Elipandus and other Spanish bishops and Christians from the 8<sup>th</sup> century are also named as opposing the Trinity before the writers observe that, ‘of late years, in Europe, stood up the pious and noble Personage Faustus Socinus and his Polonian Association of Learned Personages’ (p. xi) who have written many works against the doctrine.

The authors then describe the extent of Unitarian belief, claiming that it is held by all Christians in ‘Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia’ as well as others, including the St Thomas Christians of India and the Christians of Nubia, which together ‘far exceed the Trinity-asserting Christians’ (p. xi), before adding ‘And why shou’d I forget to add you Mahometans, who also consent with us in the Belief and Worship of an One only Supreme Deity?’ (p. xi). However, the authors explain, ‘in the West and North we are not so numerous, by reason of the inhumanity of the clergy’ (p.xi); there are many in Poland, Hungary, Holland and England, but the threat of persecution means that they cannot be open (p. xii).

The *Epistle* ends with the offer of the Unitarians to travel to Morocco to discuss the papers with the ‘learned of your Country’, although they are cautious about such a journey, anxious about what would happen to ‘such as would object any thing against your Alcoran be it never so modestly and lovingly propos’d’ (p. xiii). The writers plead with the ambassador to make the documents known to ‘the fittest Persons of your Countrymen’ (p. xiii) – even though they contain only ‘a Scantling of what the more learn’d of our Unitarian Brethren cou’d say’ (p. xiii), and to become an ambassador ‘in the Cause and the Religion of the Supreme Monarch of the World’ (p. xiii).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Epistle dedicatory* is a significant contribution to Christian-Muslim relations for a number of substantive reasons.

First, it is by far the clearest statement of doctrinal affinity between any one branch of Christianity and Islam written in English in the early modern period. Although the letter is critical of aspects of Islam, including remarks about interpolations in the Qur’an that its authors knew would be unacceptable to Muslim recipients (pp. viii, xiii), Muslims are included with Christian churches that ‘maintain with us, that Faith of One Sovereign God’ (p. ix), and are described as ‘Fellow Champions’ of

truth (p. vii) with whom the Unitarian Christians have more in common than with Trinitarians (pp. iv-vii, xi, xii).

Second, the text indicates a high estimation of Muḥammad, even if it is one that would not find favour with Muslims. He is not only someone raised up by God as a 'Scourge of those idolizing Christians' (p. vii) – a common trope in Christian interpretations of Muḥammad since the emergence of Islam – but is also recognised as a 'Preacher' of the 'Gospel of Christ' (pp. vii-viii). Indeed, the authors' high estimation of Muḥammad provides grounds for their unusual theory of interpolation: as a man of 'judgement that had proved itself in other things so conspicuously', Muḥammad could not be responsible for the 'many and frequent repugnancies, as are to be seen in those Writings and Laws that are nowadays giv'n out under his name' (p. viii).

Third, the *Epistle* is notable for its innovative, critical approach to the text of the Qur'an, and its claim that the authors have discovered 'by whom, and at what time such Alterations were made in the first setting out of the Alcoran' (p. viii). Their claim to have done this by, amongst other things, identifying material 'not cohering with the Fashion of the rest of the Alcoran building; nor with the undoubted sayings of your Prophet' (p. vii) is reminiscent of the early historical-critical approaches to the Bible that were emerging at the time, notably Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), which identified changes in the composition of the Hebrew Bible on similar grounds, and a Latin translation of which by de Versé had been published in 1681.

Unfortunately, the accompanying papers contain little evidence of what this approach to the Qur'an meant in practice. The authors of the *Epistle* claimed that they had 'ten times more to urge on the Same subject than we present' (p. viii), but in the papers they submitted only one verse is actually identified as an interpolation and discussed in any detail – Q 4.157, which concerns the claim that Jesus only appeared to have been crucified (MS Tenisoniani 673, fol. 36r-v). Interestingly, this is a text that Christoph Sand, a colleague of de Versé at Elzevier, had also examined in his *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae* (Cologne, 1669, vol. 2, pp. 350ff.), albeit to rather different ends.

The *Epistle* was not exceptional in stating that the Qur'an contained interpolations; Willem Hendrik Vorst had suggested as much some decades earlier (Mulsow, 'Socinianism' p. 571). Indeed, a strand in anti-Muslim polemic that went back to the pseudonymous Christian author 'Abd al-Masiḥ al-Kindī in the 9<sup>th</sup> century had always asserted that

Muḥammad was not the sole source of material found in the Qur'an, and this belief was widely accepted in early modern England (e.g. Paul Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, 1678, p. 97). However, the *Epistle dedicatory* is distinctive in placing a claim about interpolation in a letter addressed to a Muslim. Although the *Epistle* does not explain *why* such interpolations were made, in the second Latin treatise accompanying it, the *Animadversiones*, we are told that changes were brought about by some Jews seeking to sow dissent between Christians and followers of Muḥammad (MS Tenisoniani 673, fol. 36r-v; Mulsow, 'Socinianism', pp. 572–6).

Fourth, the *Epistle* is significant because it is the first time that we see Islam as foundational in the genesis of a major Christian denomination and the formation of its emergent identity. The *Epistle* has been called the 'Primary document of English Unitarianism' by the influential Unitarian historiographer Alexander Gordon ('Primary document', p. 464) and, although it is not the case that it is the first time the word 'Unitarian' was used in English (it appeared almost a decade earlier in H. Hedworth, *Controversy ended*, London, 1673, p. 53), it represents a significant moment in the development of Unitarian self-consciousness, a key point in the movement's transition from the 'sporadic Antrinitarianism' of preceding years to becoming a 'comprehensive school of thought' (Gordon, *Heads of English Unitarian history*, p. 13). Clearly Islam was in some sense central to this transformation.

Fifth, the *Epistle* is important because it provides evidence of the rhetorical weight of Islam in intra-Christian polemics. Although the authors of the *Epistle* saw the close affinity between Unitarianism and Islam as something to be welcomed, other Christians saw the relationship advocated by the letter as a means of stigmatising the nascent movement. Leslie's publication of it in 1708 was motivated by just such a desire to attack Unitarianism, but its use in anti-Unitarian polemics began in earnest as Unitarianism established itself as a distinct denomination, in the years immediately after the first chapel explicitly labelled 'Unitarian' opened in London in 1774. By 1784, the *Epistle* was employed to demonstrate that Unitarians were a fifth column that would soon recognise Muḥammad's prophethood (Horsley, *Letters*, p. 151), repeating Leslie's claim at the beginning of the century that Unitarians were 'Scouts amongst us of Mahomet' (*Socinian controversy discuss'd*, p. xxx), and drawing upon the common trope that Islam was a political, as much as a religious, threat.

The contents of the *Epistle* continued to be used by opponents of Unitarianism in both England and the United States to argue that Unitarians were indistinguishable from Muslims, or indeed, worse than Muslims (Whitaker, *Origin of Arianism disclosed*, pp. 399-400; Wilkins, *The trial of the Unitarians*, p. 4), that they could not be judged Christians (T.C.S., 'Letter to a Mahometan ambassador'; Feltus, *Historical documents*). The *Epistle* and its association of Unitarianism with Islam was sometimes used to the material disadvantage of the former. For example, it was quoted in evidence in the House of Lords to demonstrate that Unitarians should be debarred from being either the trustees or beneficiaries of Lady Hewley's charities, a significant source of assistance to dissenters (Gurney and Gurney, *Lady Hewley's charities*, pp. 171-3). The text dogged a number of Unitarian initiatives: a Unitarian version of the New Testament published by Thomas Belsham in 1808 was referred to as the 'gospel of Mohammed' and likened to the Qur'an, and the address to the Moroccan ambassador was used to justify speaking about it in such a manner (Anon., 'Article XV', p. 72; Norris, *A practical exposition*, p. 232).

Sixth, the degree to which Unitarians accepted and rejected the *Epistle* is a useful indicator of how assessments of Islam could change over time within a liberal, non-creedal, Christian church. Unitarians initially distanced themselves from the text, arguing it was not the work of individuals who represented their movement, keen to note that, unlike Muslims, they believed, with other Christians, in the Apostles' Creed, the divine Sonship of Jesus, and his crucifixion and resurrection, and rejected the notion that the laws of Muḥammad had superseded those of Christ (Emlyn, *An examination of Mr. Leslie's last dialogue*, pp. 20-1). Priestley even went so far as to claim that the *Epistle* was probably an invention of Leslie himself (*Letters to Dr. Horsley*, p. 163), and this accusation recurs in a number of subsequent Unitarian publications, despite the original manuscript having been discovered in Lambeth Palace Library (Horsley, *Tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley*, pp. 272-4). Others claimed that those who originally wrote the epistle were deliberately trying to harm the movement: 'It seems far less probable that this was an emissary of Unitarians, of any sort, to get them into repute abroad, than an orthodox emissary to bring them into discredit at home' (Anon., 'Article XIII', p. 410; Aspland, *A plea for Unitarian dissenters*, pp. 66-8).

However, from the outset some Unitarians acknowledged that the *Epistle* was genuine and that there was nothing in it of which to be ashamed (Emlyn, *An examination of Mr. Leslie's last dialogue*, p. 21) and

this was continued throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Rutt, *Theological and miscellaneous works of Joseph Priestley*, vol. 18, p. 248). This more positive interpretation of the *Epistle* was clearly shared by Gordon when, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he brought attention to it once again after some decades of neglect by both Unitarians and their critics, and identified it as the ‘primary document’ of Unitarianism. A century later, in a popular introduction to Unitarianism, we find George Chryssides likewise viewing the *Epistle* in a positive light, although for a rather different reason, seeing it as an example of how ‘the concept of the oneness of God has typically enabled Unitarians to find important points of contact with Jews and Muslims and opened doors considerably in advance of the more recent inter-faith dialogue movements within mainstream Christianity’ (Chryssides, *Elements*, p. 68).

#### PUBLICATIONS

- MS London, Lambeth Palace Library – Tenisoniani 673, *Systema Theologiae Socinianae*, fols 4r-6r (1682; original MS of the *Epistle dedicatory*)
- MS London, University of London, Senate House Library – 537 (probably 1701; English translation of the *Epistola Ameth Benandala Mahumetani*)
- Zacharius Grapius, *Ahmet Ben-Abdala Mohammedani Epistola Theologica de Articulis Quibusdam Fidei*, Rostock, 1705 (first printed edition of the *Epistola Ameth Benandala Mahumetani*); 4<sup>o</sup> I 26 Th.BS. (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- Charles Leslie, *The Socinian controversy discuss'd*, London, 1708<sup>2</sup>, pp. iii-xiii (first printed edition of the *Epistle dedicatory*); ESTC T105899 (digitised version available through ECCO)

#### STUDIES

- J.J. Meggitt, ‘Early Unitarians and Islam. Revisiting a “primary document”’, in D. Steers (ed.), *Unitarian theology II*, London, 2018, 48-59
- M. Mulsow, ‘Socinianism, Islam and the radical uses of Arabic scholarship’, *Al-Qanṭara* 31 (2010) 549-86
- Mulsow, “New Socinians”
- G. Chryssides, *The elements of Unitarianism*, Shaftesbury, 1998
- G. Wiegers, ‘Al-Andalusi heritage in the Maghreb. The polemical work of Muhammad Alguazir (fl. 1610)’, in Z. Otto, G. van Gelder and E. de Moor (eds), *Poetry, politics, and polemics. Cultural transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, Amsterdam, 1996, 107-32

- J.A.I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken. The Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 110-13
- Blackburne Daniell, *Calendar of state papers domestic*
- A. Gordon, *Heads of English Unitarian history*, London, 1895
- A. Gordon, 'The primary document of English Unitarianism', *Christian Life* 18 (1892) 464-5, 476-7, 523-4
- W.B. Gurney and J. Gurney (eds), *Lady Hewley's charities. A full report of the hearing in the House of Lords*, London, 1839
- J.T. Rutt (ed.), *The theological and miscellaneous works of Joseph Priestley*, vol. 18, London, 1831
- G. Wilkins, *The trial of the Unitarians, for a libel on the Christian religion. The King versus Joseph Priestley, Theophilus Lindsey, and Henry Belsham*, London, 1830
- Anon., 'Article XIII: Unitarianism and Mahometanism', *The Christian Disciple and Theological Review* 2 (1821) 393-410
- H.J. Feltus, *Historical documents and critical remarks on Unitarianism and Mahometanism, in reply to Mr. H. D. Sewall*, New York, 1820
- R. Aspland, *A plea for Unitarian dissenters*, London, 1815<sup>2</sup>
- T.C.S., 'Letter to a Mahometan ambassador', *The Panoplist, and Missionary Magazine* 11 (1815) 72-8
- H.H. Norris, *A practical exposition of the tendency and proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London, 1814
- Anon., 'Article XV: Letter from the Levant by John Galt', *The British Critic* 1 (1814) 66-79
- J. Whitaker, *The origin of Arianism disclosed*, London, 1791
- S. Horsley, *Tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley upon the historical question of the belief of the first ages in Our Lord's divinity*, Gloucester, 1789
- S. Horsley, *Letters from the Archdeacon of Saint Albans, in reply to Dr. Priestley*, London, 1784
- J. Priestley, *Letters to Dr. Horsley, Part II. Containing farther evidence that the primitive Christian church was unitarian*, Birmingham, 1784
- P. Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses de M. Pierre Bayle*, La Haye, 1737
- T. Emlyn, *An examination of Mr. Leslie's last dialogue, relating to the satisfaction of Jesus Christ*, London, 1708

Justin Meggitt



# Humphrey Prideaux

DATE OF BIRTH 3 May 1648  
PLACE OF BIRTH Padstow, Cornwall  
DATE OF DEATH 1 November 1724  
PLACE OF DEATH Norwich, England

## BIOGRAPHY

Humphrey Prideaux was born in Padstow, Cornwall, and at the age of 16 went to Westminster School. There, he studied under Richard Busby, who had introduced Oriental languages to the curriculum. Four years later, he was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford, and obtained a BA in 1672, MA in 1675, and BD in 1682 (Prideaux, *The life*, p. 10). One of his first publications was the catalogue of the Arundel and Selden marbles, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1676), which 'gained him great reputation', as his biographer wrote (Prideaux, *The life*, p. 5), but which was later described as being 'wonderfully defective' (Quehen, 'Humphrey Prideaux'). Studying under Edward Pococke at Oxford, he mastered Hebrew and in 1679 he published Moses Maimonides' *De jure pauperis et peregrini* in Hebrew with a Latin translation and notes. Although Prideaux was an excellent Hebraist, he found Orientalist subjects nauseating (*Letters*, p. 147); in fact, he turned down the chair of Hebrew at Oxford after the death of Pococke in 1691.

In 1685, Prideaux left Oxford, married, and settled in the rectory of Saham Toney in Norfolk. A fervent anti-Catholic, he supported the Revolution of 1688 and took the oaths. A year later, he unsuccessfully advocated for changes to the Book of Common Prayer in order to make some allowance for the Dissenters. In 1691, he published *The case of clandestine marriages* after coming to realise how the Toleration Act had been misunderstood and had led some 'into downe right atheisme' (Prideaux, *Letters*, p. 154). Reacting to the rise in deistic and anti-Trinitarian ideas, he wrote *A letter to the deists* in 1696, followed by his most widely known book attacking both deism and Islam, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet*. Prideaux relied on the biblical scholarship of Pococke and James Ussher – he was not original in his thinking – but, unlike them, he directed his writings to the general English public and avoided quotations in classical or Oriental languages. Perhaps that is

why the French historian of the Prophet Muḥammad, Henri Boulainvilliers, called Prideaux 'a very judicious historian' (quoted in Haykin, "For those who spurn", p. 187).

In 1702, Prideaux became dean of Norwich Cathedral, but by 1710 his poor health prevented him from preaching. Still, as his letters to his life-long correspondent John Ellis show, he continued to be active in the affairs of Norwich and of the Church, and in 1716 he published a major work, *The Old and New Testament connected, in the history of the Jews*. He died in 1724 and was buried in the nave of the cathedral.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Humphrey Prideaux, *The life of the Reverend Humphrey Prideaux, D. D. Dean of Norwich. With several tracts and letters of his, upon various subjects*, London, 1748 (ascribed to Thomas Birch)

Humphrey Prideaux, *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, sometime dean of Norwich to John Ellis*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, London, 1875

#### *Secondary*

M.A.G. Haykin, "For those who spurn the sprinkled blood!" Praying with Charles Wesley for Muslims', *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 49 (2007) 186-98

H. de Quehen, art. 'Humphrey Prideaux', in *ODNB*

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet

DATE 1697

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

By the 1690s, deists and anti-Trinitarians had published numerous writings in which they rejected revealed religion, life after death, and the 'superstition' of a Deity of reward and punishment. In 1696, having become apprehensive of people's indifference to religion (Allison, *The crescent obscured*, pp. 37-9), Prideaux published anonymously *A letter to the deists*, a treatise of 154 pages in which he asserted to his 'Gentlemen' readers that if deists were, as their name suggested, believers in a deity/god, then he supported them, adding that 'A deist (for any thing that the

word imports) may be either Jew or Christian, Philosopher or Turk; Nay, indeed, all Religionists whatsoever must necessarily be Deists' (Prideaux, *A letter*, p. 8; references to the *Letter* that follow are to Wing P3414).

Prideaux wrote in a conversational style, often presenting his arguments in the form of answers to deist objections. As he explained, his attack was specifically aimed at atheists, who in their rejection of God were not unlike the natives of 'Africa and America' (p. 41), and others who believed religion to be 'useless' (p. 79). For Prideaux, there could be no civil government without morality, and no morality without revealed religion; without religion, there would be an appalling Hobbesian state of nature. While rejecting that state, Prideaux also rejected John Locke's argument in the *Essay on human understanding* (the title mentioned in a footnote but without the author's name) that 'Morality [was] capable of [natural] Demonstration' (p. 136). After recalling classical authors such as Socrates, Cicero and others who had affirmed the existence of supernatural powers, Prideaux concluded that 'The principles of Deism [by which he meant Christianity] are the Eternal and Unalterable Law of God to all Men' (p. 144).

It may well be that the deists with whom Prideaux was controverting made references to Islam, arguing that, if Muslims were deists because they believed in God and in the 'Eternal and Unalterable Law of God', and since the Christian consensus was that Islam was a false religion, so, the deists concluded, was Christianity. Promptly, Prideaux wrote a rebuttal, but he had a hard time finding a printer for it: as he complained to John Ellis on 14 May 1697, the manuscript lay a 'year in towne [London] before any bookseller would venture on it' (*Letters*, p. 185). But in 'Easter term' of that year, the first edition of *The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* appeared in print (Wing P3416). It must have been a hasty undertaking by the printer because it had a second title page that mentioned a second text: *A discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from the charge; offered to the consideration of the deists of the present age*. This second text was not included in the book even though the last page of *The true nature* was followed by another title page of *A letter to the deists: shewing that the gospel of Jesus Christ is no imposture, but the sacred truth of God*. This latter title page is different from the opening one, suggesting that the printer had prepared the treatise against the deists as a separate publication. Actually, two other editions of *A letter* appeared at the same time by the same printer and with the same contents and pagination (Wing P3415 and Wing [2nd

edition] P3412A). Soon after, the two texts were printed together as 'The second edition corrected': *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed* (Wing P3417).

The book was well received (Prideaux, *The life*, p. 98). In a letter to Ellis written on 28 May 1697, Prideaux informed him that he had written a treatise about the Prophet Muḥammad and the first Islamic dynasties, from 602 to 937, 'the systeme of the Mahometan divinity, wch is ye oldest stuffe that I believe you ever saw; but to ad this will double ye bulk of ye book, wch will not be for ye booksellers profit'. Perhaps, he continued, he would be able to include it in the third edition, because 'the life of Mahomet I find is a novelty that makes ye booke acceptable' (*Letters*, p. 187). The third edition, which consisted of both *The true nature* and *A discourse*, appeared in 1698 (Wing P 3418), but it did not include the treatise on the 'systeme'.

In *The true nature*, Prideaux shows that Islam, not Christianity, is an 'Imposture', and in the *Discourse*, he shows the falsity of deism. The book attacks Muḥammad, who is the global adversary, and the deists, who are the domestic adversary. Throughout, Prideaux is vitriolic in his language about the Prophet: the word 'Impostor' frequently replaces the name Muḥammad, along with 'Illiterate Barbarian' (pp. 36, 38, 75); 'Old Lecher' (pp. 10, 143); 'crafty impostor' (p. 115); a man of 'brutish appetite' (p. 149) and others. Even when he seems to praise Muḥammad for eradicating idolatry from among the 'Arabians', Prideaux could not but describe Islam as an 'impious superstition' (p. 135) derived from the 'Bible of the Mahometans' which had been compiled like 'Homer's Rhapsodies' (p. 21). He repeated what many English writers believed, that Muḥammad had concocted the new religion with the help of Abdallah the Jew and Sergius the Nestorian monk – although to show his erudition, Prideaux wrote that he had never come across the monk's name other than in its Arabic form, Bahira. For Prideaux, the Qur'an was a book of tales about Islam to be read in the same manner as the writings of Samuel Purchas or Paul Rycaut. That is why he describes Muḥammad's Night Journey in great detail, after which he adds biographies of his wives in order to further prove his 'imposture'.

Often, Prideaux inserts corrections, for example, that the tomb of Muḥammad did not 'hang in the Air', that no pigeon 'conversed' with the Prophet, and others (*The true nature*, pp. 48, 145); he also introduces transliterations from Arabic derived from Muslim authors. His marginal notes, however, show that he had relied on the Latin sources, both

original texts and translations from Arabic: as P.M. Holt observes, Prideaux's knowledge of the Arabic texts was 'secondhand' ('Treatment', p. 53). At the end of the book, Prideaux adds biographies of all the Arabic, Greek, Latin, Hebrew and 'Chaldee' authors he has consulted. Interestingly, when he quotes the Qur'an, he uses the 1649 English translation by Alexander Ross (*The true nature*, p. 158), making him the first English author to identify positively Ross as the translator of the Qur'an into English (Matar, 'Note on Alexander Ross').

Perhaps uneasy that he had written about Muḥammad without knowing Arabic, Prideaux explained that his chief goal was to show not only the 'imposture' of Muḥammad, but also the danger of deism. There was a lesson to be learned from the fate of Christian heretics, he said, perhaps recalling 'the sectarianism of the 1650s and the 1690s' (Champion, *Pillars*, p. 114): it was 'an Example and Warning' to all who practise the 'wickedness of Separation and Division' (*The true nature*, p. xi). Later, he recalled how the inhabitants of Yathrib, whom he presumed had been Christian, apostatised to Islam after Muḥammad's arrival in the city: 'we see it [apostasy] daily practised among us' (*The true nature*, p. 75), he lamented.

In *A discourse*, Prideaux continued in his refutation of Islam and emphasised the differences between Muḥammad and Jesus by using this formula: 'Mahomet made use ... But our Saviour Christ ...' (*A discourse*, pp. 102-12). He listed seven 'Marks and characters' of imposture, all of which he associated with the figure of Muḥammad: what misdeeds Muḥammad committed, Jesus never did; and while Jesus performed miracles and proclaimed prophesies that came true, Muḥammad never did; and while Jesus never sought a kingdom on earth, Muḥammad set worldly power as his goal; and while Jesus preached in a sophisticated Roman environment, Muḥammad made his appearance among 'rude and illiterate Barbarians' (p. 40). Prideaux combined his attacks on Islam with attacks on the 'Alcoran', a text full of 'Fighting, bloodshed, and conquest', with a 'Strain of rapine bloodshed and lust running through the whole book' (pp. 47, 58). By contrast, Christianity was a rational religion 'giving us the justest notions of God' (p. 78) because 'human wisdom' could never be equal to the revelation brought by Jesus, the miracle-doer.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In early modern England, Islam and other religions were 'used – or abused – to make points in debates within Christianity' (Pailin, *Attitudes*,

p. 205). Like other authors, Prideaux used Islam as a cudgel with which to beat the deists because he believed that as Islam/Muḥammad had destroyed the Eastern Church so would deists (along with Quakers and Socinians) destroy Christianity (*The true nature*, p. xi). For him, nothing good could be said about Muḥammad, and even when he admitted that 'Christians had better terms from him [Muḥammad], than any other of his tributaries', and that there was no 'Mahometan country where their religion is not esteemed the best next their own', Muḥammad remained 'the impostor' and Islam the 'Scourge' of God (*The true nature*, pp. 136, 159).

After *The true nature*, Prideaux did not return to the subject of Islam, except in a letter of February 1722 in which he described to Francis Gwinn the history of the four Muslim monarchies of the Saracens, the Mongols, the Ottomans, and the Mughals (*The life*, pp. 267-80). But, by then, he had already made his mark in the history of anti-Islamic polemic: although he was not an Orientalist, his biography of Muḥammad was widely read in England and in other countries, from France, where it was translated in 1698, to America where it was first printed in Philadelphia in 1798 (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, p. 19).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Humphrey Prideaux, *A letter to the deists*, London, for Edward Castle, 1696; Wing P3414 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet*, London, for William Rogers, 1697; Wing P3416 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Humphrey Prideaux, *A discourse for the vindicating of Christianity from the charge of imposture. Offer'd by way of a letter, to the consideration of the Deists of the present age*, London, for William Rogers, 1697; Wing P3412A (digitised version available through EEBO)

Humphrey Prideaux, *A letter to the deists, showing that Christianity is no imposture*, London, for Roger Williams, 1697; Wing P3415 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge; offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present Age*, London, for William Rogers, 1697; Wing P3417 (digitised version available through EEBO)

- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge; offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present Age*, London, for William Rogers, 1698 (Wing P3418)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *La vie de Mahomet, où l'on découvre amplement la verité de l'imposture*, Amsterdam, chez Georges Gallet, 1698 (French trans.); OK 63-3600 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *Den regten aard en eigenschap der bedriegerye, naakt ten toon gesteld in het leven van Mahomet. Waar by gevoegd is, een verdediging voor de Christelyke godsdienst, tegens de lasteraars der zelve, tot overtuiging van de hedendaagse deïsten*, Delft, 1698 (Dutch trans.); 2654 A 31 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *La vie de Mahomet, où l'on découvre amplement la verité de l'imposture*, Amsterdam, chez Georges Gallet, 1699 (French trans.); OK 63-3600 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *Das Leben Mahomets beschrieben durch Humphrey Prideaux*, Leipzig, 1699 (German trans.); Hb 943 (digitised version available through Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *Mahomets leven, bedriegeryen, en dood, volgens het getuygenis der beste schryvers. Nevens een klaare betooginge dat het evangelium van Jesus Christus geen bedrog, maar de H. Waarheid Gods is. Tot overtuiging van deszelfs hedendaagsche veragters en lasteraars*, Amsterdam, 1706 (Dutch trans.)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge*, London, 1708 (fourth edition); KW 485 J 28 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge*, London, 1716 (fifth edition); ESTC T120716 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating*

- of Christianity from this charge*, London, 1716 (sixth edition); ESTC T145002 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge*, London, 1718 (seventh edition); ESTC T138495 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge*, London, 1723 (eighth edition); ESTC T138493 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annexed, for the vindicating of Christianity from this charge*, Dublin, 1730 (ninth edition); ESTC T138496 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *Mahomets leven, bedriegeryen, en dood, volgens het getuygenis der beste schryvers. Nevens een klaare betooginge dat het evangelium van Jesus Christus geen bedrog, maar de H. Waarheid Gods is. Tot overtuysing van deszelfs hedendaagsche veragters en lasteraars*, Amsterdam, 1730 (Dutch trans.); OTM: OK 67-43 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The history of the life of the great impostor Mahomet: Containing, I. His birth and parentage. II. Of his wives. III. His journey into heaven and the extraordinary things which he saw. IV. Of his publishing the Alcoran. V. His wars, with many other extraordinary particulars. VI. His death and burial at Medina, &c*, Glasgow, 1795; ESTC T185526 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet*, Fairhaven VT: James Lyon, 1798
- Humphrey Prideaux, *Mahometto den*, Tokyo, 1876 (Japanese trans.)

## STUDIES

- D.A. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, New York, 2013
- N. Matar, 'A note on Alexander Ross and the English translation of the Qur'an', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 23 (2012) 76-84
- Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford, 2009
- R.J. Allison, *The crescent obscured. The United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815*, Oxford, 1995
- J.A.I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken*, Cambridge, 1992



D.A. Pailin, *Attitudes to other religions. Comparative religion in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain*, Manchester, 1984

P.M. Holt, 'The treatment of Arab history by Prideaux, Ockley and Sale', in P.M. Holt, *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London, 1973, 50-66

**Nabil Matar**

# Henry Maundrell

|                |                                   |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Baptised in 1665                  |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Probably Compton Bassett, England |
| DATE OF DEATH  | 1701                              |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Aleppo                            |

## BIOGRAPHY

Henry Maundrell was born and baptised in Wiltshire in 1665. Nothing further is known about him until, at the age of 16, he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, graduating BA in 1685 and BD in 1687. Sometime after 1684, he was ordained by Bishop Thomas Spratt, and in 1689 he was appointed curate of Bromley, Kent. In 1695, he preached a sermon before Levant Company merchants in London, after which on 20 December 1695, and with the support of his uncle, Sir Charles Hedges (MS London, BL – Add. 24107, fol. 37), he was elected chaplain to the company in Aleppo. He arrived there in 1696 and a year later went on a journey to Jerusalem and back, from 26 February to 11 May 1697.

With 14 members of the English factory in Aleppo, Maundrell took the coastal route from Ladhikiyya in Syria down to Acre and then inland towards Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. On the way back, he visited Damascus and the Valley of Qannubin in Mount Lebanon, where he stayed with the Maronite patriarch and historian Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (1630-1704).

Maundrell kept a diary of his journey, which he turned into a 'journal' in 1699 – just a year after the end of the Nine Years' War, which helps explain why his references to the French consuls he had met in the East were cordial. He sent the manuscript to England and, a year later, he responded to a query from the Revd 'Mr. Osborn, Fellow of Exeter College' about the 'Turks'. Encouraged by his uncle to publish the account, Maundrell made some changes that were suggested by a 'Gentleman of the [English] Factory' who had used the journal as a travel guide.

Maundrell died in Aleppo sometime before 15 May 1701, 'victim to the fevers generated by the want of sanitary arrangements common in Oriental cities' (Pearson, *Biographical sketch*, p. 25).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

MS BL – Add. 24107

Henry Maundrell, *A sermon preach'd before the honourable company of merchants trading to the Levant Seas at St. Peter-Poor, Dec. 15. 1695*, London, 1696

Henry Maundrell, *A journey to the banks of the Euphrates at Beer, and to the country of Mesopotamia*, Oxford, 1699

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1703

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, ed. D. Howell, Beirut, 1963

*Secondary*

A. Lake, 'The first Protestants in the Arab world', Melbourne, 2015 (PhD Diss. Melbourne School of Theology), pp. 73-8

I. Nassar, 'Maundrell in Jerusalem. Reflections on the writings of an early European tourist', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 9 (2000) 62-4

M.A. Hachicho, 'English travel books about the Arab Near East in the eighteenth century', *Die Welt des Islams* 9 (1964) 42-4

D. Howell, 'The journey of Henry Maundrell', *Aramco World* 15 (1964) 14-23

G. Ambrose, 'English traders at Aleppo, 1658-1756', *Economic Review* 3 (1931) 246-67

J. Pearson, *A biographical sketch of the chaplains to the Levant Company, maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna, 1611-1706*, Cambridge, 1883, pp. 24-5

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697

DATE 1703

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

*A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* describes the journey undertaken by Henry Maundrell to Jerusalem and back between 26 February and 11 May 1697, first published in Oxford in 1703. The 1714 edition also included two short accounts of journeys to the River Euphrates that Maundrell undertook in 1699. The book was very popular and there were several

later editions and reprints. Maundrell knew neither Arabic nor Turkish and relied for information during his journey on his guides and the local inhabitants, although he was cautious about their 'oriental style' of exaggeration. He also used his own and his companions' observations and measurements based on 'as exact a survey as we could' (p. 29 in the 1963 reprint of the 1810 edition; all the references that follow are to this edition), and he consulted the Bible and various classical authors, chiefly Strabo, Pliny and Tacitus, with a few references to Josephus. He cited some 'moderns', especially the English traveller George Sandys (1577-1644; travelled in 1610), and the French classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614).

The *Journey* takes the form of a dialogue in which Maundrell presents information about Palestine and the Holy Land and confirms or corrects details, while at the same time contrasting what locals told him with the historical sources. He did not, however, read much about Islam or Muslims before leaving England – even though he was a contemporary of Edward Pococke, who had published important translations of Islamic history from Arabic into Latin. As a result, Maundrell is not precise about nomenclature and uses 'Mussulmans', Turks, Mamlukes, 'moselems', and 'Mahometans' interchangeably.

Although he travelled in a region that was under Islamic rule, he viewed it through biblical and crusader lenses. Thus, cities had always been better in the past than in the Islamic present: 'Once a church now a mosque', captures his overall outlook, and he blames the Turks for the dilapidation and aridity of a land that, according to the Bible, had once flowed with milk and honey. His Christian outlook meant that he saw the land very differently from the Damascene Sufi 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641-1731). Al-Nābulusī, who had travelled to Jerusalem in 1691-2, wrote of fecundity and prosperity; and while Maundrell asserts that the Turks sowed 'division among these wild people, the Arabs', who, were they to unite together, would shake off the 'Turkish yoke' (p. 75), al-Nābulusī praises 'the kings of the Ottoman dynasty, may God strengthen their hand' (*Al-hadra l-unsīyya fi l-riḥla l-qudsīyya*, ed. Akram Ḥasan al-Ulabī, Beirut, 1990, p. 97).

Maundrell shows little respect for the local Christians. The Orthodox/Greek monks were 'very ignorant people' (pp. 36-7); writing about the holy fire ceremony in Jerusalem, he describes the Greeks as 'becoming more bacchanals than Christians ... nothing can be imagin'd more rude or extravagant' (pp. 127-8). For the Anglican that he was, the Greeks appeared as 'the most undevout and negligent at their divine service, of

any sort of people in the christian world' (p. 183). At the same time, he denounces the Latins for their 'papistical superstitions'.

Maundrell also describes the various Islamic communities in Syria and Lebanon. The Alawites, he writes, were known to 'hate and renounce Omar and Abu Beker' but were true to 'Hamet and Aly'; Maundrell, however, did not know who these individuals were, although he was willing to hold 'as bad an opinion of Omar and Abu Beker as they could have' in order to gain shelter (p. 12). The 'Neceres,' he learned from his guides, adhered 'to no certain religion; but camelion-like, they put on the colour of religion, whatever it be' (p. 16). As for the Druzes, they were 'a people supposed to have descended from dispers'd remainders of those christian armies, that engaged in the crusades' (p. 52). He writes informatively about Fakhr al-Dīn II, the Druze ruler of Lebanon (d. 1635), perhaps after learning about him from al-Duwayhī. Maundrell explains that 'this emire was no very zealous mahometan' (p. 54): whether he knew that the emir had been a Druze, which would explain his lack of 'mahometan' zeal, is not clear.

With regard to the Turks, Maundrell notes how much better they were in their piety than Catholics: he describes how the 'niches in their mosques' pointed to 'the southern quarter of the world; for that way the



Illustration 2. Henry Maundrell, 'The various gestures of the Mahometans in their Prayers to God', from *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*

mussulmans are obliged to set their faces when they pray, in reverence to the tomb of their prophet' (p. 19). He then adds that such directions are a 'testimony of their iconoclastic principle [that expressed] to them both the reality of the divine presence there, and at the same time also its invisibility' (p. 19). Maundrell comments on how the Turks' 'eastern custom' of hospitality and gift exchange coincides with the Hebrew practice in 1 Samuel 9:7. He also notes that Turks venerated Christian sites: thus the church of 'the empress Helena' or the 'residence of Jeremiah' in Jerusalem or the house of Ananias in Damascus or the grotto of the Virgin in Bethlehem were all sites venerated by Muslims and Christians together; in the grotto, 'Turks and Arabs, as Christians' use chalk from the walls to increase women's milk (p. 122). He repeats that a Turk of 'good fashion' informed him that Christ was to descend into this mosque [in Damascus] at the day of judgement, as Mahomet was to do in the mosque of Jerusalem' (p. 170). Maundrell watched the Meccan *hajj* caravan which carried the 'Alcoran ... accompanied with a rich new carpet which the grand signieur sends every year for the covering of Mahomet's tomb' – although it was not a carpet but the covering of the Ka'ba (p. 172). Earlier, he had noted that the Turks permitted building and restoring Christian places of worship: 'the convent of St John has been, within these four years, rebuilt from the ground ... with an eminently beautiful ... church' (p. 125).

As the journey progresses, Maundrell grows more curious about Islamic culture than at the start, and he is not unwilling sometimes to express praise – in a manner that he does not show to the Latins or the Greeks. But in his letters to Osborne, who had asked him to write specifically about Muslims, Maundrell reverses some of his praise and assures him that the views held in Christendom about Turks and their 'exact justice, veracity, and other moral virtues' are wrong: even the lowest level of the Christian religion is 'far above the level of a Turkish virtue' (p. 197). For the 'religion of the Turk endows them with great outward gravity and solemnity, without begetting the least good tincture of wisdom or virtue in the mind'. They were kind to animals but brutal to their slaves and, presumably unlike the English, 'incredibly conceited of their own religion, and contemptuous of that of others' (pp. 197-8). Still, the Turks did not worship objects and relics as the Catholics did, and the 'outward decency of their [Turks] carriage [manifests itself in] the profound respect they pay to religion and to every thing relating to it, and their great temperance and frugality. The dearness of any thing is no motive in Turkey, tho' it be in England, to bring it into fashion' (p. 198).

Maundrell was influenced by Bishop Thomas Spratt's 1667 *History of the Royal Society of London*, which determined the simple and unornamented prose style of Restoration writers (pp. xvii-xviii). In line with many other travel writers, he emphasises from the start that there are no 'lies' in his account (p. x), and so he intersperses it at regular intervals with precise details about distances and sites, such as the 4,630 paces in the circumference of Jerusalem (p. 147). In the corrections that he sent to the publisher, he emphasises: 'At the River Jordan, instead of three yards, write two yards below the brink of it's Channel.' He rejects common beliefs – birds flying over the Dead Sea did not die (p. 113) – and introduces a sense of discovery by mentioning what had not been stated 'by any geographer that I know of' (p. 59). But empirical and scientific as he was, he could not forgo his biblical faith and often describes the land by reference to scriptural chapter and verse: 'Near about Sidon begin the precincts of the Holy Land, and of that part of it in particular which was allotted to Asher' (p. 60); 'Hereabouts is the end of the tribe of Asher, and the beginning of that of Zabulon ... Josh. 19.26' (p. 76), while the 'wretches' living in Tyre showed the fulfilment of the prophecy of Ezekiel on them (26:14) (p. 64). Maundrell, after all, was a clergyman and entertained hopes for the Christian conquest of the Holy Land: after seeing how Christians fought over the holy sites in Jerusalem, 'Who can expect ever to see those holy places rescued from the hands of infidels?' (p. 95).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Maundrell travelled in order to write an accurate English guidebook to the holy sites in Palestine and to the archaeological remains in the whole region, all 'honestly described' (St John, *Lives*, p. 319). Turks/Muslims were incidental to him: what mattered was the Bible and the locations associated with the life of Jesus Christ. Still, Maundrell's combination of exact information and biblical confirmation made the *Journey* quite popular: by 1749 there were seven editions. The book was translated into French, Dutch and German, and in 1757 it was retold in the third person and published alongside the travels of Thomas Shaw; in 1910, an anonymous Arabic abridgement appeared in the Beirut-based periodical, *Al-Muqata'af* (pp. 746-51, 885-8, 986-90).

Maundrell's was a short, crisp, and informative account of biblical history in Palestine, accompanied by descriptions of the local geography and of the religious communities that were living in the land of Christ. Despite only offering incidental comments on Muslims, and despite his

inclination to dislike what he saw, Maundrell could not but admire their zeal, which he considered superior to that of Catholics. He approved of their iconoclasm, too, suggesting that his Protestantism allowed him to see some common ground with Islam. His reference to Alawites may be among the earliest in English writing.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Henry Maundrell, *A journey to the banks of the Euphrates at Beer, and to the country of Mesopotamia*, Oxford, 1699

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1703; ESTC T211421 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Henry Maundrell, *Reize van Aleppo naar Jeruzalem, op paasschen in 't jaar 1698*, trans. G. Muntendam, Utrecht, 1705 (Dutch trans.); KW 182 H 23 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Henry Maundrell, *Voyage d'Alep à Jérusalem, à Pâques en l'année 1697*, Utrecht, 1705 (French trans.); C 1712 (digitised version available through BCU Lausanne)

Henry Maundrell, *Voyage d'Alep à Jérusalem, à Pâques en l'année 1697*, Paris, 1706 (French trans.); 313986 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon)

Henry Maundrell, *Gantz neue Reise-Beschreibung nach dem Gelobten Lande ...*, Hamburg, 1706 (German trans.); It.sing. 651 b (digitised version available through MDZ)

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1707; ESTC T186568 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1714; ESTC T100586 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1721

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1732; ESTC T100589 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Henry Maundrell, *Reise-Beschreibung nach dem Gelobten Lande ...*, Hamburg, 1737 (German trans.)

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1740; ESTC T100587 (digitised version available through ECCO)



- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1749; ESTC T132335 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Henry Maundrell, *A compendium of a Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, by Mr. Henry Maundrell, chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo; the Travels of Dr. Thomas Shaw, F.R.S. and a Journey to Palmyra*, Dublin, 1757; ESTC T211421 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Henry Maundrell, *Reise von Aleppo nach Jerusalem, um Ostern 1697*, Jena, 1792 (German trans.)
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1799; ESTC T132335 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Perth, 1800; ESTC T100590 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, London, 1810
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Edinburgh, 1812; 20606 e.79 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library, Oxford)
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, New Haven CT, 1814
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, London, 1817; It.sing. 1453 g (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Henry Maundrell, *Een reisje van elf weken en vijf dagen van Aleppo naar Jeruzalem, door de voornaamste gewesten en steden van Syrië en Palestina*, trans. J.A. Oostkamp, Groningen, 1831 (Dutch trans.); 83 J 27 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, London, 1832
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Boston MA, 1836
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, London, 1845
- [Anonymous Arabic abridgment of *Journey*], *Al-Muqtaṭaf* (1910) pp. 746-51, 885-8, 986-90
- Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, ed. D. Howell, Beirut, 1963 (reprint of the 1810 edition)

Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, London, 2009

Henry Maundrell, *Rihla min Ḥalab ilā l-Quds*, ed. Şufūḥ al-Dhahabī, trans. Aḥmad Ībish, Abu Dhabi, 2012 (Arabic trans.)

#### STUDIES

N. Matar, 'The Sufi and the chaplain. 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi and Henry Maundrell', in J. Hayden and N. Matar (eds), *Through the eyes of the beholder*, Leiden, 2013, 165-84

Hachicho, 'English travel books about the Arab Near East in the eighteenth century'

Howell, 'The journey of Henry Maundrell'

J.A. St John, *The lives of celebrated travellers*, New York, vol. 1, 1837, pp. 305-19

**Nabil Matar**

# Simon Ockley

DATE OF BIRTH 1678  
PLACE OF BIRTH Exeter  
DATE OF DEATH 9 August 1720  
PLACE OF DEATH Swavesey, Cambridgeshire

## BIOGRAPHY

Simon Ockley was born in Exeter in 1678 to a family from Norfolk. He graduated from Cambridge in 1698, and at about that time he began lecturing in Hebrew. Ordained deacon at Norwich, he was appointed curate at Swavesey, Cambridgeshire. When he was ordained priest at Ely in 1705, he succeeded to the living of Swavesey as vicar. He married in about 1701 and between 1702 and 1708 had six children, of whom four survived childhood.

He was encouraged by Humphrey Prideaux to learn Arabic, with the result that vol. 1 of what became his *History of the Saracens* was published in 1708, the year in which he also published his translation of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, entitled *The improvement of human reason*. In 1711, he was made the fifth Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and a chaplain to the Earl of Oxford (who was interested in Arabic studies). In 1712, he wrote *An account of the authority of the Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian*, and in 1713 *An account of south west Barbary*, purportedly based on a first-hand captivity narrative. The next year, as Britain negotiated a treaty with Morocco, he carried out some translation work for the government, but his hope of a more permanent position ended when the Earl of Oxford was sent to the Tower accused of treason (Arberry, 'The pioneer', pp. 36-8).

Ockley was serious about scholarship at a time when many academics, secure in their college posts, did very little new work. He published vol. 2 of his *History of the Saracens* in 1718, raising money by subscription, and added as an appendix his translation of the sayings of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, which had appeared as a separate volume. He struggled financially on his modest income, and was forced to write the Preface to vol. 2 in the debtors' jail in Cambridge Castle. He mistook the main source he used for his history for a much earlier work by the historian al-Wāqidi (d. 823), which meant that his history was less accurate than it might

have been, yet it became a 'secondary classic' (Lane-Poole, 'Ockley', p. 364) and ended up being reprinted many times. A third edition was printed, also by private subscription, in 1757, to provide financial assistance to his daughter Anne. A French translation had been completed by 1748, and three more editions were in print by 1756.

Ockley's work succeeded in making Arab history attractive. One of his admirers, Edward Gibbon, attributed his own early interest in Muḥammad to him: 'Ockley, an original in every sense, first opened my eyes and I was led from one book to another', until before his 16<sup>th</sup> birthday he 'had ranged round the circle of oriental history' (O.F. Emerson [ed.], *Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon*, London, 1898, p. 42). A neglected but important passage in Ockley's preface to the *Sentences of Ali* challenged the trope of Western superiority, and praised Arab learning and the beauty of Arab culture.

Ockley died on 9 August 1720 in his parish, where he was buried the next day.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- R. Heathcote, art. 'Ockley (Simon)', in A. Chalmers (ed.), *General biographical dictionary*, London, 1815, vol. 23, pp. 293-8 (the earliest biography, written by Ockley's grandson, d. 1795)
- J. Venn, and J.A. Venn, *Alumni cantabrigienses; a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1922, part 1, vol. 2, p. 274

### *Secondary*

- P.M. Holt, art. 'Ockley, Simon', in *ODNB*
- P.M. Holt, *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London, 1973, pp. 54-8
- A.J. Arberry, 'The pioneer. Simon Ockley', in A.J. Arberry, *Oriental essays. Portraits of seven scholars*, London, 1960, 11-47
- S. Lane Poole, art. 'Ockley, Simon', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## History of the Saracens

The improvement of human reason, exhibited in  
the life of Hai Ebn Yodkan

DATE 1701 and 1718

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

What became known as Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* was written between August 1701, when he first visited Oxford to consult Arabic manuscripts, and 1718, when the second volume was published. Vol. 1, entitled *The conquest of Syria, Persia, and Aegypt by the Saracens*, was published in 1708. This title was changed to *The history of the Saracens* for the second edition in 1718, when vol. 2 was published. Vol. 1 has 444 pages, and vol. 2 has 436 pages. New editions of the *History* followed in 1757, 1847, 1848 and 1857, with a French translation by A.-F. Jault in 1748. Ockley's translation of and commentary on Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185) appeared as *The improvement of human reason ... illustrated with proper figures* shortly before vol. 1 of the *History*. It comprises 200 pages. Further editions followed in 1711 and 1731.

Ockley's approach is consistent in both works. His main aim appears to have been to expose readers to the existence of Muslim philosophy and to alert them to the fact that it had contributed to Europe's intellectual legacy. The purpose of *The improvement of human reason* is to demonstrate that human reason alone, unaided by the divine or by special revelation, can deduce what is needed to live a moral life and to know God. It traces the life of its hero, Ḥayy, who lives on a remote, uninhabited island, as he discovers the secrets of the world and the purpose of life by the application of his own reason alone. Cautious to maintain his orthodox *bone fides*, Ockley added an appendix to this translation in which he showed how this thesis flouted both Muslim and Christian teachings (pp. 163-95), which the publisher's note to the reader (pp. x-xi) supports by commenting that the book contained 'curious theorems' and 'enthusiastic notions' ably refuted by Ockley's appendix, and adds that the purpose of publishing it was to 'excite young scholars to the reading of those authors which, through a groundless conceit of their impertinence and ignorance, have been too long neglected' (p. xi).

In his Preface (pp. vii-ix), Ockley says that 'here and there' he has added notes on 'some of the great men' and on Muslim customs that he hopes 'will not be unacceptable' (p. ix). These footnotes reveal his underlying aim of challenging parochial thinking that assumes only Christian Europe can offer anything of intellectual value. He wants to 'incline' people 'to a more favourable opinion of Arabick learning' (p. ix), and he frequently uses superlatives to describe the thinkers he briefly introduces. Thus, he refers to Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) as 'the learned' (p. 2) and a 'prodigious scholar', who was 'not only a great philosopher and physician, but an excellent philologer and poet' (p. 3), he calls Avempace (Ibn Bājja) 'a philosopher of great ingenuity and judgement' (p. 5), al-Ghazālī 'an eminent philosopher' (p. 17), and Alfarabius (al-Fārābī) a 'person of singular abstinence and continence' (pp. 14-15).

Ockley's interest in these 'great men' carries over into his *History*. Vol. 1 begins with the caliphate of Abū Bakr (632-4) and ends with the death of 'Uthmān (645-56), while vol. 2 begins with the caliphate of 'Alī (656-61) and concludes with the death of the fifth Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik in 705; the abrupt ending was caused by Ockley's financial difficulties and his own premature death at 42 (Holt, *Studies*, p. 55). Vol. 1 relies almost entirely on *Futūḥ al-Shām*, which Ockley attributed to al-Wāqidī (d. 823), surmising that, while not an eye-witness to the early Arab conquests, al-Wāqidī may have known the sons of some of the men who took part in them (Arberry, 'The pioneer', p. 31). In fact, this was one of a number of texts attributed to al-Wāqidī that circulated during the crusades to inspire the Muslim combatants, and was written closer to that time. In vol. 2, Ockley uses a number of sources, as he indicates in the margins.

Ockley was not criticised for his sources when the *History* was published. What critics reacted to was the tenor of his writing, which they thought reflected too favourably on the Arabs. However, in a prescient comment in *The conquest of Syria*, he had already pointed out that, even if his main source lived two hundred years after the events he chronicled, from the point of view of the historian he was no more or less of an eye-witness than a writer who lived a thousand years later. Both must take the information available to them on trust (p. xii).

At the beginning of *The conquest of Syria* Ockley returns to his theme that Arab history is a neglected subject and that, if for no other reason than that Arabs had caused the ruin of the Eastern Church, it merits attention (p. i). In fact, by 'learning as well as arms', the Arabs (he uses

the term 'Saracens') have 'rendered themselves' noteworthy. Too many have looked upon them as 'mere barbarians' (p. x), ignoring their contribution to a wide range of intellectual and scientific fields. Initially, the Muslim caliphs' only interest was conquest, but after 200 years or so, they began 'to cultivate learning to a very great degree' (p. xiii) and spread this learning across the empire, establishing universities in Africa and Spain, whence learning lost in the West was restored to Europe (p. xiv). In addition, many European scholars used classical Greek texts that had been translated from 'Arabick versions'.

Aware that readers would expect his history to begin with the life of Muḥammad, Ockley told them that he chose not to write this because Humphrey Prideaux had made that task superfluous, so they should read Prideaux's 1697 book *The true nature of imposture*. He himself wanted to turn to the men who had transformed a 'once contemptible people' to 'formidable greatness' (p. xviii).

Very little, if anything, that can be called pejorative about Islam intrudes into Ockley's work, although at the very start he does describe Muḥammad as 'the great imposter' (p. 1), as though, having proved his orthodoxy with that stock phrase, he can now turn from polemic to history. He returns to the subject of Muḥammad's life in vol. 2, this time commenting that, while Prideaux's book is 'sufficient to give a general idea of the man and his pretensions', there are other works that deserve to be read, perhaps hinting that there is more to Muḥammad than Prideaux admitted (p. xli). The 1757 edition includes a life of Muḥammad that some have assumed was written by Ockley, though it has usually been attributed to Roger Long (d. 1770), who arranged for the book's publication, while Arthur Arberry thinks the author was more likely to have been Ockley's successor as Thomas Adams Professor, Leonard Chapelow (d. 1768), because 'Long was no Orientalist' ('The pioneer', p. 29). Repeating many classical charges, such as the portrayal of the Qur'an as Muḥammad's own creation for personal gain, depicting his promised paradise as 'gross and sensual' (p. 20), and ridiculing his Night Journey and Ascent as an 'absurd' fantasy (p. 30), it adds nothing to either scholarship or to an improved Christian understanding, except perhaps for a footnote on the meaning of the word 'Islam' (p. 14).

Ockley believed that the etiquette of chivalry came into Europe from the Arab world, and he throughout the *History* depicts Arabs as courteous and even gallant. When he describes the fall of Damascus, Jerusalem and other cities in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, he refers to agreements between the

Arab conquerors and the Christians who surrendered that guaranteed them religious liberty.

Ockley translates the written Agreement that was made between the Caliph 'Umar and the Patriarch of Jerusalem (pp. 257-9), and narrates the incident when 'Umar declined to pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, pointing out that for him to pray there would violate the terms of the Agreement which stated that protected churches would be exclusively for Christian use (pp. 260-1).

It was probably these descriptions of Muslims behaving civilly towards Christians and granting them religious liberty (with limitations outlined in the Agreement) that annoyed some readers. Ockley responded to them in vol. 2, saying that he had refrained from intruding his personal opinions into his text so that his sources could 'tell their own story in their own way'. Thus, he had closely followed their accounts so that, should they 'arise from the dead', they might think that he had done their work justice (pp. viii-ix). He was saying that he had not made these incidents up, but that they were present in his sources.

Ockley was attracted to 'Alī's personality and appended his *Sentences* to vol. 2 of the *History* (with pages separately numbered 1-19). In an eight-page Preface (unnumbered), he complains about the 'folly' of Westerners who insist on depicting the East as full of 'brutes and barbarians'. On the contrary, it was Arabs who had restored learning to the countries of Europe after they had fallen into 'barbarity'. It is therefore conceited to imagine that Europeans possessed greater genius than others (2<sup>nd</sup> page), and if of late Europe had made scientific advances, these were built on Eastern wisdom (3<sup>rd</sup> page). Europeans arrogate 'everything that is wise and polite' to themselves, when 'the little smattering of knowledge' they have is actually 'derived from the East'.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Interested in history not polemic, Simon Ockley pioneered a kind of scholarship that offered Christians new tools to think about Muslims as occupying the same world as themselves, rather than always seeing them in oppositional terms. His criticisms of European assumptions of superiority more than anticipates Edward Said's Orientalism thesis, while his interest in the way Muslims might respond to his work was revolutionary at a time when few, if any, Christian writers had concern about Muslim reactions to their writing on Islam.

His almost exclusive use of primary sources was also pioneering. Commenting that Ockley 'based his work on an investigation of original



sources', P.M. Holt points out that while his 'judgement was not faultless ... his most serious error', which was to assume that the *Futūḥ* was written earlier than it was, 'was not revealed until the nineteenth century' (*Studies*, p. 56). Also pioneering was Ockley's development of the chronology of early Islamic history. He prefixes tables to both volumes, and in vol. 2 he matches Julian to Hijri dates and annotates any discrepancies he finds in his sources.

Ockley's decision to omit a biography of Muḥammad has attracted discussion. Edward Said takes such phrases as 'impostor' and 'pretensions' to indicate that Ockley 'always made it clear' to his readers that for him 'Islam was an outrageous heresy'. Unlike William Whiston, who was expelled from Cambridge for his anti-Trinitarian views (although Said says that this was for his 'Islamic enthusiasm'), Ockley 'was careful to disassociate himself from the infectious influence of Islam' (*Orientalism*, London, 1978, p. 76). In his analysis of Ockley's legacy, A.J. Arberry hints at a different explanation. He comments that the 'chilling words' with which Ockley began the *History* – Muḥammad as the 'great impostor' – sit uncomfortably with his 'patent admiration' for the Prophet's 'martial and moral qualities' ('The pioneer', p. 30). Similarly, Holt says that, although Ockley lamented the 'ruin' of the Eastern Church, he seems to have been much less interested in this than in relating the deeds of great Arab men (*Studies*, p. 57). Holt points out that Ockley's work 'is totally lacking in the virulence which Prideaux displays' (*Studies*, p. 56). According to this view, Ockley's use of stock polemical phrases would have been intended to camouflage his admiration for Arab and Islamic civilisation.

While Whiston had lost his post for denying the Trinity, not for writing with sympathy about Islam (although his later writing appears to appreciate Islam's religious tolerance), Ockley must have feared reprisal if what he wrote was interpreted as theologically suspect. His own financial situation would also have discouraged him from taking further risks. By more or less avoiding any discussion of Islam's theology or Muḥammad's moral conduct, he could focus on reconstructing Islamic history and avoid controversy. At this time, it does seem that those European Christians who dared to suggest that Muḥammad was sincere and that common ground existed between Islam and Christianity were on the theological margin. They also tended to be outside academia and, in Britain, the established Church of England, and so could not be expelled from their posts.

Arguably, Ockley's writings established Islamic and Arab history as a serious field of study in the English-speaking context. His somewhat

romantic depiction of this history ended up attracting the type of reader he had aimed at recruiting in the first place. Given his lifelong poverty, the fact that he persevered with his work shows how committed he was to challenging Orientalism before the term was even coined.

Bernard Lewis has drawn attention to an interesting parallel between Ockley and the German Arabist Johan Jakob Reiske (d. 1774), who also struggled financially and made a loss on self-publishing his work (*Islam and the West*, London, 1993, p. 87). Yet Reiske is credited with bringing about a paradigm shift in German scholarship that helped to 'free the study of Arabic from bondage to theological enterprises' (A. Schimmel, 'Islamic studies in Germany', *Islamic Studies* 49 (2010) 401-10, p. 402). Ockley's work played a similar role in the Anglophone world. The very fact that such a work existed, even if it lacked theological engagement with Islam on problematic issues such as the Trinity, the Incarnation and the authority of the Bible, provided Christians with material that could encourage a rethinking of traditional anti-Muslim tropes.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Simon Ockley, *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yokdan ... translated from the original Arabick by Simon Ockley: with an appendix, in which the possibility of man's attaining the true knowledge of God, and things necessary to salvation without instruction, is briefly considered*, London, 1708; XL98.6ARA (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)

Simon Ockley, *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, London, 1711; ESTC T142465 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Simon Ockley, *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yokdan*, [Dublin], 1731; ESTC T092886 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Simon Ockley, *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai ibn Yakzan*, ed. E.A. Van Dyck, Cairo, 1905

Simon Ockley, *The history of Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, London, 1929, repr. 1986 (with introduction by A.S. Fulton)

Simon Ockley, *The conquest of Syria, Persia, and Aegypt by the Saracens*, London, 1708; ESTC T134334 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens. Containing the lives of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, Ali, Hasan, Moawiyah I. Yezid I. Moawiyah II. Abdolla, Merwan I. and Abdolmélick, the immediate successors of*

- Mahomet. Giving an account of their most remarkable battles, sieges, &c. particularly those of Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Illustrating the religion, rights, customs and manner of living of that warlike people. Collected from the most Authentick Arabick Authors, especially Manuscripts, not hitherto publish'd in any European Language*, London, 1718<sup>2</sup>; ESTC T134282 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens. Volume the second*, London, 1718; ESTC T134333 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Simon Ockley, *De Verovering Van Syrien, Perzien En Egypten Door De Saracenen*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1741 (Dutch trans.)
- Simon Ockley, *Geschichte der Saracenen, oder ihre Eroberung der Länder Syrien, Persien und Egypten*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1745 (German trans.); 999/Hist.pol.4133(1/2) (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Simon Ockley, *Histoire des Sarrasins, contenant leur premieres conquêtes, & ce qu'ils ont fait de plus remarquable sous les onze premiers Khalifes ou successeurs de Mahomet*, trans. A.-F. Jault, 2 vols, Paris, 1748 (French trans.); BH FLL 34259,34260 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Complutense)
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1757<sup>3</sup>; ESTC T134350 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1847<sup>4</sup>
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1848<sup>5</sup>
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1857<sup>6</sup>
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1868
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1890
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, London, 1894
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, Whitefish MT, 2003
- Simon Ockley, *The history of the Saracens*, 2 vols, Piscataway NJ, 2004
- Edward Gibbon and Simon Ockley, *The Saracens. Their history and the rise and fall of their empire*, London, 1800 (Ockley's *History of the Saracens* follows this extract from Gibbon's *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*)
- Edward Gibbon and Simon Ockley, *The Saracens. Their history and the rise and fall of their empire*, London, 1868
- Edward Gibbon and Simon Ockley, *The Saracens. Their history and the rise and fall of their empire*, London, 1873; F622.G35 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Edward Gibbon and Simon Ockley, *The Saracens. Their history and the rise and fall of their empire*, London, 1984

## STUDIES

Holt, *Studies in the history of the Near East*

Arberry, 'The pioneer'

**Clinton Bennett**

# Mary Pix

Mary Griffith

DATE OF BIRTH    About 1666  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Nettlebed, Oxfordshire  
DATE OF DEATH    1709  
PLACE OF DEATH    London

## BIOGRAPHY

Mary Pix (née Griffith) was born around 1666, probably in Nettlebed, Oxfordshire (Kelley, 'Pix', *ODNB*). Until her theatre debut in 1696, she led a conventional life as the daughter of a country vicar, the Reverend Roger Griffith, and wife of a merchant tailor, George Pix, who died around 1690. She probably had a child, who predeceased her. Her mother, Lucy (née Berriman), may have had more illustrious connections, but Pix did not make much of them.

Associated with the London merchant class, Pix inclined towards Whig positions. On the whole, however, she was 'a person of political tolerance if not ambivalence' (Clark, *Three Augustan women playwrights*, p. 207). In an anonymous play, *The female wits: or, The triumvirate of poets at rehearsal* (published in 1704, but performed in 1696), she is caricatured as 'Mrs. *Wellfed*, One that represents a fat Female Author, a good sociable well-natur'd Companion, that will not suffer Martyrdom rather than take off three Bumpers in a Hand' (sig. A4v; a bumper is a full glass of alcohol). Her portrait, from about 1690, hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Pix's life moves beyond the obscurity of birth and marriage records with her debut of two plays at the relatively late age of 30 as one of 'the female wits'. The same year, she also published *The inhumane cardinal, or, Innocence betray'd* (1696), a novel, and may have already published a commendatory poem for the feminist tract, *Sylvia's revenge, or; A satyr against man; in answer to the satyr against woman* (1688). She reveals in the dedication to her second play, *The Spanish wives* (1696), that she had an 'Inclination to Poetry' from childhood and she continued to publish occasional poems into the 18<sup>th</sup> century (sig. A2). In addition to these early works, she published an extended verse romance, *Violenta, or The*

*rewards of virtue* (1704), drawn from Boccaccio. Her plays – 13 in all – were generally well received. As Charles Gildon assessed, ‘This is a Lady yet living, and in this Poetick age, when all Sexes and Degrees venture on the Sock or Buskins, she has boldly given us an Essay of her Talent in both, and not without Success, tho’ with little Profit to her self’ (‘Mrs. Mary Pix’, p. 111).

Pix fostered connections with fellow playwrights Catharine Trotter and Susanna Centlivre, the poet Sarah Fyge Egerton, and the actresses Elizabeth Barry and Susanna Verbruggen. At Pix’s death in 1709 in her early forties, after ten years of staging and publishing plays, the younger Centlivre, who would become ‘the most successful female playwright of the eighteenth century’ (Carraro, ‘Susannah Centlivre’), donated the proceeds from a performance of her popular comedy, *The busy body* (1709), to Pix’s estate.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- [C. Gildon], art. ‘Mrs. Mary Pix’, in G. Langbaine, ed. C. Gildon, *The lives and characters of the English dramatick poets. Also an exact account of all the plays that were ever yet printed in the English tongue ... with remarks and observations on most of the said plays. First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv’d and continued down to this time, by a careful hand*, London, 1699, pp. 111–12
- J. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, or, An historical review of the stage*, London, 1708
- R. Steele, *The Spectator* 51 (28 April 1711)
- [J. Genest], *Some account of the English stage, from the Restoration in 1600 to 1830*, vol. 2, Bath, 1832
- W. Van Lennep, *The London stage, 1660–1800. A calendar of plays, entertainments & afterpieces, together with casts, box-receipts and contemporary comment*, vol. 1. 1660–1700, Carbondale IL, 1965

### Secondary

- B. Andrea, ‘Introduction. Mary Pix (1666–1709)’, in *English women staging Islam, 1696–1707. Delarivier Manley and Mary Pix*, Toronto, 2012, pp. 255–68
- A. Kelley, art. ‘Pix [née Griffith], Mary’, in *ODNB*
- A. Kelley, art. ‘Mary Pix’, in J. Todd (ed.), *The literary encyclopedia. English writing and culture from the Glorious Revolution to the French Revolution, 1689–1789*, (online), 2002; <https://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=5048>

- L.F. Carraro, art. 'Susannah Centlivre', in J. Todd (ed.), *The literary encyclopedia. English writing and culture from the Glorious Revolution to the French Revolution, 1689-1789*, (online), 2001; <https://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=805>
- B. Fuchs, *Mimesis and empire. The New World, Islam, and European identities*, Cambridge, 2001
- S.P. Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey. Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678*, Oxford, 1989
- L.R. Payne, art. 'Mary Pix', in P.R. Backscheider (ed.), *Dictionary of literary biography*, vol. 80. *Restoration and eighteenth-century dramatists*, Detroit MI, 1989, 172-81
- C. Clark, *Three Augustan women playwrights*, New York, 1986
- E.L. Steeves, 'Introduction', in *The plays of Mary Pix and Catharine Trotter*, vol. 1. *Mary Pix*, New York, 1982, xi-lxii
- R.D. Adams, 'Muses in the mud. The female wits anthropologically considered', *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 7 (1980) 61-74
- P.L. Barbour, 'A critical edition of Mary Pix's *The Spanish wives*', New Haven CT, 1975 (PhD Diss. Yale University)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Ibrahim, the thirteenth emperor of the Turks. A tragedy

DATE 1696

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

Pix was the last of 'the female wits' to debut her plays in 1696: *Ibrahim, the thirteenth emperor of the Turks. A tragedy*, appeared in late May or early June at Drury Lane Theatre; *The Spanish wives*, a farce, followed in October 1696 at the Dorset Garden Theatre (Oney, 'Women playwrights', p. 77), marking the finale of this epochal season. As Constance Clark notes, 'the original number of performances [of *Ibrahim*] is not known'; however, she surmises that 'it was well-received', since it saw several revivals (*Three Augustan women playwrights*, p. 28). Given that Delarivier Manley's *The royal mischief*, another tragedy with Islamic themes, preceded Pix's *Ibrahim* at the rival Lincoln Inn Fields Theatre in late April or early May, it appears that Pix's first play was produced to capitalise on, and perhaps to exceed, the stir created by Manley's play.

Her subsequent tragedies, *The czar of Muscovy* (1701) and *The conquest of Spain* (1705), confirm her interest in the dramatisation of gender politics in exotic settings. Her tragedy, *The double distress* (1701), focuses on ancient, hence pre-Islamic, Persia. However, the 'Epilogue ... by C.V.' deploys the stereotype of 'Turk Mahomet' and his 'Seraglio' to advance its polemic (sig. A4v). Her final play, *The adventures of Madrid* (1706), hinges on the disguise of one of the heroines as 'an Eunuch' and evokes the seraglios (or harems) of 'the Turkish empire' (pp. 11-12).

In her preface to *Ibrahim*, Pix identifies her source as 'Sir Paul Ricaut's *Continuation of the Turkish History*' (sig. A3), first published as *The history of the Turkish empire, from the year 1623 to the year 1677* (1680). Born in 1615, the historical Ibrahim (Sultan Ibrāhīm I) was held in the *kafes* (literally, 'the cage', albeit a gilded one) until he was raised to the throne in 1640. He was deposed in 1648 and strangled shortly thereafter.

Pix reproduces Rycout's history of the sultan's 'lascivious and sensual' lifestyle, his powerful and perverse mistresses, including 'Shecher Para' (Sheker in Pix), and the resistant, but ultimately ravished 'Daughter of the Mufti' (pp. 29-33). However, she adjusts this history by making Sheker Para a cast-off 'Favourite Mistress to *Ibrahim*', now his procuress, whose Iago-like malice rebounds on Morena, 'the *Mufti's* daughter' (sig. A4v). Another addition is Sheker Pera's deflected anger over Amurat's refusal to reciprocate her aggressive desire. Amurat, 'General of the Emperours Forces' (sig. A4v), is in love with the virtuous Morena. In a final departure from the historical record, the devious eunuch and devoted servant of Sheker Pera, with the stock name Achmet, orchestrates a string of rapes, rebellions, murders and suicides that result in the play's catastrophe.

The 17th-century critical assessment of the play was mixed, with Gildon regretting that it lacked 'the Harmony of Numbers [i.e. metre], and the Sublimity of Expression' (*The lives*, p. 111), even as he praised its effect. As he admits, it 'has yet a Quality, that at least ballances that Defect, I mean the Passions; for the Distress of *Morena* never fail'd to bring Tears into the Eyes of the Audience, which few plays, if any since [Thomas] *Otway's*, have done; and yet, which is the true end of Tragedy' ('Mrs. Mary Pix', p. 111). By contrast, Richard Steele in the 28 April 1711 issue of *The Spectator* condemned Pix, along with Aphra Behn, in the increasingly moralistic terms that would marginalise these writers by the middle of the 18th century: 'We are obliged to the lady who writ *Ibrahim*, for introducing a preparatory Scene to the very Action, when the Emperor throws his Handkerchief as a Signal for his Mistress to follow him into the most retired Part of the Seraglio ... This ingenious gentlewoman, in this piece



of Bawdry refined upon an Author of the same sex [Behn] who, in *The Rover*, makes a Country Squire strip to his Holland drawers'. Given this transition in attitudes towards sexualised display, it is not surprising that revivals of the former play trailed off by 1704.

In a gesture taken by Gildon and subsequent critics to be a sign of her lack of learning, Pix apologises in her preface for listing Ibrahim as the 13<sup>th</sup>, rather than the 12<sup>th</sup>, in the Ottoman imperial line after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. However, her tone, although defensive, does not seem deferential when she insists, 'I am very sensible those that will be so unkind to Criticize upon what falls from a Womans pen, may soon find more faults than I am ever able to answer' (sig. A3). In this, she is following other women writers of the era in critiquing the double standard they faced when entering the public spheres of the stage and print. She also emphasises, through her attention to historical veracity, her efforts as a scholar, albeit self-taught. Both positions are in line with the strategies of the 'first feminists', who combined a critique of patriarchal biases with a focus on female education.

Yet, Pix's play has been seen as less than feminist by some critics, including Jacqueline Pearson, who influentially assesses that 'on the whole her plays tend to deal in [patriarchal] stereotypes' and 'misogynist clichés' (*Prostituted muse*, p. 174). While other critics counter that she sought 'every opportunity to defend women against attacks upon their character and intelligence' (Steeves, 'Introduction', p. xlviii), Pix is responsible for perpetuating one of Rycaut's most egregious patriarchal Orientalist fantasies: the infamous 'handkerchief scene', in which the sultan purportedly chose his companion for the night, which Mary Wortley Montagu debunks in *The Turkish embassy letters* (composed 1716-18; published 1763). Pix's elaboration of this fantasy, which pits the sexual oppression of the East against the gallantry of the West, signals a shift that would increasingly dominate English feminist discourses.

Amurat's disavowal of polygamy in his courtship of the virtuous Morena hinges on a similar dichotomy. Pix's dramatisation of the dissipation and destruction of Ibrahim's reign accordingly constitutes a crucial link between the confirmed patriarchalism of the historical record and the emerging Orientalism of the feminist response.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Pix's readily recognisable references to Rycaut likely contributed to the play's initial popularity, as his *History of the Turkish Empire* (first published in 1680) and his more sociological *The present state of the Ottoman*

*Empire* (first published in 1667) were widely read, going into multiple editions by the time of Pix's debut play and many more afterwards. Certainly, Pix's revision of Rycaut constitutes a feminist critique of patriarchal privilege. Yet, this privilege is projected onto the Islamic 'other' in the characteristic pattern of feminist Orientalism: displacement, followed by distancing, which enables self-definition (Andrea, *Women and Islam*, pp. 78-9). Pix's debut play thus enacts the shift from heroic to sentimental drama by drawing together the emergent discourses of feminism and Orientalism in a distinctly Whig performance. Whereas Delarivier Manley explicitly contests this feminist Orientalist conjunction, Pix may be one of its earliest formulators.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Mary Pix, *Ibrahim, the thirteenth emperor of the Turks*, London: Printed for John Harding, and Richard Wilkin, 1696; Wing 506:05 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- E.L. Steeves (ed.), *The plays of Mary Pix and Catharine Trotter*, vol. 1. *Mary Pix*, New York, 1982
- B. Andrea (ed.), *English women staging Islam, 1696-1707. Delarivier Manley and Mary Pix*, Toronto, 2012

#### STUDIES

- D. Lechner, "And am I thus Rewarded?" The rejected hero and the raped heroine in Mary Pix's *Ibrahim*, *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik: A Quarterly of Language, Literature and Culture* 64 (2016) 367-84
- A. Greenfield, 'Veiled in the seraglio. Whig messaging in Mary Pix's tragedy *Ibrahim* (1696)', in M. Hüttler, E.M.N. Kugler, and H.E. Weidinger (eds), *Ottoman Empire and European theatre*, vol. 3. *Images of the harem in literature and theatre*, Vienna, 2015, 49-64
- P. Cuder-Domínguez, *Stuart women playwrights, 1613-1713*, Burlington VT, 2011
- P. Cuder-Domínguez, 'Gender, race, and party politics in the tragedies of Behn, Pix, and Manley', in B. Nelson and C. Burroughs (eds), *Teaching British women playwrights of the Restoration and eighteenth century*, New York, 2010, 263-74
- B. Andrea, *Women and Islam in early modern English literature*, Cambridge, 2007
- A. Greenfield, 'When sultan becomes rapist. The politics of rape in Orientalist tragedy', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 21 (2006) 59-73

- J.I. Marsden, *Fatal desire. Women, sexuality, and the English stage, 1660-1720*, Ithaca NY, 2006
- S. Staves, *A literary history of women's writing in Britain, 1660-1789*, Cambridge, 2006
- R. Ballaster, *Fabulous Orient. Fictions of the East in England, 1662-1785*, Oxford, 2005
- M. Collins, 'Feminine conduct and violence in Mary Pix's she-tragedies', *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 18 (2003) 1-16
- C. Lowenthal, *Performing identities on the Restoration stage*, Carbondale IL, 2003
- J.N.A. Anderson, 'Performance of authorship. Contexts of authorship and audience in the plays of Delarivier Manley, Catherine Trotter, and Mary Pix', College Station, 2002 (PhD Diss. Texas A&M University)
- B. Orr, *Empire on the English stage, 1660-1714*, Cambridge, 2001
- M.J. Calero del Valle, 'The ravished heroine in Restoration tragedy. *Ibrahim the thirteenth emperor of the Turks* and *The conquest of Spain*', *SEDERI. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Renacentistas Ingleses* 11 (2000) 247-53
- A. Findlay, S. Hodgson-Wright and G. Williams, *Women and dramatic production, 1550-1700*, Harlow, 2000
- J.I. Marsden, 'Mary Pix's *Ibrahim*. The woman writer as commercial playwright', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 32 (1999) 33-44
- M. Rubik, *Early women dramatists, 1550-1800*, London, 1998
- R. Ballaster, 'The first female dramatists', in H. Wilcox (ed.), *Women and literature in Britain, 1500-1700*, Cambridge, 1996, 267-90
- J.E. Oney, 'Women playwrights during the struggle for control of the London theatre, 1695-1710', Columbus OH, 1996 (PhD Diss. Ohio State University)
- P.R. Backscheider, *Spectacular politics. Theatrical power and mass culture in early modern England*, Baltimore MD, 1993
- M.L. Williamson, *Raising their voices. British women writers, 1650-1750*, Detroit MI, 1990
- J. Pearson, *The prostituted muse. Images of women and women dramatists, 1642-1737*, New York, 1988
- Clark, *Three Augustan women playwrights*
- Steeves, 'Introduction'
- N. Cotton, *Women playwrights in England, c. 1363-1750*, London, 1980
- Gildon, 'Mrs. Mary Pix'

## The conquest of Spain

DATE 1705

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

*The conquest of Spain*, which was staged at the Queen's Theatre (Haymarket) in early May 1705, was Pix's second tragedy, after the Ottoman-themed *Ibrahim*. It was also her second-to-last play over a career that spanned ten years (1696-1706). Like her debut play, this one focuses on the Islamic world, although a millennium earlier, with the fall of Visigothic Spain to the North African Muslims in 711. It accordingly complements John Dryden's *The conquest of Granada* (1670-1), which inaugurated the genre of heroic drama with its depiction of the Catholic monarchs' (*Reyes Católicos*) defeat of the last Islamic kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula in 1492. As the 18<sup>th</sup>-century chronicler of the London stage John Downes states, *The conquest of Spain* 'had not the life of a Stock-Play, for it Expir'd the 6<sup>th</sup> Day' (*Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 48). Because this play was unsigned, and the prologue uses the masculine pronoun to refer to the playwright, some critics have questioned its ascription to Pix, although Downes has no doubts. On the basis of contemporary indicators and the subsequent scholarly consensus, Steeves confirms that it is indeed Pix's play ('Introduction', pp. lix-lxi).

While *The conquest of Spain* does not include any prefatory material indicating its source, feminist critics have identified it as a gender-specific rewriting of William Rowley's *All's lost by lust* (1633), with Pilar Cuder-Domínguez finding that Pix's 'revisions of Rowley's play de-emphasize the participation of the Moors and introduces a doubling technique that, stressing the commonalities between Moors and Christians in their victimisation of women, thus subordinates racial concerns to her preoccupation with patriarchy' ('Islamization of Spain', p. 322). The 19<sup>th</sup>-century theatre historian John Genest earlier acknowledged that 'Mrs. Pix is greatly indebted to the old play – she has however materially altered both parts of the plot, and written nearly the whole of the dialogue afresh' (*Some account of the English stage*, p. 331). A more proximate source is Miguel de Luna's *La verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo*, which was translated into English as *The life of the most illustrious monarch Almanzor.... Together with the history of the conquest of Spain by the Moors* (1693). Following Luna's lead, the English translation purports to have been originally 'Composed in Arabick by Abulcacim Tariff

*Abentariq, one of the Generals in that Spanish Expedition*' (title page). As Barbara Fuchs notes, 'The first part was originally published in Granada by René Rabat in 1592; the second, also in Granada, by Sebastián de Mena, in 1600.... The *Verdadera historia* had a long afterlife abroad; it was translated into English in 1627 as *Almansor the learned and victorious king that conquered Spaine. His life and death*, and Walter Raleigh used it to compile his *The Life and death of Mahomet, the conquest of Spaine together with the rying and ruine of the Sarazen Empire* (pub. 1637)' (*Mimesis and empire*, p. 184 n. 34). It was also published in 1687 as *The history of the conquest of Spain by the Moors, together with the life of the most illustrious monarch Almanzor* (1687). The 1693 edition is likely to have been Pix's source.

The plot of the play follows closely the account of the fall of Spain in 711 from *The Life*: the last Visigoth king of Spain, Rodrigo (also, Roderic or Roderick) (c. 687-711), lusts after the daughter of his illustrious general, Count Julian (also Julianus). In *The Life*, she is called Florinda (also, La Caux and Eliacta); in Pix's play, she is Jacincta. When the king prevails in his assault on Julianus's daughter, her betrothed Theomantius (rather than her father, as in *The Life*) enacts his revenge by escorting the Moors into Spain. The rest, as they say, is history.

In Pix's play, this history becomes a vehicle for questioning passive obedience to a corrupt sovereign in what Anne Greenfield calls a form of 'Whig messaging' ('Veiled in the seraglio', p. 49). It also aligns with contemporary feminist critiques of the application of passive obedience to police women's desires and agency. Pix adds a second female character, Margaretta, who is described in the *dramatis personae* as '[a] noble orphan under the care of Julianus and privately married to Antonio', who is Julianus's nephew. Alvarez is added as a villain who attempts to rape Margaretta and murder Antonio, his supposed friend. While an Islamicate play, *The conquest of Spain* does not traffic in the overt feminist Orientalism of *Ibrahim*. Rather, the violated Jacincta appears as '[a] Moorish lady', 'disguis'd in a Moorish habit, Veil'd and as weeping' to denounce the Spanish king in front of her unwitting father (p. 34). She thus engages in a gendered cross-cultural masquerade similar to Mary Wortley Montagu's, as described in *The Turkish embassy letters*, who donned the full veil of the elite Ottoman woman to explore the public spaces of Istanbul. The play is not necessarily counter-Orientalist, however, as it features a Moorish antagonist Mullymumen, represented through racialised discourses of blackness, who is nevertheless no more villainous than the Christian men, starting with their king. In the end, he is a noble victor,

promising to build '[a] Tomb Magnificent and Great' to the doomed Jacinta, Theomantius, and Julianus (p. 76), all of whom are dead by the end of the play.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Whereas *Ibrahim* focused on the Ottoman Empire prior to its decline, *The conquest of Spain* dramatises the shift from Christian to Muslim hegemony as Hispania became Andalusia. Both plays focus on the dangers that accrue from the decadence of empire, when internal political tyranny and sexual depravity leave the way open to rebellion and even occupation. The difference in *The conquest of Spain* is that the Christians represent this decadence, whereas the reverse is shown in *Ibrahim*.

With its Orientalist themes less pronounced than in *Ibrahim*, this play offers a more nuanced engagement with Islamicate histories: in this case, focusing on Islam in Europe.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Mary Pix, *The conquest of Spain*, London: printed for Richard Wellington, at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1705; ESTC T031215 (digitised version available through ECCO)  
 Steeves, *Plays of Mary Pix and Catharine Trotter*, vol. 1. *Mary Pix*  
 Andrea, *English women staging Islam*

#### STUDIES

Greenfield, 'Veiled in the seraglio'  
 Cuder-Domínguez, *Stuart women playwrights*  
 Cuder-Domínguez, 'Gender, race, and party politics'  
 P. Cuder-Domínguez, 'Of Spain, Moors, and women. The tragedies of Aphra Behn and Mary Pix', in Z. Luis-Martínez and J. Figueroa-Dorrego (eds), *Re-shaping the genres. Restoration women writers*, Bern, 2003, 157-73  
 Anderson, 'Performance of authorship'  
 P. Cuder-Domínguez, 'The Islamization of Spain in William Rowley and Mary Pix. The politics of nation and gender', *Comparative Drama* 36 (2002) 321-36  
 Fuchs, *Mimesis and empire*  
 Orr, *Empire on the English stage*  
 Calero del Valle, 'The ravished heroine'  
 Rubik, *Early women dramatists*

- J. Pearson, 'Blacker than hell creates. Pix rewrites *Othello*', in K.M. Quinsey (ed.), *Broken boundaries. Women and feminism in Restoration drama*, Lexington KY, 1996, 13-30
- Williamson, *Raising their voices*
- Pearson, *The prostituted muse*
- Clark, *Three Augustan women playwrights*
- Steeves, 'Introduction'
- Cotton, *Women playwrights in England*
- [Genest], *Some account of the English stage*
- Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*

**Bernadette Andrea**

# Delarivier Manley

Delariviere, Delarivière, De la Riviere, De la Rivière, Delia, Dela

DATE OF BIRTH    Between 1667 and 1671  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Jersey, Channel Islands  
DATE OF DEATH    11 July 1724  
PLACE OF DEATH    Lambeth Hill, London

## BIOGRAPHY

Delarivier Manley's birth date is uncertain, but has been narrowed to sometime between 1667 and 1671. Although no records are extant, literary sources state that she was born on the island of Jersey (Carnell, *Political biography*, pp. 52, 55). Her father, Sir Roger Manley (c. 1621-87), was a royalist army officer and her mother, Mary Catherine (also Marie-Catherine and Maria Catherina) (c. 1643-75), was from the Spanish Netherlands (Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier'). Her birth name 'is not Mary Delariviere but Delarivier Manley, as she signed it in 1710 when – under the new Copyright Act – she entered her signature as author of *Memoirs of Europe at Stationers' Hall*' (Carnell, 'Scholarship', p. 2). Although she did not receive a formal education, she claimed fluency in French and benefited from the scholarship of her father, who wrote histories of Denmark, Japan and Siam, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire (Cheesman, 'Manley, Sir Roger'). She herself was well read in sources on Islamic societies and Islam, including the newly Englished Qur'an (Anderson, 'Mary De La Rivière Manley', p. 124).

Her fictional autobiography, *The adventures of Rivella* (1714), describes the loss of her 'Mother when very young' (p. 17); her instruction in French as part of her 'Liberal Education' (p. 12); and the death of her father, which led to 'her ruin' (p. 29) by her older cousin and guardian, John Manley (1654-1713), who seduced her into a bigamous marriage. In *Secret memoirs and manners of several persons of quality, of both sexes* (also known as *The new Atalantis*) (1709), Manley describes herself during this period in her life, which began according to this account when she was not yet 14, as 'a Prisoner' in her so-called husband's 'guilty House' (vol. 2, pp. 186, 189). This irregular union produced one child, John (b. 1691), whom she decried as 'a mortal Wound to my Repose' (vol. 2, p. 189).



After three years in this untenable situation, during which time her 'Cousin Guardian' squandered her modest inheritance (vol. 2, p. 184), Manley fled to make her own way in the world, despite her damaged reputation. She launched her career as a professional writer in 1696 with the publication of *Letters written by Mrs. Manley* and the debut on the public stage of *The lost lover: or, the jealous husband* and *The royal mischief*. She staged her third play, *Almyna: or, the Arabian vow*, in 1706, and her last known drama, *Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain*, in 1717. Manley had more success as a political pamphleteer for the Tories and eventually found her *metier* as a writer of thinly veiled allegories attacking Whig politicians. *The new Atalantis*, which helped topple the Whig government the year following its publication, was popular enough to be published four more times over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and to be translated into French. Her final prose work, *The power of love: In seven novels*, was published in 1720.

She died in London on 11 July 1724 of 'a most violent Fit of the Cholic', with her gravestone memorialising her as one whose 'Birth [i.e. status as a gentleman's daughter] and Education ... [t]ogether with a greater Natural Stock of wit, made her Conversation agreeable to All' (Curl, *Impartial history*, p. 45).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- [C. Gildon], 'Mrs. Delarivier Manley', in G. Langbaine, ed. C. Gildon, *The lives and characters of the English dramatick poets. Also an exact account of all the plays that were ever yet printed in the English tongue ... with remarks and observations on most of the said plays. First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv'd and continued down to this time, by a careful hand*, London, 1699, pp. 90-1
- [E. Curl], *An impartial history of the life, character, amours, travels, and transactions of Mr. John Barber.... [w]ritten by several hands*, London, 1741
- Delarivier Manley, *The adventures of Rivella; or, the history of the author of the Atalantis*, London, 1714
- Delarivier Manley, *Secret memoirs and manners of several persons of quality, of both sexes. From the new Atalantis, an island in the Mediteranean*, 2 vols, London, 1709
- W. Van Lennep, *The London stage, 1660-1800. A calendar of plays, entertainments and afterpieces, together with casts, box-receipts and contemporary comment*, vol. 1, 1660-1700, Carbondale IL, 1965

*Secondary*

- R. Carnell, 'Scholarship on Delarivier Manley. Past, present, and future', *Literature Compass* 14 (2017) 1-11
- B. Andrea, 'Introduction: Delarivier Manley (c. 1670-1724)', *English women staging Islam, 1696-1707. Delarivier Manley and Mary Pix*, Toronto, 2012, pp. 17-40
- R. Ballaster, art. 'Manley, Delarivier', *ODNB*
- R. Carnell, *A political biography of Delarivier Manley*, London, 2008
- C.E.A. Cheesman, art. 'Manley, Sir Roger', *ODNB*
- P. McDowell, *The women of Grub Street. Press, politics, and gender in the London literary marketplace, 1678-1730*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 225-84, 'Delarivier Manley's public representations'
- L.R. Payne, art. 'Delarivière Manley', in P.R. Backscheider (ed.), *Dictionary of literary biography*, vol. 80. *Restoration and eighteenth-century dramatists*, Detroit MI, 1989, 126-36
- F. Morgan, *A woman of no character. An autobiography of Mrs. Manley*, London, 1986
- P.B. Anderson, 'Mary De La Rivière Manley. A cavalier's daughter in Grub Street', Cambridge MA, 1931 (PhD Diss. Harvard University)
- D. Hipwell, 'Mary de la Rivière Manley', *Notes and Queries* 7/8 (24 August 1889) 156-7 (includes a transcription of Manley's will)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## The royal mischief. A tragedy

DATE 1696

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

Manley's second play for the public stage and her first tragedy, *The royal mischief*, was performed in late April or early May 1696 at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, running for six nights (Van Lennep, *London stage*, p. 465). It was the third of five original plays by 'the female wits' to be staged during the 1695-6 season, preceded by Catharine Trotter's *Agnes de Castro* (December 1695) and Manley's sole comedy, *The lost lover* (March 1696), and followed by Mary Pix's *Ibrahim, the thirteenth emperor of the Turks* (May-June 1696) and *The Spanish wives* (August 1696).

In her preface, Manley cites her primary source as 'Sir John Chardin's *Travels into Persia*', which she nevertheless modified in significant ways. John (Jean) Chardin (1643-1713), was a French Protestant from a wealthy jewellers' family who travelled through the Safavid Empire and

adjacent regions from 1664 to 1670. *The rival princesses: or, The Colchian court* (1689), an anonymous novel, may also have served as a source for Manley's play. Set in the northern regions of the Black Sea, which was a contested region between the two major Islamic empires of the era, the Safavid Persians and the Ottoman Turks, *The royal mischief* extends the Restoration genre of heroic drama by making its lead a woman who defies patriarchal norms.

The main plot features Homais, the young wife of the elderly prince of Libardian and the eventual lover of his nephew, Levan, who is the prince of Colchis. Their relationship was considered incestuous by early modern English standards. Intersecting plots involve Osman, the grand vizier, who is in love with Bassima, a captured princess who becomes Levan's wife to seal a peace treaty. She is from Abcas, a country adjacent to Colchis. Selima is sister to the prince of Libardian and wife of Osman; she discovers his attraction for Bassima, with disastrous results. Ismael, who took Homais's virginity, now seeks to take Osman's viziership. Acmat is a eunuch who facilitates Homais's 'royal mischief'. The plot concludes with Bassima poisoned, Osman blown out of a cannon, Selima gathering his burning body parts, Homais murdered by her husband, Levan committing suicide, and the prince of Libardian horrified. Manley's play offers an original elaboration of its sources, not only by adapting them to the generic demands of heroic drama, but also by developing characters and adding episodes to highlight its unconventional female hero.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*The royal mischief* mobilises Orientalist tropes, such as women's immurement, to challenge Chardin's patriarchal representation of the history of Darejan, a Georgian queen, who was the prototype for Homais. Following Chardin, the play highlights a region where various modes of Christianity and Islam co-existed, and sometimes mixed, thereby complicating the common view of Islamdom as a monolith. Ultimately, Manley's choice of an Islamicate theme for her tragedy for the 1696 London theatre season, which for the first time featured a cluster of female playwrights rather than an isolated token, signals the robust engagement of English women writers around the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century with contemporary travellers' and historians' accounts of Islam and the Islamic world.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Delarivier Manley, *The royal mischief*, London: Printed for R. Bently, F. Saunders, J. Knapton and R. Wellington, 1696; Wing 36:07 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)

- F. Morgan (ed.), *The female wits. Women playwrights of the Restoration* [alternative subtitle *Women playwrights on the London stage, 1660-1720*], London, 1981
- M. Rubik and E. Mueller-Zettelmann (eds), *Eighteenth-century women playwrights*, vol. 1. *Delarivier Manley and Eliza Haywood*, London, 2001
- R. Herman (ed.), *The selected works of Delarivier Manley*, vol. 5. *The Examiner, pamphlets, plays*, London, 2005
- S. Hodgson-Wright (ed.), *Delarivier Manley (The early modern Englishwoman. A facsimile library of essential works, Series 2, Part 3)*, Aldershot, 2006
- B. Andrea (ed.), *English women staging Islam, 1696-1707. Delarivier Manley and Mary Pix*, Toronto, 2012

## STUDIES

- C. Bertucci, 'Contagious desire as feminist satire in Delarivier Manley's *The royal mischief*', *Restoration. Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 40 (2017) 81-99
- B. Andrea, "'Through the Black Sea and the country of Colchis'. A geocentric approach to Delarivier Manley's *The royal mischief* (1696)", in A. Hultquist and E.J. Mathews (eds), *New perspectives on Delarivier Manley and eighteenth-century literature*, New York, 2016, 57-71
- Y. Caballero Aceituno, 'Patterns of female exploration in Delarivier Manley's Oriental plays', in J. López-Peláez (ed.), *Strangers in early modern English texts*, Frankfurt, 2011, 227-56
- P. Cuder-Dominguez, *Stuart women playwrights, 1613-1713*, Burlington VT, 2011
- B. Andrea, 'Islam, women, and Western responses. The contemporary relevance of early modern investigations', *Women's Studies. An Interdisciplinary Journal* 38 (2009) 273-92
- M. Straznicky, *Privacy, playreading, and women's closet drama, 1550-1700*, Cambridge, 2009
- Andrea, *Women and Islam in early modern English literature*, Cambridge, 2009
- M. Krueger, "'Rouse up your self, and bear you like a Man". Masculine anxiety and the body in Delarivier Manley's *The royal mischief*', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 21 (2006) 40-58
- J.I. Marsden, *Fatal desire. Women, sexuality, and the English stage, 1660-1720*, Ithaca NY, 2006

- S. Staves, *A literary history of women's writing in Britain, 1660-1789*, Cambridge, 2006
- R. Ballaster, *Fabulous Orient. Fictions of the East in England, 1662-1785*, Oxford, 2005
- M. Corporall, "Will you to my discourse vouchsafe an eare?". Women dramatists' negotiation of gender and genre on the public stage around 1700', *Journal of English Studies* 4 (2003-4) 37-52
- M. Frank, *Gender, theatre and the origins of criticism. From Dryden to Manley*, Cambridge, 2003
- R. Herman, *The business of a woman. The political writings of Delarivier Manley*, Newark NJ, 2003
- C. Lowenthal, *Performing identities on the Restoration stage*, Carbon-dale IL, 2003
- J. Anderson, 'Performance of authorship. Contexts of authorship and audience in the plays of Delarivier Manley, Catherine Trotter, and Mary Pix', College Station TX, 2002 (PhD Diss. Texas A&M University)
- J. Anderson, 'Spectacular spectators. Regendering the male gaze in Delariviere Manley's *The royal mischief* and Joanna Baillie's *Orra*', *Enculturation. A Journal for Rhetoric, Writing, and Culture* 3/2 (2001) [no pagination]
- B. Orr, *Empire on the English stage, 1660-1714*, Cambridge, 2001
- A. Findlay and S. Hodgson-Wright, with G. Williams, *Women and dramatic production, 1550-1700*, Harlow, 2000
- E. Hollis-Berry, "No party favour'd, no designs in view". Female rakes and heroes, politics and power in Delarivier Manley's heroic drama', *Lumen. Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19 (2000) 171-86
- M. Rubik, *Early women dramatists, 1550-1800*, London, 1998
- M. Straznicky, 'Restoration women playwrights and the limits of professionalism', *English Literary History* 64 (1997) 703-26
- R. Ballaster, 'The first female dramatists', in H. Wilcox (ed.), *Women and literature in Britain, 1500-1700*, Cambridge, 1996, 267-90
- R. Merrens, 'Unmanned with thy words. Regendering tragedy in Manley and Trotter', in K.M. Quinsey (ed.), *Broken boundaries. Women and feminism in Restoration drama*, Lexington KY, 1996, 31-55
- J.E. Oney, 'Women playwrights during the struggle for control of the London theatre, 1695-1710', Columbus OH, 1996 (PhD Diss. Ohio State University)

- M. Rubik, "My life, my soul, my all is fixed upon enjoyment". The unabashed expression of female desire in *The royal mischief*, *Gramma. Journal of Theory and Criticism* 4 (1996) 165-79
- M.A. Rabb, 'Angry beauties. (Wo)manly satire and the stage', in J.E. Gill (ed.), *Cutting edges. Postmodern critical essays on eighteenth-century satire*, Knoxville TN, 1995, 127-58
- C. Lowenthal, 'Portraits and spectators in the late Restoration playhouse. Delariviere Manley's *Royal mischief*', *The Eighteenth Century. Theory and Interpretation* 35 (1994) 119-34
- P.R. Backscheider, *Spectacular politics. Theatrical power and mass culture in early modern England*, Baltimore MD, 1993
- M.L. Williamson, *Raising their voices. British women writers, 1650-1750*, Detroit MI, 1990
- J. Pearson, *The prostituted muse. Images of women and women dramatists, 1642-1737*, New York, 1988
- C. Clark, *Three Augustan women playwrights*, New York, 1986
- N. Cotton, *Women playwrights in England, c. 1363-1750*, London, 1980
- Van Lennep, *London stage*

## Almyna: or, The Arabian vow. A tragedy

DATE 1707

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

Manley returned to the stage after a ten-year hiatus with her sentimental drama *Almyna: or, The Arabian vow* (performed in December 1706 and published in 1707). This is arguably the earliest literary response to the first full English translation, via the French, of the Arabic classic *Alf layla wa-layla* (1001 nights, retitled *The Arabian nights entertainments*). Manley's play is especially significant for emphasising the proto-feminist frame tale of the Arabic classic, which had not been transmitted into the English tradition prior to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, although individual tales had been incorporated into Geoffrey Chaucer's *oeuvre* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

While Manley asserts in her preface to the published version, 'All agree, that *Almyna* was admirably Acted, and advantageously Dres'd', the

play ran for only three nights, which disappointment Manley ascribed to the intrusion of Italian opera onto the London stage' (sig. A). This play may also have been less popular due to its challenge to the Orientalism of emerging feminist discourses that privileged the 'freeborn' English woman (Andrea, *Women and Islam*, pp. 103-4).

Manley concludes her preface by specifying her sources: 'The Fable is taken from the Life of that great monarch, *Caliph Valid Almanzor*, who conquer'd *Spain*, with something of a Hint from the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*' (sig. Av). In her male lead, Manley combines the 10<sup>th</sup>-century al-Manṣūr (r. 978-1002), known as Almanzor, *de facto* ruler of Islamic Spain, and the 8<sup>th</sup>-century al-Manṣūr (r. 754-75), second 'Abbasid caliph and founder of Baghdad. Given that the setting of the *1001 nights* is the Baghdad of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786-809), the fourth 'Abbasid caliph, the latter attribution makes more sense.

Manley's play, which is propelled by the caliph's vow (or sultan as he is called) to marry a virgin every night and kill her the next morning, closely follows the frame tale of the *1001 nights*. By the play's end, the rakish sultan is reformed, Almyna has become his companionate wife, and their ill-fated siblings die in scenes of maximum pathos. Manley adds to this frame in having her sultan justify his serial murders through his faulty interpretation that the 'Alcoran' holds that women have no souls. This view, which has no grounds in the Qur'an, is ultimately refuted in the play through Almyna's rational argumentation and heroic example. As a point of comparison, it was commonly asserted in the West, from Aristotle to the early Church Fathers, that women lacked souls, which justified their exclusion from the fields of education, government, religious ministries and other public offices. Up to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, one of the 'first feminists', Sarah Fyge Egerton in *The female advocate* (1686), was forced to counter English men's conviction that 'a Woman had no Soul' and their attempt to establish 'Poligamy' in England, although her refutation aligned with the 'feminist Orientalist' displacement of such prejudices onto the Islamic world (Andrea, *Women and Islam*, pp. 80-5). By contrast, Manley subversively identifies with her title character, with Almyna's name being a near anagram of her surname. As a figuration of Scheherazade from the *1001 nights*, this is a Muslim woman who epitomises the educated and efficacious defender of women's rights. By identifying with this figure, Manley thus counters the emerging trend towards

feminist Orientalism by locating the source of gender despotism in England rather than displacing it onto exoticised cultural others.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Manley's *Almyna* dramatises a more direct engagement with Islam than had *The royal mischief*, one harnessed to a feminist critique that challenges the projection of patriarchal oppression onto Eastern, and especially Muslim, women to shore up the perception of Western women as the purportedly 'freest' in the world (Andrea, 'Islam, women, and western responses', p. 274). Even though the dominant trend in the English tradition was towards feminist Orientalism, epitomised by Mary Wollstonecraft's *A vindication of the rights of woman* (1792), Manley's counter-Orientalist alternative resonated in subsequent English women's more open engagement with Islam, such as Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish embassy letters* (composed 1716-18; published 1763).

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Delarivier Manley, *Almyna: or, The Arabian vow*, London: printed for William Turner, at the Angel at Lincolns-Inn back-gate; and Egbert Sanger, at the Post-House at the Middle-Temple Gate in Fleetstreet, 1707; ESTC T127824 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Herman, *Selected works of Delarivier Manley*, vol. 5. *The Examiner, pamphlets, plays*
- Andrea, *English women staging Islam*

#### STUDIES

- M. Krueger, 'Vengeance, vows, and "heroick vertue". Reforming the revenger in Delarivier Manley's *Almyna: or, The Arabian vow*', in A. Hultquist and E.J. Mathews (eds), *New perspectives on Delarivier Manley and eighteenth-century literature*, New York, 2016, 43-56
- Caballero Aceituno, 'Patterns of female exploration'
- Cuder-Dominguez, *Stuart women playwrights*
- Andrea, 'Islam, women, and Western responses'
- B. Orr, 'Galland, Georgian theatre, and the creation of popular Orientalism', in S. Makdisi and F. Nussbaum (eds), *The Arabian nights in historical context. Between East and West*, Oxford, 2008
- Andrea, *Women and Islam in early modern English literature*
- Marsden, *Fatal desire*
- Ballaster, *Fabulous Orient*s
- Herman, *Business of a woman*
- Lowenthal, *Performing identities*



- S.F. Ng, 'Delariviere Manley's *Almyna* and dating the first edition of the English *Arabian nights' entertainments*', *English Language Notes* 40 (2003) 19-26
- Anderson, 'Performance of authorship'
- Orr, *Empire on the English stage*
- Hollis-Berry, "No party favour'd"
- R.B. Yeazell, *Harems of the mind. Passages of Western art and literature*, New Haven CT, 2000
- Rubik, *Early women dramatists*
- Oney, 'Women playwrights'
- Rubik, "My life, my soul, my all is fixed upon enjoyment"
- Williamson, *Raising their voices*
- Pearson, *Prostituted muse*
- Clark, *Three Augustan women playwrights*
- Cotton, *Women playwrights in England*

Bernadette Andrea

# David Jones

DATE OF BIRTH    Probably 1660  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Llwynrhys, Cardiganshire, Wales  
DATE OF DEATH    1720  
PLACE OF DEATH    Probably Clerkenwell, London

## BIOGRAPHY

David Jones was probably born in or soon after 1660 in Llwynrhys, in the parish of Llanbadarn Odwyn, Cardiganshire, the year that his father John Jones (1640-1722), an early Congregational minister, is believed to have married Margaret Edwards. The Jones' house was first licensed for non-conformist worship in 1672 and remained in use until 1735 (Gordon, *Freedom after ejection*, p. 294). Jones may have attended a grammar school in Richmond, London, possibly run by one of his brothers, although the exact relationship of the schoolmaster to Jones is obscure as David is believed to have been the eldest son. John Dunton (1659-1733), the bookseller and periodical publisher, who knew Jones, wrote that he had been 'designed for the ministry, but began to teach school, and from that employment turned author and corrector for the press' (*Life and errors*, vol. 1, p. 181).

Having acquired proficiency in French, Jones lived in France from about 1675 and claims to have had a commission to collect 'all the Intelligence he could learn of the Proceedings of the French Court' (*Secret history of Whitehall*, vol. 1, sig. A4r). A year later, he says he became interpreter for the Marquis of Louvois, Secretary of State for War (A3r), though he may have worked for one of the Marquis's subordinates. He joined the newly formed 1st King's Dragoon Guards as a captain 'soon after its formation' in 1685, and fought with William III at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 (although N. Snyder, 'David Jones', pp. 12-13, questions this).

By about 1696, Jones was living in Clerkenwell, London, where he began to make his living as a writer. The first part of his *Secret history of Whitehall*, the work that won him public attention, capitalising on the popular appetite for 'secret court memoirs' (Snyder, 'David Jones', p. 14) appeared in 1697.

Until his death in 1720, he continued to produce historical and biographical works and became well-known in book-selling circles and among what Snyder describes as the 'second-rank' of London's 'educated and professional men' ('David Jones', p. 13), which included John Dunton, Roger Coke (1628-1704), the political commentator, Thomas Brown (1663-1704), a writer and translator, the cartographer Herman Moll (1654-1732), whose map he used in his books, and several well-known physicians. By modern standards, his works were almost all the result of plagiarism, although at this time 'plagiarism was an accepted method of constructing a book' (Snyder, 'David Jones', p. 11). He is mainly remembered for his *Compleat history of Europe*, which he published in annual volumes between 1705 and 1720.

The exact details and date of his death are unknown. He is presumed to have died in London, probably in Clerkenwell, after 1720, when his literary output ends.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

David Jones, *The secret history of Whitehall*, London, 1697

J. Dunton, *The life and errors of John Dunton, citizen of London; with the lives and characters of more than a thousand contemporary divines and other persons of literary eminence*, ed. J.B. Nichols, London, 1818, vol. 1, pp. 181-2

### *Secondary*

A. du Toit, art. 'Jones, David', in *ODNB*

N. Snyder, 'David Jones. Augustan historian and pioneer English analyst', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 44 (1980) 11-26

E.D. Jones, art. 'David Jones (1660-1724?) translator and literary hack', in J.E. Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins (eds), *The dictionary of Welsh biography*, Oxford, 1959, 12-13

A. Gordon, *Freedom after ejection. A review (1690-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational nonconformity in England and Wales*, Manchester, 1917, p. 294

T.R. Roberts, *Eminent Welshmen*, Cardiff, 1908, vol. 1, p. 220

T.C.U., 'Captain David Jones, Llwynrhys', *The Red Dragon. The National Magazine of Wales* 10 (1886) 86

D.L. Thomas, art. 'Jones, David', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## A compleat history of the Turks

DATE 1701-19

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

David Jones' *A compleat history of the Turks: from their origin in the year 755, to the year 1701. Containing the rise, growth, and decay of that empire, in its respective periods, under their several kings and emperors.... With the life of their prophet Mahomet* first appeared in two volumes in 1701. Following the pattern established by Richard Knolles (d. 1610) in his *Generall historie of the Turkes* (1603), Jones gave a chapter to the reign of each sultan. In fact, in the parts up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Jones more or less reproduces Knolles with some abridgement, freely acknowledging his indebtendness in the preface, where he claims to have omitted material 'remote to the subject matter' and to have corrected 'errors and defects' (vol. 1, pp. iii, v). For rulers after 1600, he uses various continuations of Knolles, mainly by Paul Rycaut (1629-1700). In vol. 2, the historical material, ending on p. 406, is followed by Rycaut's 'Maxims of the Turks', taken from *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1668), and the 'Dictionary', taken from Barthélemy d'Herbelot de Molainville's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), presumably Jones' own translation.

In 1718-19, vols 1 and 2 were republished together with a further two volumes. Jones brought his historical material up to the time of Achmet III (Ahmed III), who had ruled since 1703, moving the 'Maxims' and 'Dictionary' to vol. 3. Vol. 4 begins with the 'Life of Mahomet' (pp. 3-60), mostly taken from Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture, fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* (1697), followed by the 1649 English translation of Andre du Ryer's French translation of the Qur'an. The text is illustrated with images of the sultans and of some other Ottoman notables from engravings by Michael Vandergucht (1660-1725), and there is also a map by Hermann Moll (d. 1732).

By modern standards, the work is obviously plagiarised, although there are some signs of editing and Jones does openly refer to his sources in the Preface, including Richard Hakluyt's *The principal navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (1589) and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his pilgrimage* (1613). He also consulted books by people who

travelled or lived in the Ottoman world, such as Rycaut's *Present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1668), George Sandy's *Relation of a journey* (1615) and Jean de Thevenot's *Relation d'un voyage* (1665).

Given that Jones was almost wholly dependent on his sources, it is not surprising that he repeated their views on Islam, which were hostile. One of the rare instances when it is possible to identify an editorial decision made by Jones himself and what may have given rise to this relates to the supposed compact between Muḥammad and the monks of St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, which he reproduces from Rycaut (*Present state*, pp. 99-102) but with the comment from Prideaux (*Imposture*, p. 158) that the document is a forgery (vol. 2, p. 53). By siding with Prideaux, he was choosing to emphasise Muslim intolerance and Islam's propagation by the sword rather than highlighting that Christians are permitted under Islamic law to retain and practise their faith. In addition, a remark in the 'Preface', that he expected to receive a 'kind Reception from the Intelligent Reader' for a treatise on the 'Rise, progress and decline' of the 'Turkish empire', suggests he recognised the sad state of the Ottoman world.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

When the first two volumes of the *Compleat history* were published in 1701, Jones faced immediate competition from another abridgement of Knolles-Rycaut, *The Turkish history*, compiled by John Savage (1673-1747), rector of Clothall in Hertfordshire. The rivalry that developed between Savage and Jones may have attracted attention to both their texts, which represent the only historical studies in English of the Ottomans between Rycaut's last continuation of Knolles (1687) and Edward Gibbon's treatment in vol. 6 of his *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1788), but neither was thought of much value. As an anonymous critic wrote: the public were puzzled 'which author to back' since 'each was well known as a bookseller's hack', whose books were equal in 'dullness, in blunders, in look, and in leather' (Crossley, 'Epigram', p. 349).

Despite this, among readers of *A compleat history* who repeated Jones' tone of hostility towards Islam was the eminent American theologian, Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) (*Catalogue of books*, ed. P.J. Thuesen, New Haven CT, 2008, p. 335). The fact that Edwards possessed the text indicates that, whether he put it to much use or not, it circulated among serious scholars. Lord Byron knew and cited it in the 'Advertisement' for *The siege of Corinth* (London, 1816, p. 6).

## PUBLICATIONS

David Jones, *A compleat history of the Turks, from their origin in the year 755, to the year 1701: containing the rise, growth, and decay of that Empire in its respective periods, under their several kings and emperors ... with the life of their prophet Mahomet; to which are added, their maxims of state and religion ... illustrated with the effigies curiously ingraven of all their kings and emperors ... together with a new map of the Turkish Empire, designed and ingraven by Mr. Moll*, London, 1701; DR439 J6 (digitised version available through Ohio State University)

David Jones, *A compleat history of the Turks: from their origin in the year 755, to the year 1718.... Illustrated with effigies ... as also with an exact map ... To which are added, I. Their maxims of state and religion. II. A dictionary ... III. The life of their prophet Mahomet. IV. The Alcoran ... In four volumes*, London, 1718-19, repr. 2010; ESTC T130759 (digitised version available through ECCO)

## STUDIES

R.D. McColl, *Stirring age. Scott, Byron and the historical romance*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015, pp. 132-3

P. Cochran, *Byron and Orientalism*, Newcastle, 2006, pp. 69, 233-4, 261, 269

H. Bowen, *British contributions to Turkish studies*, [s.l.], 1945, p. 28

J. Crossley, 'Epigram on Savage and Jones', *Notes & Queries*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series 10 (3 November 1866) 349

Dunton, *Life and errors of John Dunton*, vol. 1, pp. 181-2

Clinton Bennett

# John Toland

DATE OF BIRTH 30 November 1670  
PLACE OF BIRTH Ardagh, County Donegal, Ireland  
DATE OF DEATH 11 March 1722  
PLACE OF DEATH Putney, London

## BIOGRAPHY

John Toland (also Jean and Johannes Toland, and Joannes Tolandus) was born on 30 November 1670 in Ardagh, County Donegal. He later claimed to have been baptised with the name Junius Janus, but called himself John to escape ridicule at school. His parents' identities are unknown. His father may have been a Catholic priest, but by the age of 16 Toland had become a Protestant. Taken under their wing by local dissenting clergy, he was sent to a school in Redcastle then to the College of Glasgow, graduating from Edinburgh University with an MA in 1690 (probably presenting himself to the examiners there to avoid the oath of allegiance required by Glasgow, see Daniel, *Toland*, p. 6).

Two years of further study followed at Leiden, funded by English dissenters. He then spent over a year in Oxford, where he wrote *Christianity not mysterious* (1695), in which he drew on John Locke's (1632-1704) ideas about rational religion to argue that Christianity should be stripped of later, irrational additions and restored to its original, rational form. The first edition was anonymous, but Toland acknowledged authorship after a year. Later, he coined the English term 'pantheist' to describe the theology of Spinoza, whom he saw as a kindred spirit (*Socinianism truly stated*, London, 1705). The first use of the term 'freethinker' is believed to have been in William Molyneux's letter sent to Locke on 6 April 1697 describing Toland as a 'candid free-thinker and a good scholar' (*Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E.S. de Beer, Oxford, 1980, vol. 6, p. 83). The controversy created by *Christianity not mysterious*, London, 1696, which saw over 50 published refutations, led to a jury in Middlesex proscribing it, as Oxford University did later, while the Irish parliament ordered his arrest and the book's public burning. Robert Smith (d. 1716), Canon of Westminster, denounced him as a 'certain Mahometan Christian' (*Posthumous works*, London, 1717, vol. 2, p. 228).

Toland was in Dublin at this juncture, but fled to London. Although the book only specifically mentions the Trinity once (*Christianity not mysterious*, p. 27), critics assumed that it loomed large in Toland's mind as the prime example of 'ambiguous Terms, and puzzling Distinctions' (*Christianity not mysterious*, p. xiii). This provoked the House of Commons to pass the Blasphemy Act of 1697. Locke was accused of arguing that revelation is itself unreasonable owing to Toland's dependency on his *Essay concerning human understanding* (1689). After Edward Stillingfleet (d. 1699), Dean of St Paul's, denounced Locke and Toland as Socinians, Locke distanced himself from Toland as lacking discretion (*A discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity*, London, 1697).

Toland experienced a period of financial difficulty caused by his precarious legal situation, although he was not formally accused. The notoriety of the book caused people to buy it, and publishers soon employed him as an editor, translator and writer of memoirs, including one on John Milton (1699), whose *Prose works* he also edited (1698). Patronage also came from sympathetic Whigs and leading dissenters, among whom his principal patron was Viscount Molesworth (d. 1725).

Visiting the Continent several times, Toland was hospitably received by society in Berlin and Hanover, where the Electress Sophia (r. 1692-8) spent hours in his company, sometimes together with G.W. Leibniz (d. 1716), the polymath philosopher, with whom he later corresponded. Toland had some hope of employment on the Continent either as a British diplomat or as a spy for Robert Harley (d. 1722), the Speaker (later Earl of Oxford and a patron of Simon Ockley), whose policies he had supported in two pamphlets. Although this hope went unfulfilled, he did receive several writing and other commissions from Harley. He wrote many political tracts promoting limits to royal power and expressing republican sympathies.

In 1702, after a vote to censure *Christianity not mysterious* was passed in the Lower House of Convocation, Toland apologised for 'youthful indiscretions' and pledged to conform to the teachings of the Church (*Vindicius liberius*, London, 1702, pp. 81, 106). However, in *Nazarenus* (1718) he argued that the pure expressions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam were essentially one faith.

Toland's ideas resemble those of Henry Stubbe (1632-76), who identified with Arianism. Toland may have read Stubbe's then unpublished writing on Islam, of which manuscripts were circulating 'among men like Toland' (Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, p. 159). Toland himself aimed to revive



a universal religion which he thought predated religious divisions. He drew on an Italian version of the Gospel of Barnabas, which he claims to have seen in Amsterdam in 1709. Some think that his *Pantheisticon* (1720), describing a liturgy for a Socratic society, was intended for use by Freemasons, and that Toland had a 'real and complex role' in Freemasonry's 'spread onto the Continent' (Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, p. 66). Toland was also interested in Celtic Christianity and, like the Freemasons, in the Druids. He saw their reverence for the divine in nature as closer to universal religion. A defender of religious liberty, he championed the naturalisation of Jews in Britain and their return to Palestine. His name was also linked with a number of clandestine texts that circulated widely among radical thinkers (Harley and Molesworth were consumers and possibly patrons of this literature) before they were printed, including *Traité des trois imposteurs* (Amsterdam, 1719), which claimed to expose Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad as impostors, and *Doutes sur religion* (Amsterdam, 1767, and an earlier manuscript dated 1719), which contends that none of the three Abrahamic religions represents the true religion of reason and innate moral virtue.

Toland died in Putney after a period of illness on 11 March 1722. He was buried in St Mary's Parish Church on 13 March, with no stone to mark his grave. His works contain a few scattered autobiographical remarks, but most biographies make use of Pierre Desmaizeaux's memoir of 1726.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- MS London, BL – Add. 4295 and 4465 (1690-1722, correspondence and works)
- MS Paris, BNF – 24,885 (1719) *Doutes* (includes Toland's self-penned epitaph)
- E. Curll, *An historical account of the life and writings of the eminently famous Mr. John Toland ... by one of his most intimate friends*, London, 1722 (attributed to Curll; it has a few biographical details, a summary of Toland's opinions, and a catalogue of his writings)
- P. Desmaizeaux, 'Some memoirs of the life and writing of Mr. John Toland in a letter to S\*\*\*B\*\*\*L\*\*\*', in P. Desmaizeaux (ed.), *A collection of several pieces of Mr. John Toland: Now first publish'd from his original manuscripts: with some memoirs of his life and writing*, London, 1726, pp. iii-xcii (the source of most biographies)

### Secondary

- M. Brown, *A political biography of John Toland*, Abingdon, 2016
- J. Champion, *Republican learning. John Toland and the crisis of Christian culture, 1696-1722*, Manchester, 2009

- D.C. Fouke, *Philosophy and theology in a burlesque mode. John Toland and 'the way of paradox'*, Amherst NY, 2007
- S.H. Daniel, art. 'Toland, John', in *ODNB*
- J.R. Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, radical Protestantism and the early Enlightenment*, Cambridge, 2002, ch. 8, 'Civil religion. From Stubbe to Toland', 139-59; 'Epilogue', 161-4
- M.C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment. Freemasonry and politics in eighteenth-century Europe*, Oxford, 1991
- R.R. Evans, *Pantheisticon. The career of John Toland*, New York, 1991
- R.E. Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist controversy. A study in adaptation*, Cambridge MT, 1982

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, gentile, and Mahometan Christianity

DATE 1718

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

John Toland's *Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* was published in London in 1718 (references below refer to this edition). A second, revised edition was published later the same year with the same pagination. The work was also included in the posthumously published *Theological and philosophical works of the late Mr John Toland* (1732), edited by Toland's earliest biographer, Pierre Desmaizeaux (where it begins at p. 104). It consists of a preface (i-xxv), two letters (Letter One, pp. 1-85; Letter Two, pp. 1-57) and three appendices (pp. 1-16). The preface is addressed to 'DS', whose identity remains unknown. Toland dated this 20 January 1718, while the first letter, 'The History of the ancient *Gospel of Barnabas* and the modern Gospel of the Mahometans ... together with the original plan of Christianity', is signed at Honslaerdyke, the Netherlands, with the date 1709. The existence of a 70-page manuscript in French (Austrian National Library 10325) dated 1710, a first version of the text, and also of an even earlier 'mock up for a title page' and a draft of the opening 'chapter of the French manuscript' dated 1698, indicate that Toland had begun working on the book a decade earlier (Jones, 'Genesis', p. 93; MS London, BL – 4465, fols 63v-64). On the basis of the title used for the 'mock up', 'Mahometan Christianity', F.S. Jones surmises that the idea for the book may date from when Robert South called Toland 'a

Mahometan Christian', causing Toland to decide to 'turn a negative into a positive' (Jones, 'Genesis', p. 93).

Almost anyone who expressed anti-Trinitarian ideas was labelled 'Mahometan' at this time, an insult that conjured up all sorts of negative associations. It was often insinuated that the next logical step for Unitarians or Socinians was to become Muslims, since, as Thomas Calvert wrote, for them 'Turcism is not so strange a thing' (*The blessed Jew of Marocco*, York, 1648, p. 221). Nabil Matar comments that 'orthodox theologians started seeing Muslims wherever they saw Unitarians' (*Islam in Britain*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 48). In fact, a letter written by Socinians in 1682 or 1684 intended for the Moroccan ambassador suggested some type of Unitarian-Muslim rapprochement. Thomas Mangey (d. 1755), referred to this 'proposal of accommodation' in his rebuttal of *Nazarenus*. This proposed defensive and offensive theological alliance is printed in Charles Leslie's *The Socinian controversy discuss'd* (London, 1708, pp. iii-xiii). The expression 'Mahometan Christian', Mangey wrote, was actually appropriate for 'those who flatly deny the divine Character of the Son of God. They are "not Christians" but revile all Decency in the Church and Faith in Religion' (*Remarks upon Nazarenus*, London, 1718, p. 50). The Unitarian Joseph Priestley (d. 1804) was accused of 'secretly preaching the Mahometan faith', while the 'image of Unitarians as "Mahometans"' was used 'as the prime justification for their exclusion from citizenship' (H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, Baltimore MD, 2012, p. 165). Toland may very well have decided to embrace what had originated as a derisive label.

The second letter describes an 'Irish manuscript of the four gospels', which Toland had 'discovered in The Hague', and which is a 'summary of the ancient Irish Christianity before papal corruptions and usurpations' (Title page for Letter Two) There is no date or place indicated on the last page. The first appendix discusses 'two problems ... concerning the Jewish Nation and Religion', reprinted from *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews* (1714). Both are dated 17-9 with a handwritten 16 above and a 10 below the hyphen, and The Hague as the location. The second appendix is an additional account of *Barnabas* by Bernard de la Monnoye (d. 1728) of the French Academy, and the third appendix poses a series of questions for Christians to ask Muslims when visiting or living in Muslim countries. There is no indication of place or date.

In the first letter, Toland states that 'there is a sense in which Mahometans may not improperly be reckon'd and call'd a sort of sect of Christians, as Christians were at first esteemed a branch of Judaism' (pp. 4-5).

In fact, referring to this in the Preface, he remarks that Muslims were, if not the 'best sort' of Christians, 'not the worst sort' either (p. iii). This sets out the thesis he proceeds to defend, that a Christianity stripped of later corruptions will harmonise with Judaism and Islam. Thus, Muslims should be 'tolerated' in London and Amsterdam just as 'Christians of every kind' are in Istanbul and throughout Turkey (p. 5).

F.S. Jones sees *Nazarenus* as a 'plea for political toleration', pointing out that at this time many of Toland's writings, including his arguments for the naturalisation of Jews and in favour of dissenters holding public office, called for religious liberty (Jones, 'Genesis', p. 94).

Toland develops his argument in support of the mutuality of religions by claiming that neither Jesus nor Muḥammad set out to abrogate his predecessor's religious law (p. 5), but rather to remind people of the same natural principles (set out in the Noahic covenant; p. 65) that are the basis of all true religion. In the Preface, Toland says that true religion 'requires the sanctification of the spirit, and the renovation of the inward man ...', and its 'Gospel consists not in words but in virtue; tis inward and spiritual abstracted from all outward performances: for the most exact observation of externals, may be without one grain of religion' (p. v). Muḥammad did not borrow 'some of his fundamental doctrines' from Sergius, a Nestorian monk (an accusation levelled by Christians from at least as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century, often calling this heretical Christian Baḥīrā), but 'from the earliest monuments of the Christian religion' (p. 5). Sounding as though he had read (as many speculate he had) Henry Stubbe's rebuttal of traditional calumnies, Toland dismisses the notions of Muḥammad's 'pigeon', his tomb being 'suspended in the air', and his 'pretending to work miracles' as 'pious frauds and fables, to which the Musulmans are utter strangers' (p. 4). Like the theologian and mathematician William Whiston (1667-1752), he argues that the Trinity and Incarnation are deviations from original Christianity and that the earliest documents of the Church prove this. Whiston, he comments, 'writes more coherently' than anyone in England, even though people think him mad (p. 72).

Toland argues that some of the early Christian texts that have been 'pronounced apocryphal' (p. 6) actually merit attention because those who condemned them and selected others had their own 'designs' in mind. Among these texts, he mentions the Gospel of Barnabas, to which he had already referred in *Amyntor, or a defence of Milton's life* (1699) (p. 40). He came across this in Amsterdam in the summer of 1709 (it is now Codex 2662 in the Austrian National Library).

Before describing the contents of this gospel, Toland establishes that Muslims acknowledge all the prophets, especially the six who instigated new institutions, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, all of whom in essence taught 'one and the same religion' (p. 9). Religion becomes corrupt over time, so the prophetic task is to reform and renew, for true religion is 'one and the same ... from the beginning' even though its institutions may differ depending on circumstances of place and time (p. 30). Muslims, he points out, accept four scriptures, Moses' Torah, David's Psalms, Jesus' Gospel and Muḥammad's Qur'an (p. 10), and also believe that other prophets, including Seth, Abraham and Enoch, had books sent to them 'even to the number of 104' (p. 10). Some Arabs 'call Mahometanism the Religion of the four books', and Christianity 'that of the two books' (p. 11). Toland's point is to show that it would not be unreasonable for Muslims to have a gospel in their possession. He was interested to enquire of them whether they might 'have, or pretend to have' other gospels as well (Appendix 3, p. 15).

Toland describes the Gospel of Barnabas in some detail. In it, Muḥammad 'is expressly named for the Paraclete' (p. 16), while Jesus is a 'mere man' although 'divinely conceiv'd by the Virgin Mary' (pp. 16-17). It denies that Jesus was crucified, a claim that Toland supports by citing the Basilideans and other early Christians who, centuries before Muḥammad, believed that someone else such as Simon of Cyrene or Judas was substituted on the cross (pp. 17-18). For these Christians, neither Jesus' divinity nor his resurrection were essential dogmas.

Reference to the parting of the ways between Paul and Barnabas in Acts 15:36-41 (p. 23) allows Toland to develop his argument that earliest Christianity more closely resembled Islam and Judaism than the religion people now call Christianity, and that this is supported by the Gospel of Barnabas. Paul was guilty of having 'metamorphos'd' and 'perverted' Jesus' religion with notions of the Trinity and the divine sonship of Jesus and his sacrificial death (p. 24). Peter and James had thought this as well, therefore this is 'neither an invention of the Mahometans' nor a 'novelty of their gospel' (p. 24). The Gospel of Barnabas, he argues, sets out the system of the Judaising Ebionites (p. 16), referring for support to the Aramaic Gospel of the Hebrews, an Ebionite text which, he says, was 'read in their churches as authentic for 300 years' (pp. 78-9). For Toland, Ebionite or Nazarene Christianity was the original, true form of the faith before it was corrupted by Paul, the Councils and the 'impenetrable sophistry' of priests over the centuries (p. vi). The Christianity presented by Islam and attested in the Gospel of Barnabas reflects this true, original Christianity.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Soon after the work was published in 1718, several refutations came speedily off the press, including those by Thomas Mangey and James Paterson. Mangey (d. 1755), a former Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, wrote *Remarks upon Nazarenus* in 1718, and apparently earned his Cambridge LLD for this work. In particular, he dismisses the idea that there ever was a Gospel of Barnabas in the early days of the church (p. 11).

In his rebuttal, entitled *Anti-Nazarenus* (London, 1718), James Paterson characterises *Nazarenus* as a labyrinth of lies designed to blend Islam and Christianity into one religion (A3). He musters a number of traditional arguments against Islam, including the familiar rejection of Muḥammad as prophet because of his lack of miracles and foretelling, and his resort to the sword to spread his lies among an ignorant, barbarian people. Among Paterson's other works, the most cited is *Pietas Londinensis* (1714), which is of interest to Christian-Muslim relations in its own right for its comparison of Muslims' deep attention to prayer with Londoners' neglect, and Muslim piety, which puts Christians to shame.

Toland combined his reply to these and other critics in *Mangoneutes: Being a defence of Nazarenus*, London, 1718. Here, one of his strategies was to cite sources whose credibility, in his view, outweighed Mangey's and Paterson's.

Toland attracted some Muslim appreciation for his ideas, though more for his promotion of the Gospel of Barnabas and arguments about the corruption of the Bible than for his idea of congruence between the three Abrahamic faiths. For better or for worse, Toland gave this gospel a 'new lease of life' (Katz, *God's last words*, p. 141). Whether Muslims knew of the text before *Nazarenus* or not, he stimulated interest among them, and since 1717 it has gone through countless reprintings in the Muslim world (Katz, *God's last words*, p. 141). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Nazarenus* was used in north India by Muslims in debates with Christians about the corruption of scripture (A. Powell, *Missionaries and Muslims in pre-Mutiny India*, London, 2013, pp. 98, 232).

## PUBLICATIONS

John Toland, *Nazarenus, or, Jewish, gentile and Mahometan Christianity: Containing 1) the history of the ancient Gospel of Barnabas, and the modern gospel of Mahometans, attributed to the same Apostle, 2) the original plan of Christianity, 3) the relation of an Irish Ms. of the gospels, as likewise a summary of the ancient Irish Christianity, and*

*the reality of the Keldees &c*, London, 1718; ESTC T139629 (digitised version available through ECCO, consists of Letter Two only)

John Toland, *Nazarenus, or, Jewish, gentile and Mahometan Christianity. Containing the history of the antient Gospel of Barnabas, and the modern gospel of the Mahometans, attributed to the same Apostle, this last Gospel being now first made known among Christians. Also the original plan of Christianity, occasionally explain'd in the history of the nazarens, wherby diverse controversies about this divine (but highly perverted) institution may be happily terminated. With the relation of an Irish manuscript of the four Gospels, as likewise a summary of the antient Irish Christianity, and the reality of the Kaldees (an order of lay-religious), against the two last Bishops of Worcester*, London, 1718<sup>2</sup>; ESTC T120680 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Toland, *The theological and philological works of the late Mr. John Toland: Being a system of Jewish, gentile and Mahometan Christianity*, London, 1732; KW 585 H 7 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

John Toland, *Le Nazaréen: ou, le christianisme des juifs, des gentils et des mahométans, etc.*, trans. P.H.D. Holbach, London [Amsterdam], 1777, repr. Paris, 1977 (French trans.); ESTC T104300 (digitised version available through ECCO)

G. Palmer and C.-M. Palmer, *Ein Freispruch für Paulus: John Tolands Theorie des Judenchristentums: mit einer Neuausgabe von Tolands 'Nazarenus' von Claus-Michael Palmer*, Berlin, 1996 (reproduces the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 1-184, collated with the French MS)

John Toland, *Nazarenus*, ed. J.I.A. Champion, Oxford, 1999 (reprints the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 115-245, and includes the French MS, pp. 255-86)

John Toland, 'Nazarenus', in F.S. Jones (ed.), *The rediscovery of Jewish Christianity. From Toland to Baur*, Atlanta GA, 2012, pp. 167-242 (reproduces the Preface and Letter 1 from the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition)

#### STUDIES

A. Ali, *South Asian Islam and British multiculturalism*, Abingdon, 2016 (discusses Toland and Stubbe)

G. Stroumsa, 'Jewish Christianity and Islamic origins', in A.Q. Ahmed et al. (eds), *Islamic cultures, Islamic contexts. Essays in honor of Professor Patricia Crone*, Leiden, 2016, 72-9 (discusses Toland)

- F.S. Jones, *Rediscovery of Jewish Christianity. From Toland to Baur*, Leiden, 2012
- F.S. Jones, 'The genesis, purpose and significance of John Toland's *Nazarenus*', in Jones, *Rediscovery of Jewish Christianity*, 91-104
- P. Lurbe, 'John Toland's *Nazarenus* and the original plan of Christianity', in Jones, *Rediscovery of Jewish Christianity*, 45-56
- H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840*, Baltimore MD, 2011 (links Stubbe and Toland, see pp. 52-8)
- D. Katz, review article, 'John Toland, *Nazarenus*, edited by Justin Champion', *Eighteenth Century Ireland* 15 (2001) 173-9 (repr. in Katz, *God's last words*, New Haven CT, 2004, 137-43)
- R.H. Popkin, 'Foreword. The Leiden Seminar', in S. Berti, F. Charles-Daubert and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and free thought in early-eighteenth-century Europe. Studies on the Traité des trois imposteurs*, Dordrecht, 1996, vii-xix
- J.A.I. Champion, 'Legislators, impostors, and the political origins of English theories of "imposture". From Stubbe to Toland', in Berti, Charles-Daubert and Popkin, *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and free thought*, 333-56
- J.A.I. Champion, 'Historia monotheistica', in J.A.I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken. The Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730*, Cambridge, 1992, 99-132 (on Toland and Stubbe's ideas)

## Doutes sur la religion 'Doubts about religion'

DATE Uncertain; before 1719

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

*Doutes sur la religion* is one of several inter-related texts that circulated clandestinely in manuscript form among a coterie of radical thinkers in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. Members were Deists, Freemasons, pantheists and religious sceptics, and included Count Henri de Boulainvilliers (d. 1722), Benjamin Furlly (d. 1714), Yves de Vallone (d. 1705), Charles de Saint-Évremond (d. 1703), Pierre des Maizeaux (d. 1745) and Baron d'Holbach (d. 1789). There were also journalists, writers and aristocratic dilettantes, with a strong Huguenot contingent. Prince Eugene of Savoy (d. 1736) and



his adjutant-general, Baron de Hohendorf (d. 1719), who acted as liaison between the coterie and the royal court, both friends of Toland and mentioned in *Nazarenus*, collected clandestine texts. The Third Earl of Shaftesbury (d. 1713) and Viscount Molesworth (d. 1735) (both known to Toland) may have helped finance these underground literary productions.

Works borrow from each other or draw on the same sources, resulting in considerable overlap. There is also some overlap between this material and the *Thérèse philosophe* (1748), which was distributed, together with other *erotica*, through the same underground channels (see Darn-ton, *Forbidden best-sellers*, pp. 407-8). Anne Thomson points out that, as well as hoping to gain a wider audience for their philosophical ideas by including them 'in an erotic work of fiction', a number of 'early hedonists' belonged to the clandestine circle (*Bodies*, p. 171). Saint-Évremond is routinely described as a hedonist.

John Toland's name has been linked with several of these texts, including *Traité des trois imposteurs* ('Treatise of the three imposters') as well as *Doutes*. He is known to have had a copy of the *Traité* (see O'Higgins, *Yves de Vallone*, p. 3), and *Nazarenus* had initially circulated clandestinely as a French draft before being published in English (A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, p. 90). Toland did not always sign his works, sometimes used pseudonyms, and switched between languages with ease.

Different versions of these works add and omit content, while material may be included in different chapters, the number of which vary, and the same text may also appear under several titles, which are often similar, adding to confusion about authorship: Georges Minois lists 12 different titles for the *Traité* (*Atheist's Bible*, p. 136). London (Londres) is often cited as place of publication, although these works were actually almost all published in the Netherlands. All result from lengthy editorial and redaction processes that may have lasted several decades, rendering attribution to a single individual all but redundant.

Toland's association with the *Traité* was a matter of rumour and infamy during his lifetime. Its putative history dates back centuries, but it was almost certainly produced in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Closely related to *Doutes*, and also linked with Toland, *Examen de religion* ('Review of religion') probably evolved into its final form between 1705 and 1745, when it was first printed. Another edition, entitled *La vraie religion démontrée par l'écriture sainte* is identical to the first printed version of *Examen de la religion, dont on cherche l'écclaircissement de bonne foi* (1745), and both name Saint-Évremond as author. The 1767 printed edition of *Doutes* credits Boulainvilliers. This entry focuses on *Doutes*, but some discussion

of the *Traité* and reference to *Examen* is appropriate because these works were produced within the same radical circle, and they pursue more or less the same argument.

Inclusion of a very brief biographical sketch of Toland in a version of *Doutes* (MS Paris, BNF – 24,885, dated 1719) lends strong, if not entirely conclusive, support to the case for Toland's authorship. This neatly handwritten text in hardcover binding came to the library from the collection of the noted bibliophile Jean-Thomas Aubry (1714-85), curé of Saint-Louis-en-l'Île. It begins with a preface (four pages), followed by a life of Toland over two pages, of which the bottom four lines of pp. 1 and 3 are Toland's self-penned epitaph. The main text runs from p. 9 to p. 176 (numbering begins on p. 12), with a chapter index on pp. 177-8. There are 14 chapters, including those on scripture (ch. 4), prophecy (ch. 5), miracles (ch. 10) and the Trinity (ch. 14). In places, the print version of 1767 follows the manuscript verbatim, although it often orders the contents differently and contains additional material. It follows *Doutes* with *L'analyse du traité théologico-politique de Spinoza* ('Analysis of the theologico-political treatise of Spinoza') (pp. 55-103), crediting Boulainvilliers with both works.

Here, reference is mainly to the manuscript of *Doutes*, MS 24,885, together with the printed version of 1767, and some passages in the 1745 version of *Examen* to indicate how these texts interrelate. The thesis they all propose is that true religion is universal, rational and natural, and there is thus no need for special revelation. There is much about inconsistencies in the Bible, about how different religious narratives repeat the same miracles, which therefore prove nothing, and about human ability to live a moral life and achieve knowledge of God without external help. Much of the discussion focuses on the roles of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad. MS 24,885 first mentions this triumvirate, adding Spinoza as a fourth member, on the second page of the preface, asking how people are to choose which of them to believe or follow. Esdras (Ezra) corrupted the Old Testament and Jerome the New (p. 29), while the doctrines of the Trinity and Christ's divinity, fabricated to counter the Ariens, were all later additions to Jesus' original religion (p. 174). Those who claimed to have received special revelation or to be themselves divine may have lived exemplary lives and may even have assisted others to achieve greater spiritual maturity, but claims that they enjoyed a privileged relationship with God are spurious, deriving from the corruption of their original teachings.

On this issue, the *Traité* is the most radical of these texts, impugning the sincerity of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, while *Doutes* and *Examen* tend to blame the followers of these figures. The suggestion is made that since Jesus, unlike Muḥammad, did not write anything, he cannot be blamed for his followers' claims (MS 24,885, p. 33; *Doutes*, 1767, p. 11; similar statement in *Examen*, 1745, p. 34). On the other hand, Muḥammad not only wrote the Qur'an, but taught his followers to be ignorant and brutish (MS 24,885, p. 124; *Doutes*, 1767, p. 32).

*Examen* refers to some 'beautiful' passages in the Qur'an, but adds that 'it often gives us a very unworthy idea' of a vengeful God and encourages 'strong passions' (1767, p. 51). The first reference to the triumvirate in the main text of the Paris MS occurs on p. 4, which says that Jesus Christ abrogated Moses' religion and Muḥammad Jesus' religion, though in fact 'there has never been a revelation ... it is not God but men who lie and contradict' each other' (MS 24,885, p. 12).

There is at least one other pejorative reference to Muḥammad, that he was guilty of the crime of spreading Islam with the sword (*Doutes*, 1767, p. 41). This phrase occurs in the section where an Indian of 'good faith' arrives in Europe and engages in a dialogue on how he might choose between different religions which all claim to be 'infallible' (MS 24,885, pp. 132-8). The same Indian finds his way into versions of *Examen* (1745, pp. 36, 59-60, 71, 76).

*Examen* rebukes Christians who challenge Muslims to engage critically with their religion while failing to investigate their own (1745, p. 3). All the texts ask how Christians and Muslims, who each claim that their religion was revealed, can judge objectively between their claims. If adjudicating between rival claims is impossible, how then is God to be worshipped at all? *Examen* has more to say about this than the other two works, offering the supreme goal of becoming 'l'honnête homme' (a good citizen) (1745, ch. 11, pp. 126-35) who, explains Betts, 'will not follow other people's views concerning his duty' (i.e. those of priests), 'unless they conform to the "lumiére claire et évidente" of reason' (*Early Deism*, p. 166). Worship according to established rites should be replaced by 'estime intérieure' (*Examen*, 1745, p. 132). Good citizens will help their neighbours and ensure social harmony. The 'spirit of order' will enable people to act morally, while 'reason will persuade them' how important order and honorable conduct is in society (*Examen*, 1745, p. 131). The print version ends by pointing out that neither Christians nor Muslims have any remorse about profaning the other's sacred texts (pp. 53-4), and are equally prejudiced and misguided in their religious claims.

## SIGNIFICANCE

For the coterie of radical thinkers and writers who produced this and other related texts, inclusion of Islam alongside Judaism and Christianity in their critique of organised religion was becoming commonplace. Even so, while it shifts towards treating all three of these seminal figures equally, rather than being more critical of Muḥammad in particular, several references still echo the anti-Islamic hostility of earlier times, such as that Muḥammad taught his followers to be rough or brutish, and that he propagated Islam violently. The statement that Muḥammad wrote the Qur'an while the Gospels were written after Jesus' time arguably reflects more negatively on Jesus. However, *Doutes* also says that because Jesus left the task of writing to others, he cannot be blamed for what the Gospels say or claim about him, which was a wiser action than that of Muḥammad.

Written for insiders, *Doutes* goes further than conventionally published works in ridiculing organised religion, even those written by the radical left. Its inclusion of Muḥammad alongside the two figures of Moses and Jesus can be seen mainly as an anti-Christian polemical ploy to diminish the stature of the biblical figures and deny their uniqueness by associating them with him. Nevertheless, the mention of Muḥammad alongside the others without any condemnation or criticism is a clear indication that Toland and his 17<sup>th</sup>-century contemporaries saw the faiths these figures represented as no different from one another and as no more than human constructions.

## PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – 24,885 *Doutes sur la Religion* (1719)

*Traité des trois imposteurs*, Amsterdam, 1719

Charles de St-Évremond (attr.), *Examen de la religion, dont on cherche l'éclaircissement de bonne foi*, Trévoux [Amsterdam], 1745 (Paris, 1972, Charleston SC, 2012)

Charles de St-Évremond (attr.), *Examen de la religion ou Doutes sur la religion dont on cherche l'éclaircissement de bonne foi*, Amsterdam, 1765 (Oxford, 1998, 1999); Français 13215 (digitised version available through BNF)

Gilbert Brunet, *La vraie religion démontrée par l'écriture sainte*, London, 1767; Dogm. 169 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Henri Boulainvilliers, *Doutes sur la religion suivies de l'analyse du traité théologico-politique de Spinoza, par le Comte de Boulainvilliers*,

- London, 1767; ESTC T122358 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J.M. Lucas (attr.), *Traité des trois imposteurs*, Amsterdam, 1777; VET. FR.II.A.1539 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)
- G. Brunet, *De tribus impostoribus*, M.D.IIC., Paris, 1861 (Latin trans.); VET.MISC.II.A.10 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)
- S. Briggs, *De tribus impostoribus*, AD. 1230. *The three impostors, translated (with notes and commentary) from a French manuscript of the work written in the year 1716*, s.l. [possibly Cleveland OH], 1904 (privately printed for subscribers)
- J.M. Lucas et al. (eds), *Traité des trois imposteurs. Manuscrit clandestin du début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (éd. 1777)*, Saint-Étienne, 1973
- A. Anderson, *The treatise of the three impostors and the problem of Enlightenment. A new translation of the Traité des trois imposteurs (1777 edition)*, Lanham MD, 1997
- The treatise of the three impostors (with notes and a new introduction)*, Astoria NY, 2015 (the critical introduction is signed only with the author's initials CH)

## STUDIES

- M.C. Jacob, 'The Radical Enlightenment and Freemasonry', *Philosophica* 88 (2013) 13-29 (updates her earlier argument linking Freemasonry, materialism, John Toland's role, clandestine literature and the Radical Enlightenment)
- G. Minois, *The atheist's Bible. The most dangerous book that never existed*, Chicago, 2012 (includes discussion of Toland's role in the clandestine movement)
- A. Gunny, 'Muhammad in clandestine literature', in A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature, 1650 to the present*, Leicester, 2010, 77-96 (the most detailed study of Doutes and the Islamic references in it)
- A. Thomson, *Bodies of thought. Science, religion, and the soul in the early Enlightenment*, Oxford, 2008 (extensive discussion of Toland, materialism and radical religious scepticism though no specific reference to Islam or Muhammad)
- Katz, 'John Toland, Nazarenus'
- S. Berti, F. Charles-Daubert and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and free thought in early-eighteenth-century Europe*, Dordrecht, 1996

- R. Darnton, *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France*, New York, 1995 (includes discussion of *Thérèse* and *Examen*)
- D. Berman, 'Disclaimers as Offence Mechanisms in Charles Blount and John Toland', in M. Hunter and D. Wootton (eds), *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 1992, 256–75 (argues that Toland's pantheistic God really is no God, p. 272, and thus he was an atheist who hid this behind ambiguity and opaqueness)
- C.J. Betts, *Early Deism in France. From the so-called 'déistes' of Lyon (1564) to Voltaire's 'Lettres philosophiques' (1734)*, The Hague, 1984 (discusses interrelatedness of the clandestine texts)
- J. O'Higgins, *Yves de Vallone. The making of an esprit-fort*, Dordrecht, 1982 (discusses the interrelatedness of the clandestine texts with reference to Toland's role)
- I.O. Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton NJ, 1938 (classic study of the clandestine literature)

Clinton Bennett

## *Miscellanea Aurea: Or the Golden Medley*

DATE 1720

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

*Miscellanea aurea: Or the golden medley* is a collection of texts, including poetry and travel narratives, chosen by an anonymous compiler for the entertainment of readers and especially the Duke of Buckingham, to whom the book is dedicated (pp. A2-A4). Items, described as 'Letters', are mostly anonymous, although among those with attributions are the opening letter (pp. 1-34) signed Carlo Amontesocio, a pseudonym for the hack writer Charles Giddon (d. 1724), who had a dubious reputation for passing off work as that of a more distinguished writer, and 'A fable of Aumilius and the statue of Venus' (pp. 194-5), signed Thomas Killigrew (d. 1719), a dramatist and sometime gentleman to the Prince of Wales' bedroom. Printed in London in 1720, *Miscellanea* has 320 pages and seven main chapters or sections, of which 'Mahomet no imposter' (pp. 165-88) is listed on the title page as Letter VI, although in the text and on the more detailed contents list it appears as Letter V (the last item in the second segment).

In his 'Preface' (three pages, unnumbered) the compiler remarks that the only item he has the 'least Apprehension' of its causing 'offence' is 'the translation out of the Arabick', though he points out that this contains nothing 'derogatory' about Christianity and does not make any attempt to 'prove' Muḥammad's 'divine mission'. It criticises Christians for failing to practise the Gospel's precepts, but the author could hardly be faulted for stating what 'we ourselves cannot deny'. Supposedly translated from Arabic, it has the date 15 Muḥarram 1094 (1682/3). The observation from Cicero, *Nil tam difficile, tamque occultum, quod non dicendo fiat probabile* ('Nothing is so difficult, or so secret, that it cannot be made probable by oratory'), appears between the title and the name of the supposed author, Abdulla Mahumed Omar.

Omar is supposedly replying from Arabia (p. 186) to an unnamed Muslim friend in Europe who has sent him 'via the faithful Caleb' a copy of a book attacking 'our great prophet' (p. 165). While this book's author, who was 'still living', had 'confuted' many 'lying Narrations' by his predecessors, it contained enough 'Rancour and Falsehood' to deserve 'a few

cursory Reflections' (p. 166). The writer suggests that his friend 'might have better Emplay'd' his 'Hours' in a task other than 'translating it into Arabick' (p. 166).

While the possibility that this Letter was written by an Arab Muslim called Abdulla Mahumed Omar cannot be ruled out, it could also be a pseudo-Orientalist text belonging to an increasingly popular genre at this time. The letter was supposedly translated from Arabic, part of a process that would have involved the translation of an English text into Arabic and of an Arabic response into English. Later, the writer mentions having spent 20 years 'among the infidels' in Europe (p. 187) but, given that he received an Arabic translation of an English work that he reviewed in Arabic, he presumably did not speak or read English. Some attribute the Letter to George Sale (d. 1736), though he is unlikely to have written it at such an early point in his career.

In the 'Preface', the anonymous compiler of the collection assumes that the book attacking Muḥammad to which this Letter is a reply was Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture, fully displayed in the life of Mahomet*, although this was first published only in 1697, 15 years after the date of the Letter. As the compiler remarks, the translator of the Letter took the work to be Prideaux's since he quotes directly from it. This was probably reflected in the choice of the words 'Mahomet no impostor' on the title page. There is also a direct quotation from another work, *The history of romances* (London, 1715) which was translated into English by Stephen Lewis in 1715 from the 1670 Latin original by the French Bishop Pierre-Daniel Huet (d. 1721). Since neither of these texts existed in 1682/3, the Letter is likely to have been written at a date closer to the publication of the *Miscellanea*. While the possibility that the letter is a response to a book other than Prideaux's cannot be ruled out, it follows the argument of *The true nature of imposture* very closely, and in addition to the direct quotation, there are several nearly *verbatim* references. It was almost certainly intended to be seen as a Muslim rejoinder to Prideaux's popular work.

The writer takes issue with the claim made by the author of the book under attack that Muḥammad did not confide to his wife Khadija his pretence that he was receiving revelation. How, he asks, did the author know the content of Muḥammad's private conversations with his wife? (p. 167). If Muḥammad was a cheat he could safely have told Khadija because, as his wife, she would have been sworn to keep his secrets (p. 167). This does seem to be a direct rebuttal of Prideaux, who accused



Muḥammad of drawing Khadija 'into the imposture' (*True nature of imposture*, p. 14). Prideaux also made much of the fact that Muḥammad 'revived' an 'old' religion instead of preaching a 'new one' (*True nature of imposture*, p. 18), but the Letter disputes that there is anything to censure here, because Moses revived the religion of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael and Jacob, and Jesus did the same with the religion of Moses (p. 180). Nor can the writer of the Letter understand why the author of the book insisted on describing Muḥammad's religion as a forgery, when his message proclaimed the oneness of God and abolished idolatry so that it 'has never risen again ... for above one thousand years' among Muslims (pp. 175-6). Does the author prefer polytheism? A *verbatim* quotation from *The true nature of imposture* pp. 17-18 appears on pp. 175-6, including Prideaux's description of Muḥammad's first principle which he found so objectionable, 'that there was but one God'.

Among other claims with which the writer takes issue are the allegations that Muḥammad was sexually indulgent (p. 175) and that, by permitting war, the Qur'an contradicts the Gospel (p. 185). On the first, the writer argues that the author, writing in a cold climate, was 'accustomed to monogamy', but that in hotter climates polygamy is commonly practised (p. 170). Further, having a 'plurality' of wives was not seen as sinful in biblical times: Jacob married two sisters and David had three hundred wives (p. 171), while the instruction that bishops should have one wife (1 Timothy 3:2) shows that polygamy was also the custom of early Christianity (p. 171). On Muḥammad's participation in war, the writer of the Letter surmises that, while the author of the book chastises Muḥammad, he probably does not see all war between rulers as unlawful (p. 185), because 'Christians ... are almost always at war with each other', and goes on to cite biblical examples of God commanding the Israelites to slaughter their enemies without mercy (p. 186).

The writer argues that the monk Baḥīrā instructed Muḥammad in 'the original principles of the Christians' (p. 173), and that those who called themselves Christians at that time 'had entirely forsaken those doctrines' (p. 174). Once Muḥammad had, by 'extraordinary strength of his Reason, or a particular inspiration from heaven, arrived at the knowledge of one eternal God' (p. 172), he would have had either to abandon any design to change the religion of his country because he knew this would cause pain, or to unite with Christians (p. 173). Yet, which party was he to join? Christian worship was so mixed with idolatry that he would merely have exchanged one form for another (p. 174), because Christians had introduced false practices and doctrines into their religion.

The second direct citation from an English text occurs on p. 176 of the Letter, where the writer begins his engagement with the way in which the author dealt with Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascent (Prideaux covers this 'ridiculous fable' in *The true nature of imposture*, pp. 54-68). Prideaux maintained that Muḥammad narrated the account of this in Q 17, and that, although some Muslims interpret the event as metaphor, the majority 'hath carried it for a real journey'. In his reply, the writer takes exception to what he sees as the author's insistence that the whole Qur'an must be taken literally, depriving 'us of the ... benefit of metaphor'. Bishop Huet, in contrast, had characterised Arabic literature as replete with fiction, metaphors and similitudes (*Romances*, p. 17). Did the author suppose that everything Jesus said had to be understood literally, that Jesus is literally a door, a vine, bread and wine? (p. 177). In fact, there is only a brief reference to the farthest mosque to which Muḥammad was taken on his Night Journey, at Q 17:1, and none of the details are described in Prideaux.

In rebutting the author on this point, the writer offers a metaphorical interpretation of the event. The fact that he does not identify the source of the account as the Hadith, and appears to deal with the material as if it is all from the Qur'an, casts doubt on the writer's Muslim identity, as does his acceptance that other prophets elsewhere will probably appear after Muḥammad 'who shall destroy what remains of idolatry on the face of the earth' (p.183). This violates the Muslim doctrine that prophecy ended with Muḥammad.

The writer is unconvinced that the morals taught in the Qur'an are any less heavenly than those of the Gospel. But even if they are, he questions whether this is an argument against Islam (p. 186) because in Europe he has found Christians to be guilty of 'Pride, Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, Calumny, Detraction, Envy and Malice' (p. 187). Present-day Christians, he writes, 'are not the disciples of Christ'. Although he twice comments that it was not within his remit to prove the divine nature of Muḥammad's mission (pp. 172, 175), he takes exception to Prideaux's claim that Islam could not be a true universal divinely-revealed tradition because, unlike Christianity, it began in a 'private, unknown part of the world' (p. 183; Prideaux wrote that Islam began in an 'obscure hole' among 'rude and ignorant barbarians' [*True nature of imposture*, p. 40]). The writer calls this assertion 'childish' since every country is 'as much known to its neighbouring Nations as Judea' was to its bordering states.

Referring to the author's description of Arabs 'in one Place of his book' as 'cunning and acute', the writer asserts that depicting them as 'stupid' and 'credulous' contradicts this. The reference to Arabs as 'acute' in *The true nature of imposture* (p. 50) occurs where Prideaux was debunking stories of Muḥammad using tricks to convince people that he was receiving divine revelation, which Prideaux says Muḥammad must have known Arabs would see through. By 'disclaiming all miracles', Muḥammad had avoided 'hazarding his design upon such open Cheats' which would have been 'liable to be totally blasted by a discovery'. The writer concludes by expressing the hope that his friend will 'return to the happy climate of Arabia' and that the 'God of Abraham, the God of Ismael, and the God of Mahomet' will bring him safely home (p. 188).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

While the Letter purports to be written by a Muslim, and while it could be an early or even the first Muslim rebuttal of an English text attacking Islam, its author cannot be unequivocally identified as a Muslim in view of its treatment of the Night Journey as an example of qur'anic allegory, and what would be a very unorthodox acceptance that other prophets after Muḥammad will appear. Use of a Latin phrase in the original Arabic text also raises doubts.

The more likely alternative is that Abdulla Mahumed Omar is fictitious and that the Letter was written in English, not Arabic, as a pseudo-Oriental text. This genre was gaining popularity in the opening decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: Joseph Addison told his readers that the *Vision of Mirza* (1711) and *The story of Helim and Abdullah* (1713) were translations from Arabic originals discovered by a certain 'Mr. Spectator' during tours in the East. Pseudo-Oriental literature was used as a device to criticise or challenge social norms and other mores through the fictitious voice of a visiting Oriental narrator often in the form of letters sent home.

Perhaps due to the brevity of 'Mahomet no impostor' and its comparative obscurity, published in an anonymous and somewhat eccentric collection, it has not attracted much critical scrutiny, although it is noted briefly in several surveys of European writing on Islam, of which Philip Almond's discussion in *Heretic and hero* (1989) is the most detailed. The title itself, 'No impostor', stands out in early 18<sup>th</sup>-century literature as 'provocative', given the popularity of Prideaux's work and the widespread linking of the name Muḥammad with 'imposture', so much so that the two words were almost synonymous (Rodinson, *Mystique*, p. 47).

Challenges to this common perception of Muḥammad as deceitful were rare, and almost all were by non-Trinitarians who saw common ground between their version of primitive Christianity and the religion of Muḥammad. Some championed non-canonical texts such as the *Apostolic constitutions* as descriptive of early Christianity's true beliefs and practices against the canonical writings, which they regarded as corrupt. All of them castigated Christians for departing from Jesus' original teaching. The Letter's argument about the relationship between monogamous and polygamous practice in relation to cold and hot climates is an early example of this theory that 'reached its pinnacle in 1748 in the Baron de Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*', writes Philip Almond describing Omar's rejection of Prideaux's claim 'that Muḥammad's polygamy was evidence of his lust' (*Heretic*, p. 60). Montesquieu saw Islam's sanctioning of polygamy, a product of hotter climates where women also mature at a younger age than in cold climates, as partly explaining 'why Islam had been so successful in Asia but not in Europe and Christianity in Europe but not in Asia' (p. 60).

Picked up by later British writers in defence of Muḥammad, this argument from climate became a popular Muslim rejoinder to criticism of Muḥammad's multiple marriages; thus, 'arguments used by a British non-Muslim survive to be used ... centuries later by Muslim apologists in works read by Muslims' (K. Ali, *The lives of Muhammad*, New Haven CT, 2014, p. 149).

Almond also identifies 'No impostor' as an early example of arguing that 'Muḥammad's aims were purely religious' (p. 34), and of how Christian practice often differs 'widely from precept' (p. 37). Ziad Elmarsafy describes the argument of 'No impostor' as 'bringing a cool scepticism' to 'Prideaux's alarmist claims ... reminiscent of Spinoza' (*Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 22).

John Toland, author of *Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile and Mahometan Christianity* (London, 1718), one of the freethinking texts that has some overlap with 'No impostor', was an admirer and interpreter of Baruch Spinoza. This could support a freethinking provenance for the Letter. Given that its *hijra* date of 1094 is problematic, it could have been written closer to the date of its publication in 1720, after *Nazarenus* appeared. Elmarsafy also describes other items in *Miscellanea* as exemplifying the moral laxity at which Prideaux had taken aim. Given that Prideaux's book may have been a response to Henry Stubbe's *The Originall & Progress of Mahometanism* (c. 1671-6; see N. Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, New York, 2014), and attacked Muḥammad as a foil for

Deism, the similarity between 'No impostor' and non-Trinitarian literature such as *Nazarenus* also supports identifying a Deist or freethinker as the author. Justin Champion, who has written extensively on Toland, refers to 'No impostor' as a 'radical analysis' of 'the Anglican denigration of Mahomet epitomized in Prideaux's' book (*Pillars*, p. 120).

A non-Muslim authorship helps explain the unorthodox reference to future prophets in the work. If it was written by a Muslim in Arabic, as is claimed in *Miscellanea*, 'No impostor' could be the first direct Muslim response to an anti-Islam English text. But if, as seems much more plausible, it is a pseudo-Oriental text written by a non-Trinitarian British author, it represents an early example of a non-Muslim attempting to see through Muslim eyes, to offer arguments in defence of Islam that Muslims might present. The Letter's arguments resemble those that Muslims later employed, including the use of biblical examples of polygamy, the climate argument and Christian departure from Jesus' original teaching. Either qualifies this as a significant contribution to Christian-Muslim relations.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Abdolla Mahumed Omar, 'Mahomet no impostor', in *Miscellanea Aurea: Or the golden medley*, London, 1720, repr. (s.l.) 2016, 165-88; ESTC T117537 (digitised version available through ECCO)

#### STUDIES

- J.A.I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken. The Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730*, Cambridge, 2014
- Z. Elmarsafy, *The enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford, 2014
- M. Rodinson, *Europe and the mystique of Islam*, London, 2009
- P.C. Almond, *Heretic and hero. Muhammad and the Victorians*, Wiesbaden, 1989

Clinton Bennett

# John Hughes

DATE OF BIRTH 29 January 1677  
PLACE OF BIRTH Marlborough, Wiltshire  
DATE OF DEATH 17 February 1720  
PLACE OF DEATH London

## BIOGRAPHY

John Hughes was born in Marlborough, Wiltshire, on 29 January 1677, and was named John after his father, who worked as a clerk for a London insurance company. The Hughes family were non-conformists, so John attended a dissenting academy run by Thomas Rowe (d. 1705), whose 'free philosophy' approach to teaching abandoned traditional texts. Rowe taught many students who later became public figures.

Hughes found employment in the Ordnance Office, but his main interest lay in history and literature. In 1705, he wrote a pamphlet defending religious toleration, *A review of the case of Judah and Ephraim*. During 1706, *A complete history of England* appeared, of which he authored the first two volumes. A second edition was published in 1719. Various poems and translations followed. His edition of Edmund Spenser's works (six volumes with a Life) (1715) established him as a founding figure of Spenser studies, pioneering an allegorical interpretation of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. He also wrote several cantatas and an opera, *Calypso and Telemachus* (1712).

William Cowper (d. 1723), then Lord Chancellor, appointed him to a sinecure in 1717 (such posts were effectively a form of patronage). He knew or communicated with Alexander Pope, Nicolas Rowe, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele and other writers, and regularly contributed to *Tatler*, *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*. In 1720, his play *The siege of Damascus*, dedicated to Cowper, was staged at Drury Lane. Ill with tuberculosis, Hughes died on the play's opening night, 17 February.

Hughes may also have prepared the glossary of the Arabic terms used in the play, together with a brief life of Muḥammad, which was published later that year. A number of works were published posthumously in 1735, including a collection of his poems, edited by his brother-in-law William Duncombe (with an account of his life). His *DNB* entry lists a total of 17 publications, many appearing in multiple editions. Letters and other

works were gathered together in his *Correspondence* (1772, enlarged edition, 1777), including the original plan of the *Siege of Damascus*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- John Hughes, *Poems on several occassions: With some select essays in prose*, 2 vols, London, 1735 (W. Duncombe, 'Some account of the life and writings of Mr Hughes', pp. i -xxxvii; R. Steele, 'His character', pp. xxxviii-lvii)
- John Hughes, *The correspondence of John Hughes, Esq. (author of the Siege of Damascus) and several of his friends, viz. Lord Chancellor Cowper, Bishop Hoadly, Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, Mr. Addison, Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Pope, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Wilks, Dr. Isaac Watts, &c. with notes historical and explanatory. To which are added, Several Pieces by Mr. Hughes, never before published, and the original plan of the Siege of Damascus. In two volumes*, London, 1772, Dublin, 1777
- J. Campbell, art. 'John Hughes', in H. Brougham et al. (eds), *Biographia britannica: or, The lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland from the earliest ages down to the present times*, London, 1757, vol. 4, pp. 2697-2709
- Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English poets*, ed. P. Cunningham, London, 1854, vol. 2, pp. 183-8
- R. Bisset, *Biographical sketch of the authors of The Spectator*, London, 1793, pp. 217-39

### Secondary

- T.N. McGeary, art. 'Hughes, John', in *ODNB*
- J.F.R. Barker, art. 'Hughes, John', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### The siege of Damascus

DATE 1720

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

*The siege of Damascus: A tragedy. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal by His Majesty's servants* was first performed on 17 February 1720. It was well received, and it remained popular, with frequent revivals. There was a second imprint from the prompt-book during the same year, and since then reprints have regularly appeared. It was issued as a Best English

Plays volume in 1750, and was included in Walter Scott's *British drama* collection in 1804.

Hughes had actually completed the play in 1718, but the theatre management wanted him to amend the plot so that the character of Phocryas remained Christian (*Correspondence*, 1772, vol. 1, p. 286), thinking that the audience would look on him less sympathetically as a traitor to his city than if he had been an apostate (in the original version, which more accurately reflected Hughes' source, Simon Ockley's *The conquest of Syria* (1708), this character converts to Islam). Hughes agreed to this change because he feared, given his ill health, that the play would not be staged.

The first 1720 print edition has 78 pages, while the second 1720 edition has several additional sections. In this version, the play's five acts (pp. 1-68) follow a dedication to Hughes' patron, Lord Cowper (five pages), a two-page poem 'To the memory of Mr. Hughes', and the 'Prologue' and 'Epilogue' (two pages each), which are also in the first edition, as is the list of characters. The printed 'original plan' (*Correspondence*, 1772, vol. 1, pp. 287-310) does not reproduce the whole script but indicates where the revised play differs from the 1718 version. In the *DNB*, G.F.R. Baker expresses the commonly held view that Hughes' 'plot ... was obviously suggested by Sir William D'Avenant's *The siege of Rhodes* (1656)' (p. 179), although 'a careful reading of the *Siege* 'eliminates' the possibility that Rhodes 'had more than a remote ... connection with Hughes' tragedy' (Moore, 'Hughes's source', p. 362). This association continued for some time even though the script itself, and two works produced to accompany the play (anonymous but probably with Hughes' involvement), in places follow Ockley word for word. The pagination cited here is from the second 1720 edition.

The supporting works, *An explanation of the several Arabick terms* and *The history of the siege of Damascus* (both 1720), would today be described as plagiarised from Ockley, but this convention did not really exist in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially for this type of hack work. Hughes is named as a subscriber in Ockley's *Proposal for printing by subscription the second volume of the History of the Saracens* (1716), and is listed in the second volume (1718), although the material he used for the play is from the first volume of 1708. Ockley's main source was the *Futūḥ al-Shām* from a Bodleian manuscript, attributed to the early Islamic historian al-Wāqidi (d. 823) but now known to be a much later work, probably from the period of the First Crusade and often referred to as pseudo-Wāqidi.



*The history of the siege*, offered as 'very useful for the readers and spectators of the tragedy of the Siege of Damascus, written by Mr. John Hughes' (title page), was published by a consortium of six printers, probably to cash in on the play's popularity. Derived from Ockley, it claimed to be '.... related by Abu Abdo'llah Mohammed Ebn Omar Alwákidi, the Arabian historian'. Copies of this 35-page tract were bound with the text of the play. *An explanation of the several Arabick terms us'd in the Siege of Damascus, written by Mr. Hughes. With a short account of the historical siege, and the life of Mahomet, etc.* (28 pages), printed by the same consortium, may in part have been compiled from notes made by Hughes, since the second section (pp. 14-28) is an annotation of the play citing the relevant passages and explaining Islamic references. Pages 3-7 are a eulogy for Hughes, indicating that the tract was printed after his death in February 1720.

The play is set in Byzantine Damascus in the year 634, when the army of the Caliph Abū Bakr was opening up new territories during the wars of expansion, the *futūḥ*, from April of that year. It both follows and, for dramatic reasons, changes the account found in Hughes' source, which is largely repeated in *The history of the siege* and *An explanation*. He preserves the main events of the siege, but introduces the character of Phocyrras, a fusion of the historical figures Thomas (said to have been the emperor's son-in-law) and Jonas. Phocyrras is gaining distinction in his sorties against the Muslims, but he is not popular with the governor, Eumenes (*Siege*, p. 17), who rejects Phocyrras's suit for his daughter Eudocia, removes him from his command and orders him to either 'stay' or 'joyn the Foe' (*Siege*, p. 21). He tries to elope with Eudocia, but is captured by the Muslims and invited to convert, while Eudocia escapes. He resists, although he is offered high rank (p. 32), but he does agree to assist the Muslims on condition that 'ev'ry unresisting Life be spar'd' (p. 39). As the attack on the city advances, Eudocia is discovered in a nunnery, but she rejects Phocyrras because he has given assistance to the 'slaves of Mahomet' (p. 48).

Meanwhile, at a gate on the west side of the city, the Muslim deputy Abū 'Ubayda has entered the city peacefully after negotiating terms with the Christian leaders (*Siege*, p. 41). When the Muslim commander Khālid sees that Christians are being spared, he expresses his outrage that a treaty has been concluded without his knowledge (*Siege*, p. 42). He feels 'mocked' by the wealth that Abū 'Ubayda's 'foolish Treaty' has allowed the Christians to carry out of the city (p. 51) and concocts a justification

for pursuing the refugees, citing the way Muḥammad had justified raiding the Meccan caravan during his 'First exploit' after the *hijra* at Badr (p. 52).

Phocryas learns that the refugees are being pursued and sets out after the Muslim army. He arrives at the Christians' camp as Khālīd's men are starting to pillage and murder and, appalled that Khālīd has broken his word, he begins to kill Muslims. When Eudocia sees this and realises that he has repented, she changes her mind about their future. At this, Khālīd appears, fights with Phocryas and is killed. But Phocryas is hit by a stray arrow and dies (pp. 65-6), upon which Eudocia vows to become a nun.

There are Islamic allusions throughout the text, to Muḥammad, the *hijra*, the Battle of Badr, the Ka'ba and the pagan goddesses al-'Uzzā and Manāt. Although the Muslims, who are called Musulmen, are condemned by the Christians of Damascus as bloodthirsty and driven to conquer by the promise of 'paradise' (p. 9), they are not demonised simply because they are Muslims. In fact, the contrast between the Muslims Khālīd and Abū 'Ubayda is central to the plot. Khālīd is driven by a bloodthirsty lust for booty and conquest and is ready to break his word, while Abū 'Ubayda considers negotiation of surrender preferable, and does not think conquest equals 'destruction' (p. 5). He is a man of his word, which he gives as a Muslim and as a Companion of the Prophet (p. 38). Khālīd derides this as more Christian (he calls Christians 'dogs', p. 38) than Muslim (pp. 42, 53), while the Christian governor of Damascus, Eumenes, praises Abū 'Ubayda's 'honest heart' and says that his 'Acts of Mercy' make his 'faith .... ev'n' with the governor's own (p. 64). The moral message has more to do with the good and bad traits of people than with their religion.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Richard Steele's obituary notice on Hughes describes the *Siege* as the only English play he had seen where 'the Mahometans are faithfully represented throughout the whole piece' instead of being made to 'harangue like polytheists' ('Character', in *Poems*, vol. 1, p. xxxix). Samuel Johnson, who included Hughes in his *Lives of the poets*, also resisted polarising bad Muslim and good Christian in his Orientalist play *Irene* (1749), and in his novel, *Rasselas* (1759). There is no explicit evidence of indebtedness in these works, but it is possible that they were influenced by the *Siege*, which, like them, belongs to the genre of writing that situated plots in Oriental settings to explore moral questions.

B.E. Orr describes the play as an early 'tolerationist' work because it depicts good and bad on both sides and contends that a 'just resolution' was possible 'only through the cooperation of reasonable and moderate' Muslims and Christians. Orr sees this as linked to Hughes' dissenting, even Deist, background ('Race', p. 969); he was regarded as a 'friend to religious toleration', which he had defended in a 1705 tract, *A review of the case of Judah and Ephraim and its application to the Church of England and dissenters* (Calamy and Palmer, *Nonconformists*, vol. 2, p. 507).

The *Siege's* revivals and reprints and the circulation of the two ancillary tracts would have offered audiences and readers a view of Christian-Muslim relations that differed from the negative juxtaposition of good Christian against wicked Muslim that predominated at the time. Edward Gibbon, whose sections on the early Arab conquests drew heavily on Ockley, just like the *Siege*, admired the play and described it as 'one of our most popular tragedies', in which Hughes blends 'nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart' (Gibbon, *Decline*, vol. 5, p. 310). J. Moore comments that Gibbon 'drew on his recollection of Hughes' play rather than on Ockley's *History* in his summary of Jonas' (the historical prototype of Phocyras) betrayal and conversion (p. 365). Although it is a fictionalised version of history, the play presents an episode of Christian-Muslim relations in which Muslims and Christians deal with each other through negotiation and dialogue, not only in battle or through polemics. With the Ottoman Empire in mind as a model of religious toleration, Hughes' intention may have been to demonstrate that political and military success does not necessarily entail the imposition of religious conformity.

#### PUBLICATIONS

John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A Tragedy, As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane By His Majesty's Servants*, London, 1720; ESTC To48256 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Hughes, *The Siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1721; ESTC To48256 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1728<sup>2</sup>

John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1735<sup>3</sup>; ESTC To48259 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- John Hughes, *Poems on several occasions*, London, 1735, vol. 2, pp. 165-296; ESTC T146605 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, Dublin, 1741<sup>4</sup>; ESTC T174982 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1744; ESTC To48260 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- H. Scheurleer (ed.), *A select collection of the best modern English plays. Selected from the best authors*, vol. 13, The Hague, 1750
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1753
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, Edinburgh, 1753
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, Edinburgh, 1768
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1770
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, Edinburgh, 1774
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1776; ESTC To48263 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1777 (Bell's edition); ESTC T149852 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1778; ESTC To48257 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Bell's British theatre. Consisting of the most esteemed English plays. Volume the twenty-first. Being the second volume of operas*, London, 1781, vol. 1, fourth play (separate pagination for each play)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1793; ESTC To48262 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus ... As performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. Printed ... from the prompt book. With remarks by Mrs. Inchbald*, London, 1806 (repr. 1808, 1811, 1815, 1826); BLL01018440703 (digitised version available through BL)
- T. Dibdin, *London theatre. A collection of the most celebrated dramatic pieces, correctly given, from copies used in theatres*, London, 1815, vol. 14, third play; PR1243 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- The British drama: a collection of the most esteemed tragedies, comedies, operas, and farces, in the English language*, Philadelphia PA, 1854, vol. 2, pp. 728-48; HN 2WR3 I (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1871
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1874 (Dick's standard plays 261)
- W. Scott (ed), *The British drama; comprehending the best plays in the English language*, London, 1894, vol 1, pp. 422-44
- N. Würzbach (ed.), *British theatre*, vol. 16. *Historical drama*, Frankfurt (Anthology of 18<sup>th</sup> century plays – first play)
- John Hughes, *The siege of Damascus: A tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane by His Majesty's servants*, Ballinlough, 2009

## STUDIES

- B.E. Orr, art. 'Race', in G. Day and J. Lynch (eds), *The encyclopedia of British literature*, Chichester, 2015, vol. 1, pp. 965-76
- S. Achinstein, *Literature and dissent in Milton's England*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 250-1
- J. Moore, 'Hughes's source for "The siege of Damascus"'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 21 (1958) 362-6
- E. Calamy and S. Palmer, *The nonconformist's memorial. Being an account of the ministers who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration*, London, 1778, vol. 2, p. 507
- E. Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1777, vol. 5, p. 310

# John Trenchard

DATE OF BIRTH 1668 or 1669  
PLACE OF BIRTH Cutteridge, Wiltshire, England  
DATE OF DEATH 16 December 1723  
PLACE OF DEATH Abbots Leigh, Somerset, England

## BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1668 or 1669, John Trenchard inherited his radical Whig views from his father, who represented Westbury in Parliament and was known as a nonconformist member of the Whig party. John began his education at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1685 at the age of 16. By 1689, he had embarked on his brief legal career, preferring, however, government service and his later role as political essayist and newspaper owner. He published his first political essay in 1697, *An argument shewing that a standing army is inconsistent with a free government*. Following this, he wrote and published his *Short history of standing armies* in 1698, and in the next year took up an appointment as commissioner of Irish lands forfeited under the rule of William III (r. 1689-1702)(McMahon, *Radical Whigs*, p. 82).

The son of affluent landed gentry, Trenchard also inherited wealth from his uncle and from his first wife, whose name is disputed. She committed suicide in 1718 (McMahon, 'Trenchard'). The next year he married Anne Blackett, daughter of Sir William Blackett. She survived her husband and later married Thomas Gordon (d. 28 July 1750), Trenchard's collaborator in *Cato's Letters*.

By virtue of his inherited wealth, Trenchard was able to devote himself 'exclusively to the task of writing on contemporary politics, beginning in 1720' (Hamowy, 'Introduction', p. xxvi). His first publication, which he edited jointly with Thomas Gordon, was *The Independent Whig*, a weekly devoted to an anticlerical defence of 'the individual conscience' (Hamowy, 'Introduction', p. xxiii). It appeared from January 1720 to January 1721. Following this, Trenchard published two weeklies in succession, the *London Journal* and the *British Journal*. It was in these that *Cato's Letters*, his and Gordon's most famous political collaboration, were serialised.

After suffering a kidney ailment for several weeks, Trenchard died in 1723, about a month after his last essay in *Cato's Letters* was published.

Although Gordon wrote the majority of these letters, including those attacking Ottoman despotism, Trenchard's mentorship and financial heft inspired their direction. His prominence as a publisher ensured that all the essays found a viable weekly home in the newspapers his wealth founded and sustained.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- R. Hamowy, 'Introduction', in John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters or essays on liberty, civil and religious, and other important subjects*, ed. R. Hamowy, Indianapolis IN, 1995<sup>6</sup>
- Art. 'Trenchard (John)', *Biographia Britannica: or, the lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1747, vol. 6, 175-7
- A. Chalmers, *The general biographical dictionary. Containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent persons*, London, 1817, vol. 30, pp. 18-20

### *Secondary*

- D. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an. Islam and the founders*, New York, 2013
- T. Marr, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism*, New York, 2006
- M. McMahon, art. 'Trenchard, John [pseuds. Cato, Diogenes] (1668/9-1723)', in *ODNB*
- R. Allison, *The crescent obscured. The United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815*, New York, 1995
- M. McMahon, *The radical Whigs. John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Libertarian loyalists to the new House of Hanover*, Lanham MD, 1990
- D. Lundberg and H. May, 'The enlightened reader in America', *American Quarterly* 28 (1976) 262-93
- B. Bailyn, *The ideological origins of the American revolution*, Cambridge MA, 1967
- B. Bailyn and J. Garrett (eds), *Pamphlets of the American Revolution*, vol. 1, 1755-1765, Cambridge MA, 1965
- D. Jackson (ed.), *The English libertarian heritage*, Indianapolis IN, 1965
- F. Raab, *The English face of Machiavelli. A changing interpretation, 1500-1700*, London, 1964
- J.M. Bulloch, 'Thomas Gordon, the "independent Whig". A biographical bibliography', *University of Aberdeen Library Bulletin* 3 (Nov 1915-May 1918) 598-612, 733-49
- A. Gordon, art. 'Trenchard, John (1662-1723)', in *DNB*, London, 1909, vol. 19, pp. 1125-6

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Cato's letters; or, Essays on liberty, civil and religious, and other important subjects

DATE 1721

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

Trenchard and Gordon wrote their libertarian polemics under the pseudonym of Cato, the Roman republican opponent of Julius Caesar who took his own life rather than submit to Caesar's forces. They were fuelled by the theme of resistance to government tyranny. To the original 138 letters, Gordon added six more in the 1733 third edition after Trenchard's death, bringing the total to 144. While the two authors co-wrote portions of six letters, they more often wrote separately. In all, Gordon wrote 76 letters and Trenchard 56, while other writers contributed the rest. The original letters were published serially in the *London Journal* and then in the *British Journal*. They were reprinted in other British papers, and also in Boston, Philadelphia, New York and South Carolina. They were later collected in various book forms, first published in four volumes in 1724. This collection proved so popular that by 1755 it had run to six editions.

References to the Ottoman sultan and his subjects appear in 29 letters, 21 by Gordon and 8 by Trenchard. Trenchard's references to the Ottomans are among the briefest (nos 64, 100, 103), and often refer instead to 'Mahometans' generally (nos 110, 132, 136). They serve as anti-theoretical foils to British liberties, along with references to ancient Rome, European Catholic countries and other Islamic domains, where tyranny was perceived to prevail.

Gordon's letters consistently focus on 'the Turks', particularly the sultans, who ruled through the oppression of their 'vicious janissaries, the worst of standing armies' (Bailyn, *Ideological origins*, p. 63). Although Gordon identifies the 'janizaries' as occasional rebels who 'killed the tyrants' (*Cato's Letters*, ed. Hamowy, 1995, vol. 1, p. 461; references are to this edition of the text, unless otherwise stated), neither he nor Trenchard acknowledges that the Ottoman populace also revolted against the sultans because this would not have supported their caricatures of Islamic despotism or served their political ends (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, pp. 23-4).



Gordon's knowledge of Islam (a term never used in these letters) was limited, as is illustrated in his blunt description of the success of the Ottoman conquests as driven by 'the false hopes of Mahomet's lascivious paradise' which 'animated them in their butcheries' (vol. 1, p. 276). He condemns greedy, erring Muslim judges and the complex legal system, and he fails to understand the differences between Sunnīs and Shī'īs. This superficial knowledge stems from Jean de Thévenot's *The travels of Monseieur de Thévenot into the Levant* (London, 1687) and Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1688). Both authors are named in a number of letters, and in letter 50 Gordon quotes Chapter 17 of Rycaut's first volume in its entirety.

In his first reference to the Ottoman sultan, Gordon argues that the 'passive obedience' found in Islam allowed despotism to flourish: 'Yes, Turkish slavery is confirmed, and Turkish tyranny defended, by religion!' (vol. 1, p. 182). Two years later, he condemns both the pope and the sultan together: 'By this the Turk and the Pope reign. They hold their horrid and sanguinary authority by false reverence, as much as the sword' (vol. 2, p. 907).

In letter 39, Gordon writes briefly, 'Such is the difference between England and Turkey; which difference they who say that private men have no right to concern themselves with government, would absolutely destroy; they would convert magistrates into bashaws, and introduce popery into politics' (vol. 1, p. 272). Such descriptions cast Ottoman subjects significantly in the 'abject postures of crouching slaves' before the 'terrors of absolute monarchy' (vol. 1, p. 294). This usage of the term 'slave' would ultimately be employed by North American colonists in defining their political relationship to the absolute will of their British sovereign (Bailyn, *Ideological origins*, p. 234). As Robert Allison notes, 'Thus the sultan of Turkey sat atop a world any Western leader, a Thomas Jefferson or a George III, an Alexander Hamilton or a Thomas Paine, would equally dread' (*Crescent obscured*, p. 56).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Cato's Letters* proved politically powerful in British newspapers as well as in the American colonies and on the Continent, where they were discussed in the salons of the French *philosophes* (McMahon, 'Trenchard'). Of American library and booksellers' catalogues surveyed in the 50 years leading up to the War of Independence, over a third contained references to bound versions (Lundberg and May, 'Enlightened reader', p. 279). As Timothy Marr notes, 'By portraying British government of the colonies as

a form of bondage equivalent to or worse than Turkish tyranny, patriots effectively encouraged Americans of both the political and the religious righteousness of their revolution' (*Cultural roots of American Islamicism*, p. 26). It is no surprise that Thomas Jefferson owned a copy of *Cato's letters*, as did most of his fellow revolutionaries (Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*, p. 105).

The references to the Ottomans in the letters will have had no great effect on readers' attitudes towards Islam, because they were reflecting what was already known and felt rather than establishing new images. Their value, such as it is, derives from the evidence they provide of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Protestant beliefs that the Islam of the day summed up all that was wrong with religion (much like Roman Catholicism) and with the structure of society. If the figure of the sultan could be employed for comparison with the king of England, he had become a caricature that defied fair-minded examination.

#### PUBLICATIONS

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A collection of Cato's letters in the London Journal*, London, 1721

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal, to December 17, inclusive, 1720*, London, 1721; ESTC N000356 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The second collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal, continued to the end of January, 1720*, London, 1721; ESTC N000358 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A continuation of the political letters to the London Journal, to January 28, 1720*, London, 1721

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal, to December 17, inclusive, 1720*, London, 1721

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The third collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal, continued to the end of March, 1721*, London, 1721 (this collection contains a four-page letter signed 'Coriolanus', which does not appear in subsequent editions and was not written by either Trenchard or Gordon); ESTC N000360 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The fourth collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, London, 1721

- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The fifth collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, London, 1721; ESTC N000361 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The sixth collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, London, 1722; ESTC N000362 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The seventh collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, London, 1722
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The eighth collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, London, 1722
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The ninth and last collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, London, 1723
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, 7 vols, London, 1722-3
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A collection of Cato's political letters in the London Journal*, 9 vols, London, 1722-3
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *A collection of Cato's letters in the British Journal*, 3 vols, London, 1723
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters*, 4 vols, London, 1724 (comprising the 138 letters, all undated, that form the body of the work); ESTC T111010 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 4 vols, London, 1733 (facsimile repr. New York, 1969); ESTC T138373 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 4 vols, London, 1737
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, 4 vols, London, 1748; ESTC T138372 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters; or, essays on liberty, civil and religious, and other important subjects*, 4 vols, Berwick, 1754; ESTC T138375 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 4 vols, London, 1755 (facsimile repr. New York, 1971); ESTC T162781 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *The English libertarian heritage. From the writings of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon in 'The Independent Whig' and 'Cato's letters'*, ed. D. Jacobson, Indianapolis IN, 1965 (repr. 1994)

John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's letters or essays on liberty, civil and religious, and other important subjects*, ed. R. Hamowy, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 4 vols in 2, Indianapolis IN, 1995 (the definitive collection)

## STUDIES

D. Ahn, 'From Hanover to Gibraltar. Cato's Letters (1720-23) in international context', *History of European Ideas* 42 (2016) 1042-54

Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an*

M.W. Spicer, 'Passion, power, and political conflict. An examination of Cato's Letters and their implications for American constitutionalism and public administration', *Administration and Society* 44 (2012) 523-45

R. Hamowy (ed.), *The encyclopedia of libertarianism*, Thousand Oaks CA, 2008

Marr, *Cultural roots of American Islamicism*,

McMahon, art. 'Trenchard, John'

Allison, *Crescent obscured*

J.A. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken. The Church and its enemies, 1660-1730*, Cambridge, 1992

Lundberg and May, 'Enlightened reader'

Bailyn, *Ideological origins*

Denise Spellberg

# John Sheffield

DATE OF BIRTH 7 April 1648  
PLACE OF BIRTH London  
DATE OF DEATH 24 February 1721  
PLACE OF DEATH London

## BIOGRAPHY

John Sheffield was an English politician, poet and writer. He was the son of Edmund, second Earl of Mulgrave and, on his father's death in 1658, when he was ten years old, he succeeded to the title. Two years later, he dismissed his tutor and resolved to educate himself. At the age of 17, he took part in the second Anglo-Dutch war and was in command of one of the independent troops of horse.

During the period of his service to King Charles II (r. 1660-85), Sheffield wrote his *Essay on satire*. This remained in manuscript because it attacked the king and many leading courtiers; it was often attributed to John Dryden, whose patron Sheffield was. In 1682, he published his *Essay on poetry*, and in the same year he was banished from court after a disagreement with Charles, though he returned two years later. On the accession of James II in 1685, he received appointments first as a privy counsellor and later as lord chamberlain. On Anne's accession in 1702, he was made Duke of Buckingham and Normanby. After the accession of George I in 1714, his active political career came to an end.

Sheffield wrote many other essays, such as *On philosophy* and *On vanity*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

*English poetry 1579-1830, Spenser and the tradition*, <http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/BiographyRecord.php?action=GET&bioid=33491> (brings together the earliest biographies of Sheffield)

'Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire', in Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English poets*, London, 1779-81, ed. G.B. Hill, 1905, vol. 2, pp. 167-77

John Sheffield, *The poetical works of the most noble John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. With the life of the author*, London, 1801

### Secondary

M.D. Sankey, art. 'Sheffield, John first Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647-1721)', in *ODNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise

DATE 1722

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

This is a short work, in the 1722 edition of Sheffield's *Works* only eight pages long (vol. 2, pp. 187-94, in the first edition). It presumably circulated as a single work, but it is only currently known as part of Sheffield's collected writings. It contains an imaginary dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise, both of whom it presents as hypocritical, artful and cunning. At this time, Muḥammad was widely regarded in Europe as a leader who had succeeded by deception, while Henry I, Duke of Guise (1550-88), leader of the Catholic faction in France during the Wars of Religion, and an opponent of Henry III of Navarre, the successor to the throne, was often portrayed in English literary works as a deceptive schemer. John Dryden, Sheffield's patron, wrote a tragedy about him only about 20 years before this dialogue was published.

In the dialogue, the Duke of Guise declares that he is impressed by the spread of Mahomet's religion (he does not name it), while Mahomet says that he is impressed by the duke's popularity. Each wants to know the 'tricks' employed by the other that led to his tremendous success.

The duke confesses to Mahomet that he has gained popularity through 'lay-dissembling' and touching upon affections and emotion. He admits, 'I never said one word I thought, and pass'd all my life in gaining such people's affections' (p. 192). When Mahomet suggests that popularity means friendship and questions the duke about the secret of building friendships, the latter explains that popularity has nothing to do with friendship and is no more than a matter of deceiving people. For him, 'But 'twas only by seeming kind to every body, and all the while caring for nobody' (p. 193). Avoiding the imposition of obligations on people is a good way to appeal to them and thus gain popularity.

In turn, Muḥammad also reveals his 'tricks' to the duke. He has used temptation to attract people, such as promising sensual rewards in heaven, and has also made people believe in him by claiming that he could sacrifice his life for his religion.

The dialogue ends with each complimenting the other on the cunning ways they have found to gain glory and fame for themselves.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The dialogue is an example of 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century depictions of Muḥammad in English literature as an evil, artful politician. The fact that it is not primarily directed against Islam, but takes Muḥammad as a stock figure of deceitfulness and hypocrisy, attests to the consensus about him in this period.

## PUBLICATIONS

John Sheffield, 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise', in *The works of John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1722-3, 187-94; ESTC To86912 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Sheffield, 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise', in *The works of John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham*, [The Hague], 1726, vol. 2, pp. 152-6; ESTC To14961 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Sheffield, 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise', in *The works of John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1729<sup>2</sup>, 166-72; ESTC To86946 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Sheffield, 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise', in *The works of John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1740<sup>3</sup>, 212-18; ESTC To86931 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Sheffield, 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise', in *The works of John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1753<sup>4</sup>, 154-8; ESTC To86945 (digitised version available through ECCO)

A Humourist [John Sheffield], 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise, in the shades', *The Imperial Magazine* 4/42 (Jul 1822) cols 609-12; (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

John Sheffield, 'A dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise', in *The works of John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham*, Charleston SC, 2016, vol. 2, pp. 154-8 (repr. of fourth edition)

# Jean Gagnier

John Gagnier, Johannes Gagnier

DATE OF BIRTH 1670  
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris  
DATE OF DEATH 2 March 1740  
PLACE OF DEATH Oxford

## BIOGRAPHY

Jean Gagnier was born in Paris, probably in 1670. His background is unknown before he attended the Collège de Navarre in that city, where he developed his interest in Arabic and Hebrew. After ordination as a Catholic priest, he became a canon-regular of the Abbey of St Genevieve in Paris, but at some point in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century he converted to Protestantism, 'being convinced of his errors' (Agnew, *Protestant exiles*, p. 388) and, around about 1700, he left France to settle in England, where he used the name John; he had married before leaving France (*Biographica britannica*, p. 77). Through John Sharp (d. 1714), Archbishop of York, he was presented at Cambridge for the degree of MA in 1703, and soon afterwards he became domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, William Lloyd (d. 1717), and was admitted into the Church of England as a clergyman. He also befriended Lord Macclesfield (d. 1732), who became his first patron. Attracted by the Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, he soon moved to Oxford.

By 1706, he had published an edition of a fictitious work on the history of the Jews. His anti-Catholic *L'Église romaine convaincue de dépravation, d'idolâtrie, et d'antichristianisme* appeared in 1707. In 1710, he was asked to assist in scrutinising an Arabic manuscript at Oxford used by William Whiston (d. 1752), who was expelled from Cambridge University that year for his anti-Trinitarian views. By then, Gagnier was also privately tutoring students in Hebrew, some being sent to him by Archbishop Tenison (d. 1715) for instruction (letter to Tenison, 11 September 1711, Lambeth Palace Library MS 941/29).

In 1717, Gagnier was appointed to deputise for the Laudian Professor of Arabic, John Wallis (d. 1738), who was notorious for frequent absences from Oxford. In 1723, he published his Latin translation of Abū l-Fidā's



biography of Muḥammad from *Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, the first by a Muslim writer to be rendered into a European language. This work was widely consulted and cited for the next hundred years. In 1724, he was appointed to the newly created Lord Almoner's professorial chair in Arabic. Lack of patronage forced him to shelve his project to publish Abū l-Fidā's work on geography, although his French *La vie de Mahomet*, published in 1732, proved popular. Based on Abū l-Fidā' but drawing on additional material, this was a much longer work than the original. Through a German translation (1802-4) and wide use by later writers, it remained influential well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Gagnier died on 2 March 1740, and is buried at St Cross Church in Oxford.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- Art. 'Grabe', in H. Brougham et al. (eds), *Biographia britannica: or, The lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland from the earliest ages down to the present times*, London, 1747, vol. 6, part 2, p. 77 (early biographical sketch of Gagnier in the entry on Grabe)
- Art. 'Gagnier (John)', in *A new and general biographical dictionary: containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent persons in every nation; particularly the British and Irish*, London, 1761, vol. 5, pp. 256-7
- The Oxford ten-year book*, Oxford, 1863, pp. 57-8 (Gagnier and the origin of the Lord Almoner's professorship)

#### *Secondary*

- M.J. Franklin, art. 'Gagnier, John', in *ODNB*
- G. Goodwin, art. 'Gagnier, John', in *DNB*
- R.W. Goulding, *The Welbeck Abbey miniatures*, Oxford, 1916, p. 167 (reference to Gagnier and his wife)
- D.C.A. Agnew, *Protesant exiles from France*, London, 1886, vol. 2, p. 388

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis

## La vie de Mahomet

## 'Life of Muḥammad'

DATE 1723

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

## DESCRIPTION

Gagnier's Latin *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis: moslemicae religionis auctoris et imperii saracenici fundatoris* was published in Oxford in 1723. It is 160 pages long, with the Arabic original and translation in parallel columns. The Arabic manuscript of Abū l-Fidā's *Al-mukhtaṣar* completed in 1329, of which it is a translation, was part of the collection donated to the Bodleian Library by Edward Pococke. In the annotations he includes, Gagnier says that he has consulted the Qur'an (he cites Ludovico Maracci's Latin translation), Prophetic Traditions (he occasionally identifies 'al-Bocharius'), commentaries and ancient histories (p. ii). He also mentions Barthélemy d'Herbelot, Humphrey Prideaux, Adriaan Reland, Edward Pococke, and others. His translation is generally a faithful rendition of the Arabic.

Gagnier was approached by the publishers of the English translation of Henri de Boulainvilliers' *La vie de Mohamed* to complete the closing section of that work from the year 5 AH, but he appears to have declined because of his dislike of Boulainvilliers' sympathetic portrayal of Muḥammad, which he criticised as full of errors and contradictions. However, Gagnier was also aware that, as a Latin text, his *De vita* would reach only a small readership, while Boulainvilliers' *Vie* was already a popular work. So he decided to write a life of Muḥammad in French, *La vie de Mahomet, tr. et compilée de l'Alcoran, des traditions authentiques de la Sonna, et des meilleurs auteurs arabes*, based on Abū l-Fidā', but more than a translation because he expanded the text by incorporating material from *De vita* and elsewhere. The result was a much larger work in two volumes (a total of 873 pages) published by Westeins and Smith in Amsterdam in 1732. A three-volume edition followed in 1748.

In the 1732 edition (for which page numbers here are given), the Preface (pp. i-xliii) takes Boulainvilliers to task on every page: he had written a romance, not a history (p. ix), and he had been carried away and had

set out to contradict the Christian portrayal of Muḥammad as a cunning imposter (pp. xx-xxi), while Gagnier himself includes nothing of his own but draws exclusively on authentic Muslim sources, merely ordering what he finds (p. xxxix).

Vol. 1 (460 pages long) is divided into four books, and vol. 2 (446 pages) into three. Vol. 1 begins with the origins of the Arabs, followed by Muḥammad's genealogy, and continues as far as the Treaty of Ḥudaybiya in the year 628. Vol. 2 completes Muḥammad's life, and ends with a description of his appearance and character, his wives and Companions, and other details. Despite the unambiguously dark assessment of Muḥammad he gives in the Preface, Gagnier largely refrains from comments in the biography itself, with the result that some remarks, such as that Muḥammad (whom he calls 'Apostle of God' throughout) was courteous, sincere and trustworthy, and could recognise what was 'indecent and dishonest, so that people in his country would call him *al-amin*, that is to say, the faithful; God had adorned him with all the most excellent qualities which make him an honest man' (vol. 1, p. 96; see *De vita*, p. 11), appear to contradict his initial assessment.

When he adds to Abū l-Fidā', it is often to include fuller accounts of miracles. For example, he enlarges the narrative of Muḥammad's birth, and stretches the two short chapters on the Night Journey and Ascent to 14 chapters (vol. 1, book 2, chs 1-14, pp. 195-265), with an extended description of what he obviously considers to be an absurd myth.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Until Gagnier's *De vita*, no biography of Muḥammad written by a Muslim was available to European scholars. Abū l-Fidā's biography may not have been the best source, being a late work that was dependent on earlier sources, but it was by a Muslim. Many have praised *De vita* as a work of careful scholarship, even as one that attempts objectivity. Bernard Lewis describes Gagnier as 'the first to try to break away from the established habit of uninformed abuse and polemic' (*Islam and the West*, p. 90), while Ahmad Gunny judges *De vita* to be 'on the whole, a dedicated work of scholarship' (*Prophet Muhammad*, p. 60). On the other hand, J.J. Reiske (1717-74) who translated Abū l-Fidā's complete *Al-mukhtaṣar* into Latin, thought his work unsatisfactory (Toomer, *Eastern wisdom*, p. 307).

*La vie de Mahomet*, which has understandably been much more widely read than *De vita*, has also attracted praise, including M.J. Franklin's comment that it is 'a pioneering yet accessible work of historiography which found Muhammad neither impostor nor hero' (*ODNB*). Gunny,

however, prefers the earlier verdict that the work was 'unworthy' of Gagnier (Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*, p. 60). He points out that not only did Gagnier choose to supplement it with material from even later sources, but he also drew heavily on 'traditions, some of which are of doubtful authenticity, to show the development of a legendary Muḥammad' without a word on the Prophet as 'legislator or even the victorious leader' (*Prophet Muhammad*, p. 59). For this reason, Gunny places Gagnier in 'the ranks of Protestant apologists' (*Prophet Muhammad*, p. 59).

Until Gustav Weil's *Das Leben Mohammeds nach Mohammed Ibn Ishak, bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hisham* (Stuttgart, 1864), almost all European authors drew on one or both of Gagnier's books when writing about Muḥammad. Edward Gibbon cited both of them and thought highly of Gagnier, describing him as 'the best and most authentic of our guides' (*Decline and fall*, London, 1777, vol. 5, p. 219, n. 111). Washington Irving used *De vita* as one of the main sources for his *Lives of Mohammed and his successors* (London, 1850), and saw Muḥammad as a 'great genius' (p. 328). Through the German translation of *La vie*, Gagnier influenced Karoline Friederike Louise von Günderrode (1780-1806), who wrote the play *Mahomed, der Prophet von Mekka* (1805) in reaction to Goethe's 1800 translation of Voltaire's *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* (1736).

By making Arabic sources available in translation, Gagnier provided Christian authors with the means to select material that informed sympathetic views of Muḥammad rather than provoking ridicule and criticism.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Jean Gagnier, *De vita, et rebus gestis Mohammedis, Moslemicae religionis auctoris et imperii Saracenici fundatoris*, Oxford, 1723; ESTC T146504 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Jean Gagnier, *La vie de Mahomet, tr. et compilée de l'Alcoran, des traditions authentiques de la Sonna, et des meilleurs auteurs arabes*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1732

Jean Gagnier, *La vie de Mahomet, tr. et compilée de l'Alcoran, des traditions authentiques de la Sonna, et des meilleurs auteurs arabes*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1748; BP75.G135 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Jean Gagnier, *Leben Mohammeds des Propheten*, trans. C.F.R. Vetterlein 2 vols, Köthen, 1802-4 (German trans.); 990022565560203941 (digitised version available through Harvard Library)

## STUDIES

- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, New York, 2015, pp. 58-60, 127
- Franklin, art. 'Gagnier, John'
- G.J. Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 174, 307
- B. Lewis, *Islam and the West*, New York, 1993, pp. 87, 90
- Goodwin, art. 'Gagnier, John'
- W. Murray (trans.), *The life of Mohammed*, Elgin, 1833 (criticises Gagnier for insertions in the text)

Clinton Bennett

## Joseph Morgan

|                |            |
|----------------|------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Unknown    |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Unknown    |
| DATE OF DEATH  | After 1750 |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Unknown    |

### BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about Joseph Morgan, apart from details found in his own works. Born in the United Kingdom, he learned Latin and Greek 'at School' (*Complete History of Algiers*, vol. 1, 1728, p. xix), mastered French, Spanish and Arabic, read *aljamiado* (Spanish and other European languages in Arabic script), conversed in North African dialects, and had a smattering of Turkish. He was a voracious reader and refers to a vast array of authors both in print and in manuscript, contemporary and classical, European and Islamic (Arabic and Persian). Throughout his life, however, he was aware that, in writing about Islam and Muslim society, he stood in the shadow of distinguished academic scholars whom he frequently mentions, such as Edward Pococke, Adriaan Reland, Edward Hyde, Humphrey Prideaux, and other Orientalists who 'teazed' him about his lack of credentials (*Mahometism explained*, vol. 2, p. lx).

Morgan went to Algiers in 1701 (*Complete History of Algiers*, 1731, p. 117), and served as a chancellery assistant to the consul, Robert Cole (*Complete History of Algiers*, vol. 1, 1728, p. xii), during the latter's second appointment from 1694 to 1712. In 1706, he took part in Mustapha Dey's Algerian campaign against Tunis, during which he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards (*Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary*, p. 124, n.). He was back in Algiers on the death of Cole in 1712, and was also there in 1716 and described the arguments of the 'ravenous Corsairs' in favour of attacking French ships (*Complete History of Algiers*, vol. 1, 1728, p. xiii) and the vote taken by members of the Diwan during the rule of 'Baba-Hali'/'Alī (r. 1710-18) (*Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary*, p. 249). He also participated in the latter's nuptials in Constantine (*Complete History of Algiers*, 1731, pp. 101, 145 n.). In 1719, he visited Tunis and bought a Spanish work about the Prophet Muḥammad, and in the following year he returned to England, having 'pass'd Twenty Years' in Barbary (*Mahometism fully explained*, A2r).

From 1723 to 1750, Morgan wrote mainly about Algiers, and only briefly about Tunisia and Libya. He also wrote about Morocco, where he served as a vice-consul in 1729 (Morsy, 'Journal de l'Ambassadeur Russell', p. 19), and provided a valuable history of the turmoil that followed the death of Mulay Ismā'īl ('the late Tyrant') in 1727 (*Complete History of Algiers*, 1731, p. 195).

Morgan often included in his writings extensive translations from Latin, Spanish and other sources. He was undeservedly described as a plagiarist by his contemporaries (*Complete History of Algiers*, vol. 1, 1728, p. xxvi), a view repeated by R.L. Playfair ('indefatigable plagiarist', *Bibliography*, p. 24). But Morgan always credited 'the Books from which I have thought fit to borrow' (*Complete History of Algiers*, vol. 1, 1728, pp. xxi, xxvi-xix [sic]), and, as he admitted, when there were previously published accounts that corresponded with what he could verify, he was happy to quote at length from them: only because 'Leo [Africanus], Marmol, and others ... advance [what] agrees with what the Moors have by Tradition' was he willing to reproduce selections from their books (*Complete History of Algiers*, 1731, p. 196).

Morgan was the first author in Britain to describe Algeria and the societies of North Africa from first-hand experience. Thus, his place in the history of early modern writings on the Islamic world should be credited far more highly than by what appears in the *ODNB*. He combined descriptions based on personal travels with information from classical and contemporary sources, along with the works of 'some deep read Musulmans' (*Mahometism explained*, vol. 2, 1725, p. xiv). He dressed in local clothes, mingled widely with the various peoples of the region, joined in their conversations, and asked questions to which 'several Moors, but more Turks ... owned as much, *upon my Inquiry*' (*Mahometism fully explained*, 1725, 'Remarks', p. vi; italics added). At the same time, and because he was looked upon as 'a great Reader', he was often asked an 'abundance of Questions' (*Complete History of Algiers*, 1731, p. 151) and invited to celebrations, where on one occasion he had to eat ostrich meat 'but liked not such rank Food' (*Complete History of Algiers*, 1731, p. 141).

The last publication that carries his name appeared in 1750. Nothing is known about the place or date of his death (Matar, 'Islam in Britain, 1589-1750').

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Joseph Morgan, *Mahometism fully explained ... Written in Spanish and Arabick, in the Year MDCIII for the Instruction of the Moriscoes in Spain*. By Mahomet Rabadan, an Arragonian Moor. Translated from the Original Manuscript, and Illustrated with large Explanatory Notes. By Mr. Morgan, London, 1723

Joseph Morgan, *Mahometism Explained*. Vol. II. Written in the Year MDCIII in Spanish, intermixed with Arabick; for the Instruction of his Morisco Brethren, then in Spain. By Mahomet Rabadan, an Aragonian Moor. Made English from the Original Manuscript, now in the Library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford. By Mr. Morgan. To which are prefixed, Some Remarks on the Work: with an entertaining Description of several Customs, & of the Modern Numidans, and other Mahometans: Never treated of in any Language. And, for a farther Illustration, there is subjoined, An ample and Genuine Account of the unjust Persecution, and final Expulsion of the Spanish Moors; chiefly collected from the Mouths and Books of those People. The Whole being interspersed with many useful Annotations, London, 1725

Joseph Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers*. To which is prefixed, an Epitome of the General History Of Barbary, from the earliest Times: Interspersed with Many curious Remarks and Passages, not touched on by any Writer whatever, vol. 1, London, 1728

Joseph Morgan, *A Complete History of Algiers*. To which is prefixed, an Epitome of the General History Of Barbary, from the earliest Times: Interspersed With many curious Remarks and Passages, not touched on by any Writer whatever, London, 1731

[Joseph Morgan], *A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary, viz. Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco*. Containing the Origin, Revolutions, and present State of these Kingdoms, their Forces, Revenues, Policy, and Commerce. Illustrated with a Plan of ALGIERS, and a Map of BARBARY. By a GENTLEMAN who resided there many years in a public Character, London, 1750

*Secondary*

N. Matar, 'Islam in Britain, 1589-1750', *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008) 284-301

C. Heywood, 'An English merchant and consul-general in Algiers, c. 1676-1712. Robert Cole and his circle', in A. Temimi and M.S. Omri (eds), *The movement of people and ideas between Britain and the Maghreb*, Zaghuan, 2003, 49-66

A. Thomson, 'Joseph Morgan et le monde islamique', *Dix-huitième Siècle* 27 (1995) 351-63

M.J. Mercer, art. 'Joseph Morgan', in *ODNB*

A.G. Chejne, *Islam and the West. The Moriscos*, Albany NY, 1983, pp. 161-5

M. Morsy, 'Le Journal de l'Ambassadeur Russell', *Cahiers de Tunisie* 24 (1976) 15-43, p. 19



- H. Sirr, 'Joseph Morgan of *Phoenix Britannicus*', *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 December 1932, p. 963
- R.L. Playfair, *Bibliography of the Barbary states, 1541-1887*, London, 1889, p. 24
- H.E.J. Stanley, 'The poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series* 3 (1867) 81-104; 3 (1868) 379-413; 4 (1870) 138-78; 5 (1871) 303-38; 6 (1873) 165-211

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Mahometism fully explained, vol. I, *and* Mahometism explained, vol. II

DATE 1723 and 1725

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

Morgan's first publication, *Mahometism fully explained* (more fully, *Mahometism fully explained ... Written in Spanish and Arabick, in the Year MDCIII for the Instruction of the Moriscoes in Spain. By Mahomet Rabadan, an Arragonian Moor. Translated from the Original Manuscript, and Illustrated with large Explanatory Notes. By Mr. Morgan; 1723*), is a translation and 'paraphrase' from Spanish (and some *aljamiado*) of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, his family and his ancestry. Morgan dedicated it to the formidable Dean of Norwich, Humphrey Prideaux, who had published an extremely popular but highly hostile biography of the Prophet in 1697. In 1725, two years after the first volume appeared, Morgan completed the translation in *Mahometism Explained. Vol. II. Written in the Year MDCIII in Spanish, intermixed with Arabick; for the Instruction of his Morisco Brethren, then in Spain. By Mahomet Rabadan, an Aragonian Moor. Made English from the Original Manuscript, now in the Library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford. By Mr. Morgan. To which are prefixed, Some Remarks on the Work; with an entertaining Description of several Customs, & of the Modern Numidians, and other Mahometans: Never treated of in any Language. And, for a farther Illustration, there is subjoined, An ample and genuine Account of the unjust Persecution, and final Expulsion of the Spanish Moors; chiefly collected from the Mouths and Books of those People. The Whole being interspersed with many useful Annotations*, presenting to the 'British Publick ... many Particulars, relating to the reigning Belief of the Proprietors of Half the known Globe, in a quite different, and much clearer, Light than they have hitherto been set

in; if not, in the Moor's Text, at least in some of my Annotations' (p. vi). The opening 'Remarks' in the 1725 work fill 90 pages and describe Morgan's approach to translation, his method of research, and his life in North Africa. The first volume covers the history of the Prophet's family, while the second focuses on his birth and life.

The translation was of a Spanish poem of nearly 17,000 lines written in 1603 by a Muslim from Aragon, Muḥammad Rabadan. This was *Discurso de la luz y descendencia y linaje claro de nuestro caudillo y bien aventurado anabi Muhamed* ('Discourse of light. The origin and translucent genealogy of our leader and blessed Prophet Muhammad', ed. H.E.J. Stanley, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series* 3 (1867) 81-104; 3 (1868) 379-413; 4 (1870) 138-78; 5 (1871) 303-38; 6 (1873) 165-211). Morgan declared that he was proud he was 'one European in a million' who could read and translate it (*Mahometism Explained*, p. vi). He wrote on the manuscript of the poem (MS London, BL – Harleian 7501) that he had bought it in Tunis on 27 September 1719; he did not appear to know of another manuscript at the BNF (see J. Antonio Lasarte López [ed.], *Poemas de Mohamad Rabadan: Canto de Las lunas – Dia del Juicio – Discurso de Las luz – Los nombres de Dios*, Zaragoza, 1991). The poet, Morgan wrote, was so admired among the Morisco descendants in Tunis that the man who sold him the manuscript was 'apt to swear by the Head of Sheikh Mohamet Rabadan' (*Mahometism Explained*, p. viii).

Rabadan wrote his 'Discourse of light' at a time, explained Morgan, 'when his oppressed Flock [the Moriscos], notoriously and shamefully, contrary to all the most solemn Articles, little to the Honour and Credit of the publick Faith, so formally given them' were fearing expulsion from their Spanish homeland. In 1609-14, 'after a Persecution of Seventy-Six Years Continuance, (as he himself [Rabadan] observes) no less violent than any of those which the Primitive Ages of Christianity saw from the Pagan Emperors' (*Mahometism Explained*, p. ix), they were expelled. Rabadan knew that his exiled readers in North Africa needed a biography of the Prophet that would inspire them with courage and assurance, a portrayal of Muḥammad as 'refuge and fortress and defender' (A.G. Chejne, *Islam and the West. The Moriscos*, Albany NY, 1983, p. 164).

By the time Morgan published his translation of the first part of Rabadan's *Life* in 1723, there had been three biographies of Muḥammad by English authors. The first was by Henry Stubbe, written between 1671 and 1676, never published; the second was by Lancelot Addison, written in a hostile tone to describe the Prophet's 'pretended Revelations to justifie his looseness'; and the third and most influential was Humphrey

Prideaux's *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet* (1697), the title sufficiently conveying the dean's attitude to Muḥammad and Islam. Morgan's translation of Rabadan's poem was the first complete biography of the Prophet by a Muslim author available in print to English readers.

Morgan took great liberties in translating and adapting the poem. While he kept to Rabadan's sequence of the biography, he changed divisions, ignored headings, and brought in material from other sources in such a way as to make the final text meet his aspiration to present an image of the Prophet and of the principles of Islam different from anything his English readers had known. Although in his footnotes Morgan reflects Prideaux's theological position, repeating his vituperations about the 'imposter' and 'illiterate Barbarian', he is ambivalent in his deference to the dean, as Ahmad Gunny has noted (*Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 56-8). He firmly states that his goal in writing is to expose historical and cultural inaccuracies, the 'Malice' as he calls it of the 'Grecian, Italian, German, Spanish and other Writers' about Islam (*Mahometism Explained*, p. v). Historians, he states, have always forgotten the corruption of the Christian Church and the schisms into which it had fallen before the appearance of Muḥammad; as Henry Stubbe had argued in the 1670s, and Morgan confirms (although there is no evidence he had read Stubbe's work), the Church's decline had given 'Encouragement' to Muḥammad's prophetic mission.

By publishing a *sīra* written by a Muslim author and based on Muslim sources, Morgan presented 'more just Ideas of the Notions of the Mahometans' than had been expressed by Prideaux and others. Apprehensive that he would be denounced for introducing a text that described the Prophet in highly positive terms, he explained: 'I am not setting up my self in an obstinate Vindication, either of the Mussulmans in general, or of the Author [Rabadan] ... Yet I cannot say I like to see those who have but half an Eye laugh at others who have lost one of theirs' (*Mahometism Explained*, p. lix). His strategy was to present Muslim views and beliefs directly from the original sources, and let them speak for themselves; perfunctorily, he inserted disclaimers or criticisms of the Prophet and of Muslims, as if to emphasise his objectivity.

Rabadan, who was influenced by the Egyptian scholar Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Bakrī (c. 13<sup>th</sup> century), follows the life of the Prophet, from childhood to revelation, at which point the Prophet assumed for al-Bakrī a cosmic stature, the 'beatified' and 'sanctified' (*sancto*). Muḥammad was a supreme miracle-worker, who 'cured all Sorts of wounds and Sores,

with no other Medicament than pure Oil, so great a Blessing attended the Touches of his Hand'; 'being in the driest and more dessart Part of Arabia, with only one small Ewer of Water, [he] satisfied the scorching Thirst' of his followers (*Mahometism Explained*, pp. 58, 112). An indication of his singular significance is that, during the Night Journey, the angel Gabriel accompanied him to the 'sanctified City of El Macdess (or Jerusalem)' and then led him to view paradise and hell, in the 'most stupendous Event that ever befell any of the Posterity of Adam' (pp. 58, 112).

Morgan appends to the biography of the Prophet the history of the Andalusian exiles. Living in Algiers, to where large numbers of Moriscos had been expelled, he felt the intensity of their anger against Catholic Spain, and so he decided to explain the origin of Muslim hostility and its causes. The Scottish anti-Catholic theologian Michael Geddes had already written about the Moriscos, relying on 'all, or most of the Books that were ever printed concerning their Tragical Expulsion' ('The history of the expulsion of the Moriscos', in *Miscellaneous texts*, London, 1702, Preface). Taking a different approach, Morgan sought to tell the story of the Moriscos through their own voices and by making use of a Muslim source. As he explains: 'I borrowed once a Manuscript in Barbary, of a Spaniard ... It was let him by a Moor, whose Great-Grandfather, the Author, came from Spain, at the last Expulsion of the Moriscoes in 1610. It is a pretty thick Quarto' (p. 295). The author was 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Alī Perez and, according to Morgan, it was dated 1603 (p. 226). Relying on this manuscript along with writings by English and continental authors, Morgan prepared an extensive section on the Moriscos and their feasts, with which he concludes *Mahometism Explained*.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In his account of Islam, translated into English in 1712, the Dutch orientalist Adriaan Reland criticised his coreligionists for going among Muslims without learning their language and therefore, without being able to engage with them: 'How few are there that travel into these Parts tolerably vers'd in Arabick, not to speak of excerpting ambiguous Passages and Falshoods, to improve them advantageously against Mahometans?' he asked (*Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans*, London, 1712, Part 2, p. 14). Morgan assured his readers that he was not one of these, since his knowledge of Arabic enabled him to present the actual views of Muslims based on their own writings. Morgan translated Rabadan's *sīra* so that English readers would meet the Muslim, rather than the distorted Christian, view of Muḥammad. This

*sīra* was ‘an Original, a Novelty’ (*Mahometism Explained*, p. xi), asserted Morgan, which deeply reflected Muslim sentiments and views about the Prophet, so much so that in Tunis, as he recalled, the locals ‘of both Sexes [used to] sing, in Concert, whole chapters out of this Work, to the Sound of Lutes and Guitars’ (*Mahometism fully explained*, Preface, note). Although not as detailed and scholarly as Henry Stubbe’s unpublished biography, Morgan’s *sīra* presented in print the first Muslim-authored biography of Muḥammad to English readers.

In addition to this, Morgan gave voice to the Andalusian exiles, again through a translation of an original work written by a Muslim that showed the extent of Muslim suffering under Catholic rule. Throughout his writing career, Morgan presented detailed and comprehensive information about Islam and North Africans. His goal was to educate his readers about Islam, and to correct the errors of previous authors, none of whom knew the local languages or had spent as many decades as he had among Muslims.

Morgan was a prolific writer, but he seems to have made no impact on later readers. Scholarship about his impressive oeuvre remains extremely limited.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Joseph Morgan, *Mahometism fully explained ... Written in Spanish and Arabick, in the Year MDCIII for the Instruction of the Moriscoes in Spain. By Mahomet Rabadan, an Arragonian Moor. Translated from the Original Manuscript, and Illustrated with large Explanatory Notes. By Mr. Morgan*, London, 1723; ESTC T092870 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Joseph Morgan, *Mahometism Explained. Vol. II. Written in the Year MDCIII in Spanish, intermixed with Arabick; for the Instruction of his Morisco Brethren, then in Spain. By Mahomet Rabadan, an Arragonian Moor. Made English from the Original Manuscript, now in the Library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford. By Mr. Morgan. To which are prefixed, Some Remarks on the Work: with an entertaining Description of several Customs, & of the Modern Numidans, and other Mahometans: Never treated of in any Language. And, for a farther Illustration, there is subjoined, An ample and Genuine Account of the unjust Persecution, and final Expulsion of the Spanish Moors; chiefly collected from the Mouths and Books of those People. The Whole being interspersed with many useful Annotations*, London, 1725; ESTC T092870 (digitised version available through ECCO)

## STUDIES

- N. Matar, 'Joseph Morgan and Mohamed Rabadan. The first Muslim biography of the Prophet Muhammad in English', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30 (2019) 151-75
- N. Matar, 'England and religious plurality. Henry Stubbe, John Locke and Islam', in C. Methuen, A. Spicer and J. Wolffe (eds), *Christianity and religious plurality*, London, 2015, 181-203
- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature, 1650 to the present*, Markfield, Leicester, 2010, pp. 56-8
- M.H. Katz, *The birth of the Prophet Muhammad*, New York, 2007
- M. de Epalza, 'Relaciones del Cónsul briánico Morgan con descendientes de moriscos en el Mágreb (siglo XVIII)', in F. González Rodríguez (ed.), *Estudios de filología inglesa. Homenaje al doctor Pedro Jesús Marcos Pérez*, Alicante, 1990, 615-20
- G. Wiegers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450)*, Leiden, 1994, p. 182

Nabil Matar

# Daniel Defoe

Daniel Foe

DATE OF BIRTH    About 1660  
PLACE OF BIRTH    London  
DATE OF DEATH    24 April 1731  
PLACE OF DEATH    London

## BIOGRAPHY

Daniel Foe was born in London in 1660 to nonconformist parents and received his first education at a dissenting academy. Although he initially intended to pursue a religious calling, in 1681 he followed his father into trade as a wholesale hosier, later expanding into the export-import business. In 1683, he published a treatise in which he showed his fear of Ottoman power on the Continent, assuming in it the mask of an Ottoman author – a strategy that he retained in his later works on Islam. In 1684, he married Mary Tuffley (d. 1732) with whom he fathered eight children, and in 1685, he joined Monmouth's Rebellion, during which he was captured but then pardoned.

After William III came to the throne in 1688, Foe wrote verse and prose in support of the king, seeing in him a protector of the nonconformists. In 1692, he was declared bankrupt, imprisoned and released, and soon after, he pretentiously added the prefix 'De' to his name. In 1696, he opened a brick and tile factory, which contributed to the construction of the Greenwich Hospital. By then, he was already an active writer, and in 1697, he published his *Essay upon projects*, in which he proposed strategies for social and economic changes.

In 1702, Queen Ann succeeded King William and began an offensive against nonconformists. Defoe, who had been pamphleteering in their defence, was arrested and on 31 July 1703 he was put in the pillory for three days. He was sent to Newgate Prison but was released through the intervention of the speaker of the House of Commons, Robert Harley, on condition of serving him by gathering intelligence for the Tories. In 1706, he was in Scotland as Harley's secret agent to harness support for the Act of Union with Scotland. Having switched sides, he established the periodical *Review of the Affairs of France*, which supported Harley and

the Tory ministry between 1710 and 1714. The largest number of Defoe's surviving letters, from 1703 on, are addressed to Harley.

Defoe wrote hundreds of pamphlets, poems, satires and political and religious tracts (276 published works, according to Furbank and Owens, *Critical bibliography*). In 1718, he published *A continuation of the letters writ by a Turkish spy*, in which he wrote as a Parisian Turk to satirise European politics. The book was the longest and only work in his corpus to engage, albeit tangentially, with Islam. A year later, Defoe rose to fame with the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* and then with his later novels, the last of which was *Roxana* (1724). In 1728, he again wrote about the 'Mahometan' North Africans in his politico-economic pamphlet, *The plan of the English commerce*. By then, the power of the Ottomans had declined dramatically.

Defoe died on 24 April 1731, and was buried in Brunhill Fields, Islington, London.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

G.H. Healey (ed.), *The letters of Daniel Defoe*, Oxford, 1955

P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *A critical bibliography of Daniel Defoe*, London, 1998

### *Secondary*

P.R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe. Ambition and innovation*, Lexington KY, 2015

P.R. Backscheider, 'Daniel Defoe', in *ODNB*

P.R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe. His life*, Baltimore MD, 1989

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Representations of Muslims in the works of Daniel Defoe

DATE 1683-1728

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

There are numerous references to Turks, Moors and 'Arabians' in the writings of Daniel Defoe, but there is no evidence that he was interested in the religion of Islam as such or that he had read the Qur'an or other Islamic material. Although he mentions these texts in a few of



his publications, at no point does he refer to anything specific in them. Rather, his knowledge derived from general readings about the Ottoman Empire and Islamic history, including Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (1718), a copy of which was in his library (Verde, 'Hayy was here').

In 1683, Defoe wrote *An account of Monsieur De Quesne's late expedition at Chio together with the negotiation of Monsieur Guilleragues, the French ambassadour at the port, in a letter written by an officer of the Grand Vizir's to a pacha; translated into English*, in which he claimed to present a translation of a French account. There is little about Islam as a religion in the treatise, although in the address 'To the Reader' Defoe denounces the 'Insolence of Humane Nature, when Ignorance is possessed of Absolute Power, as the Dissimulation, Fraud, and Corruption of any Sect, who pretend to be God's Elect, or only chosen People, which the Mumelans [sic] do'. Assuming the role of an Ottoman officer, Defoe confirms that Islam is a religion that draws its 'Original' from Abraham (p. 3), and that at the end of 'our Fast of Ramazan' is the 'Feast of Bairan' (p. 10). But the whole treatise is about the cooperation between the French and Ottoman potentates as they resolve Tripolitanian piracy, and the French bombardment of the island of Chios, in which even mosques were targeted.

Twenty years later, in a 1704 letter to Robert Harley, Defoe recalls and denounces some Protestants in England and on the Continent who had not been unhappy at the prospect of Ottoman victory during the siege of Vienna: he would, he wrote, much rather see the 'Protestants of Hungaria were Entirely Rooted Out and Destroyd, Than That the Turks Should Take the City of Vienna' (Healey, *Letters*, p. 46). Over a decade later, in 1717, Defoe introduced a 'Turkish merchant of Amsterdam', and in 1718 a 'Turkish spy' living in Paris, though in these personas he was criticising political and religious rivalries in England rather than representing Islamic figures with fully developed characters. Still, from the *Letter from a Turkish merchant* and the much longer *A continuation of Letters written by a Turkish spy at Paris* (1717 and 1718) it is possible to learn, for the first time, something of Defoe's limited views on 'Mahometanism'. The 'merchant' is an Armenian convert to Islam, and to remind readers of Muslim antipathy to Christians, a necessary trope to validate his credentials, he invents a quotation at the start of the letter from 'the divine Oracles of the sacred Alchoran' in which Muslims are commanded not to have any dealings with the 'faithless, treacherous, prejur'd' Christians (*Turkish merchant*, p. 5). Perhaps because he had formerly been a Christian, he emphasises that Muslims believe the 'Great Prophet Jesus' to be 'an holy Person'

(p. 24) at the same time that he scoffs at the acrimonious debates among the British 'Mufti's' (clergy). Indicative, however, of his (or Defoe's) limited knowledge, the merchant makes the mistake of assuming that when a Muslim turns towards the east, he is looking at the 'Mysterious Tomb of our Great Prophet' (p. 8) rather than at the Ka'ba.

*A continuation of Letters written by a Turkish spy at Paris* is Defoe's overview of events in Britain from just before the Revolution of 1688 to 1693, the fourth year of the war with France. In imitation of the *Letters writ by a Turkish spy* that had appeared in English translation in 1687, the *Continuation* is a series of letters written by a 'spy' who on various occasions offers the reader information about Islamic belief and practice. Although he is chiefly interested in affairs of state, the spy discusses the religious life of Christians, seizing thereby the opportunity to advance comparisons and contrasts with Islam. Like the merchant, the spy makes mistakes: that the Prophet Muḥammad had been buried in Mecca (*Continuation*, p. 2), that Muḥammad had been 'divine' (p. 7), and, to confirm his hostility towards the infidels among whom he lived, that at the Prophet's death 10,000 Jews and Christians were 'Sacrificed' (p. 2), and that the 'Alchoran' of Jesus had been full of 'excellent Precepts' until they were 'corrupted' by his 'Successors' (p. 7). The spy repeats the Muslim belief that the Qur'an descended from heaven to the Prophet, and that the 'Sonnah, or Misna' constitutes its 'traditional explanation'. He also confirms that the 'whole Faith' of a Muslim consists in professing the witness that there is only one God and that 'Mahomet is his Apostle or Prophet' (p. 162).

These are commonly known inaccuracies that Defoe puts in the mouth of the merchant and the spy – his generic Muslims. But then, he adds correct information: the spy prays five times a day to 'the Great Alla' (p. 9) and recognises differences among Christians (Lutherans, Calvinists 'and the like') similar to those between Ottomans and Persians – an analogy that was commonly made regarding the difference between the Sunnī and Shī'ī positions regarding the 'Successors' of the Prophet (p. 21). In the light of Defoe's anti-Catholic convictions, the spy favours the 'Hugonots' over the 'Followers of the Pope' (p. 39), who subscribe to 'many horrible Impositions' (p. 40), and he rejects the worship of Mary who was 'a poor humble Wife to a mean, and laborious Mekanick' – not a view expressed in the Qur'an or in Islamic traditions (p. 265). The spy confirms Muslim respect for Mary as the mother of 'their Prophet', and denounces the 'infidels' for inventing stories about the Prophet Muḥammad and for alleging that he had performed 'fabulous Miracles'

or had practised 'Sorcery and Witchcraft' or had used a 'Pidgeon' or had been buried in a 'Coffin, hanging suspended in the Air between Heaven and Earth' (p. 271).

Like many writers, both travellers and captives, Defoe adds transliterations from Arabic and Turkish (*Continuation*, p. 71, *Turkish merchant*, p. 7), but they make no sense, revealing his ignorance of the languages. Nor do many of the names of the addressees of the spy's letters make sense either; they have Turkish or Muslim semblance, but they are often incoherent. Defoe mentions the names of the places where the spy's addressees live, but there are no descriptions of 'Trapezond' or 'Hadramurt in Arabia' or others; the names are just additions to the exotic. Also exotic is the dating of the letters by reference to the Muslim and Christian calendars together: 'the 12 the Day of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Moon, of the Year 1692'. The spy describes the 'Law' that had been collected by 'Omer and Osman' as 'Mahomet's Institutes' (p. 74) – which recalls the *Institutes* of John Calvin; as a nonconformist, could Defoe have intended to associate the two texts together? That Jonah was an 'Arabian Prophet', according to the spy, might have been a result of the presence of his alleged tomb in Iraq (p. 135).

In *Continuation*, Defoe shows how a purported member of the Ottoman elite observed and commented on European affairs. He made various criticisms of Catholicism, and wondered at French celebrations of Ottoman victories over Habsburg Christian armies. But the goal of the two texts was more political than theological, and Islam is just a mask that Defoe assumes.

A year later, in 1719, Defoe completed *Robinson Crusoe*, a work that may well have been inspired by Ibn Ṭufayl's Arab-Andalusian fable *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (*Complete works*, vol. 4. *Lectures upon Shakespeare*, ed. W.G.T. Shedd, New York, 1884, p. 311) also saw the influence of *The Arabian nights* in the novel, suggesting another Islamic source, although Defoe mentions nothing of Islamic import. In the novel, he describes the captivity of Crusoe in Morocco. While the captors are Muslim, Crusoe does not emphasise the Islamic context – although the character Xury 'sware by Mahomet' (*Robinson Crusoe*, p. 25), and on his island Crusoe shears his beard leaving a 'pair of Mahometan whiskers such as ... worn by some Turks' (p. 177).

Defoe was aware of the captivity of his compatriots in North Africa, and the captivity genre of writing in Britain may have contributed to the origin of his novel (Starr, 'Escape from Barbary'); at the time of writing the novel, there were about 200 captives in Morocco (Matar, 'British captives

in Salé'). Although Defoe gives one of his Moors the name 'Ismael' (the same as the ruler of Morocco at the time), to his credit he does not attack the 'Barbary' pirates on the grounds of their religion – the standard practice in the dozens of captivity accounts that were published in England from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century on (Matar, *Turks, Moors*, appendix A). It could be that the presence of two Turks in the court of King George I (r. 1714–27), Mahomet and Mustapha, who notwithstanding their conversion to Christianity continued to use their Muslim names, enabled Defoe to separate national origin and nomenclature from religion (Aljenfawi, 'Mahomet and Mustapha'). Actually, Defoe did not include descriptions of any of the regions of the Islamic world from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, notwithstanding the vast geographical range that he explored in his novels. When in *Life, adventures, and pyracies* (1720) Captain Singleton and his friend cross from Basra to Venice, the regions are covered in a mere sentence: 'from Bassorah, at the mouth of the river Tigris or Euphrates, through the desert, and through Aleppo to Alexandria, or, as we call it, Scanderoon, in the Levant'. And, the only allusion to anything Turkish in the novel *Roxana*, which Defoe wrote in 1724, is to the heroine's Turkish disguise and dance (Scholz, 'English women in oriental dress', pp. 93–8). However, in choosing the name Roxana for his character, Defoe would have been aware that this was the European form of the name of Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558), who in popular culture was seen as the stereotypical villainess. His novel transforms Roxana into a strong, autonomous woman whose experiences, according to Virginia Woolf, were intended to 'elicit our sympathy' (A. McNeillie and S.N. Clarke (eds), *The essays of Virginia Woolf*, San Diego CA, 1986, p. 103). This might be an instance when Defoe saw something admirable in the Ottoman world – strong, powerful women – which could be imitated rather than condemned, suggesting a certain ambiguity in his overall attitude. Merritt argues that Defoe was both 'repelled by and attracted to the Ottoman empire' (Merrett, *Contrarian*, p. 162), and that his use of the Roxana trope was a way of using a different cultural perspective 'to resist his own and his society's cultural prejudices and test received cultural standards with contrarian viewpoints', so that for him 'imagining Islam was socially constructive' (Merrett, *Contrarian*, p. 171).

In 1727, Defoe wrote *Conjugal lewdness or, Matrimonial whoredom*, in which he praises Ottoman law for permitting a wife to divorce her husband if he was violent to her. Defoe does not mention a qur'anic source for this law, and it is very likely that he read about it in the travel literature about the Ottoman Empire, especially the reference to the woman

turning a shoe upside down before a judge; so too about the multiplicity of wives, which is qur'anic, but which Defoe would have also known about by hearsay (pp. 304-5). In *The complete English tradesman*, also from 1727, in addition to commenting on the Turk's lack of interest in European commodities, he contrasts London's commerce as 'tending directly to the propagating [of] Vice' with the way in which the Turks 'exchange only the necessary things of life' required for 'food and raiment' (vol. 2, pp. 111-12). Furthermore, Constantinople has no ale house, while London is full and their numbers 'scandalously great' (p. 113). Defoe wanted 'the merchant community to regulate itself morally', and for all he saw as wrong with the Ottomans, he saw Turkish 'consumerism' as a 'model of reform' that London could follow (Merrett, *Contrarian*, p. 166-7).

A year later, in the last treatise in which Defoe deals with Turks and Moors, *A plan of the English commerce* (1728), he examines their economic rather than their religious role. He proposes the colonisation of North Africa and the expulsion of its native populations, and their replacement with Christian Europeans'. But, significantly, he does not present this prospect of war and conquest as a holy or religious war. Rather, it is an economically motivated venture stemming from the Turks' piracy and lack of industry:

These Mahometans, as I have said of the Turks, have very little Inclination to Trade, they have no Gust to it, no Taste for it, or of the Advantages of it; but dwelling on the Seacoast, and being rapacious, cruel, violent, and tyrannical People, void of all Industry or Application, neglecting all Culture and Improvement, it made them Thieves and Robbers. (p. 319)

Defoe is not interested in reforming 'Mahometans' or instructing the reader about their religion. Instead, he calls on Britain, France, Spain, the Netherlands and other European countries to join forces and push the 'barbarous' natives inland, then settle the fertile regions of North Africa with industrious and 'diligent' Europeans who will civilise the Muslims into becoming consumers of European industrial products. He compares the Turks to the Romans in lacking innovation and trading initiative, but just as he does not attribute Roman failure to their paganism neither does he blame Islam for Turkish failure. While the Algerians and others who were to be expelled were Muslims and those who were to take over their lands were Christians, Defoe's argument was not based on the superiority of Christianity over Islam but on European labour and initiative over the un-trading Turks. Ever thinking about trade and markets and

profit, Defoe conceives of a European economic bloc against the Turks. That is why he bluntly states that there was no need to make any effort to convert the 'Mahometans' to Christianity; it was enough to introduce 'some Fashions or Customs among them', create 'new Markets for the sale of those Manufactures', and turn the Muslim natives to the 'Consumption' of European merchandise (pp. 324-5).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In 1683, the year of the siege of Vienna, Defoe wrote specifically to denounce Islam, but more expressly, Ottoman-French collusion. He adopted a Turkish mask, a ploy that he used again in his later treatises. By the time he wrote *Continuation*, however, the Turks/'Mahometans' no longer posed imperialist dangers and Defoe viewed them through the lens of their disruptive piracy and their potential as consumers of English goods. A few years before his death, he called for their colonisation, not to convert them to Christianity but to punish them for their lack of entrepreneurial culture and to turn them into pliant customers. Trade was all that mattered to Defoe, so much so that he recast the crusaders as a failure because they had not secured free trade routes for the English, Dutch and other Europeans.

Typically, Defoe has been seen as wanting 'nothing less than [English] world domination' (Backscheider, *Life*, p. 511) – over Muslims and others, with *Robinson Crusoe* as the 'archetypal or originating novel of colonialism since it stakes a symbolic cultural claim on non-European territory' (Baines, *Crusoe*, p. 144). Yet throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century *Crusoe* was 'usually interpreted as an anti-imperial text' (B. Hilton, *A mad, bad, and dangerous people?*, Oxford, 2006, p. 244). Robert Merrett describes Defoe's attitude toward imperialism as 'replete with cultural paradoxes' (*Contrarian*, p. 162).

However, by the time Defoe wrote *A plan of the English commerce*, as described above, his enthusiasm for imperialism had become more explicit. Arguably, by then the signs of Ottoman decline had become more visible. This evolution in one man's views may reflect changes in attitudes towards the Ottoman world that took place during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and ended as Orientalist assumptions that the empire was in serious crisis and decline had taken root.

The possibility that the *Arabian nights* and *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* influenced Daniel Defoe's work, together with his knowledge of and interest in the Ottoman trade, suggests that Islam-related literature and current affairs were increasingly part of the worldview of British writers and thinkers in

the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. While the Latin translation of *Hayy* excised Islamic references, and English versions emphasised Arab aspects rather than explicitly Islamic ones, and the Islamic elements in the *Nights* may be seen as no more than colouring, both texts were nonetheless products of Muslim contexts. Defoe's conscription of some aspects of Muslim Ottoman life to challenge and question British mores shows recognition that, while he criticised many other aspects, the British could learn and benefit from exposure to other cultures. Social traffic is not one way. This reduces distance between 'us' and 'them' in Christian-Muslim encounter, as the former recognise and acknowledge the latter's contribution to cultural production that has contributed to the shaping of British identity. As ambivalent and contrary as Defoe could be towards the Ottoman world, his contribution to English literature would be different and his legacy poorer if all Ottoman-related content or influence was extracted.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Some of Defoe's works have many editions and translations; only the main ones are listed here:

Daniel Defoe, *An account of Monsieur De Quesne's late expedition at Chio together with the negotiation of Monsieur Guilleragues, the French ambassadeur at the port / in a letter written by an officer of the Grand Vizir's to a pacha; translated into English*, London, 1683; Wing A211 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

Daniel Defoe, *The conduct of Christians made the sport of infidels. In a letter from a Turkish merchant at Amsterdam to the Grand Mufti at Constantinople*, London, 1717; ESTC To69379 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Daniel Defoe, *The conduct of Christians made the sport of infidels. In a letter from a Turkish merchant at Amsterdam to the Grand Mufti at Constantinople*, Dublin, 1718; ESTC To69380 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Daniel Defoe and Giovanni Paolo Marana, *A continuation of Letters written by a Turkish spy at Paris giving an impartial account to the divan at Constantinople of the most remarkable transactions of Europe and discovering several intrigues and secrets of the Christian courts, especially of that of France, continued from the year 1687, to the year 1693*, London, 1718; ESTC N015315 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Daniel Defoe, *The life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, London, 1719; ESTC To72264 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- Daniel Defoe, *The life, adventures, and pyracies of the famous Captain Singleton*, London, 1720; ESTC To69688 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Daniel Defoe, *The fortunate mistress. Or, A history of the life and vast variety of fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards called the Countess de Wintelsheim, in Germany, being the person known by the name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles II*, London, 1724; ESTC To70630 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Daniel Defoe, *Conjugal lewdness or, Matrimonial whoredom*, London, 1727; ESTC To70622 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Daniel Defoe, *The complete English tradesman, in familiar letters: Directing him in all the several parts and progressions of trade ... Calculated for the instruction of our inland tradesmen; and especially of young beginners*, London, vol. 1, 1727; ESTC To71959 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Daniel Defoe, *A plan of the English commerce*, London, 1728; ESTC To70838 (digitised version available through ECCO)

## STUDIES

- T. Verde, 'Hayy was here, Robinson Crusoe', *Aramco World* 65 (2014) 2-11
- N. Matar, 'British captives in Salé', in S. Hans and J. Schiel (eds), *Mediterranean slavery revisited (500-1800)*, 2014, 515-40
- R.J. Merrett, *Daniel Defoe. Contrarian*, Toronto, 2013
- W.R. Owens, 'Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, and the Barbary pirates', *English* 62 (2013) 51-66
- E.N.N. Kugler, 'The Ottoman influence in *Robinson Crusoe*. Failures of English imperial identity', in Kugler, *Sway of the Ottoman Empire on English identity in the long eighteenth century*, Leiden, 2012, 55-84
- S. Scholz, 'English women in oriental dress. Playing the Turk in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish embassy *Letters* and Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*', in S. Schülting et al. (eds), *Early modern encounters with the Islamic East*, Burlington VT, 2012, 85-98
- K. Clark, *Daniel Defoe. The whole frame of nature, time and providence*, London, 2007
- K. Aljenfawi, 'Mahomet and Mustapha. George the First's Turkish servants as surrogate targets', *Enter Text* 5 (2006) 35-54
- R. Merrett, 'Daniel Defoe and Islam', *Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 24 (2005) 19-34



- R. Wheler, *The complexion of race. Categories of difference in eighteenth-century British culture*, Philadelphia PA, 2000
- N. Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the age of discovery*, New York, 1999
- P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *Defoe de-attributions*, London, 1994
- M. Green, *The Robinson Crusoe story*, University Park PA, 1991
- Backscheider, *Life*
- Nawal Muhammad Hassan, *Hayy ibn Yaqzan and Robinson Crusoe. A study of an early Arabic impact on English literature*, Baghdad, 1980
- G.A. Starr, 'Escape from Barbary. A seventeenth-century genre', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 19 (1965) 35-52

**Nabil Matar**

## *Reflections on Mohammedanism and the conduct of Mohammed*

DATE 1735

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

*Reflections on Mohammedanism and the conduct of Mohammed. Occasioned by a late learned translation and exposition of the Koran or Al Koran* is a 54-page work published in 1735 by J. Roberts of Warwick Street, London. The author is unknown, and there is nothing in it that points to a possible identity. It draws heavily on George Sale's *Koran* (1734), and was obviously inspired by Sale's approach to Islam. Like Sale, the author is critical of the view of Muḥammad expressed by Humphrey Prideaux in *The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* (1697), and the work can be read as a rebuttal of what Prideaux had written.

The opening pages present the author's premise that Christians have treated Islam and Muḥammad unfairly, and set out his call for a different approach. Mere mention of Muḥammad or of Islam inflames Christian hostility even among those who have no knowledge of either (p. 3), while the English clergy express a groundless malevolence towards Muḥammad, even though they lack the knowledge to justify this. The author has not set out to elevate Islam above Christianity, but wishes to vindicate Muḥammad from false charges. He does so not to prove the superiority or inferiority of any religion but 'purely for the sake of truth' (p. 2), so he asks readers to suspend censuring him until they have read his text. He lists the works of Edward Pococke, Thomas Hyde and Adriaan Reland as his sources, though he draws mainly on Sale's *Koran*, which he cites extensively. He argues that there is now enough information available to re-evaluate Christian thinking about Islam, which has been 'falsely represented' (p. 5), and points out that Christians do not harm their own faith when they speak positively about another religion. Since God alone is the source of goodness, Christians should acknowledge its existence wherever they see it.

Discussing Muḥammad's motivation, the author criticises Prideaux for describing him as 'ambitious' while failing to enquire into the nature of this ambition. Yes, Muḥammad was ambitious, but his aim

was to establish a better religion than any practised in his day (p. 8), and to advance a general reformation of religion. To accomplish this, Muḥammad had no option but to 'pretend a revelation' (p. 8). Christians should not see this as 'strange', for they know that the imagination is capable 'of wonders in this way'. Nor did anyone ever achieve an empire with less 'bloodshed, or by a more gentle course' (p. 9), for Muḥammad only used the sword when he had no other option. He conquered people but did not invade their 'rights', asking only that they should accept his claim to prophethood, and he made concessions to encourage them to do this. He was not a tyrant, forgave his enemies, was devoid of pride, and did not seek revenge, in this excelling rulers who preceded him, including the Emperor Constantine, and besides them he 'must be pronounced an Archangel' (p. 10). He was also more honest than any Christian bishop of his day, because even his most inveterate enemies cited examples of his trustworthiness. Nor did he indulge in rape and plunder (p. 11).

Turning to Muḥammad's multiple marriages, the author points out that for 22 years he had only one wife. He did love women, but imposed limitations on polygamy that would not have pleased his countrymen, who practised no restrictions. The author rejects the 'old lecher' image, and on Muḥammad's marriage to Zaynab in particular he rejects Prideaux's claim that Muḥammad compelled Zayd to divorce her, for 'it was Zeyd's own act and deed' (p. 14) that allowed the marriage. As a man, it should be expected that Muḥammad made mistakes, for even biblical prophets were weak and wicked, while nothing Muḥammad did was as immoral as David's actions concerning Bathsheba.

Christians are mistaken to compare the mortal Muḥammad with 'the divine Jesus', and to assert that nothing good can proceed from him because they 'find the difference to be infinite' (p. 19). Rather, when he is compared with Old Testament prophets rather than with Jesus, Muḥammad does not appear to be 'so mean or contemptible' (p. 19). After all, God takes imperfect people and uses them to progress divine providence, and if God is 'the author of all virtue and justice' (p. 23) then he can be said to have used Socrates to teach virtue and a good life to heathens, and Zoroaster (who prophesied Jesus' coming) to good purpose.

The author cannot imagine that Muḥammad was all he pretended to be, but neither can he 'think of him otherwise than as an instrument in the hand of God, to save even the Christian Church itself from utter perdition' (p. 24). Muḥammad's preaching denounced idolatry outside

and inside the church, and while he may have defaced the glory of Eastern Christianity, he did not destroy it because today the Ottoman sultan protects the Greek and Syrian Churches, while the ruler of Persia does the same for Armenians.

Muḥammad set out to reform religion rather than to found an empire (p. 27). He began to preach God's Unity in an obscure corner of the world, and proclaimed what he saw as the original religion of Adam that had been transmitted from prophet to prophet and patriarch to patriarch (pp. 27-8). Despite ridicule and persecution, he persevered until he was able to lead his followers to Medina, where he became a conqueror and lawgiver. What he established was nearer to 'the true Christian system' than what was practised in his day by the blasphemers called Christians, or 'than is professed by papists, especially at this day, or any other sect of Christians'.

Examining what Muḥammad taught, the author sees little that should alarm Christians. He proclaimed God's Unity, and while he may have had no insight into what Christians mean by Unity in Trinity, which he saw as polytheism, yet he said nothing unworthy of God (p. 31). Nor should Christians be affronted by Muḥammad's moral teaching, for he enjoined kindness towards orphans and forbade alcohol, gambling and usury.

Challenging the view that Muḥammad concocted a religion that attracted people because they saw that it demanded little of them, he argues that Islam's rigorous regime of prayer, fasting and pilgrimage makes it anything but an easy option (pp. 35-6). Nor can Christians condemn Muḥammad because he had no insight into the need for atonement for Adam's sin. This remains a mystery even for Christians, who accept it on faith, while if, as Christians repeatedly claim, Muḥammad was an ordinary man who only pretended prophethood and enjoyed no divine communication, then he had no way to know anything of the doctrine of atonement.

Prideaux included a lengthy account of Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascent 'as a reproach to this pretended prophet', but was mistaken to say that this story is taken from Q 17, which does not describe it. Muslim scholars themselves are divided on whether the event was real or an allegory (p. 39), and it may have an origin in something Muḥammad said that was later embellished (p. 40). Nor were precedents lacking, since St Paul too may have experienced some type of journey into paradise. On the sensual or carnal paradise that Muḥammad allegedly offered, the author argues that he only described this in language that his followers

would understand, and should not be censured for lacking deeper spiritual insight into the nature of the afterlife (p. 43).

Muḥammad should not be unfairly condemned 'by the lump, or for what he is not guilty of. Again, the author emphasises that Islam has not extirpated the practice of Christianity in its territories, but tolerates it. This, he says, is remarkable in a religion that was spread by the sword and should not 'brook with the practice of any other faith' (p. 45). Yet it has tolerated and protected all that is not immoral and idolatrous, 'upon conditions not so very hard considering that they were imposed by a conqueror' (p. 45). Paradoxically, had the Eastern Churches fallen under papal jurisdiction they would long since have become subject to Roman 'fopperies' or be victims of the pope's wrath (p. 46). Muslims put up with Christians, while Christians look on them as cursed with no hope of mercy from God, which is a paradox (p. 45). Islam's spread saved the Eastern Church from slipping even further away from the precepts of the Gospel into idolatry, in which God's hand can be seen.

Christians and Muslims have a long history of 'cruel variance', in which Christians have largely acted as aggressors. However, an impartial examination shows that Christians have no cause to be as angry as they are towards Muḥammad and his followers (p. 47). Christians are wrong to persist in their ill-founded prejudice against Islam, as if everything about the 'Arab and his doctrines' were bad (p. 45). Christians should refrain from darkening 'truth by words without knowledge' (p. 48) if, when they look at Islam, they see that it is not as 'sensual and absurd as commonly represented', that its doctrine of divine Unity is 'in no way unworthy of the great Author and Supporter of all things' and that its morality is not 'impious, wicked or profane but consonant with natural justice ... and happiness'. They should thus admit that there is nothing that makes Islam 'odious', but that it is 'in substance ... nearer to the original Gospel system' than the religion that Christians themselves profess (p. 48). In fact, Muḥammad prepared the ground for a future reformation of the church (p. 51). How could this not be regarded as within 'the good providence of God'? Today, Islam extends over a large portion of the earth and is likely to spread further, which, for the most part, 'tends to health, decency, and the outward practice of devotion' (p. 51). Christians should not see this as a reason for alarm, but as completing half of the needed reformation. Instead of engaging in armed conflict with Muslims, Christians should adopt an approach that recognises Islam's providential role.

This requires more study of Islam and of Oriental languages, which have been neglected. Here (and on the title page) the author cites

Q 16:125, which urges Muslims to invite by wisdom and mild exhortation, and to dispute in a better manner (p. 52). The Qur'an may not be the word of an infallible God (p. 53), but nor is Islam devoid of truth. An impartial study of religions requires the setting aside of preconceived bias.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This work represents a new contribution to Christian-Muslim understanding by calling for a rethinking of the relationship between Christianity and Islam in the context of God's providential purposes. The anonymous author does not go as far as to accept Muḥammad's claim to be a divinely commissioned prophet, but he does compare him favourably with biblical prophets and describes him as an instrument in God's hands. Christians in earlier times had depicted Islam as God's scourge on corrupt Eastern Christianity, but this author allots it a more positive role as a reforming movement that did not so much punish Eastern Christianity as save it from becoming more corrupt. His characterisation of Islam as near to Jesus' original form of religion resembles John Toland's view in his *Nazarenus* (1718) but, unlike Toland and other non-Trinitarian writers, he does not himself explicitly reject the Trinity. Nevertheless, he is more critical of the papacy and of the Roman Catholic Church than he is of Islam.

Underlying this essay is a tacit proposal about the theology of religion, one that sees God active in the world beyond the boundary of the Christian Church by attributing to God responsibility for virtue and justice whether these are encountered in Greek philosophy, Zoroastrianism or Islam. However, the essay is not uncritical of Islam. Towards the end, the author alludes to the claim that the Qur'an was compiled from Talmudic and apocryphal Christian sources and other 'wild stories' (p. 52), though he does not conclude from this that the Qur'an lacks value. On the contrary, he sees Q 19:125 as offering good advice about the way in which Christians should approach Muslims, rejecting calumny and ignorance in favour of wisdom, mild exhortation and an approach that recognises what is good in Islam.

Others who wrote with sympathy about Islam were routinely dubbed 'Mahometans' or even 'Mahometan Christians'. This anonymous author can be categorised with Toland and others who recognised affinity between Islam and what they took to be Jesus' original teaching. In fact, this work may be the earliest example in English of a call to rethink Christian-Muslim relations by pursuing an impartial study of religious

traditions. The author, less vulnerable from censure because he hid his identity, perhaps goes further than Sale in offering a vindication of Islam.

## PUBLICATIONS

*Reflections on Mohammedanism and the conduct of Mohammed. Occasioned by a late learned translation and exposition of the Koran or Al Koran*, London, 1735; ESTC T091614 (digitised version available through ECCO)

## STUDIES

H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1780*, Baltimore MD, 2012

Clinton Bennett

# Joseph Pitts

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Approximately 1663 |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Exeter             |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Approximately 1739 |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Exeter             |

## BIOGRAPHY

Born around 1663 into a nonconformist family in Exeter, Joseph Pitts became a sailor, but was captured by Algerian pirates in 1678 on his first voyage. Taken to the slave-market in Algiers, he was first bought by a Turk called Mustafa, then sold to another Turk named Dilber Ibrahim, who forced him to convert to Islam around 1683. Dilber Ibrahim perished in an uprising against the Dey of Algiers the same year, and his widow sold Pitts to an elderly Turkish bachelor named Ömer. Pitts was well treated by his kindly third master, and accompanied him on the pilgrimage to Mecca, probably in 1686, so becoming the first Englishman known to have visited the Muslim Holy Places. There is some dispute about this date, and Charles Beckingham prefers 1685 ('Date of Pitts's pilgrimage'.) Granted his freedom at Mecca, Pitts became a soldier on his return to Algiers. He remained in the service of the Algerian army as a renegade for around eight years, going on campaigns against the Moroccans and the Spanish before venturing on a daring escape while serving with the Algerian fleet in the Aegean in 1694. Crossing much of Italy and Germany on foot, Pitts finally reached Exeter in 1695, 17 years after he had left it.

Little is known about Pitts after his return to England, and what is known about him is contained mainly in his only work, *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans*, first published in Exeter in 1704. Two unauthorised editions (both called the second edition) were published in 1717 and 1719 respectively, but a third edition, revised and enlarged by the author, was published as *A faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans* in 1731 in London, and a fourth edition, almost identical to the third, was published in London in 1738.

Pitts is presumed to have died in 1739, as the will of a Joseph Pitts was proved in Exeter that year.



## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans*, Exeter, 1704

*Secondary*

- P. Auchterlonie, *Encountering Islam. Joseph Pitts, an English slave in 17th-century Algiers and Mecca. A critical edition, with biographical introduction and notes, of Joseph Pitts of Exeter's A faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans, 1731*, London, 2012, Introduction, pp. 3-96
- P. Auchterlonie, 'Joseph Pitts. Exeter's first Orientalist?', *Oriente Moderno*, new series 91 (2011) 171-80
- H. Garcia, 'Turning Turk, turning heretic. Joseph Pitts of Exeter and the early Enlightenment, 1670-1740', in G. Maclean (ed.), *Britain and the Muslim world*, Newcastle, 2011, 85-101
- A. McConnell, art. 'Pitts, Joseph', *ODNB*
- N. Matar, 'Introduction. England and Mediterranean captivity, 1577-1704', in D.J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, slavery and redemption. Barbary captivity narratives from early modern England*, New York, 2001, 1-52 (the most succinct and stimulating analysis of captivity narratives; Matar comments on Pitts on p. 39)
- C. Beckingham, 'The date of Pitts's pilgrimage to Mecca', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1950) 112-13
- C. Radford, 'Joseph Pitts of Exeter (?1663-?1739)', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art* 52 (1920) 223-38
- T. Secombe, art. 'Pitts, Joseph', *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans

DATE 1704-38 (editions 1-4)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

*A faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans* is unique in being both a captivity narrative and a description of Islam. (It is also in part a travel account.)

Captivity narratives are the (auto)biographies of Christian slaves (in this case in North Africa) who through ransom, exchange or escape

returned to their home countries and wrote down their story. Pitts' captivity narrative is one of only two published autobiographies of English renegades (that is, European converts to Islam) and his book emphasises the psychological and physical trauma of loss of identity created by being a Christian slave in a Muslim land. On the one hand, the book highlights the narrator's courage and steadfastness in the face of what captivity narratives routinely term 'Barbarian cruelty', continually emphasising the providence of the Protestant God, while on the other the narrative is never free from the sense of fear and shame involved in slavery, compounded in Pitts' case by his conversion to Islam, even if against his will. Central to the narrative is Pitts' relation to his third master, Ömer, and some passages that he added in the third edition of 1731 show that he was unable to prevent himself from expressing a deep affection for a Muslim, even as he approached old age in Exeter, thus supplying conclusive evidence of his continuing emotional ambivalence and divided cultural identity.

Pitts claimed in the preface to the 1704 edition that he wrote his book at the insistence of friends to provide 'an account of the Mohammedan faith ... as exact as possible' (Preface [1]), and also to 'make some manner (at least) of restitution and reparation for my past defection' (Preface [4]). In his account, Pitts talks only of those aspects of Islam with which, having been a Muslim for at least 11 years, he was familiar, such as the exact positions for prayer, the various rules for ritual ablution, fasting, etc.

In his book, he mentions no Muslim scholars, nor does he discuss Islamic theology or the contents of the Qur'an (although he writes with approval of how ordinary Muslims take great care of their copies and how many are able to recite the whole Qur'an in the space of 30 days). He was well aware that he was the first Englishman to visit Mecca and Medina and, in the central portion of the book, he offers the first detailed and accurate account in English of the *hajj* rituals, taking issue with information provided by previous travellers and scholars, and proclaiming to his readers that he was determined not to tell the 'world anything but truth' since that would 'be a bad testimony of my repentance for my apostasy' (1731 edition, pp. viii-ix).

Pitts, of necessity, since he was seeking readmission to the Christian church on his return to Exeter, makes mock of Islam using phrases such as 'false worship' and 'vile and debauched imposter' to describe Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad, and calling the Qur'an 'that legend of falsities and abominable follies and absurdities'. However, he also makes

a (perhaps unconscious) distinction between Islam as a belief system, which he rejects outright, and Islam as a system of worship, which he describes with surprising sympathy, particularly Muslims' devotion to prayer and the Qur'an and their often deep sense of repentance. (He was moved to tears by the devotion the pilgrims shown during the *hajj*.)

## SIGNIFICANCE

Pitts could have omitted from his book all passages that reflected in any way favourably on Muslim religious practice, but his essentially truthful nature impelled him to reflect positively on many aspects of Islam. His book, particularly in its third and fourth editions, is thus the most accurate account of Muslim worship of its time in English, and a unique early modern European testimony to what it meant to be both a Christian and a Muslim.

## PUBLICATIONS

Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mohammetans. In which is a particular relation of their pilgrimage to Mecca, The Place of Mohammed's Birth; And a Description of Medina, and of his Tomb there. As likewise of Algier, and the Country adjacent: And of Alexandria, Grand-Cairo, &c. With an Account of the Author's being taken Captive, the Turks Cruelty to him, and of his Escape. In which are many things never Publish'd by any Historian before*, Exon [Exeter]: S. Farley for Philip Bishop and Edward Score, 1704, pp. 204; ESTC To77077 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mohammetans. In which is a particular relation of their pilgrimage to Mecca, The Place of Mohammed's Birth; And a Description of Medina, and of his Tomb there. As likewise of Algier, and the Country adjacent: And of Alexandria, Grand-Cairo, &c. With an Account of the Author's being taken Captive, the Turks Cruelty to him, and of his Escape. In which are many things never Publish'd by any Historian before*, Exon [Exeter]: S. Farley for Philip Bishop and Edward Score, 1717, pp. 204 (second edition; not authorised by Pitts); ESTC To77078 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful account of the religion & manners of the Mahometans. In which is a particular relation of their pilgrimage to Mecca, The Place of Mahomet's Birth; And a Description of Medina, and of his Tomb there: As likewise of Algier and the Country adjacent; and of Alexandria, Grand-Cairo, &c. With an Account of*

*the Author's being taken Captive, the Turks Cruelty to him and of his Escape. In which are many Things never publish'd by any Historian before*, London: W. Taylor, 1719, pp. 204 (second edition; not authorised by Pitts); ESTC T179742 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Joseph Pitts, *A faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans. In which is a particular relation of their pilgrimage to Mecca, the Place of Mahomet's Birth; and a Description of Medina, and of his Tomb there: As likewise of Algier, and the Country adjacent; and of Alexandria, Grand Cairo, &c. With an Account of the Author's being taken Captive; the Turks Cruelty to him; and of his Escape. In which are many Things never publish'd by any Historian before*, corrected, with additions, to this edition is added a map of Mecca, and a Cut of the Gestures of the Mahometans in their Worship, London: J. Osborn and T. Longman, and R. Hett, 1731, pp. xxiv, 260 (third edition); ESTC T077076 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Joseph Pitts, *A faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans. In which is a particular relation of their pilgrimage to Mecca, the Place of Mahomet's Birth; and a Description of Medina, and of his Tomb there: As likewise of Algier, and the Country adjacent; and of Alexandria, Grand Cairo, &c. With an Account of the Author's being taken Captive; the Turks Cruelty to him; and of his Escape. In which are many Things never publish'd by any Historian before*, corrected, with additions, to this edition is added a map of Mecca, and a Cut of the Gestures of the Mahometans in their Worship, London: T. Longman and R. Hett, 1738, pp. xxiv, 259 (fourth edition; facsimile reprint, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1971)

Sir Richard Burton, *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to Al Madinah and Meccah*, 2 vols, London: Bell, 1913 [first published 1855-6], vol. 2, appendix 5, pp. 358-89 (reprint of Pitts' narrative of his travels in Arabia, accompanied by a short introduction and a topographical and historical commentary)

W. Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century, as described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet*, London, 1949, pp. 1-49 (Pitts' journey from Algiers to Mecca and back, with good geographical, historical and linguistic notes)

- O.V. Volkoff (ed.), *Voyages en Egypte pendant les années 1678-1701*, trans. C. Favard-Meeks [et al.], Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1981, pp. 111-50 (French trans. of the sections dealing with Egypt, with good notes)
- D.J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, slavery and redemption. Barbary captivity narratives from early modern England*, New York, 2001, pp. 220-34 (annotated edition of the 1704 edition with modernised spelling, along with Vitkus' preface to Pitts' book on pp. 218-19)
- P. Auchterlonie, *Encountering Islam. Joseph Pitts, an English slave in 17th-century Algiers and Mecca*, London, 2012, pp. 99-266 (annotated edition of the 1731 edition)

## STUDIES

- Auchterlonie, *Encountering Islam*, pp. 3-96
- Auchterlonie, 'Joseph Pitts. Exeter's first Orientalist?'
- Garcia, 'Turning Turk, turning heretic'
- Matar 'Introduction. England and Mediterranean captivity'
- Beckingham, 'Date of Pitts's pilgrimage'
- Radford, 'Joseph Pitts of Exeter'

**Paul Auchterlonie**

# Thomas Shaw

DATE OF BIRTH 4 June 1694  
PLACE OF BIRTH Kendal, England  
DATE OF DEATH 15 August 1751  
PLACE OF DEATH Bramley, Hampshire, England

## BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1694, Shaw studied at Queen's College, Oxford, where he obtained his MA in 1720. He was appointed that year as chaplain to the English factory at Algiers and from 1721 to 1722 took time off to travel to Egypt, Sinai, Cyprus and the Holy Land. He made further journeys to Tunis and Carthage in 1727, as well as excursions to Algiers, Tripoli and Morocco. During these travels, he made careful observations of the geography, natural history and antiquities of these regions.

In 1733, he married Joanna Holden and returned to England. A year later he was presented to the vicarage of Godshell, Isle of Wight. In that year, he was also elected a fellow of the Royal Society, 'As a person well skilled in natural knowledge, Geography & Antiquities; and having Travelled thru' several countries in Asia & Africa hath collected many Curious observations some of which he formerly communicated to the Royal Society, but is now about printing a relation of all his Travels...'.

In 1738, he published *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, to immediate acclaim. This was followed in the next decade by two supplements: the first (1746) a lengthy vindication of vol. 1 of Richard Pococke's *A description of the East* (1743), and the second a letter (1747) in response to Bishop Clayton's *The chronology of the Hebrew Bible vindicated* (1747). Neither of these supplements contains any material that is of relevance to Christian-Muslim relations.

Shaw used the profits of his book to restore parts of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, after being appointed principal in 1740. He became Regius Professor of Greek in 1741, and in 1742 was presented to the vicarage of Bramley, Hampshire, where he died in 1751, leaving his collection of travel manuscripts and papers, as well as his natural curiosities and antiquities, to Oxford University.

Shaw was described by his contemporaries as having a jocular, good-humoured and sociable nature, and the letter-writer Joseph Spence, who

met him in Florence in November 1732, referred to him as being 'so very plump and round'.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- J. Sewell Cornhill, art. 'The life of Thomas Shaw, D.D. principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford', *The European Magazine, and London Review* 19 (February 1791) 83-6
- J. Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century, comprizing biographical memoirs ...*, vol. 2, London, 1812, p. 288
- A. Chalmers (ed.), art. 'Shaw (Thomas)', *The general biographical dictionary*, vol. 27, 1816, 428-30
- J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century of eminent persons; and intended as a sequel to Literary anecdotes*, vol. 1, London, 1817, p. 287
- J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, Oxford, 1715-1886, (L-Z), 1888, p. 1124
- J. Spence, *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima, Montreal, 1975, Letters 40, 43 and 101, pp. 130-1, 138-9, 269

### *Secondary*

- R. Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad. The grand tour correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles*, vol. 3. *Letters from the east (1737-41)*, Piltown, 2013, pp. 11-13
- P. Rée, art. 'Shaw, Thomas (1694-1751)', in *ODNB*
- J. Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, New Haven CT, 1997, pp. 851-2
- T. Seccombe, art. 'Thomas Shaw', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant

DATE 1738

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

Thomas Shaw wrote *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* on his return from the East. This volume, which relates to the author's travels during his time as chaplain to the English Factory at Algiers (1721-33), carries the imprimatur of Stephen Niblett, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and is dated 25 April 1738.

The length of the first edition of the book (excluding the preliminary pages) is 511 pages, of which 442 pages form the main part of the text, 61 form 'A collection of such papers as serve to illustrate the foregoing observations', and eight form an index. The preliminary pages comprise a three-page dedication to King George II (r. 1727-60), a 15-page preface, a one-page table of errata in two columns, and a one-page table of contents. A further table of contents appears at the start of the collection of papers. Although there is no table of illustrations, there are ten engraved maps and plans (of which three are double page and six folding) and 21 engraved plates, of which one is a folding table. The title page is printed in red and black and with an engraved vignette, and there are many engraved head- and tailpieces.

The main text is divided into four sections, though they are not named specifically as 'books' or 'parts'. These are: 1. Geographical observations relating to the Kingdom of Algiers (pp. 1-136); 2. Geographical observations relating to the Kingdom of Tunis (pp. 137-214); 3. Physical and miscellaneous observations &c. or an essay towards the natural history &c. of the Kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis (pp. 215-318); 4. Geographical, physical and miscellaneous observations, relating to Syria, &c. Egypt, and Arabia Petræa (pp. 219-442). Each section is divided into chapters, preceded by a separate contents page.

The pagination for the collection of papers at the end of the book starts again from 1 (pp. 1-61). This section, preceded by a contents page, contains 15 items in Latin, Greek, French and English on an array of topics.

Shaw was a keen observer of the natural history of the regions he visited and, according to the Preface, presented his book to the reader as 'an Essay towards restoring the antient Geography, and placing in a proper Light the Natural History of those Countries, where the Author has travelled' (Preface, p. i; all references are to the first edition). As might be expected from this declaration, as well as from the chapter headings, most of the material in the book relates to the physical aspects of the country. There is the occasional passage that relates, in passing, to Christian-Muslim relations, but in general the author makes minimal comment on contemporary society, in the way that his successor, Richard Pococke was to do five years later in vol. 1 of his *A description of the East and some other countries* (1743).

Preface: the subject of Christian-Muslim relations is first raised early in the Preface, where Shaw, when explaining why he did not stay in tents while travelling in the inland towns and villages of Barbary, refers to the



suspicious nature of the Arabs, who might have taken advantage of his vulnerability, and of their 'jealous and insolent nature ... when they are Masters' (Preface, pp. ii and 11, n. 1). This is a common view and theme in Eastern travel literature and one to which authors frequently turn when relating dangerous situations in which they have found themselves. Despite this negative view of the Arabs and their relations with Western travellers, Shaw also relates that he was always pleased, when travelling, to 'find out the Encampments of the Arabs' who were obliged 'either by long Custom, the particular Tenure of their Lands, or rather perhaps from Fear and Compulsion' to give the Spahees (Turkish or Algerian soldiers) and those with them enough provisions for themselves and their horses. This included milk, figs, dried fruit and a kid, goat, lamb or sheep from their flock, which was immediately cooked by the wife of the master of the tent and served up for supper. The leftovers were kept for the next day (Preface, p. v).

Shaw includes a fascinating account of how the different regions visited involved different levels of risk from the Arabs and the corresponding levels of protection required to either discourage or fend off danger. In Jerusalem, for example, the Arabs were so vigilant in 'distressing the Pilgrims' that, despite being heavily guarded, he had to keep on the move and got very little rest (Preface, p. vii). Likewise, he notes the dangers of the 'Free-booters' (or 'Wild Arabs', as they are called by the Europeans) in some parts of Barbary, who have inclinations 'of robbing, stripping, and murdering, not Strangers only, but also one another' (Preface, p. viii). In order to avoid falling into their hands, he suggests that travellers disguise themselves in the habit of the country, or dress like one of their Spahees: 'For the *Arabs* are very jealous and inquisitive; suspecting all Strangers to be Spies, and sent to take a Survey of those Lands, which, at one Time or other, (as they have been taught to fear,) are to be restored to the *Christians*' (Preface, p. viii).

Shaw notes that he was able to travel freely in Tunis and Algiers and, when travelling along the coast of Syria and from Suez to Mt Sinai, he ran little risk of being robbed or insulted provided he kept company with the caravan and did not stray from it.

As would be expected from one of his profession, there are occasional references to the presence of Christianity in the regions Shaw visited, or to the history of Christianity. He notes, for example, that there were once 600 places that were episcopal sees, and wonders why there should remain so many 'Altars and other Tokens of the Pagan Idolatry and Superstition; and so very few Crosses or other monuments of Christianity'; and

concludes: 'how zealous soever the African Church might have been in putting them up, the Saracens have been industrious enough in pulling them down' (Preface, p. xi). In common with the prefaces of many travel writers of the period, but particularly those to the East, he includes a passage at the end of the Preface that emphasises the Christian-Muslim theme. He observes, in relation to 'such a large Scene of Ruin and Desolation, as [he has] here described' that, while the traveller contemplates this, 'Christianity steps into Relief; acquainting him, that We are only Strangers and Pilgrims upon Earth; seeking a City ... which hath Foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God' (Preface, p. xv).

Geographical observations relating to the Kingdom of Algiers: disappointingly, in the space of 137 pages, there are only one or two references to the inhabitants of the region and relations between Muslims and Christians. Shaw notes that Algiers itself 'for several Ages hath braved the greatest Powers of *Christendom* ... [is] computed to contain about 2000 *Christian* Slaves, 1,500 Jews, and 100000 *Mahometans*' (p. 68). In relation to the inland parts of this province, he notes: 'Very few of the Inhabitants to the Westward of the *Wed el Ajeby* pay any Tribute to the *Viceroy*; Their rugged and impracticable Situation being too difficult for the whole Strength of Algiers to penetrate' (p. 100). However, on the eastern side, 'the *Turks* pass every Summer with a flying Camp, and receive some Tokens of Homage and Submission from Their respective *Kabyles*; who notwithstanding are all of Them so obstinate and tenacious of Their Liberty, that They give Nothing, 'till They are compelled to It by Fire and Sword' (p. 100). No breakdown is given of the Christian-Muslim ratio.

Geographical observations relating to the Kingdom of Tunis: the work of the flying camps is also described for this kingdom, whereby the Bey himself collected the tributes during the summer months, in what was called the 'Summer Circuit' (p. 141).

Physical and miscellaneous observations &c. or an essay towards the natural history &c. of the Kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis: Chapter 3 ('Of the Learning, Arts, Manufactures, Habits, Customs &c. of the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms') at last gives some attention to the people, and relates Shaw's views on the cultural differences between Christians and Muslims. On the topic of learning, Shaw observes, 'The roving and unsettled Life of the *Arabs*, and the perpetual Grievances the *Moors* meet with from the *Turks*, will not permit either of Them to enjoy that Liberty, Quiet, and Security, which have at all Times given Birth and Encouragement to Learning. As for the *Turks*, they are generally of such turbulent and restless Dispositions, or else engage Themselves so deep in Trade

and in the Improvement of their Fortunes, that they have no Tast [sic] at all for Learning, being wonderfully astonished, as they have often told me, how the *Christians* can take Delight, or spend so much of their time and Money in such empty Amusements as Study and Speculation' (pp. 261-2).

Shaw is scathing of the Turks' limited reading matter, and says: 'Besides their *Coran* and some enthsiastick Comments upon It, very few Books are read or enquired after by those few Persons, of riper Years, who have both Time and Leisure for Study and Contemplation. All that Variety of Learning which they formerly either invented themselves, or adopted into their own Language, may be reduced at present to a few Sheets of blundering Geography, or to some tiresome Memoirs of the Transactions of their own Times: for such Branches of History as are older than their Prophet, are a Medley only of *Romance* and Confusion' (pp. 262-3).

He further notes, in relation to his search for 'such Persons ... as had the Character of being learned and curious', that the natives of Algiers have 'a particular Contempt ... for Christians' (p. 263). He includes an interesting section on the alliances of the natives with Christian princes, noting: 'The Algerines have certainly a great Esteem and Friendship for our Nation [and] We have little to apprehend' (p. 317). He ends the section by quoting 'an old and infallible Observation; *Give a Turk Money with one Hand, and he will permit his Eyes to be plucked out by the other*'; and the words of Consul Cole, who complained, 'The Algerines ... are a Company of Rogues, and I am their Captain' (p. 318).

Geographical, physical and miscellaneous observations, relating to Syria, &c. Egypt, and Arabia Petræa: there is little in the way of commentary here on Christian-Muslim relations, though Shaw does give a brief account of the inhabitants of Syria, Phoenicia and the Holy Land. While there are some Christians (Greeks, Maronites and other sects), the country is largely inhabited by Turks (the 'Masters of the Cities, Castles and Garrisons') and other races (pp. 376-7).

A collection of such papers as serve to illustrate the foregoing observations: this final section has little on the subject of Christian-Muslim relations, though pages 31-5 comprise a detailed list, in four columns, of ecclesiastical sees in Africa. There is also a list of the stations of the pilgrims in their journey to Mecca, which occupies half a page (pp. 53-4).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* is a significant work in the genre of 18<sup>th</sup>-century travel writing not only

because it adds to the scant literature of the time on Eastern travels written in the English language, but because it provides the most comprehensive and scholarly account of Eastern geography and natural history up until the 1730s. The work is authoritative and includes detailed reference to both ancient (classical and biblical) and modern sources, which Shaw consulted during its preparation.

Though the book has limited relevance to Christian-Muslim relations, with this topic being confined largely to the Preface, it was the first in a series of three similar books of the period and clearly influenced those of the other (rival) authors, Charles Perry and Richard Pococke, both of whose works appeared in 1743. Perry and Pococke picked up where Shaw left off, and Pococke in particular devoted much of his narrative to religion in the East and to the social set-up of the Eastern regions. Such was his interest in contemporary Eastern society that he was regarded as the father of anthropology.

The extent of the reception of Shaw's book is evident from the number of editions and translations through which it went in a relatively short space of time, and it has been consistently lauded by scholars in various fields of Eastern studies since its publication, particularly for its accuracy and validity. One point in Shaw's favour, over the authors of other travellers and explorers in the East, however scholarly, is that he was resident in Algiers for over a decade, and therefore had a deeper knowledge of the East than most. Alexander von Humboldt describes his work as 'One of the most important of all the books of travels, which has reference to the East', and 'a rich treasure of geographical, physical, and antiquarian knowledge'. He also claims that its author 'was possessed of great learning, of sound judgement, and of the power to an uncommon degree of acute and discriminating observation', and that (in 1826) it was in need of a new edition, 'being of unspeakably more value than a great part of the superficial works which pour forth like a flood into the presses of the present day' (von Humboldt, 'Report of the researches', p. 547). On the one hand, Shaw's work does not constantly denigrate North African Muslims or Arabs, and it therefore parts company from many contemporary works of the same genre. On the other, remarks on Algerians as uneducated and holding Christians in contempt represent an incipient Orientalism that juxtaposed a civilised, Christian, educated Europe with an uncivilised, ignorant Orient with its false religions. Full-blown Orientalism is more a 19<sup>th</sup>- than an 18<sup>th</sup>-century phenomenon but Shaw's work offers an example of an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century work in which negative tropes can be identified.

## PUBLICATIONS

- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – 27811-12 (miscellaneous papers: maps, charts, journals, drawings, extracts by or collected by Shaw, principally concerning Algeria, Egypt and Palestine with Sinai, used but not exhausted in his *Travels*; MS 27811 includes plans etc. of the pyramids and notes and surveys relating to Lower Egypt by Captain John Dove (1725) and Captain Andrew Elton (1728))
- MS London, BL – Sloane MS 3986 (1729; Essays on Algiers and Tunis, with maps)
- MS London, Royal Society Archives – RBO/14/74 (1729; concerning a geographical description of the kingdom of Tunis with a postscript relating to the cure of intermittent fevers by Thomas Shaw, Chaplain to the English Factory at Algiers)
- MS London, Royal Society Archives – RBO/14/121 (1730; 'A particular Description of the Kingdom of Tunis' in letters to Sir Hans Sloane)
- MS London, Royal Society Archives – RBO/15/25 (1730; 'An Essay towards the present State of Algiers by the Reverend Mr Thomas Shaw in a Letter to Sir Hans Sloane')
- MS London, Royal Society Archives – RBO/15/29 (1730; 'Observations of travels from Hamamet to Agar by Thomas Shaw in his letter to Hans Sloane')
- MS London, Royal Society Archives – RBO/15/72 (1731; 'Continuation of the Description of the Kingdom of Algier' by Thomas Shaw, Chaplain to the British Factory at Algier)
- Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Oxford, 1738 (first edition); ESTC T114689 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Thomas Shaw, *Voyages de Monsr Shaw dans plusieurs provinces de la Barbarie et du Levant, contenant des observations géographiques, physiques, philologiques et mêles sur les royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis, sur la Syrie, l'Egypte et l'Arabie Pétrée, avec des figures et des cartes, traduites de l'Anglais*, 2 vols, The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1743 (French trans.); RfnHist1 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Thomas Shaw, *A supplement to a book entitled travels, or observations, &c. wherein some objections, lately made against it, are fully considered and answered: with several additional remarks and dissertations*, Oxford, 1746; ESTC T114691 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- Thomas Shaw, *A further vindication of the book of travels and the supplement to it*, Oxford, 1747 (a six page vindication)
- Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant. Illustrated with cuts. Second Edition, with great improvement*, London, A. Millar and W. Sandby, 1757 (second edition); ESTC T114689 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J. Scott (ed.), *A compendium of the most approved modern travels, containing a distinct account of the religion, government, commerce, manners, and natural history, of several nations*, London, 1757
- J. Smith (ed.), *A compendium of the travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, Lord Bishop of Ossory. Alex. Drummond, Esq; His Majesty's counsul at Aleppo and Alexander Russel, M.D.*, Dublin, 1757; ESTC T164169 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- H. Maundrell, *A compendium of a journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, by Mr. Henry Maundrel, ... The travels of Dr. Thomas Shaw, F.R.S. and A journey to Palmyra ...*, sold by R. Dampier, J. Panton, T. Davidson, W. Nixon, A. Manson, H. Newton, S. Darnton and M. Oldman, London, 1757?
- P.-F. de Puisieux, *Les voyageurs modernes, ou, abrégé de plusieurs voyages faits en Europe, Asie & Afrique, traduit de l'Anglois*, Paris, 1760, vol. 4 (French trans.); E.B. 13 (digitised version available through BCU Lausanne)
- Thomas Shaw, *Reisen, oder Bemerkungen über verschiedene Theile der Barbarey und der Levante betreffend. Nach der zweiten engländischen Ausgabe ins Deutsche übersetzt von Johann Heinrich Merck*, trans. J.H. Merck, Leipzig, 1765 (German trans.); BLL01017448514 (digitised version available through BL)
- Thomas Shaw, *Reizen en aanmerkingen, door en over Barbaryen en het Ooste. Uit het Engelsch vertaald door P. Boddaert, met aanteeekeningen van den vertaler, S. Rau, M. Tydeman en C. Saxe*, trans. P. Boddaert, Utrecht, 1773, repr. Amsterdam, 1780 (Dutch trans.); OTM: OG 63-3354 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- J. Newbery, *The world displayed; or, A curious collection of voyages and travels. Selected from the writers of all nations. In which the conjectures and interpolations of several vain editors and translators are expunged, every relation is made concise and plain, and the divisions of countries and kingdoms are clearly and distinctly noted. Embellished with cuts*, London, 1774, vol. 11, pp. 120-66; vol. 17, pp. 180-205;

- vol. 18, pp. 1-84; ESTC T113545 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J.H. Moore, *A new and complete collection of voyages, etc.*, vol. 2, London, 1785?
- Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1808 (third edition)
- J. Pinkerton, *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a new plan*, vol. 15. *Africa*, London, 1812, pp. 499-680 (Shaw's travels to Barbary); 4252 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust Library)
- W.F. Mavor, *A general collection of voyages and travels, including the most interesting records of navigators and travellers, from the discovery of America, by Columbus, in 1492, to the travels of Lord Valentia*, vol. 15, London, 1813, pp. 157-235; NYPL KBD 429 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust Library)
- Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Farnborough, 1972
- Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, Frankfurt am Main, 1995

## STUDIES

- R. Finnegan, *English explorers in the east (1738-1745). The travels of Thomas Shaw, Charles Perry and Richard Pococke*, Leiden, 2019
- A. Damiani, *Enlightened observers. British travellers to the near east 1715-1850*, Beirut, 1979, pp. 14-19
- M. Ali Hachicho, 'English travel books about the Arab near east in the eighteenth century', *Die Welt des Islams* 9 (1964) 1-206, pp. 98-102
- J.A. St John, 'Dr. Thomas Shaw', in *The lives of celebrated travelers*, vol. 2, New York, 1839, 19-52
- A. von Humboldt, 'Report of the researches in various branches of natural history made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, on their travels through Egypt, Dongola, Syria, Arabia, and the Eastern slope of the Abyssinian Highlands in the years 1820-1825', *The North American Review* 26/59 (April 1828) 539-72, pp. 547-8

Rachel Finnegan

# David Mallet

David Malloch

DATE OF BIRTH 1701/2  
PLACE OF BIRTH Crieff, Perthshire  
DATE OF DEATH 21 April 1765  
PLACE OF DEATH London

## BIOGRAPHY

David Malloch, who later changed his name to Mallet, was an Anglo-Scottish poet, dramatist and writer. Born into a poor family, he attended Crieff parish school and then, being unable to fund his higher education, he supported himself by working as a janitor at Edinburgh high school under the mentorship of John Ker, a writer of Latin poetry and later professor of humanities at Edinburgh University (Sambrook, 'Mallet').

Mallet was able to overcome his financial and social struggle when he was recommended as a tutor to the four sons of a family living at Dreg-horn, near Edinburgh. At the same time, he entered the University of Edinburgh to study for a degree, though he never completed this. Whilst there, he became a friend of the poet James Thomson (1700-48). During his years at Edinburgh, he was recommended to tutor the two sons of the Duke of Montrose, and from August 1723 he spent three and a half years living in London and Shawford near Winchester (Sambrook, 'Mallet').

Once in London, he started to produce literary works. At the start of his new life, he adopted an English pronunciation to his name and changed its spelling from Malloch to Mallet. Through his employer's connections, he was able to get acquainted with aristocrats, wits and statesmen.

In the first year of his life in London he produced *William and Margaret*, his first literary piece. His first tragedy was *Eurydice*, which was staged in Drury Lane in 1731. He became friends with Alexander Pope and other London literary figures.

After his time with the Duke of Montrose, he moved to work as tutor to James Newsham (1715-69), and together with Newsham he attended St Mary Hall, Oxford, graduating in 1734.



He wrote the *Life of Bacon* in 1740 and, as literary executor to the politician and political philosopher Henry St John, first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), he published an edition of Bolingbroke's collected works (1752-4). In the following years, he produced the masque *Alfred* (1740), *Amyntor and Theodora* (1747), the masque *Britannica* (1753) and the tragedy *Elvira* (1763).

Mallet was taken ill during a journey to Paris, and died in London on 21 April 1765.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

For early sources on Mallet's life, see M. Choudhury, *Interculturalism and resistance in the London theater, 1660-1800, identity, performance, empire*, Lewisburg PA: Bucknell University Press, 2000, pp. 185-6, esp. nn. 4, 5, 11, 14  
 Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English poets*, ed. G.B. Hill, Oxford, 1905, vol. 3, pp. 400-10

### *Secondary*

S. Jung, *David Mallet, Anglo Scot. Poetry, patronage and politics in the age of union*, Newark DE, 2008  
 J. Sambrook, art. 'Mallet [formerly Malloch], David', in *ODNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Mustapha, a tragedy

DATE 1739

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

*Mustapha* is an example of the immense influence of the Turks and the Ottoman Empire on Europe in the Renaissance period. Although the historical incident of Mustapha's murder by his father was a private matter, internal to the Ottoman palace, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries it resonated in Europe and especially in England.

The first account of the event was written by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-92), ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire to the Porte, who was in Istanbul at the time of the murder. His account, which was written in Latin, included first-hand testimonies. Two years after the event, in 1555, Nicholas de Moffan published a narrative of the crime in *Soltani*

*Solymanii Turcorum Imperatoris horrendum facinus*, based on Busbecq's account. This was translated into English by William Paynter and published as ch. 34 of his *Palace of pleasure* (1566-7). Later, Hugh Gough wrote the most ambitious and detailed English version of the story in *Offspring of the house of Ottomanno*, which was published in London in 1569. In his massive *General history of the Turks* (1603), Richard Knolles devoted ten pages to the story, which included dialogues. This book became the standard history on the Turks in this period. By 1625, the story was sufficiently well-known in English literature for Francis Bacon to refer to it in essay 19 of his essays (Mallet wrote the *Life of Bacon* as an introduction to Bacon's complete works).

The first English drama based on the story was *Solymannidae* (1582) by an unknown author. Fulke Greville also dramatised the tragic event in 1588, then Sir William Davenant in 1656, and then Roger Boyle, the first Earl of Orrery, in 1688. David Mallet's *Mustapha*, the last play in this series, showed how for almost two centuries the English theatre audience was fascinated with this tragic Oriental story.

Mallet wrote his version of the event under the patronage of the Prince of Wales. It was first performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in 1739, and ran for 14 nights. It consists of five acts, and the printed edition is 84 pages long. It features ten key persons: Solayman, sultan of the Turks; Mustapha, his eldest son and heir to the throne, and the hero of the play; Zanger, son Solayman and Roxolana; Rustan, the grand vizir; a mufti; Achmet, Mustapha's friend; Osman, an officer in the army; Roxolana, wife of Solayman; Emira, Mustapha's Persian wife; a Basha; attendants and mutes. The setting is the sultan's tent near Aleppo.

In Act 1, Roxolana starts to plant doubts about Mustapha's loyalty in Solayman's mind. Although the sultan loves his son, he is influenced by what she says and asks Rustan, 'Will he obey my order? Does he come to vindicate his questioned loyalty?' (Act 1, scene 3). By the end of Act 1, both Roxolana and Rustan are successful in turning Solayman against his son.

In Act 2, events accelerate and the tension increases. Scene 1 shows that Mustapha is greatly loved by the army. Soldiers acclaim him so highly that he fears his popularity will be wrongly perceived. He meets his father, aware of 'a nameless terror [that] stirred my soul' (scene 6), and the sultan makes clear that he fears his son may kill him (scene 7). Mustapha protests his innocence, and makes his father aware that unknown foes have tried to poison him. Solayman is astonished to hear this and he becomes suspicious. Meanwhile, Rustan is afraid of

what might be his fate if Mustapha succeeds in proving his innocence (scene 10).

In Act 3, Roxolana appears again, with Rustan and the mufti. The three are afraid of their fate if Mustapha is not condemned, and they decide to continue their plot to get rid of him in order to save their own lives. Eventually, they succeed in convincing Solayman that his son is a traitor, and by the end of the act Mustapha is sure he will be murdered.

In Act 4, Zanger tells his mother Roxolana that he is aware of her plot, and that Mustapha is innocent. Emira, Mustapha's wife and the daughter of the emperor of Persia, whom he has married in secret, appears before Solayman pleading for Mustapha's life. Not surprisingly, Solayman receives the news of this secret marriage as evidence of Mustapha's treachery, and his punishment is sealed. In Act 5, the officer Osman mourns Mustapha's death: 'O dire example, known and felt too late, of amorous weakness, and of woman's hate! O cursed prerogative of boundless sway, that gives the deadly passions scope to play! Rage and revenge to coward-fear succeed: and worth must perish, tho' a son should bleed' (scene 10).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The story of Mustapha and his murder remained intriguing to the English audience for its portrayal of a conflict that involved politics, women, emotions and plotting, and thus became a tragic historical drama suitable for moral teaching to the public in general and to politicians in particular.

Mallet's play shows how this story from the Ottoman East provided both fascination for a Western audience to whom much of its detail was alien and barbaric, and interest in individuals who were motivated by fears and ambitions that were comprehensible to the audience. Despite its appearance, the world of the Ottoman court was not so different from that of 18<sup>th</sup>-century England

#### PUBLICATIONS

David Mallet, *Mustapha. A tragedy*, London, 1739; ESTC T041656 (digitised version available through EEBO)

David Mallet, *Mustapha. A tragedy*, London, 1739 (pp. 90-172, bound with other plays by Mallet); ESTC T121126 (digitised version available through EEBO)

David Mallet, *Mustapha. A tragedy*, London, 1743

David Mallet, *The works of David Mallet Esq*, 3 vols, London, 1759, vol. 2, pp. 111-233; ESTC T100650 (digitised version available through EEBO)

- David Mallet, *Mustapha. A tragedy*, London, 1760 (new corrected edition); ESTC T102233 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)
- David Mallet, *Mustapha. A tragedy*, Edinburgh, 1774; ESTC T121106 (digitised version available through *EEBO*)
- David Mallet, *Mustapha. A tragedy*, London, 1814
- F.A. Nussbaum (ed.), *The plays of David Mallet*, New York, 1980

## STUDIES

- Jung, *David Mallet, Anglo Scot*
- S.J. Hitt, 'The story of Mustapha in history and drama, 1588-1739', *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 21 (2006) 24-39
- S. Chew, *The crescent and the rose. Islam and England during the Renaissance*, New York, 1965, p. 503
- H.W. Starr, 'Sources of David Mallet's "Mustapha, a tragedy"', *Notes and Queries* 22 (1941) 285-7

Khadeega Ga'far

# Charles Perry

|                |                           |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Around 1700               |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Possibly Norwich, England |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Unknown                   |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Unknown                   |

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known of Charles Perry's early life other than that he was born around 1700, studied medicine in Leiden and graduated from Utrecht in 1723. He was not a scholar of Caius College Cambridge, as noted in the 1897 version of the *Dictionary of national biography (DNB)* and repeated in many other sources – an error that even puzzled J. Venn, author of the biographical history of the college (*Biographical history*, p. 8). That was another physician of the same name, from Norwich and born in 1698.

Perry travelled to France, Italy and the East between 1739 and 1742, visiting Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece. Part of his eastern voyage was undertaken in the company of Richard Pococke, whom he met at Larnaca, in Cyprus, although this is not mentioned in either of their books. After their first meeting, Pococke described Perry to his mother in a letter as 'a very ingenious man ... & ... very agreeable easy company; he is about 40' (Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, p. 194). They went on to travel together to Cairo in early January 1739 and, according to Pococke's correspondence, in this city Perry acted as his guide and introduced him to various people. The following year they met in Athens and Patras before making their way back to England.

On his return, Perry spent time in London rekindling some of the acquaintances he had made during his travels, including Richard Pococke and John Montagu, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Sandwich. He was a founder member of the Egyptian Society (1741-3) and, according to the only surviving record for this club, made quite a nuisance of himself by trying insistently to have a rule passed 'in order to oblige every member of the society to purchase one copy of every book, which either has, or shall hereafter be published by any member of the society'. It is believed that some members joined the society for personal profit, and it seems likely that Perry's unwelcome persistence was one of the main reasons for the club's early demise (Anis, 'The first Egyptian Society', p. 105; Finnegan, 'Introduction',

p. 18). It is significant that he was not elected as a member of the Divan Club, which replaced the Egyptian Society in 1744.

Perry was a medical doctor, but virtually nothing is known about his career in this field, though he was a prolific writer on related topics and published several books (of which, if the rule in the Egyptian Society had been passed, he would have sold many copies): *Essay on the nature and cure of madness* (1723); *Enquiry into the nature and principles of the spaw waters ...* (1734); *Treatises on diseases in general...* (2 vols, 1741); *Account of an analysis made of the Stratford mineral water* (1744); *Mechanical account and explanation of the hysterica passio, with appendix on cancer* (6 vols, 1755); and *Disquisition of the stone and gravel, with other diseases of the kidney* (7 vols, 1777). He also communicated a paper to the Royal Society, relating to his travels: 'Experiments on the water of the Dead Sea, on the Hot Springs near Tiberiades, and on the Hammarn Pharoan Water'.

There are very few biographical accounts of Dr Perry, and it was regretted by C.V. L.G., a reader of the *The gentleman's magazine* (vol. 121, 1817, p. 61), that he was never mentioned in Nichols' *Literary anecdotes*. We do not know if he was married or who his relations were, though the same C.V. L.G. claims that he was related to John Perry, 'the famous engineer'. Such was the lack of knowledge about him that a 'Respected sexagenarian correspondent' in the *London gentleman's magazine* (1850, vol. 1, p. 234) asked if anyone could inform him of whether Perry was 'related to William Perry, esq. who married Lady Sydney, of Penshurst. Was he a brother of Micaiah Perry, Lord Mayor, and of Capt. John Perry, who drained Dagenham Breach?' The correspondent further noted (incorrectly, as it happened) that three of the aforementioned people were among the subscribers to the book of travels.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS London, BL – Sloane MS 4056 (1739; letter from Charles Perry to Hans Sloane, Grand Cairo, 26 March 1739)

R. Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad. The grand tour correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles*, vol. 3. *Letters from the east (1737-41)*, Piltown, County Kilkenny, 2013 (Letters 22, 24, 27, 30, 47-9)

J. Venn, *Biographical history of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1897*, Cambridge, 1898, vol. 2, p. 8

G. Le Grys Norgate, art. 'Charles Perry', in *DNB*

S.A. Allibone, *A critical dictionary of English literature and British and American authors living and deceased ...*, Philadelphia PA, 1871, vol. 2, p. 1566

*Secondary*

R. Finnegan, 'Introduction', in Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, vol. 3

E. Baigent, 'Perry, Charles (d. 1780)', in *ODNB*

M. Anis, 'The first Egyptian Society in London (1741-1743)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (1952) 99-105, p. 105

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### A view of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece

DATE 1743

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

Charles Perry wrote this work on his return from the East after a stay of at least four years (1737-41), under the full title *A view of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. In which their antiquities, government, politics, maxims, manners, and customs, (with many other circumstance and contingencies) are attempted to be described and treated on. In four parts*. Neither his itinerary nor the dates of his travels are documented in the text, but we know from the letters of Richard Pococke that in November 1738 Perry had 'been two years in Constantinople, is now towards Jerusalem' (Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, pp. 184-5). Perry then travelled intermittently with Pococke over the next two years and was last seen by him in Patras in early October 1740, when he was entrusted with letters to take back to England on his return (Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, Letter 49). Again, the route and duration of his journey home are not recorded, but he arrived in time to establish the Egyptian Society, as one of its four founder members, in December 1741.

No manuscripts for this book have been traced, though a related source is the only surviving record of the Egyptian Society (MS London, BL – Add 52362), which records Perry's presence and activities in the club. The first edition of the book covers 524 pages, excluding the preliminary pages. There are an additional 50 continuous pages of plates and an index of 4 pages, all unpaginated.

The preliminary pages comprise a 2-page dedication to John Montagu, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Sandwich, whom the author had met in the East, a

14-page preface (the last page of which contains a one-line list of *Errata*) and an 8-page list of subscribers (unpaginated) in 2 columns. There are no tables of contents or illustrations, but there are 33 engraved plates on 20 sheets, 7 folding.

The book consists of four parts, each of which has a brief description, as follows:

Part I (pp. 1-118): 'Contains Observations and Remarks on the advantageous Situation, Extent, Strength and Government, of the Othoman Empire; which are preceded with a brief Account of the Origin, Progress, and present State of it, &c.' (p. 1).

Part II (pp. 119-44): 'Contains an Account of a Voyage from Constantinople to the Holy Land, and of all the most notable and memorable Things to be seen throughout the Kingdom of Syria, from Jerusalem as far as Aleppo' (p. 119).

Part III (pp. 145-478): 'Containing Observations and Remarks, Historical and Critical, on the Government, Politics, Maxims, Manners and Customs of the Egyptians, especially at Grand Cairo, &c. &c. &c. To this Part immediately succeeds a Chronological Deduction of the Egyptian Mamlucs, as also of the Circassian and Abbalide Chalifs, after the Conquest of Babylon' (p. 145). This part is divided into the following subsections: 'Of the Egyptian antiquities' (pp. 311-23); 'A voyage into Upper Egypt' (pp. 324-94); 'A brief summary of the antient government, policy, maxims, learning, laws, and religion of the Egyptians' (pp. 395-419); 'Reflections and disquisitions upon the mythology and symbolic writing of the antient Egyptians' (pp. 421-78, of which pp. 456-76 comprise an explanation of Plates 2-23, and pp. 476-8 are 'Reflections on the Natural History of Egypt').

Part IV (pp. 479-524): 'Containing an Account of a Voyage from Alexandria to Athens, with some other Parts of Greece; and of such Remains as that famous City at present exhibits to View' (p. 479). (Of which the final section, 'An Account of Athens and its Antiquities', covers pp. 489-524.)

Perry's intention in writing his book, which after all was far removed from his medical background and the subject matter of his previous publications, was to present the public with what he hoped and presumed would prove 'more novel, more interesting, and more entertaining' than the works of other 'Voyage-writers' (Preface, p. v). Furthermore, since the eastern regions 'have now become pretty trite Subjects ... [and] none of our own Countrymen, that we know of, have yet wrote fully, and circumstantially, upon the Government, Politics, Maxims, Manners, and



Customs of the present People of Egypt' (Preface, p. v), clearly it was his aim to correct this.

The book was ready for print at the end of 1742 but was delayed to allow for two further engravings of antiquities (Plates 31 and 32) to be produced. This is explained in the Preface by way of an apology to all the subscribers to the volume, many of whom were well-known scholars, travellers and connoisseurs (including Thomas Shaw and Richard Pococke), as well as members of the aristocracy.

Christian-Muslim themes are prominent from the beginning of the book, and appear throughout, though mainly in the first three parts:

Part I: when he is discussing the present state of the Ottoman Empire, Perry refers to its vulnerable state, claiming that what helps to prevent its fall is that 'the Christian Princes in general, and especially the mercantile Powers [England, Holland, France, Venice, Muscovy, Genoa and Sweden], would look with a very jealous Eye on any one that should invade it [in which case] 'tis very probable, the other Christian Powers would exert themselves in Defence' (p. 9). In other words, as he further points out (p. 10), these mercantile powers benefit from the traffic they have with the Turks. He notes that, 'as 'tis too well known in Christendom', the Turks are a 'very merciless, cruel Enemy' (p. 11), a theme very much reflected in Western literature of the period, although he also admits that 'their cruel, savage Natures may [now] be a little softened and meliorated' (p. 11). Furthermore, and again a frequent topos of contemporary travel literature, he compares Eastern and Western cultures, noting of the latter that the 'Purity and Excellency of the Christian Dispensation dictate and inspire Clemency and Mercy, and dispose more to Humanity and Compassion, than to Vengeance, Rigour and Cruelty' (p. 12). He also notes, with regret and distaste, that in most parts of the Turkish dominions exists 'the Tyranny and Oppression of the poor People [who] are subject to the Sultan, his Bashaws, and other Officers' (p. 22).

Part II: like other contemporary travel writers (such as Pococke), Perry was critical not only of the Muslim inhabitants of the East but also of the Christians, especially the Greek Orthodox. As part of his description of the Holy Land, he outlines the solemn festival of the Orthodox, during which he spent a day and a night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He regards the 'annual Juggle of the Holy Fire' as 'a most preposterous ridiculous, obscene, scandalous Affair' (p. 124), and tells an amusing anecdote about how the Franciscan monks once helped an 'English Gentlewoman' to get away with insulting a group of Turks (she had brandished

a crucifix at them and shouted, 'Come here, you infidel Dogs, come, and worship this!'), by pretending she was a mad woman (p. 125).

British travellers to the East commonly refer to the West as 'Christendom', particularly when describing their final days abroad and looking forward to their return to England. Perry adds a slight twist to this theme when he is praising the natural beauty of Damascus, which, he claims, 'would afford more Delight to a Traveller than any Part of Christendom', but he concludes, 'nevertheless, such as have once made the Tour of them, would gladly be excused from repeating it' (p. 135).

Part III: in his description of Cairo, Perry relates a lengthy tale that gives a fascinating account of the relations between the Roman Catholic monks and the Turks. It concerns the very recent attempts (in 1738) of the Franciscan monks to build a new convent to accommodate their own society and itinerant priests. It is a comic saga full of twists and turns, in which the monks outwit the Turks ('those sacrelegious Hell-hounds'), who carried out their unbelievable 'Outrages' on their new home by stripping it of all its ornaments, decorations, furniture and money, including their 'Beads, Reliques, Images, and sacred Vestments' (p. 202). In 1739, however, the year in which Perry was in Cairo, the monks succeeded in defying their 'Enemies' by employing subterfuge and 'politic Strategem' to build a handsome and spacious convent (p. 202; see pp. 99-203).

Perry notes that up until 10-12 years previously (presumably from the date of his visit rather than that of publication) the Franks of all nations were held in 'great Repute, Respect and Regard here, by all Orders of People, as well Great as Small', but that their reception is now 'at a very low Ebb' (p. 211). He attributes this change to 'Osmond Kyayah', who 'was so despotic and absolute' that the various consuls were unable to 'exert themselves in Defence of their peoples Liberties and Privileges', 'So that now a Frank is become no more nor better than an Object of Derision and Malediction to the very Scum of the People' (p. 212).

Next, with regard to relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, he discusses the dangers of a Christian or a Jew being 'caught in an Intrigue with a woman' who declares herself a 'Mahometan' (p. 212). He relates a tale about a man who was born and raised in the Turkish dominions (and was therefore familiar with the customs and rules and should have known better), who was caught in the house of a Turkish woman. When he is faced with renouncing either his faith or his life, he chooses the former (and 'turned Turk'). Perry regrets this extreme action 'for an Offence which even Zealots of anther Persuasion deem to be venial'

(p. 213). He also notes the dangers for Franks, other Christians and Jews in Cairo at the hands of 'a Pack of rascally vagabond Arabs', so that it is virtually impossible to travel, 'except in a large Train of Company, or with an Escort of Janisaries, without great Danger of being plunder'd or stripp'd by them' (p. 213).

Perry includes a lengthy digression on the manner in which Janisaries are accustomed to resolve disputes over debts between Jews and Christians, largely through bribery and corruption (pp. 217-24). He also describes the constant insults Franks face at the hands of the natives (pp. 22-4), and gives an interesting description of the way in which they are obliged to pay homage to upper-class Turks (for example having to dismount from their asses when a Turk passes by) and the punishments inflicted upon them for failure to do so (pp. 222-9). Likewise, if a Frank or a Jew kills or wounds a 'True Believer', 'the Populace would threaten to destroy the whole Community, to which that person belong'd, if they did not produce the Offender, and give him up into their Hands' (p. 251). For examples of such incidents, together with an incredible tale about the prosecution of a charitable employee of the French factory, see pp. 252-4.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*A view of the Levant* is a significant work in the genre of 18<sup>th</sup>-century travel writing not only because it adds to the scant literature on Eastern travels written in the English language, but because it provides one of the most comprehensive and scholarly accounts of the East up to the 1730s. In addition to covering the usual aspects of travels, such as the geography, history and antiquities of the regions visited, it documents contemporary life in the East, and in particular aspects of the lives of Franks, or resident foreigners. As such, in content at least, it is comparable to the work of Richard Pococke, whose first volume of travels (on Egypt) came out in the same year as this. However, in contrast with this other work, Perry's views on the Turks and Arabs, and on relations between Christians and Muslims in the East, are extremely biased and negative, and are presented in a very direct manner.

The extent of the reception of Perry's book is evident from the fact that it was translated into German twice during his lifetime (1754 and 1765) and was reissued a few years later (1763/1770/1773: the precise date is uncertain), though it was considered a matter of astonishment and regret that it was never translated into French. While it has been consistently cited by scholars of Eastern studies since its publication, it has provoked mixed reactions among modern scholars. Whereas Robin Fedden,

for example, describes the book as being 'Among the more reliable eighteenth-century accounts of the Levant' (*English travellers*, p. 14, n. 1), and Mohamad Ali Hachicho claims the author 'reveals in his journal considerable knowledge and learning' (*English travel books*, p. 39), Anita Damiani can only offer faint praise, dismissing the book as among those that are 'brief, rambling and unreliable in their method of narration' (*Enlightened observers*, p. 169). Most of the reaction to the book relates to Perry's discussion of Egyptology and antiquities, especially in relation to the mummy that he acquired in Saqqara and shipped back to London in 1741, and which he described fully and included in Plate 18. However, little has been said of his contribution to the subject of Christian-Muslim relations, despite the fact that he does deal quite extensively with contemporary Eastern culture. As noted by William T. Lowndes (*The bibliographer's manual*, p. 1435), and repeated by others such as Edward G. Cox (*A reference guide*, p. 224), this book is 'much less known than it deserves to be'.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Charles Perry, *A view of the Levant*, London, 1743 (first edition); ESTC T152605 (digitised version available through ECCO)

(Details of the second edition have been gleaned from several sources but it has not been possible to verify the actual date of issue. Likewise, details of the two German translations are given in G. Boucher de la Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages*, Paris, 1808, vol. 1, pp. 220-1, though it has not been possible to find them in any other source, in order to confirm the precise titles and the full name of the translator for the 1765 edition)

Charles Perry, [*A view of the Levant*], 3 vols, trans. E. Windheim, Erlangen, 1754 (German trans.; notes by J.-L. Mosheim)

Charles Perry, *A view of the Levant*, 3 vols, 1763/1770/1773 (second edition) (sources differ on the publication date)

Charles Perry, [*A view of the Levant*], trans. Georgi, Rostock, 1765, 2 vols, (German trans.)

#### STUDIES

R. Finnegan, *English explorers in the east (1738-1745). The travels of Thomas Shaw, Charles Perry and Richard Pococke*, Leiden, 2019

R. Finnegan, 'Manuscripts, mummies and minute books. The case of Pococke and Sandwich in the East', in L. Mulvin and M. Georgopolou (eds), *A culture of translation. British and Irish scholarship in*

- the Gennadius Library (1740-1840)*, *The New Griffon* 13 (2012) 47-59, pp. 43, 56
- R. Finnegan, 'The Divan Club. An 18<sup>th</sup>-century club for travellers to the Ottoman Empire', *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9 (2006) 1-86, pp. 17-18; <http://repository.wit.ie/285/>
- A. Damiani, *Enlightened observers. British travellers to the near east 1715-1850*, Beirut, 1979, p. 169
- M. Ali Hachicho, 'English travel books about the Arab near east in the eighteenth century', *Die Welt des Islams* 9 (1964) 1-206, pp. 38-9
- R. Fedden, *English travellers in the Near East*, London, 1958, p. 14
- Anis, 'First Egyptian Society in London', p. 105
- E.G. Cox, *A reference guide to the literature of travel*, vol. 9, Seattle WA, 1935, p. 224
- W.T. Lowndes, *The bibliographer's manual of English literature ...*, vol. 2, London, 1834, p. 1435
- T.J. Pettigrew, *A history of Egyptian mummies*, London, 1834, pp. xvii-iii, 43, 56, 68, 104, 120-3
- A.F. Büsching, C.D. Ebeling and J.M. Hartmann, *Erdbeschreibung. Paschalik Aegypten*, vol. 12, Issue 1, Hamburg, 1799
- MS London, BL – Add 52362, 'Minute Book of the Egyptian Society', fols 43 (1741-3)

Rachel Finnegan

## Richard Pococke

DATE OF BIRTH 19 November 1704  
PLACE OF BIRTH Southampton, England  
DATE OF DEATH 25 September 1765  
PLACE OF DEATH Charleville Castle, County Offaly, Ireland

### BIOGRAPHY

Born in Southampton in 1704, Richard Pococke was educated at his grandfather's school in Highclere Rectory and matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1720, aged 15. He remained a student of this college for 13 years, receiving a BA in 1725, a BCL in 1731 and a DCL in 1733. Eight years after his ordination in the Anglican church, during which time he held several positions in the Diocese of Waterford & Lismore, Ireland (his uncle, Thomas Milles was the bishop), Pococke embarked on a grand tour of Italy (1733-4). Three years later, he went on a second grand tour of central Europe, visiting the Low Countries, Germany, Hungary and Poland (1737-9), and then Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey and Greece, from which he returned in 1741. He was accompanied on both journeys by his first cousin, Jeremiah Milles, though they parted ways in Trento, Italy, before he went to the East.

On his return, Pococke immersed himself in the intellectual life of London, where he became a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London and of the Royal Society (to which he was elected in 1742, as 'a Gentleman of Universal Learning [and] great Curiosity'), and co-founded the Egyptian Society and the Divan Club with other recent travellers to the East. At the same time, he worked on vol. 1 of his celebrated *A description of the East*, which was published in 1743, followed by vol. 2 in 1745. While vol. 1 described only his travels in Egypt, vol. 2 covered all the other regions he visited in the East, as well as some parts of Europe.

For virtually his entire church career, from 1725 onwards, Pococke was based in Ireland, though it was not until 1745 that he took up residence in the country, when he was appointed domestic chaplain to the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1746, he became archdeacon of Dublin, and a decade later he was consecrated as bishop of Ossory. He remained in this position for nine years, until he became bishop of Meath in 1765. Within two months of this move, he died of 'apoplexy',

thought to have been caused by eating mushrooms, and was buried in the churchyard of the parish church of Ardbracon, County Meath. Just before this, an anonymous, satirical poem, loosely based on fact, was published, in which he was accused of misconduct in church matters and in which other aspects of his life (including his travels and scholarship) were ridiculed.

Pococke produced one major and several minor works related to antiquarianism and archaeology. *Inscriptiones antiquae Graecae et Latinae editae*, co-written with Jeremiah Milles, was published in 1752; three letters, with drawings, concerning the Giant's Causeway, County Antrim, were published by the Royal Society in 1747/8 and 1753 (his interest in this natural curiosity extended to his collection of over 20 columns, which he had dug up and set up as a garden ornament in his Dublin residence in 1752); and an essay entitled 'An account of some antiquities found in Ireland', published posthumously in 1769. Two of his sermons were published in Dublin, in 1761 and 1762.

Though sometimes criticised for his lack of accuracy, Pococke has been hailed by his biographers as a pioneering scholar of Egyptology and anthropology. He is also famous for his intrepid expedition to the glaciers in Savoy. His small collection of Egyptian antiquities and his larger collection of natural curiosities are still considered important for their time. Very little is known of his private life, apart from the fact that he never married, though the famous letter-writer Mrs Delany did little for his reputation by condemning him (quite inaccurately, as can be judged from his private correspondence) as 'the dullest man that ever travelled'.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

W. Windham, *An account of a journey to the glaciers or ice alps of Savoy in two letters*, London, 1744

[Anon.], *Meekness or ambition: the hypocrite detected. In a dialogue between R—h—d, an I-r-h b-sh-p, and S-s-n, a favourite ch-b-m-d. On occasion of his L-s-p's being resolutely oppos'd and ignominiously defeated in an encroachment he had long meditated and lately attempted upon the prerogative of a certain d-n, and the rights and privileges of his ch-t-r*, London, no date (probably false imprint and should be Dublin, 1765)

*The Gentleman's magazine and historical chronicle*, vol. 35, London, 1765, p. 444

A. Langford, *A catalogue of a curious collection of Greek, Roman, and English coins and medals, of the Right Reverend Dr. Pococke, Lord Bishop of Meath, collected by his lordship, during his travels*, London, 1766

- A. Langford, *A catalogue of a large and curious collection of ancient statues, urns, mummies, fossils, shells, and other curiosities, of the Right Reverend Dr. Pococke, Lord Bishop of Meath, deceased: collected by his lordship, during his travels*, London, 1766
- L. Flin, *A catalogue of the library of the late Right Revd. Dr. Richard Pococke, Lord Bishop of Meath deceased*, Dublin, 1766
- R. Cumberland, *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland written by himself, containing an account of his life and writings, interspersed with anecdotes and characters of several of the most distinguished persons of his time, with whom he has had intercourse and connexion*, London, 1806-7, pp. 226-8
- J. Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century, comprizing biographical memoirs...*, vol. 2, London, 1812, pp. 157-9
- R. Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland ... with a catalogue of the archbishops and bishops ...*, London, 1840, pp. 623-7
- A. Hall (ed.), *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, vol. 3, 1861, pp. 113, 232 (see letters dated 22 April 1752 and 29 May 1753, in which Mrs Delany describes Pococke's house in Dublin, and his collection of Egyptian antiquities and natural curiosities)
- J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, Oxford, 1715-1886, (L-Z), 1888, p. 1124
- D.W. Kemp (ed.) *Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760, 1747, 1750, 1760* (Publications of the Scottish History Society 1), Edinburgh, 1887 (repr. Maryland, 2003), Preface, pp. xxxi-xxx
- G.T. Stokes (ed.), *Pococke's tour in Ireland in 1753*, Dublin, 1891, pp. 8-11

### Secondary

- R. Finnegan, 'Fraternising with Papists. An Anglican clergyman abroad', in S. Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Irish Christianity*, vol. 3. *To the ends of the earth*, Dublin, 2015, 83-5
- R. Finnegan, 'A voyage to see scenes of Our Saviour's life and passion', in S. Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Irish Christianity*, vol. 3. *To the ends of the earth*, Dublin, 2015, 86-8
- R. Finnegan, 'The travels and curious collections of Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath', *Journal of the History of Collections* 27 (2015) 33-48
- R. Finnegan, 'Meekness and ambition, or, the hypocrite detected. A satirical poem about Richard Pococke, Bishop of Ossory', *Old Kilkenny Review. The Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* 67 (2015) 72-84
- R. Finnegan, 'Biographies', in R. Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad. The grand tour correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles*, vol. 1. *Letters from the continent (1733-4)*, Piltown, Kilkenny, 2011, 37-55
- L. Whiteside with A. Whiteside, *Where Swift and Berkley learnt. A history of Kilkenny College*, Dublin, 2009, pp. 130-3
- A.M. Ireland, 'Richard Pococke (1704-65) antiquarian', *Peritia* 20 (2008) 353-78



- R. Finnegan, 'Bishop Pococke's improvements to St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies. The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* 11 (2008) 12-55
- E. Baigent, art. 'Pococke, Richard (1704-1765)', in *ODNB*
- J. Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, New Haven CT, 1997, pp. 779-80 (the entry on Pococke contains factual errors)
- M. McCarthy, "'The dullest man that ever travelled?'" A re-assessment of Richard Pococke and of his portrait by J.-E. Liotard', *Apollo* 143 (1996) 25-9
- J. McVeagh (ed.), *Richard Pococke's Irish tours*, Dublin, 1995, pp. 11-20
- M. Herity, 'Early finds of Irish antiquities. From the minute-books of the Society of Antiquaries of London', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 49 (1969) 1-21
- M. Quane, 'Pococke School, Kilkenny', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1950) 36-72
- C.F. Russell, *A history of King Edward VI School Southampton*, privately printed, 1940, pp. 200-12
- W. Wroth, art. 'Richard Pococke', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### A description of the East, vol. 1

#### Pococke's travels, vol. 1

DATE 1743

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

Richard Pococke wrote vol. 1 of *A description of the East and some other countries* (in full, *A description of the East, and some other countries. Volume the first. Observations on Egypt*) on his return from his journey. This volume is confined to his travels in Egypt, which he visited as part of his wider to the eastern Mediterranean for two six-month periods from September 1737 to March 1738 and December 1738 to July 1739. It was printed in large folio by William Bowyer on 2 April 1743, with a total print-run of 1,250 copies, 60 of which were on royal paper. At the same time, Bowyer also prepared 500 copies of the separate edition of the Latin *Dissertatio de geographia Ægypti*, also in large folio, a copy of which formed part of the volume.

The manuscripts of vols 1 and 2 of the book are in the British Library (Add 15780-15799), but only one of the 19 notebooks (as opposed to the epistolary journals) in the collection (Add 22995, 'A voyage from Leghorn

to [Alexandria]') relates to vol. 1. A letter from the almost complete run of eastern correspondence with his mother (Add 22998) refers to the fact that Pococke sent journals to her for safekeeping (R. Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, vol. 3, p. 238), although these eastern writings are not extant. At the same time, he sent regular batches of letters to his uncle, Bishop Milles, some of which have survived (Add 15779). These letters contain lengthy accounts of the history, architecture and anthropology of the various regions of the east (but particularly Egypt), and a comparison of these documents with the text of the book shows that they formed the basis of much of vol. 1. An account of the sources and transmission of the texts is given in R. Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, vol. 3, pp. 16-19.

The length of the first edition of vol. 1 (excluding the preliminary pages) is 310 pages, of which 284 form the main part of the text, ten form a Latin dissertation on the geography of Egypt (also printed separately), and 19 pages form an index. The preliminary pages comprise a two-page dedication to the Earl of Pembroke, a four-page preface, a three-page table of contents, a three-page table of illustrations, a one-page list of references to the Plan of Alexandria (Plate 2), and a list of editions of authors 'used' in this book, with *errata* in two columns. The table of illustrations lists 75 plates (including three maps) but there are actually 76, as the final plate, representing an Egyptian statue in the collection of the Duke of Richmond, was inserted at the last minute.

The volume is divided into five parts or 'books', each subdivided into chapters. The titles of the books are as follows: 1. Of the lower parts of Egypt; 2. From Grand Cairo to the antient Ethiopia, above the Cataract of the Nile, and back to Cairo and Damiata; 3. From Grand Cairo, by the Red Sea, into Arabia Petraea, to Mount Sinai, and back to Cairo, Rosetto, and Alexandria; 4. Of the government, customs, and natural history of Egypt; 5. Miscellaneous subjects, chiefly relating to the antiquities and natural history of Egypt. Book 4, on the government, customs and natural history of Egypt (pp. 161-210; all page numbers refer to the first edition of Pococke's book) is of most relevance to the theme of Christian-Muslim relations.

Pococke was a very astute observer and critic of all aspects of Egyptian life. However, though he professes in a letter to his mother that his chief motive for undertaking the eastern voyage is 'seeing those places which were the scenes of our Saviours Life & passion', his descriptions of ordinary life are, surprisingly, more detailed than those of the religious practices of either the Muslim or the Christian faith. In general,

when expressing his personal opinions he is quite critical of what he observes, and tends to relate the more negative aspects of what he has heard or read from other sources.

In general terms, Pococke regards the government and constitution of Egypt, including the military, as bad. Interestingly, he skims over the subject of slavery, a system that he does not appear to condemn, noting only that the slaves of the military officers are 'the fairest and most promising Christian children of Georgia, taken for the tribute, brought here to be sold, and become Mahometans' (p. 167). He also observes that of all the soldiers in the dominions of the Ottoman sultan, those of Cairo are 'most insolent and injurious' (p. 170), and that Egypt is obliged to provide him with 3,000 soldiers every three years.

On the matter of the administration of justice, Pococke describes the training of Muslim leaders, who study to be officers of their religion as well as their law; and while he notes that some of these religious leaders have the power to overrule the sentencing of the magistrates, he admires the fact that all cases are decided as soon as they are brought before them.

Pococke describes in considerable detail the nature and extent of the sultan's revenues from Egypt, which come from three sources: the lands, the customs and the poll-tax on Christians and Jews (the 'harach', as he calls it, or *kharāj*). He notes, with an implied criticism, that a recent change in the administration of the 'harach' has resulted in a huge increase in the tax, whereby 800 purses are now being collected from the 'Coptics'.

On the subject of trade and manufacture, Pococke explains that most crafts that require ingenuity are in the hands of Christians, particularly the silversmiths and jewellers; and that these manufacturers are popular 'by reason of the ornaments of the women' (p. 174), who are entitled to keep only their apparel if they are widowed with children.

Pococke gives brief accounts of Copts and Jews in his chapter on the state of religion in Egypt. He regards Copts as the most irreverent and careless of the easterners in their devotions, and refers to both the priests and people as 'exceedingly ignorant' (p. 176). He also notes that they bear an implacable hatred towards the Greeks and have little regard for Europeans, on account of their earlier attempts to convert them to the Roman Catholic Church. He notes that there are 36 synagogues in Cairo and that there is a particular sect (derived from the ancient Essenes) who live by themselves, have a separate synagogue and different facial features from others, and are thought to live in adultery.

The same chapter also gives brief accounts of the 'Mahometan' inhabitants of Egypt. Pococke describes the natives as 'a slothful people', who 'delight in sitting still, hearing tales, and indeed seem always to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any active scenes: And this idle manner of living is probably one great reason of the fruitfulness of their invention, with regard to their antient Heathen religion, and of their making so many extravagant fables; out of which the Greeks might take some of the most beautiful, as a foundation for their religion and poetry and so they passed to the Romans. This indolence may be owing to the great heat of the country, that enervates them, and inclines them to the unactive life. They are also malicious and envious to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting themselves; and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and artifice as well as falsehood, and this makes them always suspicious of travellers, that they want to find treasures, and as they see they do not actually find them, they imagine they can by magic art draw away the money, which they think may lie hid in the earth, being so ignorant that they cannot otherwise conceive why they should come so far to see ruins' (pp. 177-8). However, he does concede that they have learned the art of hospitality from the Arabs and that they do honour their promise of protection for such travellers. He describes the Turks as being most covetous of money and desirous of power, and notes that they distinguish themselves from the others by what is strictly the Turkish dress.

On the education and customs of the inhabitants of Egypt, Pococke observes that, while Copts can generally read and write as well as keep accounts, the best educated are the slaves, who understand both Arabic and Turkish, and in general are quite accomplished. He further observes that the notion of predestination often inspires Muslims (particularly the Turks) with great courage, believing their acts to be the will of God. However, as the love of money is rooted in them, they will do nothing without bribery. Another feature of Muslims is that they think themselves above any Christian, though they are civil enough, the Arabs, in particular, making a nuisance of themselves by being too curious and inquisitive with strangers. Furthermore, he considers them in general to be 'but an ill-looking people' (p. 193), as well as dirty and slovenly.

Lengthy descriptions are given of the Turkish and Arab manner of eating, bathing and travelling, with particular reference to the caravan to Mecca, which occupies two and a half pages of text (pp. 187-9). Towards the end of the book, Pococke returns to the subject of the caravan, when he presents an itemised list of the procession of the caravan to

Mecca and the route of a caravan from Cairo to Mecca, 'from the account of one who had been there fourteen times' (p. 265).

Equally detailed is Pococke's description of Egyptian dress, which is illustrated in a curious annotated plate (Plate 59) that includes a representation of dancing women, who 'may not be supposed to be very virtuous' (p. 191). Pococke describes the undergarments of the ordinary women and comments on the curious appearance of the headdress, observing that it is 'reckon'd a great indecency to shew the whole face' (p. 191). He also describes the difference between the cosmetics used by the 'vulgar' women and 'those of better condition' (pp. 191-2).

The book also gives detailed accounts of the history, architecture, landscape, natural history, monuments and other antiquities of Egypt, as well as relating anecdotes about encounters experienced by the author during his travels in the country.

While Pococke's work relates tangentially to earlier eastern travel books, some of which are cited in passing or referenced in the footnotes, it is particularly associated with the works of William Warburton and Thomas Shaw, though neither author is mentioned by name. Pococke's view on the meaning of hieroglyphics, which contradicted the earlier view of Warburton (*The divine legation of Moses demonstrated*, 1738-41), and his interpretations of geographical and biblical phenomena, which likewise 'contraverted' those of Shaw (*Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, 1738), sparked off two celebrated rejoinders in print to which he never replied. In 1744, just a year after the appearance of Pococke's book, Warburton brought out *Remarks on several occasional reflections in answer to The Rev. Dr. Middleton, Dr. Pococke ... and others ... Serving to explain and justify divers passages, in the Divine Legation, objected to by those learned writers ...*, in which he devoted 25 pages to an attack on his antagonist (pp. 13-28). This paved the way for a more sustained attack by Shaw, who in 1746 published a folio volume (110 pages long) as a supplement to his original work (*A supplement to a book entituled Travels, or Observations, &c. wherein some objections, lately made against it, are fully considered and answered: with several additional remarks and dissertations*), the purpose of which was, in part, to 'vindicate it ... from some Objections, that have been lately raised by the Author of The Description of the East, and some other Countries' (Preface, p. i). Shaw was particularly critical of the fact that Pococke (once a friend) had failed 'so much as once, in this Voluminous Work, to acknowledge the Assistance, or the many useful Hints, at least, which he had received from [his, Shaw's] Book of Travels' (Preface, p. xv).



Illustration 3. Plate 59. Various forms of Egyptian dress, from Richard Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries*

## SIGNIFICANCE

*A description of the East, vol. 1* is a significant work in the genre of 18<sup>th</sup>-century travel writing not only because it adds to the scant literature on eastern travels written in English, but also because it provides the most comprehensive and scholarly account of Egyptian culture from ancient times down to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Pococke makes the rather dubious claim in his Preface that he did not set out to produce a travel book, but intended only to publish his plans and drawings of Egyptian buildings, together with an account of the various orders of Egyptian architecture. However, he was persuaded by friends to extend this to an account of his travels 'and of several accidents, that might give an insight into the customs and manners of people so different from our own, in order to render the work more acceptable to the generality of readers' (Preface, p. iii).

Whether or not this claim is true, a perusal of his footnotes shows that the only modern or contemporary sources cited in his book are the works of the German geographer Johann Michael Wansleben (or Vansleb), whose book *The present state of Egypt...* was published in London in 1678, and the French traveller Claude Sicard, who was in Egypt in 1715. (Curiously, neither of these sources appears in the sale catalogue for his library, dated 1766.) This is not to say that he failed to consult other modern works: it is clear from his travel correspondence that he had access to many standard works of the time, and those he did not have with him, he asked his mother to send. Furthermore, many of these standard works were in his own private collection, though they could have been acquired after the publication of his book. What it does show is that he failed to acknowledge other modern sources, and this is consistent with the serious charge of scholarly impropriety (if not actual plagiarism) made by rival eastern travel writers, especially Thomas Shaw.

What is significant about Pococke's book and led to its great acclaim, to the extent that it was translated into three languages within three decades of its publication, as well as being included in three compendiums of famous travels within two decades, is its breadth of scope, its enormous attention to detail, and its scholarly yet very readable style. In addition to this is the wealth of plates to illustrate the major themes of the book, especially antiquities, monuments and interesting aspects of everyday Egyptian life, such as cooking utensils, modes of travel, plants, religious practices and dress. Included in the illustrations are examples of antiquities from his own collection, such as a mummy, a pair of block

statues and small ceramic objects brought back from the east, some of which are now in the British Museum.

The extent of the reception of this book is evident from the number of editions and translations through which it went in a relatively short space of time. It happened to appear in the same year as Charles Perry's *A view of the Levant*, and only five years after Shaw's book, so there was a certain amount of competition. However, from the time of its publication, but particularly from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it has been used largely as a reference book for numerous aspects of the geography, history, literature, architecture, anthropology, natural history and antiquities of Egypt, and any study on aspects of these themes is likely to cite it, particularly in terms of Pococke having been the first person to discover, recognise, name or illustrate a particular feature of Egypt.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Add 22998, 134 fols (1737-41; copies of letters from Pococke to his mother, from the east)

MS London, BL – Add 22995, 60 fols (1737; 'A voyage from Leghorn to [Alexandria]')

MS London, BL – Add 15779, 61 fols (1737-9; copies of letters from Pococke to his uncle, Bishop Milles, from the east)

MS London, BL – Add 52362, 43 fols (1741-3; 'Minute Book of the Egyptian Society')

MS London, National Maritime Museum – SAN/V/113 (1744-6; 'Al-Koran, the Minute Book of the Divan Club')

MS London, BL – Add 15780-15799, 21 vols (1743-5; original MS of *A description of the East and some other countries*, written by a scribe with Pococke's autograph corrections and additions)

Richard Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries. vol. 1. Observations on Egypt*, printed for the Author by W. Bowyer, London, 1743 (first edition); ESTC T031684 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Richard Pococke, *Dissertatio de geographia Aegypti*, London, 1743 (a separate edition of the Latin *Dissertatio* which formed part of vol. 1 of *A description of the East*)

Richard Pococke, *R. Pocockes Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder*, trans. C.E. von Windheim, Erlangen, 3 vols, 1754-5 (German trans.); Bibliothek – 999/4Hist.pol.71d(1) (digitised version available through MDZ)



- J. Scott (ed.), *A compendium of the most approved modern travels, containing a distinct account of the religion, government, commerce, manners, and natural history, of several nations*, London, 1757
- J. Smith (ed.), *A compendium of the travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, Lord Bishop of Ossory. Alex. Drummond, Esq; His Majesty's consul at Aleppo and Alexander Russel, M.D*, Dublin, 1757; ESTC T164169 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J. Newbery (ed.), *The world displayed; or, A curious collection of voyages and travels. Selected from the writers of all nations. In which the conjectures and interpolations of several vain editors and translators are expunged, every relation is made concise and plain, and the divisions of countries and kingdoms are clearly and distinctly noted. Embellished with cuts*, London, 1759-61, vol. 12, pp. 52-211; vol. 13, pp. 1-27; ESTC T113545 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- P.-F. de Puisieux (ed.), *Les voyageurs modernes, ou, abrégé de plusieurs voyages faits en Europe, Asie & Afrique*, Paris, 1760, vol. 1 (French trans.); E.B. 13 (digitised version available through BCU Lausanne)
- J.F. Breyer (trans.), *R. Pocockes Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder*, Erlangen, 1771-3 (repr. in 1779) (German trans.); urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-40278 (digitised version available through Universität-Bibliothek Heidelberg)
- J.P. Costard (trans.), *Voyages de Richard Pococke, membre de la Société Royale, & de celle des Antiquités de Londres, &c. en Orient, dans l'Egypte, l'Arabie, la Palestine, la Syrie, la Grèce, la Thrace, &c. &c. &c.*, Paris, 1772 (French trans.); 8-O2-73 (digitised version available through BNF)
- E.W. Cramer (trans.), *Beschryving van het oosten, en van eenige andere landen*, Utrecht, Rotterdam & Amsterdam, 1776 (Dutch trans.); BIB.208O039 (digitised version available through Universiteits Bibliotheek Gent)
- J. Pinkerton (ed.), *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a new plan*, vol. 15. *Africa*, London, 1812, pp. 163-402 (Pococke's travels in Egypt); 4252 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust Library)
- W.F. Mavor (ed.), *A general collection of voyages and travels, including the most interesting records of navigators and travellers, from the discovery of America, by Columbus, in 1492, to the travels of Lord Valentia*, vol. 15, London, 1813, pp. 310-80; NYPL KBD 429 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust Library)

## STUDIES

- R. Finnegan, *English explorers in the east (1738-1745). The travels of Thomas Shaw, Charles Perry and Richard Pococke*, Leiden, 2019
- R.H. Guichard, *Niebuhr in Egypt. European science in a biblical world*, Eugene OH, 2013, pp. 88-90
- R. Finnegan, 'Manuscripts, mummies & minute books. The case of Pococke and Sandwich in the East', in L. Mulvin and M. Georgopolou (eds), *A culture of translation. British and Irish scholarship in the Gennadius Library (1740-1840)*, *The New Griffon* 13 (2012) 47-59, pp. 47-9
- R. Finnegan, 'The Divan Club. An 18<sup>th</sup>-century club for travellers to the Ottoman Empire', *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9 (2006) 1-86, pp. 28-33
- J. Bartlett, 'Richard Pococke in Lebanon, 1738', *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 16 (2002) 17-33
- A. Damiani, *Enlightened observers. British travellers to the Near East 1715-1850*, Beirut, 1979, pp. 70-104
- A. Damiani, 'British travel attitudes to the Near East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', Edinburgh, 1977 (PhD Diss. University of Edinburgh), pp. 92-136
- M. Ali Hachicho, 'English travel books about the Arab Near East in the eighteenth century', *Die Welt des Islams* 9 (1964) 1-206, pp. 35-8
- J.A. St John, 'Richard Pococke', in *The lives of celebrated travelers*, vol. 1, New York, 1839, 101-25

## A description of the East, vol. 2

### Pococke's travels, vol. 2

DATE 1745

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

Richard Pococke brought out vol. 2 of *A description of the East and some other countries* (in full, *A description of the East, and some other countries, vol. II. Part I. Observations on Palaestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia. Part II. Observations on the islands of the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Thrace, Greece, and some other parts of Europe*) two years after vol. 1. This volume, which is in two parts, covers some

of the European countries and all the eastern lands (apart from Egypt, which is already described in vol. 1) that he visited on his second grand tour, between 12 April 1736 and 29 August 1741. It was printed by William Bowyer on 4 February 1745, with a total print-run of 1,250 copies, 60 of which were on royal paper.

The manuscript version of the entire book (vols 1 and 2) is in the British Library (Add 15780-15799), and while 18 of the 19 note books (as opposed to epistolary journals) in the collection detail Pococke's travels in Europe (France, Italy, Flanders, Holland, the Circles of Lower and Upper Saxony, the Duchy of Saxony and Dresden, Bohemia, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Styria, Carinthia, Goritz, Carniola, Cilli and North Italy), none relate to the eastern countries described in vol. 2. A letter from the almost complete run of eastern correspondence with his mother (Add 22998) refers to the fact that he sent journals to her for safekeeping (R. Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, vol. 3, p. 238). However, these eastern writings are not extant. At the same time, he sent regular batches of letters to his uncle, Bishop Milles, some of which have survived (Add 15779). These letters contain lengthy accounts of the history, architecture and anthropology of the various regions of the east (though mostly Egypt), and a comparison of these documents with the text of the book shows that they formed the basis of part of vol. 2. An account of the sources and transmission of the texts is given in R. Finnegan, *Letters from abroad*, vol. 3, pp. 16-19.

The length of the first edition of vol. 2 (excluding the preliminary pages) is 268 pages (part I) and 308 pages (part II), of which 30 pages form an index.

Further details of part I are as follows: the preliminary pages comprise a four-page preface, a three-page table of contents, a two-page table of illustrations, and a list of editions of authors 'used' in this book, with Errata in two columns. The table of illustrations lists 36 plates (including three maps). Part I is divided into four 'books', each subdivided into chapters. The titles of the books are: 1. Of Palestine, or the Holy Land; 2. Of Syria and Mesopotamia; 3. Of the island of Cyprus; 4. Of the island of Candia.

Further details of part II are as follows: the preliminary pages comprise a four-page preface, a four-page table of contents, a two-page table of illustrations, and a list of errata in two columns. (A further list of errata for part I also appears on the final page of the index, i.e. on the last page of the volume.) The table of illustrations lists 66 plates (including six maps). Part II is divided into four 'books', each subdivided into chapters. The titles of the books are: 1. Of the Greek islands of the Archipelago; 2.

Of Asia Minor; 3. Of Thrace and Greece; 4. Observations on some parts of Europe; 5. Observations on Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Istria, and some parts of Italy; 6. Geographical observations, the second section of which comprises the author's itinerary in Europe. (The structure of the itinerary is somewhat confusing: it begins with his return journey from the East – November 1740 to August 1741; then lists the route he took from London to France and Italy, on his first Grand Tour – August 1733 to 1734; and finally details his journey from London to Leghorn – May 1736 to September 1737.)

Particular sections of part I and the first three books are of most relevance to the theme of Christian-Muslim relations. As has already been noted in relation to vol. 1, Pococke was a very astute observer and critic of all aspects of Eastern life, and this included the state of religion and in particular the religious practices of the Muslims and the Christians and their relationship with each other. In general, and in common with other literary accounts of the East, he was critical of what he observed, as well as relating the more negative aspects of what he had heard or read from other sources.

As the volume is so extensive and the subjects so wide-ranging, the Christian-Muslim theme is discussed here under a few specific themes that occur intermittently throughout the text ('government', 'inhabitants', 'character', etc.), and in the order of the Eastern countries described by Pococke.

Palestine: the book on Palestine is largely an account of the best-known biblical places, with little detail of the inhabitants. However, Pococke tells an interesting tale about his journey to Jerusalem, under the 'conduct' of an Arab. He was taken to an encampment of Arabs, where he sat by a fire in the tent with the wife of his guide and others, and observes: 'For the Arabs are not so scrupulous as the Turks about their women, and though they have the harem, or womens part of the tent, yet such as they are acquainted with come into them' (I, p. 5; page numbers refer to the first edition). He then goes on to describe the generous and legendary hospitality he was shown by this same group of Arabs (a common observation made by Western travellers), including the fact that he was 'kept in the harem for greater security, the wife being always with [him]', and several women coming to look at him (I, p. 5).

Pococke is critical of the ceremonies of the Greeks at Easter, which were held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, and conducted 'in a very tumultuous and indecent manner' and in such a way that 'any one would have taken it rather for a society of Bacchanals than

a Christian assembly' (I, p. 28). The ceremony of the holy fire is also worthy of note (I, p. 29): while again conducted by the Greeks, it was attended by the Turks and even the governor of Jerusalem, though the Armenians and Copts were not allowed to enter the building. According to his account, the Turks guarded the door of the church and took money (presumably as bribes) from those who wanted to gain entry and light candles. He maintains that the Greeks have kept up this tradition as they profit from the flow of pilgrims who otherwise would not come to Jerusalem in such great numbers.

When describing the Christian community in Jerusalem, he notes: 'It is remarkable, that the Christians at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Saint John's, and Nazareth, are worse than any other Christians. I was informed that the women of Bethlehem are very good; whereas those at Jerusalem are worse than the men, who are generally better there, than at the other places. This may be occasioned by the great converse which the women have there with those of their own sex, who go thither as pilgrims' (I, p. 40). Whenever he comments on the appearance of women, he rarely ventures an opinion, but relates what he has been told by others. For example, while 'it is said that [the women of Damascus] are the most beautiful in the world' (I, p. 125), 'it is said the Turkish women [of Candia or Crete], who veil, are more beautiful than the Christians' (I, p. 266).

Syria: Pococke comments on the difficult nature of the government of Damascus, where the resident pasha has a troop of Bosnians and another of natives of the Barbary coast to defend him against possible insurrections, which, though infrequent, are difficult to suppress. He gives a lengthy account of the Christians in Damascus, of whom there are 20,000 (1,000 Maronites, 250 Syrians, 30 families of Armenians and the rest Greeks) and, as might be expected of a man of the clergy, goes into detail about the value of the patriarchate (40 purses a year) and how the revenue is raised. On the character of the Christians, he notes: 'It is said that they have all the vices of the Turks', and that 'as [they] are worse here than in any other parts, so also the Turks indulge those vices here to the highest degree, for which they are generally infamous [drinking wine]' (I, p. 125). He gives an account of the different types of churches to be found in Aleppo and, in an interesting aside that concerns Christian-Muslim relations, notes: 'The English [residents] pass their time here very agreeably; and in the excursions which they make for pleasure they are commonly respected by the Arabs, Curdeens and Turcomen ... [and they] live very sociably with one another' (I, p. 152). A more detailed account of the inhabitants is found in ch. 28, entitled 'Of

the natural history, government, and people of Syria' (I, pp. 206-9). The different types of people are described: the Curdeens are 'worse than the Arabs, have not much courage, but rob when no resistance can be made'; the Begdelees (a type of Turcomen) are 'professed robbers'; the Rushowans are 'a good sort of people', and the Chingani 'have a much better character than their relations in Hungary' (I, p. 207).

In terms of religion, Pococke mentions the different sects among the Muslims, such as the 'Noceres', who are despised by the Turks and fond of the Christians, and whose annual nocturnal feast 'very much resembles the antient Bacchanals'; and the 'Jasades' who 'seem to be worshippers of the devil' and are 'very bad people' (I, p. 208).

Cyprus: Ch. 11, 'Of the natural history, natives, custom, trade, and government of Cyprus' (I, pp. 229-35), is most relevant to the theme of Christian-Muslim relations. Pococke has much to say about the character of the Cypriots, whom he describes as 'the most subtle and artful people in all the Levant ... [and who] make use of all means ... to deceive'. Furthermore, 'The women are little superior to their ancestors with regard to their virtue; and as they go unveiled, so they expose themselves in a manner that in these parts is looked on as very indecent.' He also notes that they retain the 'barbarous custom of the other eastern nations of treating their wives as servants' (I, p. 232). Regarding the inhabitants, Pococke confirms that two-thirds are Christian, mostly Greeks, but with a few villages of Maronites and a small number of Armenians. Muslim men often marry Christian women, but in general the Turks are jealous of the power of the Christians (I, p. 233). He also notes that Cyprus is owned by the grand vizier and governed by a 'mosolem' (an inferior officer), who 'is almost continuously harassing the Christians', causing them to emigrate to Cilicia (I, p. 234).

Candia (Crete): This book ends with a chapter entitled 'Of the natural history, people, customs, and the military and ecclesiastical state of Candia' (I, pp. 264-8). On the inhabitants, Pococke notes that there is a population of 300,000, with the number of Christians reckoned to be more than double the number of Turks. Though a good-looking people, they 'answer their antient character as to invention, and taking pleasure in spreading falsehoods, and they seem also to be credulous, and fond of believing strange things; they are civil and hospitable to one another and to the Franks [Europeans]; but with great reason avoid opportunities of being burthened by the Turks, who command every thing as a debt due to them, and make use of their monasteries, and the houses of

their parish priests as inns' (I, p. 266). In an interesting aside, he notes that, when a Christian woman marries a Turk she is not admitted to the sacrament until she is at the point of death, and must then renounce her husband (I, p. 268). Furthermore, there are whole villages in Crete whose inhabitants have converted from Christianity to Islam, 'some to avoid punishment, or to be revenged on a Turk, whom a Christian cannot strike'. The final lines of this chapter, which conclude part I of this volume, emphasise the unhappy plight of the Christians: 'So the Christians grow poor, the Mahometans rich, and purchase their lands; and thus the Christian religion daily loses ground in all parts of Turkey' (I, p. 268).

Part II of vol. 2 describes Pococke's travels in the Greek Islands, Asia Minor, Thrace and Greece, as well as other parts of Europe. It will be noted that there are relatively few discursions on the inhabitants in this section of the book and it is therefore less relevant to the Christian-Muslim relations theme.

Greek islands: Ch. 2 of this book is entitled 'Of the natural history, customs, trade and government of Scio' (II, pp. 9-12). Pococke notes there are 100,000 inhabitants: 3,000 Roman Catholics, 40 families of Jews, 5,000 Turks, the rest being Greeks. His assessment of their character is slightly more positive than usual: 'They are industrious, and sharp in acquiring but luxurious and extravagant on the days when they have repose from their employs.' However, he claims that the Greeks and Roman Catholics have an aversion to each other, each denying that the other sect is actually Christian (II, p. 10). He says very little about Christian-Muslim relations on the other Greek islands, but generally states the ratio of Turks to Christians, the number of priests and monasteries, the Greek bishop's income and the number of purses extracted each year by the Turkish authorities. While relating these facts without bias, he is keen to point out situations where Christians act unfavourably towards other Christians, for example in Samos, where a group of 20 bandits had recently taken over and were intimidating the inhabitants to such an extent that 'the Turkish governors themselves [stand] in awe of them, and no one has courage or resolution to oppose them' (II, p. 30).

Asia Minor: this book is almost exclusively devoted to descriptions of the monuments and antiquities, though Pococke makes a few interesting comments on his interaction with agas and other Muslim officials with whom he had varying experiences. In Melasso, for example, the aga received him civilly, without expecting a gift, gave him 'free leave to see every thing' (II, p. 63), and promised him letters of recommendation. In

nearby Eskihişsar, however, which was inhabited largely by Muslims, the deputy governor asked him for a gift in order to see the ancient theatre, but he refused. He was then approached by the aga who demanded payment but again he refused, pointing out that, 'by virtue of [his] firman [he] could see the antiquities, and that he [the aga] must answer to it, if any harm happened to [him] there'. Pococke brazened it out, even when the aga and his deputy threatened him, and left the place with his dignity (and purse) intact, such was his confidence in the power of his firman (II, pp. 64-5). Again, in Denizley an officer demanded from him a sum of money equal to the 'harach' (*kharāj*), and when he refused he was denied horses. Pococke, however, applied to the aga who furnished him with horses without expecting a gift (II, p. 78). A similar thing happened in Carahişsar, where a judge reluctantly excused him from paying the tax and instead confiscated his firman, demanding money for its return. Pococke complained to the pasha, who returned it immediately.

Thrace and Greece: the only comment Pococke makes about the people of Thrace is that he was fortunate to be in Constantinople 'at a time when the Turks were in good humour, and had no reason to be displeased with the Franks'. He was therefore at liberty to go all over the city, even into the mosques, without the least trouble (II, p. 133). With regard to Greece, he notes of Larissa, which comprises 15,000 Turkish houses, 1,500 Greeks and 300 Jewish families, 'The people both Turks and Greeks have a bad character, and it is dangerous travelling near the city' (II, p. 153). With regard to Greece, he was in Athens for a very short time and stayed at the house of the English consul. On being introduced to the *waiwode*, to whom he made a very handsome present and showed his firman, he was allowed to see 'every thing in and about Athens with the utmost freedom' (II, p. 169). A further comment he makes on the inhabitants of Greece is in relation to Patras, where there were 80 Christian families, 10 families of Jews and 250 Turkish families, 'who are not the best sort of people' (II, p. 176). Finally, in his brief account of Cephalonia, he relates a story intended to give some idea of the character of the inhabitants: 'They say that the creator, when he made the earth, threw all the rubbish here; and that there being three notorious rogues he sent one to this island, another to St. Maura, and the third to Maina' (II, p. 179).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*A description of the East*, vol. 2 is a significant work in the genre of 18<sup>th</sup>-century travel writing not only because it adds to the scant literature on eastern travels written in the English language, but because it provides



a comprehensive and scholarly account of eastern culture from ancient times until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Pococke explains, in his Preface, 'The kind and unexpected reception which the description of Ægypt met with from the world, for which I acknowledge myself much obliged, made me undertake the present volume with greater cheerfulness; But I fear it will be thought an ill requital for the favour shewn to the first, if the second should happen to be a trial of the reader's patience' (Preface, p. iii). At this point, neither Warburton nor Shaw had published their lengthy repudiations of vol. 1, in which Pococke had contradicted their theories without acknowledging the sources and, in the case of Shaw, without thanking him for all his help and friendship. As with the first volume, Pococke made reference to very few modern sources, Edmund Chishull being one, though spelt incorrectly as Chishul.

What is significant about Pococke's book and led to its great acclaim, to the extent that it was translated into three languages within three decades of its publication, as well as being included in three compendiums of famous travels within two decades, is its breadth of scope, its enormous attention to detail, and its scholarly yet very readable style. (This latter point is a matter of opinion, as the book has often been described as dull or dry.) In addition to this is the wealth of plates to illustrate the major themes of the book, especially the ancient buildings and monuments of the east, of which the drawings of the temples at Baalbek and Athens are the most famous. A further interesting feature of the illustrations is the inclusion of pieces from Pococke's own collection of unusual antiquities (Plates 80 and 81), some of which are now in the British Museum.

The extent of the reception of this book is evident, as mentioned above, from the number of editions and translations that appeared in a relatively short space of time. From the time of its publication, but particularly from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, it has been used largely as a reference book for various aspects of the geography, history, architecture, literature, natural history and antiquities of the East, and any study on any aspect of these themes is likely to cite this work, particularly in terms of Pococke having been the first person to discover, recognise, name or illustrate a particular feature of eastern culture, such as the geography of the Homeric poems.

An example is Robin Fedden, who claims that Pococke 'possessed industry, catholic tastes, a balanced judgement, a scrupulous regard for truth', and that

On his travels little escaped him. Though, as befitted an 18<sup>th</sup>-century gentleman, archaeology was his first interest and he produced drawings of Egyptian antiquities that are among the earliest careful records, his detailed and sober report covered almost every aspect of life in the Levant: Turkish government and justice, religion, trade, manners and customs, dress, Muslim architecture, climate, and natural history. Pococke in fact produced the best of those travel books, so characteristic of the period, that were designed primarily to impart information. It was ultimately such writers, generously and accurately providing the information that Europe wanted, who made the genre superfluous. Though travellers took a century to realise it, there was little to be done in the same vein after the publication of works such as *A Description of the East*. (*English travellers*, pp. 12-13)

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Add 22998, 134 fols (1737-41; copies of letters from Pococke to his mother, from the East)

MS London, BL – Add 22995, 60 fols (1737; 'A voyage from Leghorn to [Alexandria]', vol. 18)

MS London, BL – Add 15779, 61 fols (1741-3; 'Pococke's Letters to the Bp [Bishop] of Waterford 1737-39', copies of letters from Pococke to his uncle, Bishop Milles, from the East)

MS London, BL – Add 52362, 43 fols (1741-3, 'Minute Book of the Egyptian Society')

MS London, BL – Add 15780-15799, 21 vols (1743-5; original MS of *A description of the East and some other countries* written by a scribe, with Pococke's autograph corrections and additions)

Richard Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries*, vol. 2, Printed for the Author, by W. Bowyer, London, 1745 (first edition); ESTC T031684 (digitised version available through ECCO)

C.E. von Windheim (trans.), *R. Pocockes Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder*, Erlangen, 1754-5 (German trans.); Bibliothek – 999/4Hist.pol.71d(2) (digitised version available through MDZ)

Richard Pococke, *A compendium of the most approved modern travels, containing a distinct account of the religion, government, commerce, manners, and natural history, of several nations*, London: J. Scott 1757

R. Pococke, *A compendium of the travels of Dr. Richard Pococke, Lord Bishop of Ossory. Alex. Drummond, Esq; His Majesty's counsul at Aleppo and Alexander Russel, M.D.*, Dublin: J. Smith, 1757; ESTC T164169 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- J. Newbery, *The world displayed; or, A curious collection of voyages and travels. Selected from the writers of all nations. In which the conjectures and interpolations of several vain editors and translators are expunged, every relation is made concise and plain, and the divisions of countries and kingdoms are clearly and distinctly noted. Embellished with cuts*, London, 1759-61, vol. 12, 52-211; vol. 13, 1-27; ESTC T113545 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J.P. Costard, *Voyages de Richard Pococke, membre de la Société Royale, & de celle des Antiquités de Londres, &c. en Orient, dans l'Egypte, l'Arabie, la Palestine, la Syrie, la Grèce, la Thrace, &c. &c. &c.*, Paris, 1772 (French trans.); 8-O2-73 (digitised version available through BNF)
- E.W. Cramer, *Beschryving van het oosten, en van eenige andere landen*, Utrecht, 1776 (Dutch trans.); BIB.208O039 (digitised version available through Universteits Bibliotheek Gent)
- J.F. Breyer, *R. Pocockes beschreibung des morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder*, Erlangen, 1771-3 (repr. 1779) (German trans.); urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-40278 (digitised version available through Universtät-Bibliothek Heidelberg)
- J. Pinkerton, *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a new plan*, vol. 15 – *Africa*, London, 1812, pp. 163-402 (Pococke's travels in Egypt); 4352 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust Library)
- C.D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a history of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1908 (excerpts from Pococke's travels in Cyprus), pp. 251-70
- R. Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad: the grand tour correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles*, vol. 2. *Letters from the continent (1736-37)*, Piltown, 2012
- R. Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad: the grand tour correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles*, vol. 3. *Letters from the east (1737-41)*, Piltown, 2013

## STUDIES

- R. Finnegan, *English explorers in the east (1738-1745). The travels of Thomas Shaw, Charles Perry and Richard Pococke*, Leiden, 2019
- D. Moore, *Dawn of discovery. The early British travellers to Crete and their contribution to the discovery of the island's Bronze Age archaeological heritage*, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 45-54
- Finnegan, 'Manuscripts, mummies & minute books'

Finnegan, 'The Divan Club'

Damiani, *Enlightened observers*, pp. 70-104

Damiani, 'British travel attitudes to the Near East', pp. 92-136

Hachicho, 'English travel books', pp. 35-8

R. Fedden, *English travellers in the Near East*, London, 1958, pp. 12-13

St John, 'Richard Pococke'

**Rachel Finnegan**

# Thomas Chubb

DATE OF BIRTH 26 September 1679  
PLACE OF BIRTH East Harnham, Salisbury  
DATE OF DEATH 8 February 1747  
PLACE OF DEATH In or near Salisbury

## BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Chubb was born on 29 September 1679 at East Harnham, Salisbury. His father, Henry Chubb, died in 1688, and by 1694 Chubb was apprentice to a glove-maker, though poor eye-sight led him to change his occupation in 1705 to that of assistant to a tallow-chandler. He may briefly have attended a local charity school, but he makes no reference to this in his autobiographical sketch (*Posthumous works*, vol. 1, pp. ii-viii) and appears to have been self-taught.

He developed an interest in theological controversy at an early age. Sympathising with the anti-Trinitarian position, he wrote *The supremacy of the Father asserted* after reading William Whiston's 'Historical preface' to his *Primitive Christianity revived* (1711). When Whiston's attention was drawn to the work by one of Chubb's friends, he offered to make some corrections and arranged for the book's publication (1714). Whiston described Chubb as 'one of the most judicious Christians, without a learned education' that he had met (*Life*, vol. 1, p. 276).

Moving to London, Chubb became part of Whiston's circle of deist and Arian thinkers, and attended his Society for Primitive Christianity. Through Whiston, he met, among others, Alexander Pope (d. 1744), Thomas Rundle (d. 1743) the future Bishop of Derry, and Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738), Master of the Rolls, who gave him an annual salary to support his literary pursuits, even though Whiston thought Chubb was becoming too radical in his views and advised Jekyll to avoid him (Whiston, *Life*, vol. 1, p. 277).

After less than two years, Chubb returned to Salisbury, where he received enough financial support from friends and several patrons, including Pope's friend William Cheselden (d. 1752), who was surgeon to Queen Caroline, to write full-time and preside over a literary club. His *The previous question with regard to religion* went through three print

runs in 1726, followed by another edition in 1730, and another after his death in 1754.

His more than 50 publications include *The sufficiency of reason further considered* and *The true Gospel of Jesus Christ asserted*. For Chubb, reason was sovereign. Rejecting the penal substitution view of the atonement, he saw Jesus as the moral 'exemplar and pattern' that Christians should follow 'in all ages' (*True Gospel asserted*, pp. 71-2). He found support for his views in the posthumously published theological writings of Isaac Newton.

Chubb's ideas on religion aroused passionate responses, including rebuttals by Ebenezer Hewlett (*Miracles real evidences of a divine revelation*, London, 1741) and James Bate (*Infidelity scourged, or Christianity vindicated from the scandalous aspersions of Mr. Thomas Chubb*, London, 1746). These two, one a Unitarian the other an Anglican, took issue with Chubb's view that miracles only indicate the probable legitimacy of revelation. More fiercely than either, Joseph Horler, headmaster of Wilton Free School and an Anglican clergyman who used the pseudonym 'Anti-Chubbis', wanted to see Chubb's corpse mutilated and burned on the stake with all his heretical writings (Horler, *Memoirs*, p. 71). Chubb was one of the main deist thinkers whom Jonathan Edwards targeted in his *Freedom of the will* (1754). It was Chubb's assertion that Islam largely spread 'before the sword could be drawn' (*Posthumous works*, vol. 2, p. 48) that prompted Edwards' 'Observations on Mahometanism compared to Christianity' (possibly written soon after 1748).

Chubb died on 8 February 1747, and was buried in St Edmund's churchyard, Salisbury. After his death, a life by Horler, *Memoirs of Thomas Chubb*, accused him of living a life of vice, while a rejoinder by friends vindicated his character and Christian sincerity.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Thomas Chubb, *The sufficiency of reason further considered*, London, 1732

Thomas Chubb, *The previous question with regard to religion*, London, 1743

Thomas Chubb, *The posthumous works: Of Mr. Thomas Chubb: containing, I. Remarks ... II. Observations ... III. The author's farewell ... With an appendix, including a postscript ... To the whole is prefixed, some account of the author: written by himself. In two volumes*, London, 1748 (Chubb's autobiographical sketch on pp. ii-viii covers the period from his birth to meeting William Whiston)

- J. Horler, *Memoirs of Mr. Thomas Chubb, late of Salisbury: or, a fuller and more faithful account of his life, writings, character, and death. Interspers'd with some remarks on the Short and faithful account. In a letter from another gentleman of that city to his friend in London*, London, 1747
- A vindication of the memory of Mr. Chubb, from the scurrilous and groundless calumnies suggested by a late infamous libel. In two genuine letters to the scandalous libeller. The first from J-n L-le, one of the people called Quakers, residing in Salisbury; and the other from a moral philosopher*, London, 1747
- William Whiston, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. William Whiston. Containing memoirs of several of his friends also by himself*, London, 1749, pp. 109, 234-8, 276-7
- J. Towers, *British biography: Or, an accurate and impartial account of the lives and writings of eminent persons in Great Britain and Ireland; from Wickliff, who began the Reformation by his writings, to the present time*, Sherborne, 1777, pp. 372-400 (includes information from first-hand acquaintances of Chubb, friends and critics)

#### Secondary

- C. Probyn, art. 'Chubb, Thomas', in *ODNB*
- T.L. Bushell, *The sage of Salisbury, Thomas Chubb, 1679-1747*, London, 1968
- L. Stephen, art. 'Chubb, Thomas', in *Dictionary of national biography*, vol. 10, 1887, London, 297-8

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Posthumous works

DATE 1748

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

Thomas Chubb's *Posthumous works* were published in two volumes in 1748, edited by friends. Chubb may have written the brief autobiographical sketch that was prefixed to vol. 1 with this publication in mind. Inclusive of indices but excluding prefatory matter, vol. 1 has 428 pages and vol. 2 has 400 pages. Chubb's remarks on Islam in vol. 1 have attracted most attention, but there are also scattered references to Islam elsewhere. Tantalisingly, he does not give a detailed analysis of common ground between Judaism, Christianity and Islam, or specify how the last fitted his concept of a universal moral and rational religion.

His remarks on Islam need to be located within his overall belief in human accountability to God for the moral choices we make, and in

humanity possessing natural knowledge of right and wrong. Rejecting the Fall, he believed that everyone has access to this knowledge through reason and conscience. With other Deists, Chubb did not believe that special revelation was necessary, but neither did he reject the validity of 'revelation' when tested against reason. On the other hand, he claimed that the originators of a revealed religious dispensation should not be blamed when its followers committed evil acts, for we are each personally responsible for the moral choices we make. Also, when judging the truthfulness of any doctrine taught by a religious tradition, it must be traceable to its originator. Given that several of Chubb's references to Islam and to Muḥammad are in the context of discussing the validity of doctrines and of religious dispensations, his inclusion here of Islam suggests that he placed it on an equal footing with Judaism and Christianity. He never presents the former as false when compared with the latter.

In *Posthumous works*, vol. 1, Chubb discusses the vested interest that scholars and functionaries of religions have in defending 'currant and generally received opinions', even when these cannot be traced to the religion as originally taught (p. 41). 'Worldly interest', he writes, bears 'the greatest sway' (p. 46). Thus, whether true or false, these functionaries defend the doctrines that 'support them' (p. 42). Muslims, Protestants, Papists, all maintain 'that ... which supports them' because it is in their 'interests' to do so (p. 43). Each group also claims that its particular form of religion is the 'best ... in the world' (p. 44). When they compare their religion with others, they always portray their own as superior. Yet all such functionaries consist of 'fallible men' (p. 46). This means that Muslims are under no obligation to 'blindly submit to their [the religious functionaries'] dictates in the interpretation of the Coran, and rely upon their judgements' (p. 47). Rather than depending on the 'Mahometan guides in the affairs of eternal salvation', they should 'examine and judge for themselves' what is right (pp. 48-9). No one should be led 'like a horse or mule' by the priest who 'happens to be placed above them' (p. 49). Citing Acts 10:25, Chubb argues that, according to Peter, righteous people have lived in all ages and nations. Thus, 'whether a man be a Jew, or an infidel ... or ... a Mahometan ... if he answers the obligations of nature' and behaves correctly towards others, 'he is (according to St Peter) secure of God's favour' (p. 299).

When making comparisons between dispensations, Chubb often includes Islam alongside Judaism and Christianity. For example, the question is not what Paul or Peter taught, but whether 'it was taught by



Jesus', just as the question is not what Jews and Muslims teach but what were the doctrines that Moses and Muḥammad themselves 'set forth' (*An enquiry concerning revelation*, London, 1743, p. 9).

When Chubb refers to Islam, the context is frequently a response to other writers involved in many of the controversies that swirled around his writing. In his *Chubb's tracts* (London, 1732-41), he cites a controversy between James Foster (d. 1753) and Henry Stebbing (d. 1763), the former a General Baptist preacher and scholar who defended religious liberty, the latter a chaplain to King George II. Foster accused Stebbing of wanting to impose a tax on dissenters from the Established church similar to Muḥammad's levy on non-Muslims. In reply, Stebbing complained that Foster wanted to make him 'a mere Turk' (*Chubb's tracts*, p. 119). Writing to Stebbing, Chubb argued that the question is not whether Muḥammad did or did not require this tax from non-Muslims, but whether, in assessing the morality of such a tax on conscience, Muḥammad should be 'included in the case'. The real issue is always whether an act is right or wrong. To follow Muḥammad 'in that which is good cannot justly be reproachful; whereas to be a follower in any matter that is evil, is certainly so, and therefore it being, or not being, of Mahomet is of no consequence' (p. 110) (see J. Foster and H. Stebbing, *An answer to Dr. Stebbing's True state of the controversy with Mr. Foster, on the subject of heresy*, 2nd edition, London, 1737, p. 72, with reference to Q 9 in Sale's translation).

In *Posthumous works*, vol. 2, Chubb's first reference to Islam discusses the problem of knowing whether what people claim to be revelation is actually from God. He did not accept the whole of the Hebrew Bible as 'divine' because instances of cruelty do not 'comport with the just and moral character of the supreme Deity' (p. 29). Turning to the Qur'an, Chubb says that he did not know much about it or have the opportunity to discuss it with its advocates. Nor would a perusal of the book tell him much about 'the divine original of the Mahometan religion', because it may have been corrupted (p. 31). On the other hand, should an inquiry result in his viewing the book as 'the product of delusion or imposture' he would judge it to be false. Chubb appears to have had some familiarity with classical Christian ideas on Islam suggested by his use of terms such as 'delusion' and 'imposture'. If, however, inquiry led him to judge the book to be of God, the issue would be 'what *benefit* can I reap from such conviction?' (p. 31). If it furnishes useful knowledge, 'the practice of virtue and true religion', he would judge it beneficial. In turn, this begged

the question whether he should then convert to Islam. Chubb says no, since real virtue and piety is independent of external religion (p. 34). Conversion from one set of ceremonies to another did not always make a person morally better (p. 302). Yet he had no grounds to suppose that Islam is not a divine revelation. 'Want of miracles ... did not constitute negative proof.' God has not tied himself to the rule of accompanying revelation with miracles. Rather, Islam's claim to be from God remains plausible, especially given that Christians in Muḥammad's time had 'greatly corrupted natural religion' (p. 37) by 'paying respect to a treble Deity', calling Mary God's mother and compromising divine unity (p. 38). Some even saw Mary as a 'fourth person in the Godhead' (p. 40). It is therefore plausible to see Islam as a 'remedy' for 'these evils'. It would, said Chubb, not be 'altogether unworthy of the Supreme God ... to have interposed, by a particular and special application of his power and providence' at that time. Without offering a final conclusion on Islam's status as revelation, Chubb thought it reasonable to stamp a 'divine character upon it' (p. 40).

However, Chubb's most notable reference to Islam follows on p. 48, where he surmises that Islam's spread has been wrongly attributed to the sword. As in the case of Christianity, the sword may later have propagated it further, though initially 'it must have prevailed to a great degree' before the sword was drawn in order to achieve a position where it could draw the sword. Chubb appears to argue that whatever is founded on falsehood or enthusiasm will not be able to sustain support over a long period. He questions whether, on this basis, Methodism would endure.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Despite his lack of academic credentials (his critics never let him forget that he had not received a university education), Chubb was widely read, by Jonathan Edwards and Voltaire among many others. He was one of the main Deists against whom Edwards directed his pro-Trinitarian apologetics, though Edwards also lent Chubb's books to friends (P. Thuesen, 'Edwards' intellectual background', in S.H. Lee (ed.), *The Princeton companion to Jonathan Edwards*, Princeton NJ, 2005, 16-33, p. 28), while Voltaire penned a short description of Chubb's thought (see *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1818, p. 684). Muslims in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century India had copies of texts by Chubb and John Toland among other works of biblical criticism when they debated *tahrīf* (corruption of the Bible) with Christian missionaries (A.A. Powell, *Muslims and missionaries in pre-Mutiny India*, Abingdon, 1993, pp. 232-4). These Muslims may not have read

Chubb's remarks on Islam, but it is interesting that works by anti-Trinitarians such as Toland and Chubb, whose conciliatory view of Islam was in part developed as a criticism of mainstream Christianity, were utilised by Muslims in their anti-Christian apology.

Jonathan Edwards, widely regarded as one of America's leading theologians, held a view that was closer to the initial position of Chubb's former mentor, William Whiston, tied up with eschatology, divine punishment and the fulfilment of prophecy. It was probably Chubb's comparison of the spread of Islam and of Christianity that 'incited Edwards' criticism of Islam's propagation', which he saw very differently from that of Christianity (McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards*, p. 172). In his 'Mahometanism compared with Christianity', Edwards contrasted Christianity bringing light into the world with Islam changing light to darkness, Christianity spreading knowledge and Islam ignorance, Christianity opposing carnal desires and Islam encouraging them. Anything good in Islam was borrowed from Christianity, and while Christianity harmonises with reason, Islam shuts it out (*The works of President Jonathan Edwards*, Leeds, 1811, vol. 8, pp. 260-5). Chubb's challenge to the traditional Christian charge that Islam expanded violently may or may not have predated George Sale's in his 'To the Reader' (*Koran*, London, 1764, p. vii), originally published in 1734. However, he can be credited as an early and even influential proponent of this alternative view.

For writers such as Toland and Chubb, original Christianity – a Christianity stripped of priests, the doctrines of the Trinity, original sin and a penal atonement – not only resembled Judaism and was indeed meant to be 'annexed to' or 'grafted upon' Judaism (Chubb, *Posthumous works*, vol. 2, p. 91), but also resembled Islam. Possibly, God intended Islam to be a second graft. Chubb did suggest that God might have revealed Islam to correct Christian errors, but he did not share views of Islam as only intended to punish Christians. For him, there was probable cause to recognise a divine stamp on Islam. Nor did he think conversion from one religion to another necessary. What mattered was righteous, moral conduct and serving our neighbours out of pure love with no expectation of a reward now or in the afterlife (*Posthumous works*, vol. 2, p. 360). In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, if rivalry over converting each other is removed as a goal, Christians and Muslims might instead focus on collaboration in service of others. Deists such as Toland and Chubb could rethink how they saw Islam because their theology removed several obstacles from their path, including the Trinity, penal atonement and

original sin. On the one hand, their contributions may not offer much to help Trinitarians revisit attitudes towards Islam, but on the other, they may serve to highlight the role that theology plays in predisposing some towards a more sympathetic view of Islam and others towards maintaining hostility.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Thomas Chubb, *The posthumous works of Mr. Thomas Chubb: containing, I. Remarks ... II. Observations ... III. The author's farewell ... With an appendix, including a postscript ... To the whole is prefixed, some account of the author : written by himself. In two volumes*, London, 1748; ESTC T097639 (digitised version available through ECCO)

#### STUDIES

G.R. McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards confronts the Gods. Christian theology, Enlightenment religion, and non-Christian faiths*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 20, 25-8, 30-3, 35-6, 42 n. 20, 47, 63, 72, 76, 86, 88-9, 110, 130-1, 150-1, 161, 172, 220, 225

W. Baird, *History of New Testament research. From deism to Tübingen*, Minneapolis MN, 1992, pp. 54-6 (discusses Chubb's biblical criticism)

Clinton Bennett

## Three Anglican Unitarians: Stephen Nye, William Whiston and Samuel Clarke

DATE OF BIRTH    Nye, 1648; Whiston, 9 December 1667; Clarke, 11  
October 1675  
PLACE OF BIRTH   Nye, Rickling, Essex; Whiston, Norton juxta  
Twycrosse, Leicestershire; Clarke, Norwich  
DATE OF DEATH    Nye, 6 Jan 1719; Whiston, 22 August 1752;  
Clarke, 17 May 1729  
PLACE OF DEATH   Nye, Little Hormead, Hertfordshire; Whiston,  
Lyndon Hall, Rutland; Clarke, London

### BIOGRAPHY

Stephen Nye, William Whiston and Samuel Clarke were all known during their lives as anti-Trinitarians or as Unitarians, even though they were ordained Church of England clergy.

Stephen Nye, the eldest of the three, was born in 1648 into a well-known Puritan family. After attending a private school in Cambridge, he went to Magdalene College, Cambridge, on 11 March 1662, graduating in 1666. He was ordained deacon in 1667 and priest in 1671. In 1679, he became rector of Little Hormead, Hertfordshire, where he remained until his death on 6 January 1719.

He was drawn into the circle of the lay Unitarian Anglican and publisher, Thomas Firmin (1632-97), which included John Locke, John Biddle and Archbishop John Tillotson. His *A brief history of the Unitarians* (1687), which popularised the term 'Unitarian', launched what became known as the Trinitarian Controversy within the Anglican Church. While the Church Convocation was in session in 1689 (it condemned John Toland's *Christianity not mysterious*), Nye wrote *Brief notes on the Creed of St Athanasius*, which the Lower House identified as 'of very dangerous consequence to the Christian religion and the Church of England' and referred to the bishops for censure (McLachlan, *Nonconformist library*, p. 72). However, the Convocation was split on the issue of the Trinity, and no punitive action was taken against either author (both texts were originally anonymous). As a champion of religious freedom, Nye continued to engage in controversial exchanges until his death, commenting on Whiston and Clarke's version of non-Trinitarianism in *Explication of*

*the articles of the divine unity* (1715). References to Islam in several of his works are appreciative, identifying Islam as a pristine expression of original Christianity.

William Whiston was born at Norton juxta Twycrosse, Leicestershire, on 9 December 1667. His father, the rector of the parish, had avoided being ejected from his living despite being a Presbyterian. Whiston was tutored by his father until 1684, when he was sent to Tamworth Grammar School. On 30 June 1686, he entered Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1690 and became a Fellow in 1691. He attended Isaac Newton's lectures. Required to enter the priesthood by College regulations, he approached Bishop William Lloyd of Lichfield, whose non-juror principles he shared, and was ordained deacon on 21 September and priest on 27 September 1693.

Whiston took private students in Cambridge until 1694, when he became chaplain to the bishop of Norwich. Interested in Newtonian physics and the relationship between religion and science, in 1696 he published his first book, *New theory of the earth*, in which he explained biblical events as the result of divinely initiated physical causes. Isaac Newton read it in manuscript form, and it was well received by John Locke, who commented that Whiston had added 'something to knowledge' (Whiston, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 39). French (1718) and German (1713) translations and five further editions followed.

In 1698, Whiston became vicar of Lowestoft-with-Kissingland in Suffolk. He resigned from his Cambridge fellowship after marrying Ruth Antrobus, his grammar school master's daughter, in 1699. In 1701, he became Newton's deputy at Cambridge and succeeded him as third Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in 1703. In this period, he published Newton's *Arithmetica universalis* and his own *Praelectiones astronomicae*. When his friend Roger Cotes became the first Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in 1707, they collaborated in teaching the first course on experimental physics. Increasingly, however, Whiston spent more time on biblical commentary and theological enquiry, publishing *An essay on the Revelation of St John* (London, 1706), in which he identified the 'first woe' of Revelation 9:12 as the 'horrible imposture of Mahomet' (p. 57). Like Newton, he became anti-Trinitarian, preferring Arianism, but unlike Newton, whose silence had protected him from prosecution, he published his views in *Sermons and essays* (1709). The controversy generated by this led to his expulsion from Cambridge University on 30 October 1710 for heresy. Convocation

proceedings against him were eventually dropped after Queen Anne, who liked Whiston, twice mislaid the papers. Edward Said (*Orientalism*, London, 1986, p. 76) claims that he lost his chair because of his interest in Islamic texts, but the work that did play a role in his expulsion was an Arabic Christian extract of the *Didache*, translated for him by Simon Ockley, which Whiston believed should have canonical status.

Whiston set out his ideas on the original, non-Trinitarian form of Christianity in *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* (1711-12), founding a society to promote his ideas. After his expulsion from Cambridge, he mainly lived in London, where he supplemented his income by regularly lecturing in coffee houses, at the Royal Society (although nominated, he was never elected as a Fellow; see Force, *Honest Newtonian*, p. 165) and at various venues throughout England. He continued to explain Newtonian physics, gave lectures on astronomy, made some contributions to the study of longitude and received a state pension from Queen Caroline as well as some private financial assistance, making it less necessary to earn money by teaching. He had a wide circle of deist and Arian friends including Samuel Clarke, whom he had first met in 1697, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Alexander Pope and Thomas Chubb, several of whom wrote sympathetically on Islam, recognising theological affinity between what it teaches and their own ideas.

In line with his rejection of infant baptism, Whiston began attending a General Baptist Church from 1747. 'Notwithstanding Baptist imperfections', he thought the non-creedal and, at this period often *de facto* Unitarian, General Baptists 'nearest to the primitive settlement of Christ and his Apostles of any' community he 'had yet met with' (*Primitive Christianity reviv'd*, vol. 5, London, 1712, p. 39).

Today, Whiston is mainly known for his translation of the works of Flavius Josephus (1737), who he believed was an Ebionite Christian. He advocated the restoration of the Jews to Palestine (*Sermons and essays*, London, 1709, pp. 224-5), and some passages in his *Letter to the Earl of Nottingham* (1721), and also in his *Memoirs* (1749), suggest a re-evaluation of his hostile 1706 reference to Muḥammad. In 1734, a play appeared, *The tryal of William Whiston, clerk: For defaming and denying the Holy Trinity, before the Lord Chief Justice Reason*, which calls on a Muslim witness to defend Whiston against the charge of heresy. Often attributed to Alexander Pope (whose version of the Psalms was bound with the play) or to Whiston himself, the play's actual author is unknown.

Whiston died on 22 August 1752 in Lyndon Hall, Rutland, his daughter's home, where he often stayed, and was buried in St Martin's graveyard,

Lyndon. His *Memoirs* refer to 'more than ninety publications which were, in whole or in part, the fruit of his own labour' (Farrer, 'William Whiston', p. 145).

Samuel Clarke was born on 11 October 1675 in Norwich, where his father, Edward was a Member of Parliament. After attending Norwich Free Grammar School, he entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1691. He graduated in 1695, and became a Fellow in 1696. In 1698, his friend Whiston arranged for him to become chaplain to the bishop of Norwich; he was ordained deacon and priest that year.

His network of contacts brought him to the notice of the trustees of the Boyle Lectures, who invited him to deliver them for 1704 and 1705. In 1706 he became a chaplain to Queen Anne and rector of St Bennet's Church, Paul's Wharf, London. That year, he translated Isaac Newton's *Opticks* into Latin, having become Newton's friend through Whiston. In 1709, the queen presented him with the prestigious living of St James, Westminster. Also in 1709, he revised Whiston's translations of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In 1710, he was made a DD at Cambridge, by which time he was considered to be one of the leading intellectuals of the Anglican Church. However, his 1712 book, *The scripture doctrine of the Trinity*, attracted controversy.

The lower House of Convocation referred Clarke's *The scripture doctrine of the Trinity* to the bishops for censure. However, Clarke submitted a written statement to convocation and, promising not to preach or write on the Trinity again, faced no further action. This disappointed Whiston, who thought that Clarke should have stood his ground. Clarke never attended Whiston's Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity, but remained part of the same social circle and a favourite of the Princess of Wales. Queen Anne would have liked to appoint him Archbishop of Canterbury but, according to Voltaire, who met Clarke during a visit to London, she was dissuaded by the Bishop of London, who said that, though eminently qualified, Clarke was not a Christian (Gascoigne, 'Samuel Clarke', p. 917). Clarke may have turned down preferments except for the mastership of Wigston's Hospital, Leicester, in 1719. He died on 17 May 1729 at the rectory of St James, in London.

Nye, Whiston and Clarke, who are all referred to as Unitarians, had different views of the unity of God. For Nye, who embraced the term Unitarian but preferred Christian, God as Father, as Son and as Spirit were modes within the One God. For Whiston, who preferred the term Arian,



God the Father was uncreated and eternal while Son and Spirit were subordinate to God, begotten and generated at points in time. For Clarke, who retained the term Trinitarian, only the Father is self-existent; the Son and the Spirit are co-eternal but not co-equal with the Father. Nye called Clarke a tritheist (*The explication of the articles of the divine unity, the trinity, and incarnation, commonly receiv'd in the Catholick Church, asserted and vindicated*, London, 1715, p. 83). All refused to use the Athanasian Creed.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- William Whiston, *Historical memoirs of the life of Dr. Samuel Clarke: being a supplement to Dr. Sykes's and Bishop Hoadley's accounts; including certain memoirs of several of Dr. Clarke's friends*, London, 1730
- Samuel Clarke, *Sermons on several subjects. Eighteen sermons on several occasions. Sixteen sermons on the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation*, London, 1738
- William Whiston, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. William Whiston: Containing memoirs of several of his friends also by himself*, London, 1753<sup>2</sup>
- G.W. Leibniz and Samuel Clarke, *Correspondence*, ed. R. Ariew, Indianapolis IN, 2000

#### *Secondary*

- J. Gascoigne, art. 'Samuel Clarke', in *ODNB*
- H.J. McLachlan, art. 'Stephen Nye', in *ODNB*
- S.D. Snobelen, art. 'Whiston, William', in *ODNB*
- S.D. Snobelen and L. Stewart, 'Making Newton easy. William Whiston in Cambridge and England', in K.C. Knox and R. Noakes (eds), *From Newton to Hawking. A history of Cambridge University's Lucasian professors of mathematics*, New York, 2003, pp. 134-70
- J.E. Force, *William Whiston. Honest Newtonian*, Cambridge, 2002
- H. McLachlan, *The story of a Nonconformist library*, Manchester, 1923, pp. 55, 71-9 (on Nye)
- A.J.D. Farrer, 'William Whiston', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* 4 (1914) 145-61
- L. Stephen, art. 'Whiston, William', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Islam in the writings of Stephen Nye, William Whiston and Samuel Clarke

DATE 1687-1749

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

Stephen's Nye's *A brief history of the Unitarians, called also Socinians, in four letters written to a friend* (1687) is 167 pages long. It contains two passages referring to Islam. First, in its discussion of Christian states that permit profession of Unitarianism, it lists some parts of Transylvania and the Netherlands where liberty of conscience is recognised as part of 'civil rights', and also 'Mahometan and pagan dominions, where also the conquered provinces of Christians have liberty of conscience'. He notes also that 'the Nazarene and Arian Churches are very numerous' in such provinces as Hungary (*Brief history*, 1687, p. 30). Second, describing belief in divine unity as rational and scriptural, it comments that Jews and Mahometans acknowledge this as opposed to belief in three 'necessary existent persons', which would be tritheism (pp. 180-1).

In *Brief notes upon the Creed of St Athanasius*, an eight-page tract (1689), he returns to Islam and to Judaism when he points out that the doctrine of three Persons in one God is a scandal to followers of these two religions and has led a large number of people to swallow all the 'errors and follies of the Alchoran' (p. 8). This reference repeats traditional ideas about Islam's errors, but Nye at the same time draws a parallel between Muslim belief in divine unity and what Nye believed was originally taught by Christians until priests and theologians corrupted Christianity by abandoning the 'ancient belief of but one God, or but one who is God' (p. 2).

In his 19-page *A letter of resolution concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation* (1691), Nye characterises the doctrine of the Trinity as the main obstacle to Muslims converting to Christianity since it reduces Christianity to a form of 'paganism' (p. 18). He appears to have thought that Islam had more followers than Christianity, writing that 'Mahometism has prevailed over greater numbers and more nations than at this day profess Christianity' (p. 18). Islam spread due to 'that one truth in the Alchoran, the unity of God', which could never be reconciled with the Trinity. The sword was not the cause of Islam's spread, 'for the

Mahometans grant liberty of religion to all the conquered provinces of Christians', while Muḥammad had not set out to establish a new religion but 'to restore the belief in the unity of God which at the time was extirpated among the Eastern Christians' (p. 18). Nye's view of Islam is that it is closer to the original religion of Jesus than Trinitarian Christianity, which owes more to paganism than to Jesus' teaching.

Samuel Clarke refers to Islam in his 1705 Boyle lecture, 'The evidence of natural and revealed religion'. However, while he is as critical of the Athanasian Creed as Nye and Whiston, unlike them he has nothing positive to say about Islam. He sees Islam as a false religion 'founded by a vicious person ... propagated merely by force' (*A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation*, London, 1706; see also *The works of Samuel Clarke*, 1738, pp. 595-735, p. 673), lacking any support from miracles, offering 'vain and fanciful rewards'. It is full of 'absurdities and inconsistencies', as those who have compiled accounts of Muḥammad's life have demonstrated. Christians have no reason to see Islam as their rival since 'there is no great danger of its imposition on rational and considerate men'.

William Whiston wrote about Islam in *An essay on the Revelation of St John*, his *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham* and his *Memoirs*. Unlike Nye, his view of Islam shifted from negative to more positive during his career.

His *An essay on the Revelation of St John so far as concerns the past and present times* was published in 1706, with a second edition in 1744. It is 289 pages long. It contains several references to 'Mahomet', beginning when Whiston identifies the first woe announced by the fifth trumpet in Revelation 9 as 'Mahomet', remarking that it is 'generally agreed' that this refers to that 'terrible imposture with his Saracens' and to the 'miseries brought on the Eastern and Western Empires for many hundred years ... by them' (*Essay on the Revelation*, 1706, p. 57). The second woe, he continues, refers to the scourge of the Turks, which 'almost all of the Protestant expositors' agree is comparable with the plague of locusts in Exodus 10, which also came by an east wind (10:13), that is, from Arabia. Yet the Arab locusts, which resembled scorpions or serpents (Revelation 9:3), did not annihilate the Eastern Church, but spared those who had not fallen into idolatry (p. 168).

Whiston more than hints at Satanic agency when he says that Lucifer, the Fallen Angel himself, opened the bottomless pit 'for the pestilent smoke of Mahometanism to arise, and darken the very air' (Revelation 9:2; p. 168). Joseph Mede's *The key of the Revelation* (London, 1643), which Whiston frequently cites, made many of the same links between the Book of Revelation and Islam. Mede (1586-1639) wrote, 'For the smoke ascending from the infernal pit is Mohammedism, which the Mohammedan knaves call Islamism' (p. 174). The description at Revelation 9:7 of the locusts resembling horses assembled for battle with golden crowns on their heads, he says, resembles the 'Saracens' whose golden crowns represent the many kingdoms they have vanquished (*Essay on Revelation*, pp. 168-9). Whiston also links this with Judges 7:12, which describes the swarm of people entering Canaan from the east as locusts whose numbers were as abundant as grains of sand on a seashore. Mahomet the imposter, he continues, could also be called the destroyer because he commanded his religion to be spread by the sword rather than by miracles (p. 170). Whiston also identifies this with the Antichrist as a scourge on Christians who were guilty of idolatry, 'without affecting those few undefiled who were in being at that time' (p. 170), which he conjectured referred to Revelation 9:3 where the locusts' task is limited to tormenting the ungodly while leaving untouched those whose foreheads bore God's seal.

Whiston then turns to the problem of chronology since, while the power of the Saracens had lasted three or four hundred years, the first woe was to last for only 150 years. The text says five months but many commentators took this as symbolic for 150 years, which is based on the belief that a prophetic month consists of 30 days and that a day represents a year (see p. 16). He agrees with Mede (*Key*, p. 104) that the numbers should be doubled (verses 5 and 10 both refer to five months), which would extend the period to 300 years. Whiston surmises that, during the first 150 years, the Saracens ravaged the eastern part of the Roman Empire (p. 173), while in the second period they attempted to conquer 'the throne of the Beast, the City of Rome' (p. 175). He does not date the start of Muḥammad's preaching, but in a footnote on p. 172 refers to his migration to Medina on 16 July 622. He describes an Arab raid on Rome in 846, when they carried away the silver door of a church, and (inaccurately) to the Emperor Otho III (r. 996-1002) finally driving them out of Italy in 1001, then from the coastal area in 1005 (p. 176).

Unlike the Saracens, who had permission to torment but not to slay, Whiston has it that the Turks' task was to 'slay the third part of

man' (Revelation 9:15) by taking and sacking Constantinople in 1453 (p. 189). Again, he cites various biblical verses to support his theory. In his description of the rise of the Ottomans, he uses the term 'Ottoman Empire', which is very rare in English works in this period (p. 185). Based on his interpretation of a variety of verses, he concludes that, since the millennium will arrive in the year 1716 (p. 271), the Turkish scourge must also be nearing its end. He calculates that the length of the second woe will be 396 years and 106 days (following Joseph Mede), which takes him to September 1697 (p. 187). Working forward from 1302 as the birthdate of the Ottoman Empire (p. 182) conveniently takes him to Prince Eugene of Savoy's victory at Zenta in 1697 and to the subsequent Peace of Karlowitz (p. 187), which resulted in the Ottomans' loss of much of their European territory. He heard of this event soon after it occurred from his friend, General James Stanhope (d. 1721), who shared Whiston's interpretation (Force, *Honest Newtonian*, pp. 190-2). Always a millenarian, when the predicted end did not come in 1716, Whiston waited until 1736 to announce that it would happen in October. In 1746, he again predicted a date – it would take place in 1776.

After writing his commentary on the Book of Revelation, Whiston abandoned Trinitarianism and publicly embraced an Arian Christology, his Primitive Christianity taking him close to what he believed was original Jewish or Nazarene Christianity. Adam Shear argues that Jews and Judaism played a central role in Whiston's Christianity ('Whiston's Judeo-Christianity', p. 93), meaning that, for him, the first Christians were Jews who observed the laws of Moses, and at times he conflated Judaism and Christianity as the 'singular Christian and Jewish Religion', placing them on a 'provisional equal footing' (Shear, 'Whiston's Judeo-Christianity', p. 100). A passage in his *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham* (original 1719, citation below from the expanded 1721 edition) suggests that his Arian convictions may also have led to a degree of rethinking about Islam.

The context here is Whiston's hatred of the Athanasian Creed and his support for religious tolerance. He objected to the restriction that the Act of Toleration (1689) still placed on Nonconformist clergy, arguing that original or Primitive Christianity could not be freely practised under English law. The Act, which excluded Jews, Catholics and non-Trinitarians, required the licensing of dissenting clergy and meeting-houses, and left some restrictions in place, although in 1721 a bill in Parliament to impose more sanctions on dissent failed (Force, *Honest Newtonian*, p. 113). In his *Letter*, he declares that insistence on the authority and legitimacy

of the Athanasian Creed, especially on what it says about the Incarnation, was an obstacle to 'the progress of the gospel'. The rejection of the Gospel by 'Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans is undeniably occasioned' by the doctrine, he wrote, citing (among others) in support Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, first published in 1708 (p. 70), although the page he cites does not appear to refer to any obviously relevant material (he does not specify which edition). However, he mainly cites from Thomas Emlyn (1741), who wrote that Jews and Muslims understand the doctrine as 'direct polytheism' (p. 70; *The works of Mr. Thomas Emlyn*, London, 1746, vol. 1, p. 130). Whiston then reproduces a letter he had received from an unknown clergyman who had served as a ship's captain and attempted to proselytise Muslims, finding that they saw the Trinity 'as worship of three Gods' (p. 71). However, the writer resisted abandoning belief in Trinity and resolved to 'torment himself no more' with 'wishing that God had not reveal'd that Mystery to us' (p. 72). Finally, reading the work of Whiston and of his friend, Samuel Clarke, the writer began to 'be at peace' (p. 73). Here, Whiston shows awareness that Christianity, without the doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity, has much more in common with Judaism and Islam than it has with these beliefs. He may not have abandoned the hope that non-Christians would convert to Christianity, but the Christianity he espoused was a type of universal Abrahamic religion (Shear, 'Whiston's Judeo-Christianity', p. 104).

Several comments in his *Memoirs* (three vols, 1749) also suggest that his later view of Islam was more sympathetic, going beyond seeing Islam only as a mechanism to punish unfaithful Christians without any other redeeming feature or continuing value. His privately published first edition sold out, and since it was in demand he prepared a revised second edition shortly before his death. It was published posthumously in 1753.

In vol. 1, pp. 170-3 (1<sup>st</sup> edition), Whiston recounts from Demetrius Cantemir's *History of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire* (English version, London, 1734-5, pp. 103-4) an incident that took place in Istanbul during the reign of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-20). He narrates this to contrast Christian regard for the Bible with the way Muslims pay 'vastly greater Regard' to their Qur'an (p. 170), and is again pleading for fuller religious freedom in England. When Selim came to the throne, he wanted to 'force all Christians to turn Mahometan' (*Memoirs*, p. 171) and wrote out a decree, which he presented to the Grand Mufti for his signature. Earlier, Selim had asked the mufti whether it was better to fight for the

propagation of religion and salvation of souls or for 'temporal Dominion', to which the mufti had replied that the former was worth more than the whole world. Then, without thinking, he signed the decree, which technically made the law irrevocable. However, greatly distressed, the Grand Vizier pointed out to him that this violated the Qur'an's toleration of those who pay the annual tribute. The mufti promised to undo what he had done. So, the vizier summoned the Christian patriarch and clergy, and told them to demand a trial before the mufti, which the law said he could not deny. In the mufti's presence, the Christians then pleaded the Qur'an's promise of toleration and the 'public league which had been made with them' (p. 172), and they also cited from commentators and interpreters of the Qur'an. The mufti then declared 'that it was so', and that the 'Law would stand inviolable' and the decree must be reversed. The Treasurer, however, speaking for the sultan, demanded that they should produce the alleged agreement they had made, but they could not do this because it had been 'burnt in a fire'. They were, however, able to produce three elderly Janissaries, who said they remembered the occasion well, and the Christians won the day. The toleration, Whiston writes, that they still enjoy today is due to this success and to the sultan's 'own submission to their sacred Coran, and strict regard to the league', although Selim did order that their finest churches should be demolished and replaced with humble wooden structures. Whiston concludes with the wish that King George would show as great a regard to the Bible 'as the sultan did to the Coran' (p. 173).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Nye and Whiston's sympathetic references to Islam are examples of how some non-Trinitarians saw common ground between Islam and what they took to be Christianity's original teaching, while Clarke's inability to see anything positive in Islam shows that non-Trinitarians could also see Islam as a false religion. When Lady Mary Wortley Montagu remarked how Whiston and Clarke would find a receptive audience for their ideas in Istanbul, since the main opinion there 'is plain deism' (*The Turkish embassy letters*, ed. T. Herffenan and T. O'Quinn, Peterborough, Ontario, 2013, p. 105), she was perceptive in seeing affinity between their non-Trinitarian views and Islam, but overlooked Clarke's antagonism. In conversation with Effendi Achmet Beg (Ahmed Bey), their host in Belgrade *en route* to Turkey, Lady Mary was able to tell him that there were Christians who did not believe in transubstantiation, 'worship images or adore the Virgin Mary'. Lady Mary knew that Achmet Beg was familiar

with John Toland's work, and thus 'alerts her readers to' the possibility of 'an Islamic-deist alliance' (H. Garcia, *English Enlightenment*, p. 65), also suggested by Nye's and Whiston's references to Islam.

Whiston's references to Islam suggest that change in attitude can occur across a lifetime, in his case moving from hostility towards a position that appears to affirm some common ground between Islam and a non-Trinitarian version of Christianity. However, there is nothing that can be described as appreciative about Islam in Whiston's *Essay on Revelation*. On the one hand, he hints at a Satanic agency in its origins, but sees Islam as serving providential purposes to punish Christians. While this ascribes Islam a role in the divine plan, it falls short of seeing any other value in the religion. In his *Essay on Revelation*, Whiston's treatment of Muḥammad and of Islam follows a familiar trend of identifying Islam with biblical passages to do with woes and curses that dates back to early Christian writers on Islam for whom Muḥammad was Daniel's Little Horn (Daniel 7:8), a false prophet or a scheming, self-serving trickster. Choice of 666 as the year of Muḥammad's birth conveniently supported the identification of him as the beast of Revelation 13:18. Whiston may not have added anything new to this tradition of biblical exegesis. On the other hand, the fact that a respected scholar who had scientific as well as theological *bona fides* gave credence to these associations shows how widespread and popular this view remained in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Whiston's historicism still has proponents, including Hal Lindsey and C.C. Carlson, but these writers do not occupy professorial chairs at prestigious universities. What actually makes Whiston's early view of Islam significant for Christian-Muslim relations is the way it contrasts with an apparently modified assessment of Islam in his subsequent writings, although he did not revise what he said about Islam in the second edition of the *Essay* when it appeared in 1744. Some of Whiston's references to well-regarded texts and sources, however, suggest that his interest in Islam and in Oriental history was serious rather than merely casual.

Turning to the later references, it seems that Whiston began to see Islam as possessing more in common with his Primitive Christianity, one that stripped Jesus of divinity and insisted on Divine Unity, than it enjoyed with ante-Nicene Christianity. For him, Athanasius had corrupted original Christianity, which was closer to Judaism and Ebionite Christianity.



## PUBLICATIONS

- Stephen Nye, *A brief history of the Unitarians, called also Socinians in four letters to a friend*, London, 1687; Wing 1098:09 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Stephen Nye, *Brief notes on the Creed of St Athanasius*, London, 1690
- Stephen Nye, *A brief history of the Unitarians, called also Socinians in four letters to a friend*, London, 1691<sup>2</sup>; Wing 344:13 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Stephen Nye, *A letter of resolution concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation*, London, 1691; Wing N1508 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- J. Biddle [S. Nye, W. Chillingworth and J. Wallis], *A second collection of tracts*, London, 1693 (includes *A letter of resolution concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation*); Wing S2267 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Samuel Clarke, *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation*, London, 1706 (Boyle Lectures for 1705)
- William Whiston, *An essay on the Revelation of St John so far as concerns the past and present times*, Cambridge, 1706; BS 2825 W.58 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- William Whiston, *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham*, London, 1719 (43 pages); ESTC T116538 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- William Whiston, *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham*, London, 1721 (73 pages); ESTC T121804 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- William Whiston, *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham*, London, 1721<sup>2</sup> (96 pages); ESTC TO41587 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- William Whiston, *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham*, Dublin, 1721 (95 pages); ESTC T170047 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- B. Hoadly (ed.), *The works of Samuel Clarke, D.D., late rector of St. James's Westminster ... containing sermons on several subjects: with a preface, giving some account of the life, writings, and character of the author*, 4 vols, London, 1738; Mhc9 C556 (digitised version available through Yale University Library)
- B. Hoadly (ed.), *The works of Samuel Clarke, D.D., late rector of St. James's Westminster ... containing sermons on several subjects: with*

*a preface, giving some account of the life, writings, and character of the author*, 4 vols, London, 1742

William Whiston, *An essay on the Revelation of St John so far as concerns the past and present times*, London, 1744; ESTC T136629 (digitised version available through ECCO)

William Whiston, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. William Whiston: Containing memoirs of several of his friends also by himself*, London, 1749; 3 9002 00768 3817 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

William Whiston, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. William Whiston: Containing memoirs of several of his friends also by himself*, London, 1753<sup>2</sup>; 3 3433 08241969 2 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

#### STUDIES

H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840*, Baltimore MD, 2012, pp. 65, 78, 257

A. Shear, 'William Whiston's Judeo-Christianity. Millenarianism and Christian Zionism in early Enlightenment England', in J. Karp, and A. Sutcliffe (eds), *Philosemitism in history*, Cambridge, 2011, 93-110  
Force, *Honest Newtonian*

Clinton Bennett

## Alexander Russell with Patrick Russell

|                |                                                       |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Alexander, 8 September 1714; Patrick, 7 February 1727 |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Alexander, Edinburgh; Patrick, Edinburgh              |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Alexander, 28 November 1768; Patrick, 2 July 1805     |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Alexander, London; Patrick, London                    |

### BIOGRAPHY

Alexander Russell was born in Edinburgh on 8 September 1714, the third son of John Russell of Braidshaw and his second wife Ursilla Alexander, the daughter of Claud Alexander of Newton. His elder brother William Russell would eventually become secretary to the Levant Company and a supporter of James Bruce's expedition to the Middle East. Alexander was registered at the University of Edinburgh for two years after completing his grammar studies at the Royal High School in his home town. He was then apprenticed to his uncle, also named Alexander Russell, a practising physician in London, for two years, after which he returned to Edinburgh University, where he studied medicine from 1732 until mid-1735. Around the year 1740, he was offered the post of Levant Company physician in Aleppo, where he lived until 1753. He learned to speak Arabic and managed to establish a flourishing practice not only among European residents in Aleppo but also among upper-class Ottoman families.

By 1755, Alexander was back in Britain, settling in London where his friend, John Fothergill, was a prominent physician. On 15 April 1756, he married Mary Mawhood, the daughter of the prosperous druggist Collet Mawhood. Around the same time, the first edition of his *The natural history of Aleppo* was published in one volume by Andrew Millar. Less than a month later, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Alexander had accumulated some wealth in Syria, but not enough to allow him to retire. He therefore accepted the position of assistant (or junior) physician at St Thomas's Hospital in 1759, being promoted to full (or senior) physician within a year. His book, which was favourably reviewed by Samuel Johnson in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was a great success, and his various medical publications confirmed his reputation as an authority on certain diseases, including the plague. When reports

of an outbreak of the plague in Portugal reached London at the end of 1757, the Privy Council therefore consulted Alexander about potential hazards for public safety. Alexander travelled to Portugal to investigate, and submitted plans to have lazarettos built in Britain, but these remained shelved for several years.

It was at his house, 1 Church Court, Walbrook (a neighbourhood in the city, off Canon Street, in the parish of St Stephen), that Alexander died of typhus on 28 November 1768. He had no children.

Patrick Russell was born in Edinburgh on 7 February 1727. Two years after his father, John Russell of Braidshaw, had lost his second wife (Alexander Russell's mother), he remarried once again. Patrick was the couple's second son. Just like his half-brother, Alexander, Patrick Russell first attended the Royal High School in Edinburgh, and then studied medicine at Edinburgh University. During the early 1750s, Patrick was ship's surgeon on the *Delawar*, a merchantman sailing between Britain and the Levant. He visited Aleppo regularly, where he was one of the founding members of the first Scottish Freemasons' lodge to be established outside Scotland. Patrick settled in Aleppo in 1750, succeeding his elder half-brother as Levant Company physician there in 1752. By this time, he already spoke Arabic fluently and had taken over his brother's thriving private practice among the Ottoman population, serving all levels of society. It is clear that Patrick was more of an academic than his brother, whom he had already assisted with the publication of the first edition of *The natural history of Aleppo*. He was to stay in Syria for 20 years, during which he practised medicine and collected natural history specimens and Oriental manuscripts both for himself and for his friends in Britain and on the Continent.

In Aleppo, he must have become acquainted with many Ottoman subjects, but in the sources only two are mentioned by name. The first was Aleppo's mufti, Muḥammad Trabulsī Effendi, who had studied at al-Azhar in Cairo. He was not only a notable legal scholar, but also a poet. He held the office of mufti of Aleppo in the 1760s, and was also appointed *naqīb al-ashrāf*, the leader of the city's descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad. The other was Rāghib Pasha, the Ottoman governor-general of Aleppo and a scholar in his own right, who would later be appointed Grand Vizier.

On his return to Britain in 1772, Patrick first settled in Edinburgh, but it was again John Fothergill who persuaded him to move to London. Five years later, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In

1782, he set sail for India to accompany his younger half-brother, Claud Russell and his wife, Leonora. Claud had been appointed chief of the East India Company post at Vizagpatnam ('Vizagapatam'), a port on the Coromandel Coast, almost 500 miles north of Madras. Concerned for his brother's frail health, Patrick joined him as his personal physician. He stayed there for six years. Towards the end of 1785, he was appointed as the East India Company naturalist on the Coromandel Coast, succeeding the late Gerhard Kønig. In India, he prepared the botanical, ichthyological and herpetological works he would later publish in London, while he also worked on the second, enlarged edition of his half-brother Alexander's *Natural history of Aleppo*.

Patrick returned to Britain in 1789. He became an active supporter of Sir Joseph Banks, the president of the Royal Society, in his efforts to make natural history the Society's focal point of research. Russell made several scientific contributions to the *Transactions of the Royal Society* during this period. In 1791, he published his *Treatise of the plague*, an impressive record of his experience with several outbreaks of the plague in Syria and his treatment of countless patients. It is therefore not surprising that, like Alexander, Patrick too was consulted by the Privy Council on the subject.

Patrick Russell died at the age of 79 in London on 2 July 1805. He had never married. Despite his major contributions to the study of snakes, fish and plants in India, his renown is still largely based on his role as editor of the second edition of *The natural history of Aleppo*, which was published in two volumes in 1794. It is clear that Patrick, in fact, rewrote large parts of Alexander's text and deserves to be considered its co-author.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS London, The National Archives – State Papers 110/74 (iv) (8 November 1753; description of members of the British community in Aleppo, including Alexander and Patrick Russell, probably by Eleazar Edwards, to an unknown addressee, possibly his brother, John Edwards)

MS London, The National Archives – Prob/11/944, fols 264r-266r (Alexander Russell's will)

MS London, The National Archives – Prob. 11/1430, fols 236v-238v (Patrick Russell's will)

John Fothergill, 'An essay on the character of the late Alexander Russell, MD, FRS. Read before the Society of Physicians, the 2d of October 1769, in J.C. Lettsom (ed.), *The Works of John Fothergill*, London, 1783-4

- J.C. Lettsom, *Memoirs of John Fothergill*, London, 1786  
*The Gentleman's Magazine* 75, July-December 1805, p. 683 (anonymous report on the death of Patrick Russell)
- Anon. [C. Russell?], 'Memoirs of the life and writings of Patrick Russell, M.D. and F.R.S.' [November, 1809], *The European Magazine, and London Review* 59 (January, 1811) 3-8
- E. Home (attrib.), 'Memoirs of the late Dr Patrick Russell. Author of the History of Aleppo', *The Scots Magazine* 73 (1811) 904-10
- 'Patrick Russell', in [Clarke], *The Georgian era. Memoirs of the most eminent persons, who have flourished in Great Britain, from the accession of George the First to the demise of George the Fourth*, vol. 3, London, 1833, pp. 485-6
- [J. Squibb], *A catalogue of the very valuable Library of extremely rare and scarce books and tracts on medicine, natural history, the Oriental languages, narratives of the plague etc. etc. ... of the late Patrick Russell, Esq. M.D. F.R.S.*, London, 1806
- W. Munk, *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London &c.* (1861), London, 1878

#### Secondary

- J. Starkey, *The Scottish Enlightenment abroad. The Russells of Braidshaw in Aleppo and on the coast of Coromandel*, Leiden, 2018
- J. Starkey, 'The continuity of social space. The Khan al-Jumruk within the bazaars of Aleppo', in Mohammad Gharipour (ed.), *The bazaar in the Islamic city. Design, culture, and history*, Cairo, 2012, 115-48
- G.S. Boulger, revised P. Wallis, art., 'Russell, Alexander (1714-1768)', in *ODNB*
- G.S. Boulger, revised M. Harrison, art., 'Russell, Patrick (1727-1805)', in *ODNB*
- M. van den Boogert, *Aleppo observed. Ottoman Syria through the eyes of two Scottish doctors, Alexander and Patrick Russell*, Oxford, 2010
- J. Starkey, 'Death, paradise and the *Arabian nights*', *Mortality* 14 (2009) 286-302
- M. van den Boogert, 'Antar overseas', in A. Vrolijk and J.P. Hogendijk (eds), *O ye gentlemen. Arabic studies on science and literary culture in honour of Remke Kruk*, Leiden, 2007, 339-52
- M. van den Boogert, 'Scottish Freemasonry in Ottoman Izmir', in M. van den Boogert (ed.), *Ottoman Izmir. Studies in honour of Alexander H. de Groot*, Leiden, 2007, 103-21
- J. Starkey, '"The contagion followed, and vanquish'd them"', in D. Fortenberry and D. Manley (eds), *Saddling the dogs*, Oxford, 2007, 113-28
- J. Starkey, 'Cosmopolitan cities and cultural integration?', *Chronos* 15 (2007) 131-50
- M. van den Boogert, 'Patrick Russell and the Republic of Letters in Aleppo', in A. Hamilton, M. van den Boogert and B. Westerweel (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, Leiden, 2005, 223-64

- J. Starkey, 'Mercantile gentlemen and inquisitive travellers', in C. Foster (ed.), *Travellers in the Levant*, London, 2003, 29-71
- J. Starkey, 'No myopic mirage. Alexander and Patrick Russell in Aleppo', *History and Anthropology* 13 (2002) 253-73
- B.J. Hawgood, 'Alexander Russell (1715-1768) and Patrick Russell (1727-1805)', *Journal of Medical Biography* 9 (2001) 1-6
- R.L. Jayakody, 'Russell of Russell's viper fame', *The Ceylon Medical Journal* 46 (2001) 39-40
- J. Starkey, '*Bagnios*, coffee-houses and "glistening pomegranate-thickets"', *Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East* (ASTENE) Conference, Edinburgh, 2001 (unpublished)
- B.J. Hawgood, 'The life and viper of Dr Patrick Russell MD FRS (1727-1805)', *Toxicon* 32/11 (1994) 1295-304
- J.M. Munro, 'The Russells of Aleppo', *Saudi Aramco Magazine* 33 (1982) 28-32
- A. Damiani, *Enlightened observers*, Beirut, 1976

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### The natural history of Aleppo

DATE 1756 and 1794

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

The first edition of Alexander Russell's *Natural History of Aleppo* was published in one volume in 1756 by Andrew Millar. Russell had intended to write a book about the plague in Syria, but his scholarly friends persuaded him to broaden the scope of his work to include a general description of Aleppo in all its facets, which extended to 144 pages. The remaining 122 pages focus on diseases in Aleppo, with an emphasis on the plague. The second part of the work was successful in confirming the author's reputation as a scientist, while the general description of Aleppo made him something of a public figure; the 'Description of the city of Aleppo' was published in serial form in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and it was reprinted numerous times in collections of travel accounts, which were popular in Britain and Europe throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Even though Alexander came from a church-going family, religion does not appear to have been important to him. Nor was he interested in Islam as a religion; only the existence of mosques is acknowledged, but none is described in any detail or even named specifically. Nevertheless, Alexander's description of Aleppan society in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century

sheds valuable light on the daily lives of Muslims and non-Muslims alike in one of the major urban centres of the Ottoman Empire. The description of the population of Aleppo starts at p. 77 of the 1756 edition (the work has no subheadings), discussing men and women, diets, pastimes, literacy, etc. A short note (pp. 97-8) describes the 'Turks' (i.e. the Muslim inhabitants of Aleppo) as predestinarians, but the narrative soon proceeds with a remark on the use of chemistry in local medicine. In a similarly fragmentary manner, he discusses fasting (p. 108), ablutions before prayer (p. 109), polygamy (pp. 110-13), funerary practices (pp. 115-19), and the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (pp. 122-3). He considered that to offer more elaborate observations about Islam was 'foreign to my present purpose' and unnecessary, because many good books on the subject already existed (p. 119).

What made Alexander's observations so reliable was that he spoke good Arabic, and that he treated Ottoman patients from all levels of Ottoman society, often visiting them in their homes. He also resided in Aleppo for a prolonged period of time, not even travelling to the city's outskirts very often. Alexander was therefore much less vulnerable to claims that his work was superficial and hastily compiled on a short tour of the region – something many travellers were accused of by contemporary reviewers of their accounts. At the same time, he was mostly interested in things medical, which largely explains why religion has such a marginal place in his narrative.

Many early modern European authors about the eastern Mediterranean justified their publications about Muslim societies by pointing out that their works shed light on obscure passages of the Bible. Although Alexander was an exception to this rule, the Dutch translator of his work did point out that his work was valuable in that regard too. Presumably, the translator referred to Alexander's observation that most houses in Aleppo had flat roofs, which made it possible for their inhabitants to walk from one house to the next above street level. This explained passages in the Bible which had confounded European readers, who were used to sloping roofs. Alexander also provides illustrations of fat-tailed sheep, which are mentioned in scripture.

The second, enlarged edition of *The natural history of Aleppo* was heavily edited – in fact co-authored – by Patrick Russell, Alexander's younger half-brother and fellow physician. It was published in two volumes in the summer of 1794 by G.G. and J. Robinson of Paternoster Row, London. Where Alexander Russell was principally a medical scientist, Patrick was both a scientist and a humanist; he was also interested, for



example, in Oriental manuscripts, some of which he was able to read and translate into English.

Patrick had sent his brother additional observations of his own after Alexander had returned to Great Britain, and these Patrick incorporated in the second edition, many in the form of extensive endnotes. Other extensions were based on local sources, such as Christian priests who supplied Patrick with population statistics on the basis of official tax assessments by the local Islamic court. Back in Europe – Patrick travelled back to England via Rome and Paris – he also consulted some Arabic manuscripts, on the basis of which he provides bio-bibliographical information about Arab authors.

Patrick transformed his half-brother's somewhat eclectic and meandering 'Description' into a more systematic and comprehensive account of an Ottoman metropolis. The table of contents of the first volume of the second edition of *The natural history of Aleppo* immediately makes this clear. The work is divided into five books. The first volume includes books 1 (three chapters) and 2 (seven chapters). Book 1, ch. 1 offers an elaborate description of the city, including a map drawn by Carsten Niebuhr, Patrick's friend (and former patient at Aleppo). The discussion of mosques (vol. 1, pp. 15-18) mentions that Ismail Pasha's mosque 'was built partly upon a plan given by an European'. In ch. 2, on Aleppo's environs, Patrick offers information about a *waqf* that supported the maintenance of an aqueduct on the authority of Ibn Shihna 'from Eben al-Hateeb' (vol. 1, p. 42). The third chapter of Book 1 discusses the climate in northern Syria and the region's natural products. For many sorts of vegetables, the Arabic names are provided in footnotes, in Arabic script.

Book 2 is devoted entirely to Aleppo's inhabitants. The first two chapters discuss cultural characteristics that all the major groups (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) had in common, such as dress, diet, perfumes, and the use of coffee, tobacco and opium. Patrick also describes public baths, pastimes such as storytelling and puppet shows, and public festivals. Chs 3 and 4 of Book 2 offer a description of the Muslim inhabitants of Aleppo. This includes social ranks; ceremony when visiting Ottoman dignitaries ('it is seldom, among the Osmanli, that religious subjects are canvassed in conversation', vol. 1, p. 181); and the temperance of their patterns of consumption, including that of alcohol. The chapter ends with a comical anecdote about a Maronite drinking 'araq at a graveside, an Ottoman *serdar* (military commander), and a drunken Janissary. Ch. 4 discusses various elements of Islam as a religion, from fasting and ablutions to the general contempt Muslims held for non-Muslims, who

were, however, not pressured to convert to Islam. Islamic mysticism is also touched upon (vol. 1, pp. 207-11). The chapter ends with some reflections on eunuchs and slavery. In footnotes, Patrick added references to earlier Western publications on Islam, such as those of Reland, Herbelot, d'Ohsson and Pococke, as well as Sale's English translation of the Qur'an. Ch. 5 of Book 2 is about harems. In his capacity as a physician, Patrick visited many of the most private quarters of the homes of Ottoman grandees. He describes these visits here, adding details such as the Arabic phrases used to alert the ladies that the doctor had arrived. This chapter, which is devoid of any erotic sensationalism, offers a clinical description of Russell's medical experiences in these usually inaccessible parts of Ottoman urban society.

Book 3 (in vol. 2) covers, in five chapters, the European communities in Aleppo as well as the local Christians and Jews. It ends with reflections on the state of scholarship and science in mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century Aleppo. Book 4 is entirely zoological and botanical, Book 5 discusses the various illnesses that were common in Aleppo, while Book 6 is about the plague.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Excerpts from Alexander Russell's *The natural history of Aleppo* were translated into French in 1760. The complete volume was translated into Dutch by the ichthyologist Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (d. 1762), who heavily annotated the section on fish. The translation was published in Leiden in 1762.

For scholars, clerics, and even the general readership in the West, Patrick Russell's second edition confirmed and strengthened *The natural history of Aleppo's* reputation as the most reliable and comprehensive account of the Ottoman 'East' in the English language. Its fame, however, would not last long, because in 1836 the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in London published Edward William Lane's *Account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*. Lane dismissed the Russell brothers' work on Aleppo as irrelevant for the Arab world because it concerned the Turks, though at the same time he used the organisation of *The natural history of Aleppo* as a blueprint for the *Manners and customs*. Lane's fame came at the Russells' expense; their work on Aleppo was eclipsed, only to be rediscovered by historians of the Middle East in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, *The natural history of Aleppo* has been quoted and used as a primary source by many modern scholars of Ottoman history, Middle Eastern history, and the history of Christian-Muslim relations.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Alexander Russell, *The natural history of Aleppo. Containing a description of the city and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood; together with an account of the climate, inhabitants and diseases particularly of the plague, with the methods used by the Europeans for their preservation*, London: Andrew Millar, 1756; ARC\_18037 (digitised version available through Arcadian Library online)
- Philippe-Florent de Puisieux (trans.), 'Description d'Alep & des pays voisins; par le. D.<sup>r</sup> Russel, Médecin', in *Les voyageurs modernes, ou abrégé de plusieurs voyages faits en Europe, Asie & Afrique, traduits de l'anglois* vol. 4, Paris: Nyon, Guillyn, Hardy, 1760, 119-96 (French trans., excerpts); 513.E.B (digitised version available through BCU Lausanne)
- Alexander Russell, 'Description of Aleppo', in *A curious collection of voyages, selected from the writers of all nations. In which the conjectures and interpolations of several vain editors and translators are expunged [...]*, vol. 11, translations, preface and introduction by Samuel Johnson et al., London, 1759-61, Dublin, 1779 (repr. several times, e.g. Philadelphia PA, 1795-6) (partial reprint)
- Alexander Russell, *Naauwkeurige en natuurlyke beschryving van de stad Aleppo en van derzelver ommelanden : behelzende eene beschryving van die stad en der voornaamste natuurlyke voortbrengsels, de welke in derzelver Nabuurschap gevonden worden; waar by nog volgt eene verhandeling over het climaat, de manieren der inwooneren en der ziekten, voornaamlyk die der pest; waar by nog gevoegd zyn de mid-delen, waar door de Europeanen zich tegens der zelve besmetting beschutten, opgesteld door Alexander Russel, Artz en lid van het Edl. Koninglyke Genoodschap te Londen. Uyt het Engels vert. door Laur. Theod. Gronovius, lid der Edl. Baselse en Haarlemse Genoodschap-pen. Met printverbeeldingen opgehelderd*, Leiden: Cornelis de Pecker en Cornelis van Hoogeveen, Junior, 1762 (Dutch trans.); KW 81 J 4 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Alexander Russell and Patrick Russell, *The natural history of Aleppo. containing a description of the city and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood; together with an account of the climate, inhabitants and diseases particularly of the plague, with the methods used by the Europeans for their preservation, revised, enlarged and illustrated with notes by Patrick Russell*, 2 vols, London: J.J. and

G. Robinson, 1794; ARC\_18037 (digitised version available through Arcadian Library online)

Alexander Russell and Patrick Russell, *Naturgeschichte von Aleppo: enthaltend eine Beschreibung der Stadt, und der vornehmsten Naturerzeugnisse in ihrer Nachbarschaft zugleich mit einer Nachricht von dem Himmelsstriche, den Einwohnern, und ihren Krankheiten, insbesondere der Pest von Alexander Russell; Übersetzt, mit einigen Anmerkungen von Johann Friedrich Gmelin*, 2 vols, Göttingen: Johann Georg Rosenbusch, 1797, 1798 (German trans. of the second edition); Res/H.nat. 375 h-1,2/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Alexander Russell and Patrick Russell, *Alexander Russel's Beschreibung der Thiere und Gewächse in der Gegend von Aleppo nebst Witterungsbeobachtungen, welche durch eine lange Reihe von Jahren fortgeführt sind. Zweite Ausgabe. Durchgesehen, vermehrt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Patrick Russel, der Arzneikunde Doctor – Uebersetzt von Johann Friedrich Gmelin*, Göttingen: Johann Georg Rosenbusch, 1798 (extract from the German trans.)

Alexander Russell and Patrick Russell, *Alexander Russel's der Arzneikunde Doctors Nachricht von dem Zustande der Gelehrsamkeit, vornemlich der Arzneigelahrtheit zu Aleppo, von den berühmtesten Aerzten und ihren Schriften, von den zu Aleppo umgehenden Krankheiten und insbesondere von der Pest. Zwote Ausgabe. Durchgesehen, vermehrt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Patrick Russell [... ] Uebersetzt, mit einigen Anmerkungen von Johann Friedrich Gmelin*, Göttingen: Johann Georg Rosenbusch, 1798 (a further extract from the German trans.)

Alexander Russell, *Al-Ifranj fī Ḥalab fī l-qarn al-thāmin 'ashar*, trans. Wadī 'Abd Allāh Qasṭūn, Aleppo: Maṭba'at al-Dād, [1968] (partial Arabic trans.)

#### STUDIES

Starkey, *Scottish Enlightenment abroad*

Starkey, 'Continuity of social space'

Starkey, 'Death, paradise and the *Arabian nights*'

Van den Boogert, 'Antar overseas'

Van den Boogert, 'Scottish Freemasonry in Ottoman Izmir'

Starkey, '"The contagion followed, and vanquish'd them"'

Starkey, 'Cosmopolitan cities and cultural integration?'

Van den Boogert, *Aleppo observed*

Van den Boogert, 'Patrick Russell and the Republic of Letters'

Starkey, 'Mercantile gentlemen and inquisitive travellers'

Starkey, 'No myopic mirage'

Hawgood, 'Alexander Russell (1715-1768) and Patrick Russell (1727-1805)'

Starkey, '*Bagnios*, coffee-houses and "glistening pomegranate-thickets"'

Hawgood, 'The life and viper of Dr Patrick Russell'

Damiani, *Enlightened observers*

**Maurits van den Boogert**

# John Henry Grose

DATE OF BIRTH 24 August 1732  
PLACE OF BIRTH London  
DATE OF DEATH In or after 1774  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Richmond

## BIOGRAPHY

John Henry Grose was born in London in 1732, the second son of the seven children of the jeweller Francis Jacob Grose, who was originally from Switzerland. Sometime after 1744, Grose learned accounting and record-keeping at John Bland's academy and boarding school in Bishopsgate Street, London. In November 1749, he was elected a writer in the East India Company, meaning that he would keep minutes of meetings and decisions, and record details of accounts and ships' logs. He arrived in Bombay in August 1750 with an introduction to the nephew of the governor of the Bombay Presidency (administrative unit). Grose was promoted to deputy secretary in 1753, but appears to have suffered some kind of mental illness shortly thereafter and was dismissed and sent home.

Back in England, he seems to have recovered, and in 1755 he married Sarah Smalley. The couple lived in Richmond, Surrey, and produced two sons. In 1765, Grose was elected to the Society of Arts, but he was never an active member. He accumulated large debts, which his father paid off until the latter died in 1769. In 1770, Grose moved to France and taught languages in Dieppe and Rouen. Attempting to return to England several years later, he was arrested for travelling without a passport, but finally arrived in 1774. It remains uncertain what he did once back in England or how much longer he lived, though there is a possibility that he died in Richmond after 1783.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

'Obituary of Francis Grose', *Gentleman's Magazine* 61 (May 1791) 492-4 (Francis was the brother of John Henry Grose)

*Secondary*

J.H. Farrant, art. 'Grose, John Henry', in *ODNB*

J.H. Farrant, 'The travels and travails of Francis Grose, F.S.A.', *The Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995) 365-80

J.K. Laughton, art. 'Grose, John Henry', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## A voyage to the East Indies

DATE 1757

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

Grose started working on his *A voyage to the East Indies; containing authentic accounts of the Mogul government in general, ... of the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parsee religions* (also known as *A voyage to the East-Indies; began in 1750; with observations continued till 1764; including authentic accounts ... of the religions in India; the Mahomedan, Gentoo, and Parsees*, also *A voyage to the East-Indies; containing authentic accounts ... of the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parsee religions*, and *A voyage to the East Indies; containing authentic accounts of the Mogul government in general, the viceroyalties of the Decan and Bengal, with their several subordinate dependencies*) soon after his return from India in 1753. The first notice of the work was an advertisement in the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* of 26 February 1756, which announced a proposal for printing the book by subscription. In other words, Grose was trying to finance the publication by collecting money in advance, and he was perhaps attempting to find patronage that would help promote the book. The *Voyage* was indeed published in 1757, consisting of 407 pages, and with a list of 100 (rather undistinguished) subscribers and a dedication to George Montagu, Earl of Cardigan. Two later editions, in 1766 and 1772, expanded it to two volumes, but dropped the list of subscribers and dedications. The 1766 edition was 'printed for the author', which meant that Grose himself rather than a bookseller was taking the financial risk of publication; the financial arrangement for the 1772 edition remains unknown.

Even though Grose is presented as the author of the *Voyage* on all title pages, he did not write the entire text himself. As late as early 1757, he asked John Cleland, author of the infamous novel *Fanny Hill*, for

unspecified assistance and information, which Cleland supplied. Cleland had been in India between 1728 and 1740. The 1766 version added an entire second volume narrating in great detail the history of South Asia between about 1750 and 1765. This volume must have been based on secondary material, since Grose was not in India at that time, and he lists a number of sources in his footnotes. The volume also included six engravings by John Henry's brother, Francis Grose. Finally, the 1772 edition of the *Voyage* included as an appendix 'A journal from Aleppo, over the Desart [*sic*] to Basserah, October 21, 1771' by one John Charmichael. According to Grose's introduction, Charmichael was an East India Company servant who had some disagreements with the governor at Bombay and took his complaint to the Court of Directors in London.

The original (1757) version of the *Voyage* and the first volume of each of the subsequent editions are mostly political, military, historical, cultural and geographical descriptions of South Asia, particularly the areas in the west and south where the East India Company became involved. In addition, there are chapters devoted to the religions of India: Islam, Hinduism ('the Gentoo religion') and Zoroastrianism ('the Parsee religion'). Grose also spends significant time discussing, and condemning, the Catholics, both in India and in general.

The chapter 'Of the Mahometan religion' provides little information on the theological principles of Islam, since 'the particulars of it have been so fully described by numbers of authors' (vol. 1, p. 181; all references are to the 1772 edition), but he dwells on three aspects of Islam. For one, he discusses the status of the Qur'an, noting a debate within the Muslim community over whether the book was divinely inspired or a product of its time and place, without taking a position of his own. Second, he explores the characterisation of Allāh in (Indian) Islam. He suggests that some Muslims believe that Allāh is so far beyond human comprehension that he should not even be called good, righteous or merciful because 'it is profaning the sacred Majesty of the name of God, to associate it with human attributes or conceptions, and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being so well as the name itself, a substantive singularly and for ever above the company of an adjective' (vol. 1, p. 180). Third, in this chapter and throughout the *Voyage*, Grose is obsessed with the supposed decline of Islam once it arrived in South Asia. According to this narrative, the Muslims in India have become complacent and corrupt, and hardly interested in spreading their religion. On the other hand, Grose praises the religious tolerance of Muslim rulers.



Grose's overall view of Islam is hard to assess for two related reasons. First, he frequently conflates the preferences of Mughal rulers with the religious tenets they espouse. He writes that the 'government ... of the Moors or Moguls is much more temperate and just' (vol. 1, p. 85) than that of the Hindu rulers – but does not clarify if this is causally related to religion. The Mughal government does not tolerate violence against women (vol. 2, p. 190), for example, but that may be due to political considerations rather than religious reasons. While Aurangzeb is singled out as having 'great erudition and knowledge of the Koran' (vol. 2, p. xvii), Grose asserts that the Islam of the Mughals 'was rather a matter of political conformity, than of persuasion' (vol. 1, p. 131), leaving the impression that the rulers are hardly devout.

Grose's terminology is typically imprecise for the time: he speaks of Mahometans, Mahomedans, Moguls, Moors, sepoys, subalterns, coolies and Indians interchangeably and without clear distinctions. He also insists that Muslims 'are generally called Moors, as are all the governing people of India: but it is a great impropriety to call these Mahometan usurpers by that name; and yet, as the writers of all nations have given them that appellation, it would now be a greater impropriety to deviate from that usage' (vol. 2, pp. iii-iv), thus embracing this imprecision consciously.

Nevertheless, what emerges from the *Voyage* as a whole is a fairly nuanced and mostly descriptive depiction of Islam. For instance, Grose posits differences between Islam in the Arabian Peninsula and Islam as practised in South Asia, the former being stricter and the latter more open and tolerant because of the milder climate and great wealth (vol. 1, p. 337). He recognises Sufism, arguing that Sufis 'outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion for peace-sake', but are actually mystics with beliefs that 'contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all, and assimilate with all' (vol. 1, p. 215). By implying parallels between Muslim and Christian mystics, he suggests permeability between religions. Grose acknowledges syncretism between religions, though he locates it mostly 'among the lower sort' in society (vol. 1, p. 24), which is probably a criticism of mystics in general. He is also quite aware that Muslims are in the minority in South Asia, being outnumbered by Hindus ten to one (vol. 1, p. 337).

Grose mentions only a few specific religious beliefs and practices in his *Voyage*. He asserts that Muslims believe in divine justice (vol. 2, p. 74), and he compares Muslim ablutions, interpreted as ceremonies to ensure purity, with Hindu ablutions, which he says are mostly for

cleanliness (vol. 1, p. 54). Grose notes the significance of the pilgrimage to Mecca, but also claims that pilgrims make great profits along the way (vol. 2, p. 321). In a few instances, he seems critical of what he considers Muslim traits such as the supposed impulse to 'destroy [Hindu] temples and idols, with all the fury of bigot-zeal' (vol. 1, p. 75) or 'the jealousy of the Moors' (vol. 1, p. 154), but these examples are the exception rather than the rule. In more practical terms, Grose claims that Muslims rarely engage in manual labour (vol. 1, p. 338) – though again, that might be more a political than a religious matter – and notes that they swear oaths in the name of Allāh (vol. 2, p. 261) or on the Qur'an (vol. 2, p. 362).

In light of these overall views, it is somewhat surprising that Grose included Charmichael's 'Journal' in his *Voyage*. In various asides, Charmichael calls Muḥammad an 'impostor' (vol. 1, Appendix 25), describes the guardians of the tomb of 'Alī as 'declared inveterate enemies to the Christians' (vol. 1, Appendix 40), and asserts that Muslims 'conclude themselves, superior to the rest of mankind' (vol. 1, Appendix 52). However, it remains unknown how or why Charmichael's text was appended to that of Grose, so perhaps Grose had no opportunity to temper his contemporary's views.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The reviews in the two main journals of the day were not particularly kind to the *Voyage*, though in keeping with the practice of the time both offered several pages of excerpts. The *Monthly Review* of October 1757 observes that 'his remarks are often trite and frivolous' (p. 302), and the *Critical Review* of the same month concludes that 'we cannot greatly recommend him' (p. 318). Both periodicals particularly accused Grose of writing in a terrible style, but conceded that he had good knowledge of South Asian culture, history, and religion.

In spite of these poor reviews, Grose's *Voyage* seems to have exerted significant influence over representations of India in Britain in the following decades. (At the same time, translations were published in France and in Germany.) As early as 1760, the first few chapters – though not the chapter on Islam – were paraphrased in volume 9 of *The world displayed*, one of the most popular anthologies of travel writing of the period. The *New collection of voyages, discoveries and travels* of 1767 similarly included a number of chapters. In February 1764, the *British Magazine* ran a passage from the *Voyage*, explicitly attributed to Grose, relating a conflict between a Muslim ruler and a wealthy Hindu, and in August of the same year an unattributed excerpt on 'the strange effects of opium'

(p. 424). That same story, variously attributed or not, was repeated in *A new system of geography* (1766), *The wonders of nature and art* (1768), *The geographical magazine* (1785), the *Universal geography* (1796) and *The tradesman* (1810).

Furthermore, two instalments in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June and July 1766 reprinted 'Some account of the life and actions of Lord Clive' (p. 270), and Richard Gough's *Comparative view of the antient monuments of India* of 1785 reprinted Grose's description of Elephanta Island. In May 1799, an account of a Hindu funeral in the *Philadelphia Weekly Magazine* was 'indebted to Mr. Grose's Voyages' (p. 121). But perhaps most interestingly, even Dean Mahomet used Grose's *Voyage* when he composed his *Travels* (1794), the first travelogue by an Indian writer published in English and in England. Mahomet copied entire passages from Grose – what today might be called plagiarism. As Michael Fisher has documented in detail, however, Mahomet made subtle changes to replace Grose's negative assessments with more positive ones (*Travels of Dean Mahomet*, pp. 138-40).

By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though, Grose's work had been superseded by later travel narratives and by more learned treatises on South Asian cultures and religions. His work was and is still occasionally excerpted or quoted – mostly in relation to his observations on Hinduism and Zoroastrianism – but no new editions have appeared and no scholarship has been produced devoted specifically to the *Voyage*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

John Henry Grose, *A voyage to the East-Indies, with observations on various parts there*, London: printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1757; ESTC T146727 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Henry Grose, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, trans. P. Hernandez, London, 1758 (French trans.); ESTC T118722 (digitised version available through ECCO)

'The voyage of Mr. Grose to the East Indies', in *The world displayed; or, a curious collection of voyages and travels*, London: printed for J. Newbery, 1759-61, vol. 9 (1760) 73-97 (at least six editions by 1796 in London, Dublin, and Philadelphia); ESTC T113545 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Henry Grose, *A voyage to the East-Indies; began in 1750; with observations continued till 1764; including authentic accounts ... of the religions in India; the Mahomedan, Gentoo, and Parsees. The second edition, greatly improved*, London: printed for the author, and

sold by S. Hooper, 1766; ESTC T130703 (digitised version available through ECCO)

'The voyage of Mr. Grose to the East Indies', in *A new collection of voyages, discoveries and travels*, 7 vols, London: printed for J. Knox, 1767, vol. 2, 474-96; ESTC T1143577 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Henry Grose, *A voyage to the East Indies; containing authentic accounts of the Mogul government in general, ... of the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parsee religions*, London: printed for S. Hooper, 1772; ESTC T146751 (digitised version available through ECCO)

John Henry Grose, *Reise nach Ostindien*, trans. G.F.C. Schad, Fürth, 1775 (German trans., from the 1758 French trans.); It.sing. 406 e (digitised version available through MDZ)

John Henry Grose, *Reise nach Bombay und Suratte*, trans. G.F.C. Schad, Fürth, 1780 (German trans.); Hist.Asiae.1609.0 (digitised version available through Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB))

#### STUDIES

H. Gladfelder, *Fanny Hill in Bombay. The making and unmaking of John Cleland*, Baltimore MD, 2012

N. Schürer, 'The impartial spectator of sati, 1757-84', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42 (2008) 19-44

A. Major, *Pious flames. European encounters with sati*, New Delhi, 2006

M. Fisher, *The travels of Dean Mahomet*, Berkeley CA, 1997

K. Teltscher, *India inscribed. European and British writing on India 1600-1800*, Delhi, 1995

J. Hinnells, 'British accounts of Parsi religion, 1619-1843', *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* 46 (1978) 20-41

W. Epstein, *John Cleland. Images of his life*, New York, 1974

Norbert Schürer

# Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Lady Mary Pierrepont Wortley Montagu; Lady Mary Wortley Montague; Miladi Marie Wortley Montagüe; Milady Marie Wortlay Montagute; Lady Marie Worthley Montague; Maria Worthly Montague; Milady Montague; Lady Montagu; Lady Montegü; Lady Mary

DATE OF BIRTH    May 1689  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Thoresby Hall, Budby, Nottinghamshire  
DATE OF DEATH    21 August 1762  
PLACE OF DEATH    Westminster, London

## BIOGRAPHY

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*née* Pierrepont) was the wife of Edward Wortley Montagu, the British ambassador to the Ottoman court in Istanbul from 1716 to 1718. She was born at Thoresby Hall, in Budby, Nottinghamshire, in May 1689 (baptised in St Paul's Cathedral on 26 May), the eldest daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, later first Duke of Kingston-upon-Hull and his first wife, Lady Mary Fielding. Her mother died when she was only four years old. Mary was then raised by her paternal grandfather until the age of nine, when her education at her father's home commenced. Disliking her governess intensely, (by now 'Lady') Mary used the books she found in the library at Thoresby Hall to teach herself Latin.

In August 1712, Lady Mary eloped with Edward Wortley Montagu and married him, in order to avoid having to marry the suitor her father preferred. She spent the early years of her marriage in the countryside, and joined her husband in London in 1714, where she quickly became a prominent figure at court. In 1713, her brother had died of smallpox, and in December 1715 Lady Mary herself was afflicted by the disease. She survived, but bore the scars for the rest of her life. After her husband was appointed ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Lady Mary travelled with him to the Ottoman capital overland, via Vienna and Edirne.

Benefitting from the pro-Western atmosphere in Istanbul during the so-called *Lale devri* (Tulip era), Lady Mary was, by her own account, invited to visit the women's quarters (harems) of various senior Ottoman officials. Her encounters with these Ottoman ladies and other female members of Turkish households gave her unprecedented insights into the female sphere of the Ottoman court, which few men – whether

Ottoman or Western – were allowed to enter. The fact that Lady Mary was one of the few Europeans who could say anything about Turkish harems with a measure of credibility contributed considerably to the success of her *Letters*, which at first circulated exclusively in manuscript form among the British elite. Edward Wortley Montagu was recalled in 1717, but the couple stayed in Istanbul until 1718. They were back in London in October of that year.

Lady Mary had her children inoculated against smallpox while in Istanbul, a common folk medical procedure in much of the Ottoman Empire, but not in Europe. After her return to England, her campaign in its favour considerably helped to introduce inoculation, even if this ‘Oriental’ practice remained controversial for a considerable time afterwards.

In July 1739, Lady Mary travelled to the continent by herself. She first stayed in Venice, from where she made several trips to Rome and Naples. In 1742, she settled in Avignon, where she stayed for four years. In 1746, she fell ill in Brescia, and remained there for a decade. She visited Switzerland and the south of France, before moving to Venice in 1758. After her husband’s death in 1761, her son, also Edward Wortley Montagu, contested his father’s will in his absent mother’s name. Lady Mary preferred the enormous inheritance to go to her daughter, the Countess of Bute, so Lady Mary returned to England. She died in Westminster a year later, on 21 August 1762.

Lady Mary’s fame as a writer is based on the publication, in 1763, of the *Turkish embassy letters*, in which she shared her observations in the Ottoman Empire. The first proper edition, based on Lady Mary’s two original albums, contained many mistakes and was published without her family’s permission. Earlier individual letters had already been printed without the author’s permission.

Between 1965 and 1967, Robert Halsband published what is still considered the standard critical edition in three volumes. Halsband has shown that the published letters in fact consist of excerpts from Lady Mary’s actual correspondence, carefully edited for literary style, and then copied into two albums. Some 900 letters written by Lady Mary are known, while Halsband’s complete edition also offers 100 letters her husband wrote to her. Her correspondents included the English poet Alexander Pope, to whom she sang the praise of Oriental literature, though the letters they exchanged are not directly relevant to Christian-Muslim relations. Lady Mary is also believed to be the author of a political pamphlet on the rights of women published in London in 1740.



Illustration 4. Detail from 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu, and attendants', with Lady Mary in Turkish dress

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- J. Dunlop (ed.), *Original letters from the Right Honourable Lady Wortley Montague, to Sir James and Lady Frances Steuart; also memoirs and anecdotes of those distinguished persons*, Greenock: Robert Donaldson, 1818
- J.A. St John, *The lives of celebrated travellers*, vol. 2, New York, 1835, pp. 72-100
- E. Krinitz, *Portraits de femmes. Madame de Maintenon, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Comtesse d'Houdetot, Madame Vigée Le Brun, Elizabeth Browning, Charlotte Lefèvre, une Patriote italienne (La marquise Tanari)*, Paris, 1877

*Secondary*

- R.E. Altinay, art. 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762)', in C. Fitzpatrick and D.A. Tunstall (eds), *Dictionary of literary biography. Orientalist writers*, Farmington Hills MI, 2012, 212-18
- I. Grundy, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu constructs her life', in D. Cook and A. Culley (eds), *Women's life writing, 1700-1850. Gender, genre and authorship*, Basingstoke, 2012, 9-25
- M.H. van den Boogert, art. 'Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley', in N.A. Stillman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic world*, Leiden, 2010, vol. 3, pp. 455-6
- I. Grundy, art. 'Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley [née Lady Mary Pierrepont], (bap. 1689, d. 1762), writer', in *ODNB*
- B. Andrea, *Women and Islam in early modern English literature*, Cambridge, 2007
- G. Gentsch, *Roulette des Lebens. Die ungewöhnlichen Wege der Lady Mary Montagu*, Königstein im Taunus, 2007
- L. France, *The toast of the Kit-Cat Club. A life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in eleven chapters*, Tarsset, Hexham, 2005
- I. Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Comet of the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 1999
- C. Lowenthal, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the eighteenth-century familiar letter*, Athens GA, 1992
- S. Roberts, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Reverend Cotton Mather. Their campaigns for smallpox inoculation', *Journal of Medical Biography* 4 (1996) 129-36
- C. Wall, 'Pope's correspondence with (and without) Lady Mary', *Philological Quarterly* 71 (1992) 221-37
- R. Halsband, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu as letter-writer', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 80 (1965) 155-63
- R. Halsband, *The life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Oxford, 1956
- L. Gibbs, *The admirable Lady Mary. The life and times of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 1689-1762*, London, 1949
- G. Paston, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her times. With twenty-four illustrations*, London, 1907



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y  
M----e

## Turkish letters; Embassy letters

DATE 1763

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

Lady Mary Montagu's *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e* written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks. In three volumes comprises 52 letters. In the first edition of 1763, the prefatory material is unnumbered, while the text of the letters themselves is 204 pages long. An advertisement in it commends the work as 'singularly worthy of the curiosity and attention of all *men of taste*, and even of all *women of fashion*'. The last page gives a portrait of Lady Montagu. Contrary to what the title of her published letters suggests, Lady Mary never travelled in Africa.

Edward Wortley Montagu travelled with his family and retinue overland from London to Vienna, and from Vienna via Edirne to Istanbul. When they reached Belgrade, Lady Mary hoped they would be allowed to travel on immediately, but 'the Bassa detains us till he receives orders from Adrianople, which may possibly be a month in coming', as she wrote to Alexander Pope on 12 February 1717. Suitable lodging had to be found for the new British ambassador and his wife, who were not invited to stay in the governor's palace but instead were received 'in one of the best Houses belonging to a very considerable Man amongst 'em' [i.e. the Turks]. Their host was one 'Achmet-Beg', whose father 'was a great Bassa and he has been educated in the most polite Eastern Learning, and is an extraordinary [sic] Scribe, which they call Effendi.' Lady Mary's description of her interactions with Ahmet Beg is worth quoting in detail:

He sups with us every night, and drinks wine very freely. You cannot imagine how much he is delighted with the liberty of conversing with me. He has explained to me many pieces of Arabian poetry, which, I observed, are in numbers not unlike ours, generally alternate verse, and of a very musical sound. Their expressions of love are very passionate and lively. I am so

much pleased with them, I really believe I should learn to read Arabic, if I was to stay here a few months. He has a very good library of their books of all kinds; and, as he tells me, spends the greatest part of his life there. [...] I have frequent disputes with him concerning the difference of our customs, particularly the confinement of women. He assures me, there is nothing at all in it; only, says he, we have the advantage, that when our wives cheat on us, nobody knows it. He has wit, and is more polite than many Christian men of quality. I am very much entertained with him. He has had the curiosity to make one of our servants set him an alphabet of our letters, and can already write a good Roman hand. (Halsband, *Complete letters*, vol. 1, pp. 307-8; references to the Letters that follow are to this edition)

Lady Mary thus presents a Muslim man of a certain stature who conforms to all the qualities that were valued in an enlightened gentleman during her time. Ahmet Beg was not a religious fanatic (he drank wine); he loved poetry and literature; had wit and enjoyed a good conversation (even with women); and he was curious about other cultures. It is not possible to identify him, but it is clear that he was not the governor of Belgrade (*pace* Brummett, 'You say "classical"', p. 37). Although he may well have been an actual person, he is clearly presented to Lady Mary's male readers in England as a model of good behaviour.

Lady Mary spent three weeks in Belgrade (Halsband, *Complete letters*, vol. 1, p. 316), and the daily conversations with her host were the source of most of her later assertions about Islam. In a lengthy letter to the Abbé Conti dated 1 April 1717 (Old Style calendar), she states:

Mohametism is divided into as many Sects as Christianity, and the first institution as much neglected and obscur'd by interpretations. I cannot here forebear reflecting on the natural inclination of mankind to make mysterys and noveltys. The Zeidi, Kadari, Jabari, etc. put me in mind of the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, etc., and are equally zealous against one another. But the most prevailing opinion, if you search into the secret of the Effendis, is plain Deism, but this is kept from the people, who are amus'd with a thousand Different notions according to the different interests of their Preachers. There are very few amongst them (Achmet Beg deny'd there were any) so absurd as to set up for wit by declaring they believe no God at all. Sir Paul Rycaut is mistaken (as he commonly is) in calling the Sect Muserin (i.e. the secret with us [*Mu'tazila*]) Atheists, they being Deists, and their impiety consists in making a jest of their prophet. Achmet Beg did not own to me that he was of this opinion, but made no scruple of deviating from some part of Mahomet's Law by drinking wine with the same freedom we did. When I ask'd him how he came to allow himselfe that liberty, he made answer, all the creatures of God were good

and design'd for the use of Man; however, that the prohibition of wine was a very wise maxim and meant for the common people, being the source of all disorders amongst them, but that the Prophet never design'd to confine those that knew how to use it with moderation; however, scandal ought to be avoided, and that he never drank it in public. This is the general way of thinking amongst them, and very few forbear drinking wine that are able to afford it. (vol. 1, p. 318)

In the Enlightenment period, deism as a kind of natural theology had become popular among British intellectuals. Although she was neither the first European observer to label Muslims 'deists' nor the last – Leibniz preceded her in 1706 and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Wāḥḥābīs were often presented in these terms – Lady Mary chose to emphasise what she perceived as commonalities rather than differences between educated Muslims and Christians of the higher classes.

Through Ahmet Beg Effendi's remarks about the position of women in Muslim societies, Lady Mary introduces a paradox of Islam, that the subjection of women gave them greater freedom than women enjoyed in the West. In a letter to Lady Mar dated 1 April 1717 (Old Style), Lady Mary states: 'Upon the whole, I look upon the Turkish Women as the only free people in the Empire' (vol. 1, pp. 328-9). While she correctly points out that Ottoman women could own property and could have 'all their money in their own hands' (vol. 1, pp. 321, 329), in her representation of Ottoman ladies as perfectly free she makes Ottoman realities subservient to the point she wants to make about the position of British upper-class women, who could not legally own property.

Lady Mary correctly asserts that 'our vulgar notion that they [Muslims] do not own Women to have any Souls is a mistake', but she erroneously claims that women's souls are considered inferior to those of men in the eyes of God (vol. 1, p. 363). Ottoman women themselves appeared to think that if they died unmarried, they would be denied entry into Paradise, so that many remarried very quickly after being widowed. Lady Mary points out the contrast with the Christian appreciation of virginity: 'Which Divinity is most rational I leave you [Abbé Conti] to determine' (vol. 1, pp. 363-4).

The *Embassy letters* also inform us about the religion of the Albanian guards ('the Arnauts'), who escorted Edward Wortley Montagu and his family and retinue through the Balkans to Istanbul. Lady Mary describes them as 'the best militia in the Turkish Empire and the only check upon the Janizarys'. Albania was inhabited by both Christians and Muslims, and instead of choosing either, these Albanians went to the mosque on

Fridays and to the church on Sundays, 'saying for their excuse, that on the day of Judgement they are sure of protection from the True Prophet, but which that is they are not able to determine in this world' (vol. 1, p. 319).

Lady Mary's refusal to declare Christianity superior to Islam is noteworthy, but her observations about matters Ottoman cannot always be accepted at face value. For example, her claim that the Ottoman ladies she encountered in the Turkish baths were 'stark naked' contradicts the customs of the bathhouses, where full nudity was disapproved of. It should also be remembered that she clearly had a political agenda of her own, into which certain observations were made to fit. For example, her claims about the freedom of Turkish ladies were exaggerated, even if what she reports about their ability to own property and manage their own wealth is historically accurate.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu added a rare female perspective to the genre of travel writing, which had always been dominated by male authors. She spoke about matters that previous male observers had been unable to report about (e.g. the harems she was invited to enter), or were not interested in (e.g. female costume, jewellery, and cosmetics), but she also had an opinion about politics and government, which were generally considered unsuitable topics for 'the weaker sex'. She refused to respect these boundaries, offering her opinion with self-assurance and humour, her prose accessible and forthright. It was her view on the role of women in society, both in the Ottoman Empire and in contemporary Britain, that she was particularly keen to convey.

Her portrait of Ottoman life shocked some, and her daughter, Lady Bute (1718-94), burned the letters after her mother's death, supporting Lady Elizabeth Craven's later assertion (in *A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, 1789) that her mother's letters had been forged by a man (E.A. Bohls and I. Duncan (eds), *Travel writing, 1700-1830. An anthology*, Oxford, 2005, p. 77).

From the moment the first edition of the letters was published, the work proved tremendously popular. Soon after its first publication in Britain in 1763, additional letters were found and published, resulting in a variety of 'new', 'corrected' and 'enlarged' editions. The first American edition was published as early as 1766. The work was also translated into French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Greek and Turkish. It continues to be considered a valuable source for the history of the Ottoman Empire, gender studies, and English literature studies.

## PUBLICATIONS

The letters have been published in many editions and languages; see R. Halsband (ed.), *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1965, pp. xviii-xx for details of the Wortley MSS and principle editions in English up to 1861. The most important editions and translations are listed here.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The genuine copy of a letter written from Constantinople by an English Lady; who was lately in Turkey; and who is no less distinguish'd by her wit than by her quality; to a Venetian nobleman, one of the prime virtuosi of the age. Translated from the French original, which is likewise added*, London: J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, and A. Dodd at the Peacock, 1719

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W---y M----e written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks. In three volumes*, London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1763 (simultaneously published in Dublin by P. Wilson, J. Hoey, Junior, and J. Potts); ESTC T131899 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W---y M----e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa. The third edition. [With a "Preface, by a Lady" signed: M.A., i.e. Mary Astell.]*, London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1763; (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de Miladi Marie Wortley Montaguë, écrites pendant ses voyages en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique, à plusieurs personnes de distinction, gens de lettres &c. en différens pays; où l'on trouve, entr'autres relations intéressantes, des anecdotes sur les mœurs & le gouvernement des Turcs, puisées dans des sources inaccessibles jusqu'ici aux autres voyageurs. Traduit de l'Anglois [par MacLaine, Tavel et Fagel]*, Rotterdam: Chez Henri Beman, 1763 (French trans.); BIB.HIST.006274 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de M<sup>de</sup> Wortley Montague, écrites pendant ses voyages en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique, etc., traduites de l'Anglois sur la 2de édition [J. Brunet]*, Amsterdam: J.F. Boitte et Cie., 1763 (French trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de M<sup>de</sup> Wortley Montague, écrites pendant ses voyages en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique, etc., traduites de*

*l'Anglois sur la seconde édition*, Berlin: Chez Auguste Mylius, 1763 (French trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Briefe der Lady Marie Worthley Montague während ihrer Reisen in Europa, Asia, und Afrika, an Personen vom Stande, Gelehrte [e]tc., in verschiedenen Thielen von Europa geschrieden; welche außer andern Merkwürdigkeiten, Nachrichten von der Staatsverfassung und den Sitten der Türken enthalten. Aus Quellen geschöpft, die für andere Reisenden unzugänglich gewesen*, Leipzig: Weidmann Erben und Reich: 1763-7 (German trans.); It.sing. 1490 n (digitised version available through MDZ)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de Milady Marie Wortlay Montagute, écrites pendant ses voyages en diverses parties du monde. Traduites de l'Anglois. Nouvelle édition, beaucoup plus correcte que les éditions qui viennent de paroître*, Londres et se trouve à Paris: Chez Duchesne, 1764 (French trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y M---e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks; drawn from sources that have been inaccessible to other travellers. In two volumes*, London: A. Homer in the Strand, and P. Milton in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1764 (repr. 1766)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de milady Wortlay Montagute, écrites pendant ses voyages en diverses parties du monde, traduites de l'anglais* [par le P. Jean Brunet]. *Nouvelle édition beaucoup plus correcte que les éditions qui viennent de paroître. Traduites de l'anglais* [par Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard]. *Troisième partie, pour servir de supplément aux deux premières. On y a joint une Réponse à la Critique* [du Bon de Tott] *que le 'Journal encyclopédique' a faite des deux premières parties de ces lettres, par M. G. [Guys]*, Londres et Paris: Chez Duchesne, 1764-8 (repr. Vienna by Gay Imprimeur Librairie, 1786) (French trans)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Brieven van de hoogedele vrouwe Maria Worthly Montague; geschreven gedurende haare reizen in Europa, Asia en Afrika, aan personen van rang, lieden van letteren, enz. in verschillen deelen van Europa: Behelzende, onder andere merkwaaardige verhaalen, berichten wegens de staatkunde en zeden der Turken, voorgesteld uit echte bescheiden, die voor andere reizigers ongenaakbaar geweest zyn. Uit het Engelsch vertaald*, Amsterdam:

Vooraan op den Vygendam, 1765 (Dutch trans.); M 3c 113 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W---y M-----e written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters. &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks; drawn from sources that have been inaccessible to other travellers*, New York [i.e., Providence]: printed [by Sarah Goddard and Company], 1766

Mary Wortley Montagu, *An additional volume to the letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W---y M-----e written, during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks*, London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1767

Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Additional volume to the Letters of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montague written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to persons of distinction, men of letters, &c. in different parts of Europe. Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy, and manners of the Turks; drawn from sources which have been inaccessible to other travellers: also poems on several occasions; and her celebrated defence of marriage*, [Philadelphia] America: Printed, for every purchaser, 1769

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lady M, Zwey Briefe von den Sitten und der Verfaßung der Türkischen Damen beschrieben von der Lady M\*\*\*\* Gemahlin des Königl. Großbrittannischen Gesandten bey der Pforte: Aus dem Engl. übersetzt*, Langensalza: Heergart, 1770 (German trans., selections)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M-y W-y M--e Which contain, among other curious relations, accounts of the policy and manners of the Turks. Drawn from sources that have been inaccessible to other travellers. A new edition. To which are now first added, poems by the same author* [edited by M.A., i.e. Mary Astell], London: T. Cadell, 1784; digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Briefe der Lady Marie Worthley Montague: geschrieben während ihren Reisen in Europa, Asia und Afrika, an Personen vom Stande, Gelehrte etc. in verschiedenen Theilen von*

*Europa; die unter andern Merkwürdigkeiten Nachrichten von der Staatsverwaltung und den Sitten der Türken enthalten: aus Quellen geschöpft, die für andre Reisende unzugänglich gewesen / Auf's neue nebst derselben poetischen Schriften aus dem Englischen übersezt: von Professor [Gabriel] Eckert, Mannheim: Verlag der Herausgeber der Werke ausländischer schöner Geister, 1784 (German trans.)*

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de Milady Montague, pendant ses voyages en Europe, en Asie & en Afrique, contenant, entre autres relations curieuses, des détails sur la religion, le gouvernement & les mœurs des Turcs. Traduction nouvelle. Avec plusieurs additions tirées de la dernière édition anglaise, imprimée à Paris, chez Théophile Barrois, en 1790, Paris: Chez Bailly, 1795 (French trans.)*

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, to which are added poems of the same author, Vienna: R. Sammer, 1797*

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the right honourable lady M-y W-y M-e written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa: to which are added poems, by the same author. Stereotype edition, Paris: P. Didot, the Elder, in the national palace of arts and sciences, Seventh year of the French Republick [1798-9]*

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de Milady Montague, ambassadrice de l'Angleterre à la Porte Ottomane, pendant ses premiers voyages en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique. Traduites de l'anglais par P. H. Anson, Paris: Merlin, 1805 (French trans.)*

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres de Milady Montague, ambassadrice de l'Angleterre à la Porte Ottomane, pendant ses premiers voyages en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique. Traduites de l'anglais par P. H. Anson. 2<sup>e</sup> édition augmentée d'une traduction française des poésies de Milady Montague, Paris: Lenormant, 1805 (French trans.)*

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of lady Mary Wortley Montagu, written during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa. A new edition, containing a number of letters not to be found in former editions; and a French translation by G. Hamonière – Lettres de Lady Marie Wortley Montagu ..., Paris: T. Barrois fils, 1816*

John Dunlop (ed.), *Original letters from the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montague, to Sir James and Lady Frances Steuart; also memoirs and anecdotes of those distinguished persons, Greenock: Robert Donaldson, 1818*

[J.-M. Berton,] *Les Turcs dans la balance politique de l'Europe au dix-neuvième siècle, ou Considérations sur l'usurpation ottomane et sur*



*l'indépendance de la Grèce, par J.-M. Berton, suivies d'une nouvelle traduction des lettres de Lady Montague sur la Turquie, avec des notes et une notice biographique sur l'auteur anglais, par Mme Dufrénoy*, Paris: Librairie nationale et étrangère, 1822 (French trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *The letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, edited by her great-grandson [L]ord Wharncliffe*, Paris: A. and W. Galignani & Cie., 1837; Z-16436 (digitised version available through BNF)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres choisies de Lady Montague, traduites de l'anglais* [par Paul Boiteau d'Ambly], Paris: L. Hachette, 1853 (French trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *The letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, edited by her great-grandson Lord Wharncliffe, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition with annotations and corrections derived from the original manuscripts, illustrative notes, and a new memoir by W. Moy Thomas*, London: Henry J. Bohn, 1861

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Select passages from her letters*, ed. A.R. Ropes, London, 1892

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. E. Rhys, London, 1906

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagues Reisebriefe (1716-1718); Uebersetzt, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von Max Bauer*, Berlin, 1907 (German trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Impressioni italiane di viaggiatori inglesi del sec. XVIII. Pagine scelte dalle lettere di Lady Montagu e di Tobia Smollett*, trans. C. Albini Petrucci, Lanciano, 1916 (Italian trans., selections)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lady Montague Reisebreife*, München, 1927 (German trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters from Constantinople by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. H. Chatwin, London, 1921

Mary Wortley Montagu, *Der Lady Mary Pierrepont Wortley Montagu Reisebriefe 1716-1718. (Mr. Wortley's Gesandtschaft bei der hohen Pforte). Übertragen, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen [by] Hans Heinrich Blumenthal*, Vienna, 1931 (repr. 1932) (German trans.)

Lady Montegü, *Şark mektuplari. Tercüme ve tahşiye eden Ahmet Refik [Ahmad Rafiq]*, Istanbul, 1933 (Turkish trans.)

Mary Wortley Montagu, *The travel letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, London, 1940

- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres d'une ambassadrice anglaise en Turquie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, choix de lettres de Mary Wortley Montagu, 'la Sévigné' anglaise. Traduction de Marguerite Henry-Coullet*, Villefranche-de-Rouergue, 1952 (French trans.)
- R. Halsband (ed.), *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1965-7; (available on-line through Oxford Scholarly Editions Online)
- R. Halsband (ed.), *The selected letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, London, 1970
- [Lady Mary Wortley Montagu], *L'Islam au péril des femmes. Une Anglaise en Turquie au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nouvelle éd.*, trans. A.M. Moulin, Paris, 1987 (French trans.)
- C. Pick (ed.), *Embassy to Constantinople. The travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, intro. D. Murphy, London, 1988
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Turkish embassy letters*, ed. M. Jack, London, 1993
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *To odoiporiko triōnē peirōn*, Athens, 1995 (Greek trans.)
- Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres d'ailleurs: 1709-1762. Traduites et présentées par Françoise du Sorbier*, Paris, 1997 (French trans.)
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Cartas desde Estambul*, [Barcelona], 1998 (Spanish trans.)
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Lettres turques. Lettres choisies et présentées par Verena von der Heyden-Rynsch; traduites de l'anglais par Pierre Charras*, Paris, 2001 (French trans.)
- 'From *Letters of the right honourable Lady M-y W-y M-e* (1763)', in R. Ballaster (ed.), *Fables of the East. Selected Tales 1662-1785*, Oxford, 2005, 191-203
- Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Life on the Golden Horn*, London, 2007
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Je ne mens pas autant que les autres voyageurs. Lettres choisies, 1716-1718 [de] lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Traduit de l'anglais par Pierre Hubert Anson [1805]*, ed. F. Lapeyre and M. Pasa, Paris, 2008 (French trans.)
- Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish embassy letters*, ed. T. Hefernan and D. O'Quinn, Peterborough, Ontario, 2013
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Cartas desde Estambul*, [Madrid,] 2017 (Spanish trans.)

## STUDIES

- J. Hall, A.K. Sagal, and E. Zold, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Turkish Embassy letters. A survey of contemporary criticism', *Literature Compass* 14/10 (2017) 1-11; doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12405
- T. Heffernan, *Veiled figures. Women, modernity, and the spectres of Orientalism*, Toronto, 2016
- D.G. Barnes, 'Tenderness, tittle-tattle and truth in mother-daughter letters. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mary Wortley Montagu Stuart, Countess of Bute, and Lady Louisa Stuart', *Women's History Review* 24 (2015) 570-90
- F.H. Parvez, *Feminist and Orientalist perspective. A study of Lady Mary Montagu's Turkish embassy letters*, New Delhi, 2015
- P.J. Brummett, 'You say "classical", I say "imperial", let's call the whole thing off. Empire, individual, and encounter in travel narratives of the Ottoman Empire', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 44 (2014) 21-44
- S.F. Tung, 'Self-murder, female agency and manuscripts "mangle'd and falsify'd". Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's "1736. Address'd to –" and *The London Magazine*', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2014) 115-34
- P. Tuson, *Travelling to better purpose. Western women writing about the East, 1716-1916*, Oxford, 2014
- E.K. Bowman, 'The poet as translator. Mary Wortley Montagu approaches the Turkish lyric', *Comparative Literature Studies* 50 (2013) 244-61
- R.A. Meriwether, 'Transculturation and politics in the works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 53 (2013) 623-42
- D. Barnes, 'The public life of a woman of wit and quality. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the vogue for smallpox inoculation', *Feminist Studies* 38 (2012) 330-62
- R. Raus, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters in France. Between ideological turn and women's writing', in A.E. Martin and S. Pickford (eds), *Travel narratives in translation, 1750-1830. Nationalism, ideology, gender*, New York, 2012, 157-80
- S. Scholtz, 'English women in Oriental dress. Playing the Turk in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish embassy letters* and Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*', in S. Schülting, S.L. Müller and R. Hertel (eds), *Early modern encounters with the Islamic East. Performing cultures*, Burlington VT, 2012, 85-98

- G. Lock, 'Performance and performing in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters from Istanbul, 1716-18', in G.M. MacLean (ed.), *Britain and the Muslim world. Historical perspectives*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010, 102-14
- B. Andrea, 'Alternatives to Orientalism? Mary Wortley Montagu and her "Turkish" son', in G.M. MacLean (ed.), *Britain and the Muslim world*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010, 115-30
- N. Filipović, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu i Ahmed-Beg od Kumodražā', *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 59/2009 (2010) 147-202
- Ahu Selin Erkul, 'Lady Montagu's Turkish embassy letters in Turkish translation', *Translation Studies in the New Millennium* 6 (2008) 52-67
- A.K. al-Rawi, 'The portrayal of the East vs. the West in Lady Mary Montagu's *Letters* and Emily Ruete's *Memoirs*', *Arab Studies Quarterly* 30 (2008) 15-30
- G. Bakay, 'The female image in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *The Turkish embassy letters*. Fact or fiction?', *Turkish Area Studies Review* 7 (2006) 42-7
- J. Dubino, 'Teaching the quintessential Turkish tale. Montagu's *Turkish embassy letters*', in D.L. Hoeveler and J. Cass (eds), *Interrogating Orientalism. Contextual approaches and pedagogical practices*, Columbus OH, 2006, 139-58
- R. Raus, 'Les lettres de Lady Montague. Réception en France d'une écriture féminine', *Femmes de paroles, paroles de femmes. Hommage à Giorgio de Piaggi. Publicf@rum* 3 (2006); <http://farum.it/publifarumv/n/03/pdf/Raus.pdf>
- S. Brophy, 'Women, aging, and gossip in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters of the 1720s', *The Eighteenth Century* 45 (2004) 1-20
- K. Konuk, V. Agnew and J. Lamb, 'Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European encounters. Reenacting Lady Wortley Montagu', *Criticism* 46 (2004) 393-414
- S. Mason, 'New perspectives on the *Lettres persanes*. Montesquieu and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', in M. Topping (ed.), *Eastern voyages, Western visions. French writing and painting of the Orient*, Berne, 2004, 113-33
- L. Anvar-Chenderoff, 'Une anglaise parmi les Turques. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', in M.-É. Palmier-Chatelain and P. Lavagne d'Ortigue (eds), *L'Orient des femmes*, Lyon, 2002, 161-72

- A.J. Weitzman, 'Voyeurism and aesthetics in the Turkish bath. Lady Mary's school of female beauty', *Comparative Literature Studies* 39 (2002) 347-59
- M.A. Fay, 'Ottoman women through the eyes of Mary Wortley Montagu', in P. Starkey and J. Starkey (eds.), *Unfolding the Orient. Travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, Reading, 2001, 157-67
- T. Heffernan, 'Feminism against the East/West divide. Lady Mary's Turkish embassy letters', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2000) 201-15
- I. Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Comet of the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 1999
- A. Secor, 'Orientalism, gender and class in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish embassy letters to persons of distinction, men of letters &c.', *Ecumene. A Journal of Environment – Culture – Meaning* 6 (1999) 375-98
- K.J. Gardner, 'The aesthetics of intimacy. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her readers', *Papers on Language and Literature* 34 (1998) 113-33
- M.-J. Kietzman, 'Montagu's *Turkish embassy letters* and cultural dislocation', *Studies in English Literature* 38 (1998) 537-51
- J. Shaw, 'Gender and the 'nature' of religion. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's *Embassy letters* and their place in Enlightenment philosophy of religion', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 80 (1998) 129-45
- C. Bode, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish embassy letters* (1763) oder Die aufgeklärte Aristokratin', in C. Bode (ed.), *West meets East. Klassiker der britischen Orient-Reiseliteratur*, Heidelberg, 1997, 13-30
- K. Kreiser, 'Lady Mary und das Elend der Okzidentalistik. Turkologische Anmerkungen zu den *Embassy Letters*', in C. Bode (ed.), *West meets East. Klassiker der britischen Orient-Reiseliteratur*, Heidelberg, 1997, 31-48
- K. Sabatier, 'Les paradoxes du voile et de l'enfermement dans les Lettres de Milady Montagu', in G. Dermenjian and M. Haicault (eds.), *Le forum et le harem. Femmes et hommes, pratiques et représentations*, Aix-en-Provence, 1997, 137-45
- Srinivas Aravamudan, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the hammam. Masquerade, womanliness, and Levantinization', *ELH. A Journal of English Literary History* 62 (1995) 69-104

- B. Melman, *Women's Orients. English women and the Middle East, 1718-1918. Sexuality, religion and work*, London, 1995, 77-98
- S. Sherman, 'Instructing the "empire of beauty". Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the politics of female rationality', *South Atlantic Review. The Publication of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association* 60 (1995) 1-26
- E.A. Bohls, 'Aesthetics and Orientalism in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Letters*', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994) 179-205
- M. Dobie, 'Embodying Oriental women. Representation and voyeurism in Montesquieu, Montagu and Ingres', *Cincinnati Romance Review* 13 (1994) 51-60
- C.V. Findley, 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Fatma Aliye Hanım', in [Yusuf Halaçoğlu (ed.),] *XV. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye sunulan bildiriler. Ankara, 11-15 Eylül, 2006*, Ankara, 1994, vol. 9, 1533-41
- R.B. Yeazell, 'Public baths and private harems. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the origins of Ingres's bain turc', *The Yale Journal of Criticism. Interpretation in the Humanities* 7 (1994) 111-38
- G. Livet, 'Diplomatie et ethnologie comparée. Note sur la société féminine turque au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle vue par Lady Worthley Montaguë, épouse de l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre (1716-1718)', *Turcica* 21-3 (1991) 565-81
- A.-F. Valcanover, *L'oriente al femminile nel progresso intellettuale della donna occidentale nel Settecento. Esperienze d'una viaggiatrice inglese nell'Impero ottomano*, [Venice,] 1989
- M. Plaisant, 'Les lettres turques de Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', *Revue de la Société d'Études Anglo-Américaines des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* 17-18 (1983) 53-75
- E.W. Fernea, 'An early ethnographer of Middle Eastern women. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762)', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981) 329-38
- P. Michelsen, 'Die Reisen der Lady. Zu den türkischen Briefen der Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', *Arcadia. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* 16 (1981) 242-65

Maurits van den Boogert

# George Sale

DATE OF BIRTH 1697  
PLACE OF BIRTH Canterbury, Kent  
DATE OF DEATH 13 November 1736  
PLACE OF DEATH Surrey Street, Strand, London

## BIOGRAPHY

George Sale, son of a London merchant, Samuel Sale, was born in Canterbury, 'probably ... around 1697' (Thomson, 'Sale', p. 179). The exact date is unknown. Although his earliest biographer states that Sale attended the prestigious King's School, Canterbury, records do not confirm this (Davenport, 'Sketch of the life', p. xi). However, his later accomplishments indicate that he received the equivalent of a grammar school education in preparation for enrolling in the Inner Temple, London, on 24 October 1720. An anonymous work, 'Mahomet no impostor', published that year in the equally anonymous *Miscellanea aurea: Or the golden medley*, has been linked with Sale. However, it is very unlikely that he would have written this so soon after moving to London where, as a recent, unknown arrival from Kent, he did not yet have the contacts that he developed later.

At an early point, Sale became interested in Arabic literature and set out to learn the language. Some think that he taught himself while others assume that he studied under two Syrian Christians, Salomon Negri and Carolus Dadichi (Ghobrial, 'Life and hard times of Solomon Negri', p. 329). Negri had arrived in London in 1720 to request the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), on behalf of the Patriarch of Antioch, to produce an Arabic New Testament. On 30 August 1726, Sale became a corrector of this translation as it went to press. Aware of Sale's reputation as an Arabist, two officers of the Society had called on him at the Inner Temple to ask for his help (Bevilacqua, 'Qur'an translations', p. 101, n. 47). Since both Negri and Dadichi received fees for working on the New Testament, it seems unlikely that their student would be asked to check their work as an unpaid volunteer. This tends to support the view that Sale was self-taught. However, Feingold suggests that, if Sale was a pupil at King's School, he could have learned Arabic from the headmaster, David Jones (d. 1750), who at his death left his work on an Arabic

dictionary and a manuscript copy of the Qur'an to Jesus College, Oxford (Feingold, 'Learning Arabic', p. 52).

In November 1726, Sale became a corresponding member of SPCK, and regularly attended meetings. He also undertook *pro bono* legal work for SPCK in his capacity as a solicitor (there is no record that he was called to the bar). Despite later rumours that he had learned Arabic while living for an extended period in the Middle East, he told SPCK that he was 'sensible of the disadvantages' that one who was neither a 'native, nor ever was in the country' encountered when correcting 'so difficult a language as the Arabick' (letter, 25 August 1726 cited in Bevilacqua, 'Qur'an translations', p. 101).

Sale is best known for *The Koran* (1734), which included extensive notes and a lengthy 'Preliminary discourse'. This work is regarded as the first rendering of the Qur'an into English directly from the Arabic (although indebted to Louis Marracci's Latin version of 1698). There were many subsequent reprints and editions over the next two centuries. Perhaps because SPCK thought his *Koran* too sympathetic toward Islam, his relationship with the Society appears to have suffered. He still carried out some legal work for SPCK but now accepted payment, and he stopped attending meetings in August 1734 (Thomson, 'Sale', p. 180). Nothing is known about Sale's religious convictions. Davenport's 'Sketch of the life of George Sale', the earliest biography, refers to the 'calumny' that, because Sale thought Muḥammad deserved respect for what he achieved in 'giving the Arabs the best religion he could', he was secretly a Muslim and placed Islam and Christianity on an equal footing (pp. xxii-xxiii).

Between 1734 and his death in 1736, Sale contributed Oriental biographies to early volumes (2-4) of the *General dictionary* and was one of the original editors of the *Universal history*, both derived from Pierre Bayle (1646-1706). He also wrote *The lives and memorable actions of many illustrious persons of the eastern nations*, which was published posthumously in 1739. Shortly before his death, he was a co-founder of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, a cooperative publishing venture that functioned until 1746 and involved some leading literary figures. Sale died at his home in Surrey Street, the Strand, on 13 November 1736, while suffering from a fever. He appears to have pursued his scholarly interests at the cost of his legal work, because Isaac Disraeli recorded that he often visited friends in search of a meal and needed a 'change of linen' (*Calamities of authors*, vol. 2, London, 1812, p. 228, after describing Simon Ockley's poverty as professor of Arabic at Cambridge). SPCK granted his



widow and seven children a payment of 20 guineas on 30 November 1736, which suggests that his relations with the society were not completely severed.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Bath, Central Library – SAL 1/1 G. Sale, *Notebook* (c. 1736)

R.A. Davenport, 'Sketch of the life of George Sale', in George Sale, *The Koran*, vol. 1, London, 1825, xi-xxiv

### *Secondary*

M. Feingold, 'Learning Arabic in early modern England', in J. Loop, A. Hamilton and C. Burnett (eds), *The teaching and learning of Arabic in early modern Europe*, Leiden, 2017, 33-56

J.-P. Ghobrial, 'The life and hard times of Solomon Negri. An Arabic teacher in early modern Europe', in Loop, Hamilton and Burnett (eds), *The teaching and learning of Arabic in early modern Europe*, 310-31

A. Bevilacqua, 'The Qur'ān translations of Marracci and Sale', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013) 93-130

A. Vrolijk, art. 'Sale, George', in *ODNB*

H.L. Thomson, art. 'Sale, George', in *DNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed

DATE 1734

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

George Sale's *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated into English immediately from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse* was first published in London in 1734 by J. Wilcox. The translation itself is preceded by a 'Dedication' to Lord Carteret, an introduction 'To the reader', and the long 'Preliminary discourse'.

The 'Dedication' is indicative of Sale's approach in the rest of the work. He argues that, while Muḥammad (rendered Mohammed) is generally held in 'some indignation' for setting up an empire, he deserves respect for what he gave to the Arabs. While he is regarded as an 'impostor' for

setting up a 'new religion', he brought the Arabs to monotheism, whereas he could have simply imposed order on their pagan society. He introduced a system of laws, and therefore deserves equal respect with other great lawmakers, though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came from heaven. Sale is clearly intent on seeing the best in Islam and its founder, and in the Qur'an itself.

Sale begins the six-page 'To the reader' with the point that, to Christians of sound faith, there is no danger in reading the Qur'an, and that, if the 'religions and civil institutions' of other nations are 'worth our knowledge', those of Muḥammad, whose empire spread 'in less than a century' over more of the world than Rome did, should be a legitimate object of interest. Those who contend that Islam was spread exclusively by the sword are 'greatly deceived', since Islam has been embraced by nations that never knew the force of Muslim arms. In other words, there is 'something more than is vulgarly imagined' about Islam. An 'objective' translation of the Qur'an is therefore required both to undeceive those who have 'entertained too favourable an opinion of the original' (probably a reference to Henri de Boulainvilliers, whose *La vie de Mahomed* had been published in 1730), and those who, like Humphrey Prideaux, whom Sale refers to by name, have tried to expose the 'imposture' without being 'complete masters of the controversy'.

Sale next contends that Protestant Christians stand a better chance than Catholics of converting Muslims because they do not preach irrational teachings, such as transubstantiation. Furthermore, Christians need to avoid 'reproachful language', since the 'softest words' will make the 'deepest impression'. Efforts to convert Muslims to accept a set of doctrines are misguided when the aim should be to win them over to the 'ancient and primitive faith' (p. v). Christians should employ the same missionary strategy towards Muslims that Bishop Richard Kidder (d. 1703) had advocated towards Jews, notwithstanding the bishop's very low opinion of Jewish people 'as hardly fit to be argued with'.

Concerning translations of the Qur'an, Sale thinks that only one, by Ludovico Marracci, 'represents the sense of the original'. Theodor Bibliander's 1543 publication of Robertus Retenensis' (Robert of Ketton) 1143 translation is full of faults and takes too many liberties with the original: it is really a paraphrase rather than a translation. Andre du Ryer's 1647 French translation, *L'Alcoran de Mahomet*, has 'mistakes on every page' and lacks notes, leaving readers without guidance on difficult passages. Additional mistakes were added in the 1649 English translation of this

French version. In contrast, Marracci's 1698 Latin translation is 'generally speaking very exact', although it adheres too closely to the Arabic idiom to be easily understood by those who are unfamiliar with Muslim learning, and Sale thinks it is of little real use, 'being in Latin'. The obvious implication is that a more accurate and eloquent English translation is needed.

The last two sections of 'To the reader' explain what Sale has aimed to achieve in his notes to the translation and in 'The preliminary discourse'. He points out that he has made use of works in his own possession, and also of the Qur'an commentary by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286), loaned to him by the Dutch Church in Austin Friars (MS London, Metropolitan Archives – CLC/180/MS20185/011), which contained the complete text of the Qur'an. Although Sale did possess his own Arabic Qur'an (MS Oxford, Bodleian – Sale 76), Alexander Bevilacqua's comparison of his translation with this commentary shows that he relied mainly on this (*Republic*, p. 70; 'Qur'ān translations', p. 106). Sale also says he has employed the *Gospel of Barnabas*, which he cites as a source of Muslim opinions about Jesus.

The lengthy 'Preliminary discourse' (pp. 1-187) begins with a description of the geography, culture, tribes, religion and history of pre-Islamic Arabia (Section 1, pp. 1-32), followed by a survey of the state of Judaism and Christianity, particularly the Eastern Church, at the time of Muḥammad's appearance (Section 2, pp. 33-56). Muḥammad's descent from Arab nobility is noted early on when his great-grandfather is described as a prince (p. 4). (Sale's footnotes indicate that his main source on Muḥammad was Jean Gagnier's Latin translation of Abū l-Fidā's *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis* of 1723, although he also cites Gagnier's less accurate *La vie de Mahomet* of 1732. The biography itself begins (p. 38) with a brief description of Muḥammad's childhood. It was after his marriage to Khadija that he began to think about establishing a new religion, 'or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one' preached by 'all the prophets' (pp. 38-9). Sale refrains from judging whether this was due to 'enthusiasm' on Muḥammad's part, or in order to 'raise himself to supreme' power, but he does not think that Muḥammad's original motive was, as Christians claim, 'to satisfy his sensuality'. Rather, his aspirations were noble and to be commended. Muḥammad was satisfied in his conscience that his 'grand point' about God's Unity was true, and he did not think he was making Arabs exchange idolatry for an even worse religion but he wanted to restore monotheism to its original purity. Islam's

spread did result in the destruction of the Eastern Churches but this was more due to Muḥammad's 'ignorance' than to 'malice'. Convinced that Christianity had become corrupt, he went too far in destroying what he thought could not be reformed (p. 40), because Christianity in Arabia had reached a point when worship of saints and images surpassed whatever was now 'practiced among the Romanists' (p. 33).

Sale does think that Muḥammad wanted to be regarded as an 'extraordinary person', which may have fed his prophetic claims. When he took up arms 'in his own defence', his ambition may have expanded beyond what he had earlier imagined possible (p. 40), and when he engaged in polygamy he was only doing something that was 'frequently practiced in Arabia and other parts of the east, and was not counted an immorality' but in fact had Jewish precedents (p. 41). Whatever his motives, Muḥammad possessed many 'personal qualifications', not least of all charity, piety, veracity, clemency and abstinence (p. 41). A person of few words, he possessed 'a piercing and sagacious wit'.

There follows a sketch of the rest of Muḥammad's life (pp. 42-55), following traditional Muslim accounts. Sale judges that the story of the Night Journey was one of Muḥammad's 'most artful contrivances', and sees it as proof that he could 'make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased' (p. 47). Referring to Q 22:39-40, where Muḥammad is granted permission to defend himself by arms (p. 49), Sale reports that Christians see this as proof of the human origins of Islam in contrast to Christianity, whose non-violent spread proves its divine origin (pp. 49-50). However, he questions whether, in using force, Muslims did have the sanction of the Qur'an, and points out that, after Christianity became the established religion of the Roman Empire, it too resorted to force, which undermines the Christian argument about divine or human origins.

In his telling of Muḥammad's biography, Sale often begins by stating the commonly accepted Christian view of an event, which is usually pejorative, and follows it with the Muslim position. He usually supports the latter, especially on the issues of Muḥammad's alleged ambition, marriages and battles, which Christians commonly used to discredit his claim to be a prophet.

Sale next turns to the general design of the Qur'an and to how it was 'written and published' (Section 3, pp. 56-69). Beginning with the etymology of the word *Qur'ān* and the other titles *al-Furqān* and *al-Muṣṣḥaf*, he gives details about the divisions into chapters and their titles, the number of verses and other technical matters. Sale parts company with the common Christian view that the Qur'an is a jumbled, contradictory and

confused book of no literary merit, and recalls that it is 'the standard of the Arabic language ... inimitable by any human pen' (pp. 60-1), and the single miracle to which Muḥammad pointed to confirm his mission. It is 'generally beautiful and fluent', even at times 'sublime and magnificent' (p. 61). Repetition does intrude into its 'sense', but this is more evident in translation when the original 'ornament ... cannot be perceived' (p. 62). Arabs see a 'harmony of expression' that makes its teaching more attractive, while its choice and positioning of words have an extraordinary impact on hearers. No wonder Muḥammad's enemies accused him of witchcraft.

Citing Jacob Golius (d. 1667), Sale describes the Qur'an's aim as to unify Jews, Christians and pagan Arabs in worship of the one true God (pp. 62-3), and its 'great doctrine' as that of the Unity of God (p. 63). Muḥammad saw this as the one true religion, and whenever it became corrupt God had the 'goodness' to re-inform and admonish humanity through his prophets, of whom, before the coming of Muḥammad, Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished. The Qur'an contains accounts of how God punished people who 'rejected and abused his messengers', some no doubt taken from the Bible and from apocryphal books; Sale doubted if any were invented by Muḥammad himself. Among the laws set out in the Qur'an to inculcate moral and divine virtue are some that even Christians will find worthy, though there are also many passages that relate to incidents and emergencies in Muḥammad's life when he resorted to a new revelation as an 'infallible expedient' (p. 64), which reflects the traditional criticism that Muḥammad fabricated verses for personal gain. Indeed, it is 'beyond dispute' that Muḥammad wrote the Qur'an with the help of others, although their identity is disputed (p. 64). This, of course, contradicts the traditional Muslim view that the Qur'an was written first onto a preserved tablet then transcribed by Gabriel and sent down on the Night of Power and revealed to Muḥammad in parcels over the next 23 years (p. 65). Some chapters were revealed whole at one time, but many 'were revealed piece-meal'. Scribes recorded some in writing, but most were memorised. Written portions were stored in a chest.

Sale goes on to describe the collecting of the Qur'an into a single volume under the Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, the abrogation of some verses by others, the debate among Muslims about the Qur'an being eternal or created, and finally the respect shown for it by washing before handling it, and doing so with 'reverence and esteem' (p. 69).

Sections 4 and 5 (pp. 70-122, 122-32) describe the Qur'an's major teachings, the meaning of the term *Islām*, and the main principles of

Islamic beliefs and observances. Detailed descriptions of ritual washing, prayer, fasting, almsgiving and the pilgrimage demonstrate how well-informed Sale was about these. The next section (Section 6, pp. 132-47) discusses the Qur'an's role in civil affairs, covering the regulation of marriage, divorce, inheritance, the spoils of war and penalties for various crimes, behind many of which Sale sees Jewish law. He also discusses the obligation to make war against unbelievers, comparing this with God's commands in the Bible for the annihilation of Israel's enemies (p. 144). Section 7 (pp. 147-51) covers the sacred months mentioned in the Qur'an, while the final section (Section 8, pp. 151-87) is a detailed description of different Muslim sectarian movements and 'pretenders to prophecy'. Muḥammad, he says, had predicted that his followers would divide into 73 sects (p. 158), of which one alone would be orthodox. He concludes with the comment that he could mention more 'impostors', but his discourse is already too long.

Sale's translation of the Qur'an is 508 pages long (with fresh numbering starting from p. 1), concluding with a table of the main topics on 15 unnumbered pages. His extensive footnotes cover as much as two-thirds of each page, although half a page is more usual. The fact that he often copies citations of commentators from Marracci without acknowledgement led to speculation among early readers that he had insufficient skill as an Arabic scholar to produce his own translation. However, as Peter Holt points out, Marracci cites sources from Pococke in a similar way without secondary attribution (*Studies*, p. 57). Sale may have tried to conceal his dependence on Marracci for several reasons, including because he himself had very limited access to his own sources and because Marracci was Catholic (see Bevilacqua, 'Qur'ān translations', p. 106). The fact is that, while Sale did make extensive use of Marracci as a guide and borrowed material from him, he also worked directly from the Dutch church manuscript of al-Bayḍāwī's commentary.

Recent assessments of Sale's translation have focused on comparison with Marracci's text and differences from it. Overall, their approaches were markedly different. Marracci's aim was to refute the Qur'an, so each page contains arguments against the verses translated above, including arguments against the interpretations given by Muslim commentators. By contrast, Sale's approach is to elucidate and inform by entering as fully as possible into Islamic thought, suspending any final judgement on Islam's claims. He rejects 'facile' explanations about Islam's origins (*Koran*, p. 24), preferring to discuss Islam in the context of 'philosophy

and history' rather than polemic, and for him the cultural boundary between Christianity and Islam was 'sufficiently porous to enable translation' (*Koran*, p. 30). Probably inspired by John Toland, he adopts a comparative approach to religion that situates each religious tradition within a 'framework of similarity and differences rather than rivalry and enmity' (*Koran*, p. 34). In contrast, from Marracci's perspective Islam was false, and therefore no reconciliation was possible with the Qur'an (*Koran*, p. 30).

Sale tends to follow Marracci's decisions about when to make an elucidation and when to insert an emphasis such as 'Verily' into the text. More often than not, however, he improves on Marracci's translation by substituting English for Arabic idioms and at times revising the grammatical structure. Examples of how Sale reworked the text into idiomatic English include 'twinkling of an eye' (Q 27:40, *Koran*, p. 312) for the more literal 'take the eye off it', and his choice of the word 'red' for the colour of the cow at Q 2:67-72, where the Arabic has 'yellow' (*Koran*, p. 10, footnote). Regarding footnotes, Marracci uses his notes to undermine anything positive that can be identified in his version of the Qur'an, whereas Sale intends his notes simply to complete his translation (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment*, p. 53).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Elmarsafy and Bevilacqua consider Sale's approach to Islam as a product of the Enlightenment, a period when minds were first open to the study of diverse cultures in the framework of gaining a better understanding of human life. In their view, Sale primarily saw Muḥammad as a skilled and gifted legislator rather than as a religious leader whose claims were suspect. Like Pierre Bayle, who influenced Sale and was one of the first to attempt a world history that did not revolve around Rome, Sale approached religion in a way that arguably decentred Christianity, resulting in a comparative approach that shifted away from asserting the superiority of one religion over all others, and moved towards establishing common ground or the possibility of rapprochement. When he made comparisons between the Qur'an and other literature, Sale did so to 'normalise Islam' rather than to ridicule or to discredit it (Bevilacqua, *Republic*, p. 86). Islam for Sale was a 'kindred' not a 'foreign religion' (Bevilacqua, *Republic*, p. 88), so by drawing attention to parallels between the Qur'an and the literature of other religions, including some that were subsequently deemed heretical by the dominant Christian party, Sale ends up minimising differences between Christianity and

Islam and 'makes it clear that confrontations between adherents of different religions have less to do with the construction of rigid boundaries than with exploring the possibility of passage between them' (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment*, pp. 64-5). It is possible that Sale's independence as a layman who worked outside the academy gave him more scope to question the polemical view of Islam and even to hint at sympathy with Islam's version of monotheism without too much fear of reprisal. His approach suggests that he disliked priestly mediators standing between people and God, and wanted readers to draw their own conclusions about Islam rather than have these imposed by religious authorities.

G.E. Lessing (1729-81) credited Sale and Adriaan Reland (1676-1718) with being the first to provide Europeans with genuine knowledge of Muḥammad, countering the general view that he was a fraudster and his religion senseless and inconsistent (cited in Bevilacqua, *Republic*, p. 86). However, the lengthy 'Life' of Muḥammad in vol. 22 of the *Universal history* (1759), Book 1, ch. 1, though it draws on Sale's work, takes him to task for his 'ingenuity' (p. 322) in attempting to vindicate the prophet, and it calls him Muḥammad's 'admirer' (p. 374). More recently, Albert Hourani thought that Sale did not believe Muḥammad was 'directly inspired by God', but that God had used 'Muḥammad's human inclinations and interests for His own ends', and this included his remarkable qualities, 'his conviction that he had been sent to restore the true religion ... his piercing and sagacious intellect, good judgement, cheerful temper, and agreeable and polite manners' (*Islam in European thought*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 13), qualities that few of Sale's Christian contemporaries saw in Muḥammad. For his part, Elmarsafy credits Sale as one of the first translators of the Qur'an to 'accept fully the doctrine of its stylistic excellence', or *i'jāz* (*Enlightenment*, pp. 58-9).

Sale influenced both Voltaire and Goethe. Voltaire's admiration for Sale led to his unfounded claim, stated several times, that Sale had spent about 25 years learning Arabic in or near Arabia, after which he 'enlightened us' with 'his faithful translation of the Koran, and his most instructive preface' (*Dictionnaire philosophique*, Paris, 1827, vol. 1, p. 202; vol. 3, p. 64). Voltaire's shift from depicting Muḥammad as a dangerous and fanatical religious enthusiast to his later view of him as a gifted legislator owed much to his reading of Sale's translation, of which he owned and annotated a copy (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment*, p. 95). Voltaire's revised opinion is best expressed in his *Dictionnaire philosophique*, where he describes Muḥammad's 'civil laws' as 'good; his doctrine [as] admirable in all that it has in common with ours' (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment*, p. 104).



Goethe, who used Theodor Arnold's 1746 German translation of Sale's *Koran*, expressed sympathy with the doctrine of an uncreated Qur'an and viewed Muḥammad as bringing 'genius' and 'literary production' together in a way that could be compared to Shakespeare and others (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment*, pp. 162-5). He thought Muḥammad an 'extraordinary man' (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment*, p. 160), who gave the Qur'an to the world in words that transcend space and time and bridged the divine-human divide. Though Goethe's Muḥammad was a transmitter of words rather than a legislator, he built on Sale's sympathetic prose translation in his own quest for a synthesis of poet and prophet. He liked what he saw as the Qur'an's rejection of miracles and its unambiguous monotheism.

The number of translations of Sale's *Koran* and some of the 'Preliminary discourse' separately, as well as new editions, kept the work in circulation well into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These include E.M. Wherry's four-volume *A comprehensive commentary on the Qur'an* (1882-6), which contains Sale's 'Preliminary discourse' and translation, although one reviewer commented that Wherry's 'intense hatred of Islam' led him to 'fly right in the face of facts, and to make many astonishing blunders' ('Wherry's Commentary on the Qur'an', *The Old Testament Student* 5 (1885) 46-7).

An Arabic translation of the 'Preliminary discourse' was published by the Nile Mission Press with an added appendix in 1909. Elmafarsy says that this was intended to prove that the Qur'an's account 'was not only correct, but actually accepted by certain Christians' (*Enlightenment*, p. 36).

#### PUBLICATIONS

For the many editions of the work, and of the 'Preliminary discourse' separately, that were published before 1885, see V.C. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes, publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vol. 10. *Le Coran et la traduction*, Paris, 1907, pp. 71-92.

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated into English immediately from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, London, 1734; ESTC T146975 (digitised version available through ECCO)

George Sale, *Der Koran; oder insgemein so genannte Alcoran des Mohammeds, unmittelbahr aus dem arabischen original in das*

*englische übers., und mit beygefügtten, aus dem bewährtesten commentatoribus genommen erklärungs-noten*, trans. T. Arnold, Lemgo, 1746 (German trans.); 4 A.or. 424 (digitised version available through MDZ)

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, 2 vols, London, 1764; A.or. 561-2 (digitised version available through MDZ)

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, 2 vols, Bath, 1795; ESTC T107818 (digitised version available through ECCO)

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, 2 vols, London, 1800

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, 2 vols, London, 1801; OL 24303.13 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, London, 1812

George Sale, *Inledning till Al Koran. Öfversättning*, trans. A. Gadelius, Stockholm, 1814 (Swedish trans. of the 'Preliminary discourse')

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1821

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, 2 vols, London, 1825; OT 30-Sa3 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1826

George Sale, *The Alcoran of Mohammed*, 2 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1833 (first US edition)

George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1836

- George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1838; EPK-15 (digitised version available through *Early Western Korans*)
- George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1844; EPK-64 (digitised version available through *Early Western Korans*)
- George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1850; S.BP 111 SAL (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- George Sale, *The Alcoran of Mohammed*, 2 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1851
- George Sale, *The Alcoran of Mohammed*, 2 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1855; 297 K84Es (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1867; 53 D 121 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- E.M. Wherry, *A comprehensive commentary on the Quran: comprising George Sale's translation*, 4 vols, London, 1882-6
- E.D. Ross, *The Koran, translated by George Sale with explanatory notes*, London, 1909
- Hāshim al-ʿArabī (trans.), *Maqāla fī l-Islām*, Cairo, 1909 (Arabic trans. of 'Preliminary discourse')

#### STUDIES

- A. Bevilacqua, *The republic of Arabic letters. Islam and the European Enlightenment*, Cambridge MA, 2018
- Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford, 2014
- Bevilacqua, 'Qur'ān translations'
- O.A.S. Al-Shabab, 'Textual source and assertion. Sale's translation of the Holy Quran', *Journal of King Saud University: Languages and Translation* 24 (2012) 1-21
- P.M. Holt, *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London, 1973, pp. 57-60
- E.D. Ross, 'Ludovico Marracci', *BSOAS* 2 (1921) 117-23

## The lives and memorable actions of many illustrious persons of the eastern nations

DATE 1739

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

### DESCRIPTION

*The lives and memorable actions of many illustrious persons of the eastern nations, such as khalifas, sultans, wazirs, who have distinguish'd themselves, either by war, learning, humanity, justice, etc., extracted from the most authentick Oriental chronologers and historians* was published in London in 1739. The main text is 300 pages long. A brief Advertisement at the beginning states that the 'ingenious Mr. George Sale' designed and began the work using original manuscripts and that, after his death, it was 'completed by a Gentleman who resided in Turkey for Twenty Years', commissioned by William Hammerton, Sale's literary executor. That individual was Joseph or John Morgan, a Freemason and author (*DNB* has Joseph, the British Library catalogue has John). Morgan added a six-page dedication to Lord Vere Beauclerk (d. 1781), in which he states that the papers were in 'sad disorder' when he received them. Anxious to distinguish his work from Sale's, he wrote that he was responsible for a quarter of the text. This Morgan may have had some involvement in Sale's *Universal history* project, and may be the same as the author of *A complete history of Algiers* (1728). The text presents 52 biographical sketches, probably derived from Arabic works in Sale's collection (he did not have access to the university libraries).

The first life is that of Thamuras (Tahmorath), an early mythical king of Iran. 'Mohamed, the Arabian Legislator' is the ninth, while the last chapter is 'the strange adventure of a Derwish'. Other chapters give the lives of the first four caliphs, several later caliphs, Ottoman sultans and some Muslim poets and philosophers. Their length varies, while chronological references are rare and there are no footnote citations, although sources are sometimes mentioned in the text.

The purpose of these sketches is less to present historical accounts than to give moral instruction. Thus, accounts of generosity occur throughout. One tale is of the 'remarkable generosity of a poor Arabian soldier' (pp. 265-7), another narrates how a 'wicked woman' tricked a 'credulous Turk' (pp. 272-4). In ch. 9, Sale states that he had 'given so large an account of Muhammad's 'memorable actions elsewhere that it would be needless to insist any longer upon it in this place' (p. 64).

This chapter calls Muḥammad a 'false prophet' (p. 68) and the 'famous impostor' who became the 'author and chief of Islam' (p. 60). It also mentions his 'pretend miracles', referring to a certain volume in Cairo that describes these. However, as in his 'Preliminary Discourse' to his translation of the Qur'an, Sale is especially interested in presenting Muḥammad as the Arab legislator, which provides him with a type of civil legitimacy. Muslims such as the second caliph, 'Umar (r. 634-44), are described as renowned for their just rule, with one story of 'Umar ordering a governor to pay what he owed to a Jewish merchant when the latter complained (p. 76). The Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813-33) possessed 'great insight into astronomy' (p. 169) and was a great patron of learning. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 1169-93) was renowned for 'justice, liberality, moderation, humility and patience', as well as for his 'military virtues' (p. 219). However, Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), the great philosopher and physician, 'was much addicted to women and to wine', and had to 'change places of residence very frequently for safety' (p. 235).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

These often anecdotal sketches were partly meant to entertain readers with tales of the exotic East, but their underlying purpose was moral instruction. The publication cannot be seen as serious scholarship, and Sale probably conceived it as commercially viable because, on the one hand, like many Orientalists, he struggled to achieve financial security through selling his work, while on the other there was popular interest in the Orient. He capitalised on the growing fascination with the East as exotic and mysterious, a view he may have shared; 'Like Pococke before him, Sale is fascinated by the strange, fantastic and unfamiliar aspects of Islam and the Middle East', thus 'the tales' in *Lives and memorable actions* were attempts 'at popularisation, taking into account the public taste for the exotic, while providing a moral' (Netton, 'Mysteries of Islam', p. 32).

Throughout his work, Sale resists polarisation between Christians on one side and Muslims on the other, with all good qualities belonging to the former. He does repeat pejorative statements about Muḥammad, though he also presents him in a generally favourable light, which may suggest that his condemnations were inserted in order to protect himself from censorship.

Whenever possible, Sale wanted to identify common ground and recognition of shared humanity that represents a positive foundation for building understanding between Christians and Muslims. Sale's title

shows that, in his view, Muslims were not precluded from acting justly or humanely and that Christians could claim no monopoly of these.

#### PUBLICATIONS

George Sale, *The lives and memorable actions of many illustrious persons of the eastern nations, such as khalifas, sultans, wazirs, who have distinguish'd themselves, either by war, learning, humanity, justice, etc, Extracted from the most authentick Oriental chronologers and historians*, London, 1739; ESTC T098736 (digitised version available through ECCO)

#### STUDIES

I.R. Netton, 'The mysteries of Islam', in G.S. Rousseau and R. Porter (eds), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Manchester, 1990, 23-45

G. Goodwin, art. 'Morgan, J.', in *DNB*

H. Sirr, 'J. Morgan and his Phoenix Britannica', *Ars quatuor coronatorum: being the transactions of the Lodge Quatuor Coronati* 2076 (1895) 127-36

## An universal history

DATE 1736-68

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

#### DESCRIPTION

*An universal history, from the earliest account of time compiled from original writers. By the authors of the antient part* appeared in 65 volumes between 1736 and 1768. Vols 22-65 add *The modern part of* to the title. Although George Sale died in 1736, his name remained associated with the series alongside his fellow editors George Psalmanazar, Archibald Bower, George Shelvocke, John Campbell, and John Swinton. In fact, the series was frequently referred to as 'Sale's *Universal history*' (Morrison, 'Book note', p. 311). It set out to produce a world history, taking a global rather than Eurocentric approach. Sale played a major role in planning the first 20 volumes, which were published by 1748, although he ended up contributing relatively little of the contents.

Vol. 22, which begins with Muḥammad, has 534 pages. Page ii lists the sources used for Muḥammad's life, including John Gagnier's translation of Abū l-Fidā's biography and 'innumerable abstracts' of works that

would be 'tedious' to list in full. It claims that this biography (ch. 1, pp. 1-273) was the 'most complete and perfect piece of its kind ... in any European language' (p. iii). Sale is cited as a respected source, but whoever completed the chapter was less inclined towards a sympathetic view of Islam than Sale. Referring to Sale's efforts to 'palliate some of the worst of Mohamed's institutions', he writes, 'Mr Sale, notwithstanding his uncommon skill in the Arabic language, and most extensive reading [...] seems to countenance a notion inconsistent with the holy religion we profess, and think ourselves obliged on all occasions to defend' (p. 35). Many of the negative views that Sale had challenged found their way into the text, including the claims that Islam was spread by violence (p. 37), and that Muḥammad was a 'pretend prophet' and an impostor, although one whom God used to punish the lax Eastern Church (p. 38).

The later sections on the early caliphs (vol. 22, pp. 273-534) and their successors (vol. 23, pp. 1-573, vol. 24, pp. 1-677) include a great deal of accurate historical material mingled with prejudiced opinions, such as wine being popular among Muslims (vol. 22, p. 359) and many Muslims being 'guilty of gaming' (vol. 22, p. 360). Much of the content was already available in Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, despite the claim that the *Universal history* drew chiefly on Arabic sources. References to Ockley describe him as mistaken on several issues, while Humphrey Prideaux is cited with very little censure.

In vol. 23, the history continues from the end of 'Alī's caliphate in 661 to the fall of Baghdad in 1258. Ockley appears to have served as a major source, despite being described as 'inconsistent' at times (vol. 23, p. 61).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *History's* claim that it has used chiefly Arabic sources is suspect, but the work benefits considerably from the generally balanced writings of others such as Gagnier and Ockley, although it does add critical comments. Overall, it represents an attempt to produce a history for popular, non-scholarly readers.

The text aims to present 'what is worthy of notice from writers of various times, religions and countries' (p. vi), and Islam is dealt with within this wider context of attempting to reconstruct the human story. There are biblical assumptions behind the text in terms of how it covers the origins of the world, but by placing Islam at the beginning of the modern period it resists the temptation to marginalise the religion or to locate Europe at centre stage. In fact, the work does not include the history of Britain.

While Sale was involved in planning the scope of the whole series of volumes, his premature death meant that he did not work extensively on any of the parts covering Islam. Despite this, the publication benefited from his work. Taken as a whole, the *History* demonstrates how much information about Islam was available in 18<sup>th</sup>-century England.

Most significant for Christian-Muslim relations is the way the authors resisted a Euro-centric approach to history, dealt with Islam and other religions by trying to use original sources, and judged them as critical for understanding the whole human story. All humankind was thus seen as equal, and its cultures and religions as of equal interest and as contributing equally to the development of knowledge and technology.

The work is said to have been quite extensively plagiarised after publication (Morrison, 'Book note', p. 311).

#### PUBLICATIONS

- G. Sale, G. Psalmanazar, A. Bower, G. Shelvocke, J. Campbell and J. Swinton, *An universal history from the earliest account of time to the present*, 20 vols, London, 1736-48 (does not include the *modern part*)
- G. Sale, G. Psalmanazar, A. Bower, G. Shelvocke, J. Campbell and J. Swinton, *An universal history, from the earliest account of time*, 65 vols, London, 1747-68<sup>2</sup>, repr. 1947; 000436117 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- G. Sale et al., *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à present*, vols 1-43, Amsterdam, 1742-82; vols 44-6, Paris, 1788-1802 (French trans.)
- S.J. Baumgarten and J.S. Semler (eds), *Uebersetzung der Allgemeinen Weltgeschichte die in England durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten ausgefertigt worden*, 30 vols, Halle, 1745-65 (German trans.); Bibl. Mont. 1567-23 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- G. Sale et al., *Storia universale dal principio del mondo fino al presente*, vols 1-59, Amsterdam [Venice], 1765-94; vols 60-1, Venice, 1814-21 (Italian trans.); 533290 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli)
- G. Sale et al., *An universal history from the earliest accounts to the present times*, 60 vols, London, 1779-84<sup>3</sup>
- G. Sale et al., *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à present*, trans. L. Dussieux, P.-P.-F. Le Tourneur and F.-J. Goffaux, 125 vols, Paris, 1779-91 (French trans.); G-14300 (digitised version available through BNF)



G. Sale et al., *Storia universale dal principio del mondo fino al presente*, 173 vols, Milan, 1801-2 (Italian trans.)

## STUDIES

G. Abbattista, 'The English *Universal history*. Publishing, authorship and historiography in a European project (1736–1790)', *Storia della Storiografia* 39 (2001) 100-5 (footnote 2, pp. 100-1, gives details of the complicated publishing history)

H.S. Williams, *The historians' history of the world. A comprehensive narrative*, New York, 1907

A.J. Morrison, 'Book note', *The Nation* 101/2619 (1915) 311-12

Clinton Bennett

# James Porter

DATE OF BIRTH 1710  
PLACE OF BIRTH Dublin  
DATE OF DEATH 1766  
PLACE OF DEATH London

## BIOGRAPHY

James Porter was a self-made man. His father, whose original name was La Roche, was a captain of horse under King James II (r. 1685-8), whom he had followed to Ireland. After James II's failed campaign, La Roche changed his name to Porter, though he did call his son James when he was born in Dublin 'about the year 1710' (Larpent, 'Memoir', p. 2).

Porter had only a minimal formal education, but he reportedly had a talent for public speaking. At an early age, he was sent to the City of London, where he was apprenticed to a merchant. During these years, Porter taught himself Latin, French and Italian, and he was particularly interested in mathematics. A friend introduced him to Lord Carteret, the secretary of state, to whom George Sale dedicated his translation of the Qur'an, published in 1734. Lord Carteret sent Porter on various diplomatic missions on the continent. Then, on 22 September 1746, Porter was appointed British ambassador to the Ottoman court. He undoubtedly owed the appointment at least partly to his brother John's father-in-law, George Amyand, a leading merchant in the Levant Company, who wanted to revive Britain's Levant trade.

In 1749, while he was in Constantinople, Porter was elected Fellow of the Royal Society on the strength of his mathematical studies (FRS 11 May 1749). Three of Porter's letters to other fellows were published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, but they all concern the Ottoman Empire, not mathematics. Porter stayed in Istanbul until May 1762, when he was recalled to England at his own request. A year later, he was appointed ambassador in Brussels, and he was knighted a few months after that. He resigned his post in 1765 and returned to England. In 1768, his *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners, of the Turks* was published in London by J. Nourse, and became an authoritative text on matters Ottoman. In the same year a group of fellows urged him to run for president of the Royal Society, but he was not elected. In 1771, he published the second, enlarged edition of his *Observations*.

Porter died at his home in Great Marlborough Street, London, on 9 December 1766.

In Constantinople, Porter had married Clarissa de Hochepped, the eldest daughter of the Dutch ambassador, Elbert de Hochepped. The couple had five children. Anna Margareta, the eldest daughter who was born in Constantinople, would eventually marry John Larpent, and their son George would publish a new rendition of James Porter's work under the title *Turkey. Its history and progress* in 1854. It is to this publication that we owe the biographical sketch that most modern biographies follow rather closely. These biographies emphasise James Porter's extensive connections with the political elite, but also with various intellectuals, including William Robertson, the historian, and William Jones, whose praise of Porter was ambiguous. Methodologically the 1854 edition is problematic, however, because less than a third of the printed text (pp. 223-361) was taken directly from the *Observations*. The rest of the narrative was presumably Larpent's. Although the appendices offer new materials probably authored by Porter, the underlying sources do not seem to have survived. Nonetheless, Larpent's 'edition' has so overshadowed his grandfather's own publication that Porter's *Observations* of 1768 is not even mentioned in the most recent entry on him in the *ODNB*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

MS London, BL – Add. 35496-35499 (1748-57; Hardwicke Papers, vols CXLVIII.-CLI: Diplomatic letter-books of James Porter, Ambassador to Constantinople, with copies of memoirs and other papers included)

James Porter, *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners, of the Turks*, London: J. Nourse, 1768

G. Larpent, 'Mémorial de Sir James Porter', in J. Porter, *Turkey. Its history and progress: from the journals and correspondence of Sir James Porter, fifteen years ambassador at Constantinople [...] by his grandson, Sir George Larpent*, London, 1854, 1-18

[Anonymous], 'Review of *Turkey: Its history and progress, from the journals and correspondence of Sir James Porter, Knt.* continued to the present time by Sir George Larpent, Bart.', in *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Science, and Art, for the Year 1854*, 1970 (14 October 1854) 899-901

### Secondary

G.F.R. Barker, art. 'Porter, Sir James (1710-1776) diplomatist', rev. R.D.E. Eagles, in *ODNB*

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners, of the Turks

DATE 1768

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

James Porter's *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners, of the Turks* was published as two volumes in one, with a total of 206 printed pages without an index. The first volume consists of nine chapters, the second of five. The religion of Islam is explicitly addressed in ch. 2 ('Of the Mohammedan religion – and the pilgrimage to Mecca'); ch. 3 ('Of sects among the Mohammedans'); and ch. 5 ('Of the Koran'). While these earlier chapters focus on the teachings of Islam, it is in later chapters that Porter discusses the actual behaviour of Muslims in early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul. For example, ch. 12, 'Miscellaneous observations on the manners of the Turks', offers a somewhat disorganised collection of statements on a wide variety of cultural aspects, some of which shed light on relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. The work ends with two chapters on the Greeks, whom Porter appears to have disliked at least as much as the Turks.

Porter's footnotes contain some scholarly references. For example, he refers to the works of the Dutch Orientalist Adriaan Reland, to the English translator of the Qur'an George Sale, and to Philippo Guadagnolo (d. 1656), the professor of Arabic in Rome who published an *Apologia pro christiana religione* in which he attacked Islam. Nevertheless, Porter's *Observations* is not a particularly scholarly work, and was predominantly based on his own experiences in Istanbul from 1746 until his departure in 1761. The idiosyncratic composition of the work – some chapters offering only lengthy anecdotal observations of, or diplomatic gossip about, senior Ottoman officials, while other chapters are rather dry and theoretical – confirm that Porter was not a scholar.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The first edition of Porter's *Observations* was published anonymously, but in London's literary and scholarly circles there will have been little doubt about its authorship. After all, Porter had been a member of the Royal Society since 1749 and was well known as the former British ambassador

in Istanbul. The printing history of Porter's book offers an indication of its impact both in time and space.

In the same year as the first London edition of 1768, the book was printed in Dublin, also without Porter's name on the title page. Three years later, the second London edition was published as *Observations on the religion law, government, and manners of the Turks. The second edition, corrected and enlarged by the author. To which is added, the state of the Turkey trade, from its origin to the present time*. Some library catalogues list a third London edition from 1786, but this is probably due to a typo in the year of publication for the first edition. The 1768 edition was reprinted most recently in 2010.

In the sixth and seventh chapters of his work, Porter discusses Oriental despotism, arguing that 'the government of the Turkish empire has been misrepresented' by Western authors, who were 'apt to think their own government the best'. Ch. 7, the subtitle of which suggests that it contains 'facts' in support of Porter's opinion, actually describes the rise and fall of the powerful *kızlar aghası* (Chief Black Eunuch) 'Bekir-Aga', i.e. Hacı Beşir Ağa (d. 1746) to illustrate that the Ottomans' system of checks and balances did work. In France these chapters were regarded as an attack on Montesquieu, whose work is explicitly criticised elsewhere in the book (e.g. ch. 3, pp. 39-44, of the 1768 London edition), but not in these particular chapters. It was probably because of this debate with Montesquieu that the first French translation of Porter's *Observations* by Claude-François Bergier (d. 1784) was published as early as 1769. The title page mentions London as its place of publication, and the book may well have been printed there, but it seems only to have been sold by the bookseller Joseph Merlin of Rue de la Harpe in Paris. Already a year later a second edition of the French translation was published in Switzerland by the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel. Although its title page claimed that the work was 'considérablement augmentée de notes faites par un voyageur qui a fait un séjour en Turquie', the additional explanatory footnotes do not actually amount to a substantial contribution. It is, however, the only edition of Porter's work that mentions the author's name on the title page.

Chs 2 and 3 (on the *hajj* and sects) in the French translation of Porter's *Observations* were also reproduced in the 1775 edition of André Du Ruyter's French translation of the Qur'an, published in Amsterdam and Leipzig (*L'Alcoran de Mahomet*, vol. 1, pp. xi-xlvi). Porter's work thus reached a fairly wide readership in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially on the Continent.

Porter's reputation as a reliable observer was largely based on his sixteen-years' residence in Istanbul. His work was considered authoritative throughout Europe, although he was also criticised. For example, Elias Habesci – undoubtedly a pseudonym for an unidentified English author – accused Porter of having made 'many errors' (*Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 101), and he criticised him for claiming that the Ottoman Empire was not despotic (pp. 257ff.). Nevertheless, Porter's *Observations* continue to be used as a primary source by modern historians of the Ottoman Empire.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- [J. Porter], *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners of the Turks*, London: J. Nourse, 1768 (repr. 2010); ESTC T136311 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J. Porter, *Sir James Porters Anmerkungen über die Religion, Regierungsform und die Sitten der Türken*, Leipzig, 1768 (German trans.); 999/Caps.124(20) (digitised version available through MDZ)
- [J. Porter], *Observations sur la religion, les loix, le gouvernement et les mœurs des Turcs*, 'Londres': Chez Merlin, 1769 (French trans.); KW 1155 G 13 (digitised version available through the Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- J. Porter, *Observations sur la religion, les loix, le gouvernement et les mœurs des Turcs, nouvelle edition considérablement augmentée de notes faites par un voyageur qui a fait un séjour en Turquie*, Neuchâtel: Aux Défends de la Société Typographique, 1770 (French trans.); BIB.HIST.003826 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)
- J. Porter, *Observations on the religion law, government, and manners of the Turks. The second edition, corrected and enlarged by the author. To which is added, the state of the Turkey trade, from its origin to the present time*, London: J. Nourse, 1771<sup>2</sup>; ESTC T136510 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- A. Du Ryer, *L'Alcoran de Mahomet traduit de l'arabe par André du Ryer [...] Nouvelle edition. Qu'on a augmentée d'un discours préliminaire, extrait du nouvel ouvrage anglois de Mr. Porter, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de S.M. Britannique en Turquie*, Amsterdam: Chez Arkstée and Merkus, 1775, vol. 1, pp. xi-xlvi (French trans.); ark:/12148/bpt6k63424624 (digitised version available through BNF)
- J. Porter, *Turkey. Its history and progress: from the journals and correspondence of Sir James Porter, fifteen years ambassador at*

*Constantinople [...]* by his grandson, Sir George Larpent, London, 1854; hvd.32044010536324 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust digital library)

J. Porter, *Türkiye'nin bir asrı (1747-1850)*, Istanbul, 2013 (Turkish trans. of 1854 edition)

#### STUDIES

J. Mather, *Pashas. Traders and travellers in the Islamic world*, New Haven CT, 2009

E. Habesci, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire: Containing a more accurate and interesting account of the religion, government, military establishment, manners, customs, and amusements of the Turks than any yet extant [...]*, London: R. Baldwin, 1784 (questions the accuracy of Porter's work); ESTC T131764 (digitised version available through ECCO)

**Maurits van den Boogert**

## Elias Habesci

|                |                           |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Unknown                   |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Uncertain                 |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Unknown; after about 1793 |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Unknown                   |

### BIOGRAPHY

Elias Habesci, probably a native of Romania, was the author of a number of works including *The present state of Turkey* (1784), *The partition of the dominions of the Pope* (1790), and *Objects interesting to the English nation* (1793). He was also known as Count Alexander Gika, and claimed to be a Greek nobleman who spent time in Turkey working for the sultan, and after about 1790 worked for an Indian prince and later for the East India Company. He wrote that his uncle had taken him to Constantinople as a child, where he later became secretary to the Grand Vizier (*Present state*, p. iii).

Although his name occurs in various official records from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century through to the early 19<sup>th</sup>, almost no details of his life exist. In 'The Editor's Note-Book', in *Bengal: Past and Present* 53/1 (1937) 49-63, he is referred to as 'a mysterious Count' (p. 56). In *The partition of the dominions of the Pope*, published in Calcutta in 1790, Habesci describes his name as an 'enigmatical name' of which he 'only maked use' in his 'title pages'. (Thomas Thornton (d. 1814), consul with the Levant Company, points out that by 'enigma' he presumably meant 'an anagram'; *The present state of Turkey*, vol. 1, London, 1809, p. 233.) Habesci writes that his name is from the Arabic *Sahib-el-Sicia*, meaning 'friend of the unfortunate', and that he is 'not a little vain' of having acquired this name (*Partition*, b). He also lists seven publications prior to 1783 (*Partition*, b2), and states that he had been encouraged to write about his experiences in Turkey while visiting London in 1782, and that he had left his French manuscript with a former English consul at Ostend and did not discover that it had been printed until after he reached India.



## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Elias Habesci, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire: ... Translated from the French manuscript of Elias Habesci*, London, 1784

Elias Habesci, *The partition of the dominions of the Pope: preceded by that of the Ottoman Empire, and by consideration on Heraclius, the reigning prince of Georgia*, Calcutta, 1790

Elias Habesci, *Objects interesting to the English nation*, Calcutta, 1793

William Jones, *Works*, vol. 2, London, 1802, p. 689

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## The present state of the Ottoman Empire

DATE 1784

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

*The present state of the Ottoman Empire, containing a more accurate and interesting account ... of the Turks than any yet extant. Including a particular description of the court and seraglio of the Grand Signor ... Translated from the French manuscript of Elias Habesci* appeared in one volume of 433 pages. It consists of a historical representation concerning the history of Islam and a genealogy of the Ottoman sultans, followed by an account of religious practices, in particular the *hajj* and feast of Bairam. The central part is a characterisation of life in the palace, followed by an account of the Ottoman administration and military, concluded by various anecdotes and reports on trade. Its representation of Islam and of the harem shaped Orientalist, derogatory views in Europe.

It says that Muḥammad, who suffered 'epileptic fits' (p. 3), 'conceived the bold project' of making himself 'a legislator and the founder of a new religion' (p. 4), and he succeeded in 'raising himself to a throne on the follies and delusions of mankind'. His 'external appearance of sanctity' hid his 'profound hypocrisy and religious imposture' (pp. 4-5) as he pretended to receive visits from Gabriel. A Christian monk, Sergius, helped him construct his religion, which he was instructed to propagate by force of arms (p. 6).

Further on, the book provides detail of lascivious sexual life in the Harem (pp. 386-8), describing the 'amorous designs' of Turkish women, while many statements provided about Islam are incorrect and were

known to be false at the time. For example, Muḥammad's grave is said to be situated in Mecca (p. 97) instead of Medina.

The authenticity of the book and its author were highly disputed. C.W. Lüdeke claimed (*Beschreibung des türkischen Reiches*, p. 260) that many parts of it were plagiarised from Pietro Businello's *Historische Nachrichten von der Regierungsart, den Sitten und Gewohnheiten der osmanischen Dynastie*, a manuscript written in Italian and published in German. Thomas Thornton considered it to be the work of an impostor and an assassin, who compared the 'Porte to Westminster hall' (*Present state*, p. 174). While the book was reviewed positively in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* and in *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, the *The Monthly Review* reported Thornton's criticism. In a response, William Eton, who published on the Ottoman Empire, claimed that Habesci's information was supplied by a Mr Figa, a Greek in Prussian service (*Letter*, p. 97). The crucial aspect of the discussion was the strength of the Ottoman army.

Critics pointed out that the book was written in opposition to descriptions by James Porter, the British envoy in Constantinople. Porter's *Turkey: Its history and progress* (1854) was taken from his journals, and his *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners of the Turks* appeared anonymously in 1768. Habesci (or the work's author) referred to Porter's 15-year residence in Constantinople and to the fact that he had taken 'great pains to convince his countrymen that the Turkish government is not despotic', with which Habesci took issue (p. 257). In the Preface, Habesci sets himself up as having a greater right to be heard on the Ottomans because he had more insight than those, such as Porter, who had only 'occasional audiences' with the sultan and were unacquainted with the 'domestic manners, pleasures, and ways of life' of either the court or the common people (p. iv). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (d. 1762) had similarly claimed that her access to Turkish life trumped that of other Europeans in Constantinople, but Habesci thought his trumped hers as well: 'Even the celebrated Lady Mary ... who certainly went to great lengths to obtain information, was liable to deception and misrepresentation' (p. iii). The overlap with the title of Porter's book and the insertion of the words 'more accurate and interesting' underscore Habesci's claim to linguistic and cultural expertise.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Regardless of its disputed authorship and its critics, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* circulated widely and was influential on reports

about the Ottomans. A French translation appeared in 1792, and a German translation in 1785.

The book can be compared to a policy paper speculating on the situation of the Ottoman Empire, the state of its military, administration and trade, compiling material and anecdotes from other travel accounts. It was one of the first studies to point out a trade imbalance between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, with detailed descriptions of commerce between European states and the empire. While it does not add in any way to Christian knowledge of Islam or challenge common tropes and myths, it illustrates a degree of fascination with the Ottoman Empire and with how European countries could both learn from and attempt to overthrow the Turks at a time when, in the author's opinion, it survived solely due to its alliance with France (p. 305).

The work also contributed to the development of the Orientalist trope of privileged knowledge that effectively shut down voices that departed from the dominant stereotypes of a decadent, despotic, irrational East and an enlightened, rational West.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Elias Habesci, *The present state of the Ottoman empire containing a more accurate account and interesting account of the religion, government, manners, customs and amusements of the Turks*, London, 1784; ESTC T131764 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Elias Habesci, *Der gegenwärtige Zustand des ottomanischen Reichs : worinn eine richtigere und unterhaltendere Nachricht von der Religion, der Regierung, dem Kriegswesen, den Sitten, Gewohnheiten und Zeitvertreiben der Türken, als in den bisher davon vorhandenen Schriften geliefert wird; Nebst einer besondern Beschreibung des Hofes und Serail des Großherrs, und vielen besondern und angenehmen Anekdoten*, Lubeck, 1785 (German trans.); 978.c.28 (digitised version available through BL)

Elias Habesci, *État actuel de l'empire Ottoman: contenant des détails plus exacts que tous ceux qui ont parus jusqu'à présent: sur la religion, le gouvernement ... ; trad. de l'anglois ... 1.* (1792). – XVI, 237 S. 1. (1792). – XVI, 237 S., Paris, 1792 (French trans.); Turc. 240 o#Beibd.1 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Elias Habesci, *The present state of the Ottoman empire containing a more accurate account and interesting account of the religion, government, manners, customs and amusements of the Turks*, Whitefish MT, 2009; La Vergne TN, 2009 (repr. of 1784 edition)

## STUDIES

- T. Heffernan, *Veiled figures. Women, modernity, and the spectres of orientalism*, Toronto, 2016
- N. Özlü, 'Multiple p(a)lace, multiple narrative. The Topkapi Palace in English travel accounts from the 18th to the 20th century', in M. Gharipour and N. Ozlu (eds), *The city in the Muslim world. Depictions by Western travel writers*, London, 2015, 168-88
- M. Grenet, 'A business *alla turca*? Levant trade and the representation of Ottoman merchants in eighteenth century European commercial literature', in M. Rotenberg-Schwartz and T. Czechowski (eds), *Global economies, cultural currencies of the eighteenth century*, New York, 2012, 37-52
- B. Schmidt-Haberkamp, *Europe and Turkey in the eighteenth century*, Göttingen, 2011
- C. Sussman, *Eighteenth-century English literature, 1660-1789*, Cambridge, 2012
- E. Frangakis-Syrett, 'Market networks and Ottoman European commerce, c. 1700-1825', *Oriente Moderno* 25 (2006) 109-28
- F. Turhan, *The other empire. British romantic writing about the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2003
- A. Ogden, *Romania revisited. On the trail of English travellers 1602-1941*, Oxford, 2000
- F. Davis, *The Ottoman lady. A social history from 1718 to 1918*, Westport CT, 1986
- W. Eton, *Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of D\*\*\*, on the political relations of Russia, in regard to Turkey, Greece and France ... with strictures on Mr. Thornton's Present state of Turkey*, London, 1807
- T. Thornton, *The present state of Turkey; or description of the political, civil, and religious constitution, government, and laws, of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1807, pp. 174-5
- C.W. Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des türkischen Reiches, nach seiner Religions- u. Staatsverfassung*, Leipzig, 1780

Tobias Mörike

# Edward Gibbon

DATE OF BIRTH 8 May 1737  
PLACE OF BIRTH Putney, Surrey  
DATE OF DEATH 16 January 1794  
PLACE OF DEATH St James Street, London

## BIOGRAPHY

Edward Gibbon was born on 8 May 1737 in Putney, Surrey, the son of Edward and Judith Gibbon, and was the only one of their six children to survive into adulthood. Mainly educated privately due to ill health, he spent several years at a school in Kingston-upon-Thames (1746-8) and was briefly at Westminster School (1749-50), which his father had attended. Following an improvement in his health, he matriculated at Magdalene College, Oxford, in 1752, though he later described his 14 months there as a waste of time (Emerson, *Memoirs*, p. 47).

At this time, Gibbon gambled and made frequent trips to London where, under the guidance of a Jesuit priest, he converted to Roman Catholicism on 8 June 1753. Later, due to an expressed but unfulfilled interest in learning Arabic, a rumour circulated that he had become a Muslim (Stephen, 'Gibbon', p. 251; Emerson, *Memoirs*, pp. 55, 213). Infuriated, his Protestant father sent him to study under a Calvinist teacher in Lausanne, Switzerland, where he soon repudiated Catholicism and discovered a new appetite for study. Mastering French, he also developed a love of Latin literature and for the writings of Montesquieu (1689-1755) (Emerson, *Memoirs*, p. 80). In 1757, he met Voltaire (1694-1778), who had a major influence on his later thinking (Emerson, *Memoirs*, p. 85). Returning to England in 1758, he decided to pursue a literary career. Between 1759 and 1770, he served in the South Hampshire militia, taking part in annual manoeuvres; he retired with the rank of lieutenant colonel and added military literature to his field of study.

His first publication, *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature*, appeared in 1761 (English trans., 1764). Gibbon sat in Parliament, where he was famously mute, for eight years representing Liskeard (1774-80), then Lymington (1781-4). Between 1779 and 1782, he was a member of the Board of Trade, for which he received a stipend. In 1774, he succeeded Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74) to the unpaid but prestigious professorship of ancient history

at the Royal Academy, and became a Freemason. His most acclaimed publication, the *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (6 volumes) was published between 1776 and 1789.

After leaving parliament, Gibbon spent most of his time in Lausanne, except for August 1787 to July 1788, when he was in London supervising the publication of volumes 4, 5 and 6 of his *History*. In 1788, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1793, he returned to England to console his friend and literary executor, John Baker Holroyd, Lord Sheffield, following Lady Sheffield's death. Grossly overweight, he died from complications following surgery for hydrocele testis on 16 January 1794 at 76 St James Street, London. He was buried in the Sheffield family vault in Fletching, East Sussex.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

MS Oxford, Magdalene College – MC:P298 (accounts relating to Edward Gibbon and his father); MC:P299 (Gibbon family letters and deeds); MC:P300 (letter from Edward Gibbon, 1767); MC:P301 (letters from members of the Gibbon family, including Edward Gibbon Sr, Edward Gibbon himself, and Judith Porten, 1794)

MS London, BL – Add 34715-16, 34874-87, 37532, 3772 (1794; see detailed description in P.J. Croft et al. (eds), *Index of literary manuscripts*, London, 1980, vol. 3, part 4, pp. 15-36)

MS Cambridge, University Library – GB 12 Add. 8476, 8530 and 8531 (papers and manuscripts collected by Geoffrey Keynes, 1794)

MS New Haven CT, Beinecke Library, Yale – NRA 18661 Osborn coll. (letters) Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of my life and writings*, ed. J.B. Holroyd, London, 1796 (oldest version, a composite of Gibbon's six MSS, none entirely complete)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1830 (one vol. edition with *Life* by W. Youngman)

H.H. Milman, *The life of Edward Gibbon, esq. With selections from his correspondence, and illustrations*, London, 1839

'Catalogue of mss, books, portraits and relics at the British Museum', in F. Harrison (ed.), *Proceedings of the Gibbon Commemoration 1794-1894*, London, 1895, 36-52

E. Gibbon, *The autobiographies of Edward Gibbon. Printed verbatim from hitherto unpublished mss., with an introduction by the Earl of Sheffield*, London, 1896 (first publication of all six versions of Gibbon's memoirs)

R.E. Prothero (ed.), *The private letters of Edward Gibbon*, 2 vols, London, 1896

O.F. Emerson, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon*, Boston MA, 1898 (uses complete text of five of the six memoirs)

D.M. Low (ed.), *Gibbon's journal to January 28, 1763*, London, 1929

- G.A. Bonnard (ed.), *Le journal de Gibbon à Lausanne*, Lausanne, 1945  
 G.R. de Beer, G.A. Bonnard, and L. Junod (eds), *Miscellanea Gibboniana*, Lausanne, 1952 (various travel accounts by Gibbon)  
 J.E. Norton (ed.), *The letters of Edward Gibbon*, 3 vols, London, 1956  
 G.A. Bonnard (ed.), *Gibbon's journey from Geneva to Rome*, London, 1961

*Secondary*

- D. Wolmersley, art. 'Gibbon, Edward', in *ODNB*  
 P.B. Craddock, *Edward Gibbon, luminous historian*, Baltimore MD, 1989  
 P.B. Craddock, *Young Edward Gibbon, gentleman of letters*, Baltimore MD, 1983  
 L. Stephen, art. 'Gibbon, Edward', in *DNB*, London, 1890, vol. 21, pp. 250-6  
 W. Youngman, 'Some account of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon, Esq.', in *History of the fall and decline of the Roman Empire*, London, 1830, i-xiii

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire

DATE 1776-89

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Edward Gibbon's *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* was published in six volumes between 1776 and 1788, with revised editions of the first three volumes appearing between 1776 and 1789. The first edition of volume 1 (1776) was followed by five revisions before the last three volumes were published (1788). By then, two editions (1781 and 1787) of volumes 2 and 3 were in print. During 1789, the sixth edition of volume 1 and a third of volumes 2 and 3 appeared. Materials for a seventh volume of revisions at the British Library in manuscript form were published in *The English essays* (ed. P.B. Craddock, Oxford, 1972, pp. 338-52, 587-8), the most substantial being to the opening chapter.

Gibbon decided to write about the 'decay of the city' of Rome on 15 October 1764, during one of several trips to Europe (*Memoirs*, p. 144). The work covers the period between the years 98 and 1590, including the life of Muḥammad, the beginnings of Islamic history, the Muslim conquest of Spain and the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans. A commercial and literary success, *Decline and fall* pioneered the development of modern secular historiography at a time when the discipline of history was still in its infancy.

The chapters on Muḥammad (50), the early caliphs (51-2), the Seljuks (57), Ottomans (64-5) and the Fall of Constantinople (68) were among the most critically well received of the whole work. The description below cites the original volumes unless another edition is indicated. All editions maintain Gibbon's 71 chapter divisions.

Gibbon's overall thesis in the work is that loss of virtue explains the decline and fall of Rome, but that Christianity had aided and hastened this process when it replaced paganism's tolerance and intellectual openness with intolerance, irrationality and centralised priestly authority. Priestly rivalry and intolerance of other beliefs infused what had been 'a system of love and harmony' with a corrupting 'spirit of bitterness' (vol. 1, p. 474). In analysing the causes of Christianity's ascendancy, Gibbon offended many by dismissing any reference to divine providence as outside the remit of historical enquiry. In chapter 15, he comments: 'The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption, which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings' (p. 450).

Gibbon was an advocate of religious toleration. Careful to avoid explicit criticism of doctrines, which might attract censure, he used innuendo and irony to express his dislike of the Trinity and other Christian dogmas. As a Freemason, he would have believed in a supreme Being and, while critical of the institution of religion, he was, like Voltaire, almost certainly a theist even though critics accused him of preferring paganism to Christianity, and even of being a Muslim (James Boswell, *The life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. J. Crocker, London, 1831, vol. 3, p. 336). In company with some other 18<sup>th</sup>-century writers, including Voltaire and Henri de Boulainvilliers, both of whom he cites, Gibbon could make some positive comments on Islam by comparing it with Christianity.

In addition to the many sources cited in the text, Gibbon's *Decline and fall* was influenced by the rational philosophy of David Hume (1711-76), who had initially encouraged him to write (Gibbon, *Memoirs*, p. 251), by Montesquieu's theory of causation, which took geographical and climatic factors into account, and by Voltaire's anticlericalism. His rejection of miracles and insistence on the rationality of toleration throughout the *History* drew on David Hume's *A treatise of human nature* (see Foster, *Melancholy duty*, pp. 93-127), while Montesquieu's *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence* (1738) has been called the 'blueprint' for the work (N. Wolloch, *History and nature in the*



*Enlightenment*, Farnham, 2011, p. 255). Gibbon's interest in Eastern history and literature was also stimulated by his friendship with William Jones (1746-94), whose works he cites.

Lacking Arabic, Gibbon depended on Latin, French and English translations of Islamic works, acknowledging his debt to Orientalist scholars who had 'translated their science into these three languages' and enabled him to 'display much Arabic learning' (vol. 5, p. 171, n. i). His interest in the life of Muḥammad and in the early history of Islam began while he was attending Oxford, where he read Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (1708-17) and briefly contemplated learning Arabic. Even though his tutor discouraged him from this, before his 16<sup>th</sup> birthday he read as many texts as he could find, including Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, which Antoine Galland had completed in 1697, a composite of numerous primary sources. The 1777-99 edition of d'Herbelot includes supplementary material by Johann Jacob Reiske (d. 1774), whose work Gibbon also praised. In 1754, Reiske translated into Latin the historian Abū l-Fidā's *Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* ('Concise history of humankind'), at that time considered the best account available in Europe. Gibbon also consulted Adriaan Reland's *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (1705-17) which has been called the first objective work on Islam by a European scholar. For his material on the Ottomans, Gibbon's main sources were Joseph de Guignes' *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols* (1758), a pioneering work in approaching history from a transnational perspective, and Dimitrie Cantemir's *Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulæ Othomanicae* (1734), which, despite some dubious sources, was regarded as a seminal text. Cantemir was a friend of Voltaire and Montesquieu.

Gibbon dismissed Richard Knolles' then still very popular *General historie of the Turks* (1603), commenting that, although Samuel Johnson admired this work, he himself questioned whether a 'partial and verbolic compilation from Latin writers' could either 'instruct' or 'amuse' modern readers who require 'some tincture of philosophy and criticism' (vol. 6, p. 312, n. 41).

Gibbon cited *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1668) by the former British Consul at Smyrna, Paul Rycault (d. 1700), who had also edited a continuation of Knolles. He admired George Sale's *Koran* (1734), but also consulted Claude-Étienne Savary's *Le Coran* (1783), remarking that both men had 'accurately studied the language and character of their author', that is, Muḥammad (vol. 5, p. 219, n. 110). In the same footnote, Gibbon refers to the lives of Muḥammad by Humphrey Prideaux

and Henri de Boulainvilliers, commenting that the task of finding in Muḥammad ‘an imposter or a hero’ had ‘corrupted the learning of the doctor and the ingenuity of the count’. He thought Jean Gagnier’s *La vie de Mahomet* ‘the best and most authentic of our guides’. Another important source was Edward Pococke’s *Specimen historiae arabum* (1649), derived from the work of the Syrian scholar Gregory Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286). There are several references to Voltaire, one of which credits ‘some passage of his voluminous writing’ without citing the exact source (vol. 5, p. 251, n. 157). The next note (158) refers to Gagnier’s ‘impartial pen’. Gibbon criticised the writers of the *Universal history* (1747–68) for their ‘acrimonious bigotry against Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even justice’ (vol. 5, p. 275, n. 187; Sale was a contributor to this work).

Chapter 50 on Muḥammad runs from p. 170 to p. 275. Reference to the climate and soil of Arabia on p. 172 – drawing on Montesquieu’s thesis – serves to introduce the claim that Arab nomads’ lives are ones of ‘danger and distress’ (p. 176). Sketching the history of the Arabian Peninsula, its tribal traditions and the Arabs’ religion as worship of the sun, moon and stars (p. 189) and how their distance from other people caused them to ‘confound the ideas of stranger and enemy’ (p. 184), Gibbon describes Muḥammad’s birth (p. 198). From there through to the end of the chapter, he deals with some traditional criticisms of Muḥammad, usually in footnotes but sometimes in the main text. While some of what he wrote can be read as negative, the overall picture of Muḥammad that emerges is of a sincere, gifted leader, a ‘genius’ (p. 200) who unified Arabia under a straightforward, rational creed while also tolerating Christians and Jews. Gibbon refers to the passages in the Qur’an on toleration as ‘strong and numerous’ (p. 222, n. 114, although he appears to concur with the view that these are early rather than late). This toleration may have been due to political astuteness, but it nonetheless earned Gibbon’s respect.

Among myths that Christians have invented, which he calls ridiculous, he mentions the tomb suspended in the air at Mecca, pointing out that Muḥammad was buried at Medina (p. 248, n. 151), the tame pigeon that ‘seemed to descend from heaven, and whisper in his ear’ (p. 249, n. 154), and the ascription to Muḥammad of epilepsy, which would have made him ‘an object of pity rather than abhorrence’ (pp. 245–6). The Qur’an’s ‘sublime truths’ are rationally interpreted by Muslim scholars and ‘defined with metaphysical precision’ (p. 204). And while St Peter or St Paul, if they were to visit the Vatican today, would fail to recognise

what they would see there as Jesus' teaching, Muslims have preserved Muḥammad's message intact. What should invite wonder is not Islam's propagation but the permanency of Muḥammad's religion (p. 272). Muḥammad was wise to situate himself in a line of prophets including Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Christ (out of 124,000) and to allow them 'the same credit he claimed for himself, of divine inspiration (p. 204). His rejection of the Trinity and Incarnation (which Gibbon called 'incomprehensible mysteries', p. 519) freed the Qur'an from the 'suspicion of ambiguity' (p. 205), since these doctrines 'appear to contradict the principle of divine unity' (p. 204).

Not everything Gibbon wrote was positive. He refers to the Qur'an as containing 'incoherent rhapsodies of fable, of precept, and declaration', although by his added words 'in a version' and the 'European infidel' (p. 209), he probably means when it is read in a translation. He also speaks of Muḥammad's message combining 'eternal truth' and 'necessary fiction' (p. 202; which Bernard Lewis ['Gibbon', p. 99] points out resembles a passage in Boulainvilliers' *La vie de Mahomed*, London, 1730, p. 343).

When recounting such matters as Muḥammad's multiple marriages and his recourse to war, Gibbon almost always defends him. On his marriages, he suggests that as founder of a dynasty Muḥammad had wanted to secure 'a lineal succession' (p. 255), and he also cites the biblical precedent of Solomon's 700 wives and 300 concubines, who are quite frequently mentioned by Muslim apologists (p. 253). Aware of miracles that have been attributed to Muḥammad (see pp. 210-11), he dismisses these as pious frauds, and asserts that a religion that was 'unclouded by mystery may be excused from miracles' and that Muḥammad's sword was as potent as Moses' rod (p. 212). Biblical patriarchs had wielded swords, too, and even Jesus said in an 'an ambiguous text' that he had not come to bring peace but a sword (p. 229). Having established his position at Medina, Muḥammad shared all men's right to defend themselves (p. 228).

Even though he ruled Medina as a 'sovereign', Muḥammad, who despised the pomp of royalty, still performed menial domestic chores and wore simple woollen clothes (pp. 251-2). Gibbon did not explicitly accuse Muḥammad of manufacturing or faking revelation, but he did see convergence between Muḥammad's personal interests and his religion. He may even have convinced himself that he alone was exempt from certain 'moral laws' that could be represented as 'fraud' (p. 251). However, arguing that the end – Arabia's unification and victory over idolatrous polytheism – justifies the means, Gibbon remarks that Muḥammad's sins

tend to confirm his sincerity (p. 251). Muḥammad's toleration of Christians and Jews and his humane rulings on the treatment of captives (women and children were not to be separated) all point to his generosity of spirit. He taught charity, friendship and social virtue, and curbed revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans, and even Christians and Jews who accuse him of inventing his religion must admit that it is 'less perfect only than their own' (p. 271). One passage, though, speaking of Muḥammad wielding a sword in one hand and a Qur'an in the other (p. 170), would for some confirm old tropes of Islam as an inherently violent religion.

Chapter 51 (pp. 272-391) covers the expansion of the caliphate through to 718, when the caliphs were 'the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe' (p. 390). Again, though he describes battles and conquest, Gibbon quite often stresses Islam's toleration of those who agreed to pay tribute. Closely following Ockley, he narrates how at Damascus Christians at one gate surrendered and received terms while those at another resisted, resulting in disagreement between the Muslim commander and his deputy on whether the agreement was valid. After discussion, those who had resisted were permitted to leave the city without hindrance while those who had surrendered were given protection and granted religious liberty. Gibbon adds, 'Damascus is still peopled by twenty thousand Christians' (p. 309). He surmises that the millions of Africans and Asians who have embraced Islam must have been 'allured, rather than constrained', and considers that many have been 'sincere proselytes' (p. 382), challenging the notion of forced conversion. He also writes that the 'whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet' (p. 655).

Chapter 52 (pp. 392-463) follows the armies of the caliphate into Iberia, Sicily and the coast of Italy, and their encounters with the Eastern Roman Empire. This section includes Gibbon's well-known observation that, if Charles Martel had not prevailed at Tours in 732, Oxford today might be teaching the interpretation of the Qur'an, and her 'pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth' of Muḥammad's revelation, without sounding as if he thought this would be a calamity (p. 409).

Also suggesting indebtedness to Ockley, Gibbon praises Arab learning during this period, having already commended Reiske's 'lively sketch of oriental literature' (p. 282, n. 12). The apex of Arab learning corresponds with the darkest days of scholarship in Europe (p. 425).

Gibbon does not regard the period of the crusades as especially relevant to his subject, but he outlines their history in ch. 64. Of Saladin, he says that he 'commanded the esteem of the Christians', the friendship of the German emperor and the alliance of the Greeks, and is considered both a hero and a saint by Muslims (pp. 94-5). In discussing the 'obscure origin of the Ottomans', Gibbon suggests that they were not at first defined ethnically but by the figure of the *gazi*, which anticipates Paul Wittek's much later thesis in *The rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938). The *gazi* were fighters for Islam against infidels, who banded together to form a consanguinity based on courage and skill, which also explained the custom of 'adopting the bravest ... of ... the captives' (vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, p. 571). On the Ottomans, Gibbon's concluding remarks have been described as 'an extraordinary hymn of praise' (Katz, *Shaping*, p. 38). At the end of ch. 65, he extolls the nine Ottoman sultans from 1299 to 1566 as, with one exception, a 'rare series of warlike and active princes' who instilled obedience in their subjects and fear in their enemies. Eschewing 'slothful luxury', they were educated 'in the council and on the field' (p. 372). By humanising rather than demonising the Ottomans, he invites readers to rethink their opinions of Turks and Muslims (who were synonymous for many), and to identify values in common across these cultures. As Katz points out, Gibbon was aware of the political implications in painting a more attractive picture of Turks at a time when the Anglo-Ottoman relationship was very much in play with respect to the perceived threat that Russia posed to British interests in the region (Katz, *Shaping*, pp. 20-3).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Gibbon's representation of Muḥammad provided another version to that of the scheming, womanising, warlike opportunist who did nothing commendable. His representation was able to stimulate Christians to rethink how they understood Islam, and opened this alternative possibility to a much wider readership than the 'recondite and learned' books often in Latin by 'clerics and scholars' could reach (Lewis, 'Gibbon', p. 100). Most significantly, he did this in a framework that dealt with Muḥammad and the history of Islam as 'part of human history' not as 'something separate and isolated' and a 'regrettable aberration from the onward march of the church'. S.P. Foster says that Gibbon treated Muḥammad as a 'world historical figure, like Constantine, who is emblematic of religion itself, which 'along with Hume' he saw as 'a product of often interweaving madness and ambition' (*Melancholy*, p. 318). Gibbon did not like religion

much, but arguably thought Islam more rational than Christianity. His reference to Muslim learning and to just and capable Ottoman rulers humanised Muslims as people who had contributed to civilisation and whose polity tolerated non-Muslims, while he presented their prophet as a sincere reformer of Arabia's earlier religious beliefs and social practices. His treatment of the Ottomans was also humanising, very different from the way Richard Knolles had described their barbarous polity.

Gibbon's inclusion of Islamic history within human history, or what was becoming known as universal history, is considered his most notable achievement. David Katz says that Gibbon 'put Turkey on the table' since 'English men and women read Gibbon because they were weaned on the classics, and once having read him, it was impossible to look at Turkey as a blank page' (*Shaping*, p. 49). Similarly, D.O. Morgan remarks that 'for Gibbon, eastern history was just history', and the division between Western history and other histories was false ('Gibbon and the East', p. 91). Morgan contrasts this with the claim by an academic at a major American university in the 1970s for whom the study of history was 'the study of Western man'. B. Lewis does point out critically that Gibbon downplayed the degree to which Islam is undogmatic and free from divisions, and that he could be ambivalent about how Islam spread. He cites Gibbon's sentence that Muḥammad 'erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity' with 'a sword in one hand and a Koran in the other', and points out that Christianity has 'survived the advent of Islam' and that only a left-handed swordsman could brandish both objects since no Muslim would defile the Qur'an by touching it with the 'hand they use for unclean purposes', adding that the Qur'an 'did not become a book' until later (Lewis, 'Gibbon', p. 100).

Due to the popularity of his work, few subsequent writers on Muḥammad and Islam could ignore Gibbon; even detractors cited him as an authority. He inspired some Trinitarian Christians (who, unlike him, did not want to remove God from history) to revisit the way Islam's providential role within history was traditionally understood – as a scourge on Eastern Christianity for its divisions and doctrinal errors. This negative role was sometimes supported by reference to the Beast in the Book of Revelation, or even by linking 666 with the supposed year of Muḥammad's birth or with predictions of false prophets or Daniel's Little Horn (Daniel 8:9-12). Christians who attempted to reformulate Christian thinking on Islam cited Gibbon with appreciation. Reginald Bosworth Smith (d. 1908), who dared to hope that one day Christians

might recognise Muḥammad as a genuine prophet, below Jesus yet 'next to Him in the long roll of the great benefactors of the human race' (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, London, 1874, p. 238), developed an evolutionary type theology of religion that recognised Islam as an ally in spreading morality and knowledge of God, possibly one more suited to some peoples of the world than Christianity. Smith commended Gibbon's 'splendid' fiftieth chapter and regretted that his 'unfair' treatment of Christianity 'prevented the world from doing justice to his generally fair' treatment of Islam (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 62-3).

Charles Forster (d. 1871), an Anglican clergyman, deplored Gibbon's secularism but agreed that Islam's entrance into history aided the spread of human civilisation, and that this is not wholly to be regretted. While Forster set out to restore providence and theology to history, he drew extensively on Gibbon's account of Islam's civilisational role, often citing him as a reliable authority despite his 'insidious attempts to disparage Judaism and Christianity' by 'magnifying' Islam. Forster looked for a different biblical key that could unlock a more positive understanding of Islam (*Mahometanism unveiled*, London, 1829, vol. 1, p. 416). He found this in God's promise at Genesis 17:20 to bless Ishmael, Muḥammad's ancestor according to tradition (vol. 1, pp. 118-19).

Deist and freethinking views of Muḥammad, the category into which Gibbon's own views best fit, raised many theological issues for Christians in relation to Muslims. Gibbon's attempt at an objective reconstruction of Muḥammad's biography and of Islamic history – not completely successful – assisted some Christians such as Smith and Forster to attempt re-evaluations of Islam in relation to Christianity and the divine presence in human history, and attracted appreciation from some Muslims. Syed Amir Ali (d. 1928) greatly admired Gibbon, and cited him frequently. He also referred to Smith as having 'discussed' Islam's 'merits both as a creed and a humanizing agent' (*The life and teachings of Mohammed*, London, 1891, p. vii). Syed Ahmad Khan (d. 1898), for whom Islam aided and benefitted Christianity (*A series of essays on the life of Mohamed*, London, 1870, p. 37), similarly said that he would always hold Gibbon in esteem for having defended Islam from 'prejudiced and illiberal protagonists' (p. xxi). He also cited Gibbon's reference to Peter and Paul visiting Rome and wondering which god was worshipped there (p. 38). Gibbon's 'sympathetic treatment of Islam and its heroes' caught S. Khuda Baksh's attention as a youth, when he learned passages of *Decline and Fall* by heart (B.S. Sarkar, *Khuda Bakhsh*, Patna, 1981, pp. 16-17). Baksh (d. 1908),

reformer and attorney in British India, maintained that there were no grounds for hostility between true Christianity and true Islam or 'even estrangement between' them ('A Mohammedan view of Christendom', in A.S. Peake and R.G. Parsons, *An outline of Christianity*, London, 1926, vol. 5, 245-55, p. 245).

#### PUBLICATIONS

See J.E. Norton, *A bibliography of the works of Edward Gibbon*, Oxford, 1940, for a list of publications of *Decline and fall* before 1940: Octavo editions, pp. 94-118; French and Italian translations, pp. 119-62; German and other translations, pp. 146-62; abridgements and extracts, pp. 163-76.

The list below gives details of principle early editions, translations and extracts, together with significant editions made since 1940.

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, London, 1776 (Feb.), ESTC To78356 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, Dublin, 1776 (June); ESTC To78357 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2, Dublin, 1776; ESTC T185521 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 3, Dublin, 1781; ESTC T185521 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 4, Dublin, 1781; ESTC T185521 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 5, Dublin, 1781; ESTC T185521 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 6, Dublin, 1781; ESTC T185521 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Edward Gibbon, *Istoria della decadenza e della rovina dell'Impero romano*, Pisa, 1779-92 (Italian trans.)

Edward Gibbon, *Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire Romain*, trans. Leclerc de Septchênes, Paris, 1777-95 (French trans.)

Edward Gibbon, *Geschichte der Abnahme und des Falls des Römischen*



- Reichs*, trans. C.W. von Riemberg, Vienna, 1788-92 (German trans);  
Bibl.Mont. 2054-1-14 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Edward Gibbon, *The Saracens. Their history* (also titled *The rise and fall of the Saracen Empire*), London, 1800 (*Decline and fall* chs 50-2)
- Edward Gibbon, *The life of Mahomet*, London, 1805, 1859 (intro. O.H. Wight), Boston, 1881 (ch. 50)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, 7 vols, London, 1805 (with maps by A. Dawson)
- Edward Gibbon, *Geschichte des Verfalls und Untergangs des römischen Reiches*, trans. F.A.W. Wenck, Leipzig, 1805-20 (German trans.); H.ant. 140-1-19 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Edward Gibbon, *Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire Romain*, trans. F. Guizot, Paris, 1819 (French trans.); ark:/12148/bpt6k364600 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Edward Gibbon, *Storia della decadenza e rovina dell'impero romano*, trans. D. Bertolotti, Milan, 1820-4 (Italian trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1830 (one-volume edition with *Life* by W. Youngman)
- Edward Gibbon, *Geschichte des allmäligen Sinkens und endlichen Unterganges des römischen Weltreiches*, trans. J. Sporschil, Leipzig, 1837-40 (German trans.); 4 H.ant. 45 b (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. H.H. Milman, London, 1838-9 (originally 12 vols, 6 in the 2nd edition; includes notes from F.M. Guizot's French and F.A.W. Wenck's German translations); DG311 G4242 1-12 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust Library)
- Edward Gibbon, *Historia de la decadencia y ruina del Imperio Romano*, Barcelona, 1842-7 (Spanish trans.; using Milman edition)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury, London, 1896-1900 (7 vols), 1946 (3 vols), 1960, Holog PA, 2004 (7 vols)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. O. Smeaton, London, 1930 (7 vols), New York, 1932 (two vols), New York, 1952 (as *Great books of the western world*, vols 40 and 41)
- Edward Gibbon, *Zmierzch Cesarstwa Rzymskiego*, trans. S. Kryński and Z. Kierszys, Warsaw, 1960 (Polish trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. H.R. Trevor-Roper, London, 1963 (one-volume abridgement)
- Edward Gibbon, *Det romerske riges forfald og undergang*, trans. H.C.

- Huus, Copenhagen, 1963 (Danish trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *La caduta dell'impero romano d'Occidente*, trans. G. Frizzi, Turin, 1967, 1975<sup>2</sup> (Italian trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *Luoma di guo shuai wang shi*, Xinzhu, 1975-7 (Chinese trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *Inḥiṭāt va suqūt-i impirātūrī-i Rūm*, trans. Abū l-Qāsim Ṭāhirī, Tehran, 1991 (Persian trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Wolmersley, London, 1994, 2005 (three-volume critical annotated edition, includes Gibbon's *Vindication* of chs 15 and 16)
- Edward Gibbon, *Istoriia upadka i krusheniia rimskoi imperii*, trans. V.N. Nevedomskogo, St Petersburg, 1994 (Russian trans.)
- Edward Gibbon, *Upadek Cesarstwa Rzymskiego na Zachodzie*, trans. I. Szymańska and M. Szymański, Warsaw, 2000 (Polish trans.)

## STUDIES

- D. Katz, *The shaping of Turkey in the British imagination, 1776-1923*, New York, 2016 (ch. 2, 'Edward Gibbon's eastern questions', pp. 9-80)
- P.D.L. Avis, *In search of authority. Anglican theological method from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, London, 2014 ('Hume and Gibbon', pp. 254-62, discusses Gibbon's view of religion but does not refer to Islam)
- S.P. Foster, *Melancholy duty. The Hume-Gibbon attack on Christianity*, Dordrecht, 1997 (ch. 10, 'Attacking Christianity by way of Islam', pp. 307-30)
- D.O. Morgan, 'Edward Gibbon and the East', *Iran* 33 (1995) 85-92
- B. Lewis, 'Gibbon on Muhammad', *Daedalus* 104 (1976) 89-101 (repr. in B. Lewis, *Islam and the West*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 85-98)
- Emerson, *Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon*

Clinton Bennett

# James Bruce

DATE OF BIRTH 14 December 1730  
PLACE OF BIRTH Kinnaird, Scotland  
DATE OF DEATH 26 April 1794  
PLACE OF DEATH Kinnaird

## BIOGRAPHY

James Bruce was born in Kinnaird, near Perth, in 1730. When his mother died and his father married again in 1738, he was sent to an uncle in London for his schooling. This uncle, William Hamilton, was a high-ranking lawyer with friends in the government. Bruce married the daughter of a London wine-merchant and, when Bruce visited Europe on wine business, he also did undercover work for the government.

In 1762, the group in government to whom Bruce had been supplying information during the Seven Years' War (1756-63) came into power and appointed him British consul in Algiers. This was a key Mediterranean post, because Algiers was close to the Spanish Balearic Islands. The French seizure of Menorca had started the war and, on Britain's victory, the island was returned by the Treaty of Paris. Bruce's job was to smooth the way for this transfer, encourage harmony among the European and North African states, and combat illegal shipping practices, including covert transport of slaves (Foreign Office 113/3 'Extracts').

Bruce was an amateur artist and in 1765, commissioned by Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State for King George III (r. 1760-1820), he went with an Italian architect, Luigi Balugani, to record Roman architectural remains in North Africa and Syria (Playfair, *Footsteps*). Bruce promised Halifax that he would also try to penetrate the interior of Africa, following in the footsteps of the Jesuits Pedro Páez and Jeronimo Lobo. He and Balugani returned to Africa in June 1768, travelling from Sidon to Alexandria.

Bruce dressed as an Arab and claimed fluency in Arabic, on several occasions recording his pleasure at being mistaken for a 'Bedowé', which he explains meant 'a peasant Arab' (Bruce, *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 13-14). Having followed the course of the Nile as far as Aswan and the first cataract, he was advised to enter Ethiopia by the Red Sea route, so he and Balugani returned to Kenné (Qena), made their way to the coastal port of

Cosseir (El Qusayr) (Bruce, *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 158, 169) and spent several months in Jeddah, before crossing to Massawa. They arrived at the capital Gondar during a period of war and political turmoil, though they were welcomed by the king, Tekle Haymanot (r. 1769-77). They arrived at their goal, Gish Abay in the province of Gojjam, on 5 November 1770. Balugani died there of dysentery the following March.

The two travellers produced a vast quantity of journals and scientific data and, in 1771, Bruce set out to bring home his purchases of valuable Ethiopian books (including three copies of the 'lost' scriptural Book of Enoch) and his and Balugani's botanical and other results (Murray, 'Life'). Taking what should have been the least problematic route home, following the course of the River Nile through Sudan and Egypt, Bruce was almost incarcerated by the authorities at Sennar, and had an extremely unpleasant journey through the desert.

Bruce reached Marseille in March 1773. He travelled home through Italy and France, sharing seeds and drawings with European colleagues. When he reached London in June 1774, his reception was cold, and he was mocked and accused of lying (Adams, *Travellers and travel liars*), while in Scotland he found that his stepmother had occupied Kinnaird because he was thought to have died. Bruce was able to recover his home, and he married again (his first wife having died in 1754). He died at Kinnaird in 1794.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS London, Kew National Archives – FO /113 /3, 'Extracts of Algerian papers from 1690-1801'

James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*, 5 vols, London, 1790

A. Murray, 'Life', in James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 8 vols, Edinburgh, 1804-5<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1, pp. i-clxxxvi (the definitive 'Life' of Bruce in the introduction to his densely annotated second edition; it is also included in the 1813 edition)

R. Laurence, *The Book of Enoch the Prophet. An Apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia now first translated from an Ethiopic manuscript in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1821

R.L. Playfair, *Travels in the footsteps of Bruce in Algeria and Tunis*, London, 1877 (containing some unpublished Bruce 'Memoirs')

*Secondary*

- J. Reeve, *Plotting to stop the British slave trade. James Bruce and his Secret Mission to Africa*, London, 2019
- G. Boccaccini et al., *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man. Revisiting the Book of parables*, Grand Rapids MI, 2007
- N. Leask, art. 'Bruce, James, of Kinnaird (1730-1794)', in *ODNB*
- M.V.W. Smith, 'Would the real James Bruce please stand up? Bruce's Travels to discover the sources of the Nile (1790) in Alexander Murray's edition of 1813', *English Academy Review* 23 (July 2006) 59-83 (bibliography listing 92 key works)
- D. Moran, *James Bruce, l'anti-Rimbaud*, Paris, 2004
- M. Baccaglini, *Il signore della sorgente, dalla Scozia al Nilo Azzurro. Vita di James Bruce*, Rome, 2002
- M. Bredin, *The pale Abyssinian*, London, 2000
- R. Grierson and S. Munro-Hay, *The Ark of the Covenant*, London, 1999
- G. Hancock, *The sign and the seal. A quest for the lost Ark of the Covenant*, London, 1992
- R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls uncovered*, New York, 1992
- P. Hulton, F.N. Hepper and Ib Friis (eds), *Luigi Balugani's drawings of African plants*, New Haven CT, 1991
- M. Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia. A history 1570-1860*, Cambridge, 1990
- J.C. Van der Kam, *Enoch and the growth of an apocalyptic tradition*, Washington DC, 1984
- W. James, 'The Funj mystique. Approaches to a problem of Sudan history', in R.K. Jain (ed.), *Text and context. The social anthropology of tradition*, Philadelphia PA, 1977, 95-133
- J.M. Reid, *Traveller extraordinary. The life of James Bruce of Kinnaird*, London, 1968
- M. Abir, *The era of the princes. The challenge of Islam and the re-unification of the Christian Empire, 1769-1855*, London, 1968
- P. Adams, *Travellers and travel liars*, Berkeley CA, 1962
- J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford, 1952
- R. Garnett, art. 'Bruce, James (1730-1794)', in *DNB*
- J. Fennell, *Apology for my life*, Philadelphia PA, 1814
- J. Antes, *Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians; the overflowing of the Nile and its effects; with remarks on the plague and other subjects*, London, 1800

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

# Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773

DATE 1790

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

## DESCRIPTION

James Bruce's *Travels to discover the source of the Nile* first appeared in 1790. The 'best' edition was published in London and Edinburgh in five volumes, while a cheaper edition was published in Ireland in six volumes (the references below are to the London edition). It records Bruce's travels to Ethiopia 20 years earlier, based on the extensive notes, journals, drawings and maps he made while he was away. Portions of the work were immediately translated into French, German, Dutch and Swedish. Popular one-volume abbreviated versions in English were promptly published in London by Samuel Shaw (*An interesting narrative of the travels of James Bruce, Esq., into Abyssinia*, 1790), and by James Cundee (*Travels between the years 1765 and 1773 through part of Africa, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, into Abyssinia, to discover the source of the Nile, etc.*, London, 1807(?); a slightly different version was probably published at the same time under the title starting, *Travels between the years 1768 and 1773., through part of Africa ...*). In Scotland, in 1805, Alexander Murray followed up Bruce's original editions with his new extensively annotated edition, in eight volumes, prefaced by his 'Life' of Bruce, which is still the standard authority.

Vol. 1 of Bruce's original 1790 *Travels* begins with a 75-page Introduction followed by a text of 535 pages. The Introduction describes Bruce's travels through North Africa, from Algiers, where he followed the travel itinerary described by Thomas Shaw in *Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* (1738), commenting on where he considered it fell short (e.g. pp. xxix-xxxi). He records viewing Roman antiquities, referring to Pliny the Elder, Ptolemy's *Geography* and Strabo's *Geography*.

In vol. 7 of the 1805 edition of *Travels*, Bruce states that he collected about 70 Arabic manuscripts and gives details of 22 of them (pp. 413-18). He also remarks on his facility with the Arabic language, which allowed him to 'appear in any part of the continent without the help of an interpreter', and claims that using Marracci's *Koran* 'had made me a

very tolerable Arab'. He quotes (vol. 1, p. xiii) the advice in Hiob Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* that 'knowledge of any oriental language would soon enable [the reader] to acquire the Ethiopic' (1681, vol. 1, ch. 15).

The first part of *Travels* (vol. 1, pp. 1-364) describes Bruce's journey to Ethiopia from Sidon, through Egypt, crossing the Red Sea to Jeddah, where he stayed for several months, until his arrival in Masuah (Massawa). Whilst in Assuoan (Aswan) he records finding tomb stones with inscriptions in Kufic, a script that he says was the 'only language and letter known to Mahomet, and the most learned of his sect in the first ages' (vol. 1, p. 154). The inscriptions refer to two men both given the title 'el Ansari', which, he says, 'many writers, on Arabian history, think, means, *born in Medina*', but he then explains that it was given to the Medinans who welcomed Muḥammad at the end of the *hijra* and means 'Helpers', and was later 'extended to all those who fought in his wars, ... and after, to those born in his lifetime' (vol. 1, p. 154).

Whilst in Jeddah, Bruce recorded his views on various aspects of Islam. Ch. 11 includes a discourse on polygamy (pp. 281-8) in which he argues in favour of the Muslim practice, on the grounds that since so



Illustration 5. An Arab shaykh, from James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*

many men were killed in wars it accommodated the sexual imbalance and provided for unmarried women, though it would not work in England where women were more independent (p. 288). This is followed by a discourse on the Old Testament prophecy concerning Ishmael being fulfilled in Muḥammad, where Bruce argues that, since neither Ishmael nor his mother had sinned, they 'required reparation for the heritage ... lost', and found it through their descendant (pp. 289-90). With reference to Muḥammad's prohibition of all pork and wine, Bruce states that these were 'two products that must have been very little used in Arabia', explaining that Arabia had no grapes that matured enough to make wine, nor were there any swine that he himself had heard of in the country (p. 290).

The second part (vol. 1, pp. 365-535) describes the history of Ethiopia from the earliest times. Ch. 8 (pp. 510-35) refers to the War of the Elephant in 570, the year in which, according to tradition, Muḥammad was born (pp. 510-14), and there is a reference to 'Abou Thaleb (Mahomet's grandfather, as it is thought) ... as keeper of the Caba' (p. 512). Bruce also relates that 'Jaffar, Mahomet's brother, fled to the Najashi (*Naguś*), who was governor of Yemen and was kindly treated by him ... Mahomet is also said to have written to the same Najashi a letter of thanks for his [the Najashi's] kind entertainment of his brother, inviting him (as a reward) to embrace his religion, which the Najashi is supposed to have immediately complied with'. Bruce contends that the tradition that Ja'far went to Ethiopia, rather than to a part of the Yemen under Ethiopian rule, is an error, because the dwelling of 'the Najashi, or king of Abyssinia, was situated far from the scene of these actions, on high cold mountains, very unfavourable to those rites which, in low flat and warm countries, have been temptations to slothful and inactive men to embrace the Mahometan religion'. He explains the confusion as having arisen because the title Najashi was applied to the Ethiopian governor in the Yemen as well as to the king in Abyssinia, leading to 'the confusion on names we meet in Arabian manuscripts' (p. 518).

Bruce goes on to describe how 'Mahomet ... took upon himself to be the apostle of a new religion' (pp. 519-20), then discusses the origins of the Qur'an (pp. 520-2), before describing how, after subduing Egypt, the Caliph 'Umar 'destroyed the valuable library at Alexandria', though his successors had a different attitude towards 'profane learning', preserving and translating works of science (p. 525).

Bruce's alternative, and plausible though unsupported, interpretation of the first *hijra* being to Yemen rather than Ethiopia does not seem to



be recorded elsewhere, whereas other information that he gives generally reveals a good knowledge of the received history of Islam at the time of Muḥammad.

Vol. 2 is 718 pages long, and consists of the 'Annals of Abyssinia, translated from the original'. The first part (pp. 1-400), which covers the period from Igba Sion (r. 1283-1312) to Socinios (r. 1605-32), includes reports of the continuous depredations by the Turks and Moors (pp. 16, 137, 161), the presence of Muslims settled in Ethiopia (p. 169), the arrival of the Portuguese embassy in 1526 (pp. 143-57), and the conversion of Socinios to the 'Romish religion' (pp. 262-4). The second part (pp. 401-718) continues from the death of Socinios in 1632 to Bruce's arrival in 1769.

Vol. 3 is 744 pages long. The first section covers Bruce's journey from the port of Masuah (Massawa) on the Red Sea to Gondar (pp. 1-357). It includes his reception in Masuah, which was under Ottoman protection, where he presented a *firman* from 'the emperor of Constantinople' and letters from 'the regency of Cairo' and 'the sherriffe of Mecca' to the 'Naybe' (the representative of the Turkish Porte) to ensure his safe passage from the coast to the highlands (pp. 13-18). Bruce remarks that he wears Moorish clothes on his travels (he also wore them back in Scotland when he was observing the stars). On his arrival in Gondar, he was given accommodation in the 'Moorish town', though this could not have been very congenial because, as he explains, he could not eat meat that had been slaughtered by Muslims, as that communion would have been looked upon as equal to a renunciation of Christianity' (pp. 198-9).

The second part of the volume relates Bruce's attempts to find the source of the Nile and his travels with the king, Tekle Haymanot (r. 1769-77), together with the king's campaigns against the usurpers of his authority (pp. 359-744).

Vol. 4 is 650 pages long. The first part covers Bruce's return from the source of the Blue Nile to Gondar and various battles between the king and his opponents (pp. 1-269), and the second part relates Bruce's departure from Gondar through Sennar and Nubia to Alexandria as far as his arrival at Marseille (pp. 270-650). Vol. 5 is 230 pages long, forming an appendix, with records of the flora and fauna of Ethiopia richly illustrated with sketches made by Bruce and his travelling companion Balugani.

Throughout the work, Bruce makes it clear that he was dependent on Muslim informants, who almost always supported him, though he was sometimes harassed and tricked, particularly in the first stages of his return journey. He records some of the theological discussions he held

with Arabs while he was posing as a scholar on pilgrimage for the sake of his soul. He admires the clean orderliness of Arab villages, appreciates the work of a community of Arab tent-makers, and admires the Arab horses he sees. He identifies the major – ordinarily Arab-led – slaving routes, and mentions with horror the profitable business of Ras Michael, the governor of Tigray, who sells slaves for muskets, and he is appalled that some Ethiopian priests sell children to Muslim merchants. He thinks Muslims treat their slaves better than Christians, by making them part of their household.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As the first European publication of a journey to Ethiopia since Charles-Jacques Poncet at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Bruce's detailed accounts of the geography, flora and fauna, and anthropological background, as well as the ongoing political situation in the country, are important. Some critics have suggested that the reason he did not publish his account for 16 years when he returned home was that Londoners who knew Samuel Johnson's books correctly questioned Bruce's attention-grabbing bid to be considered the 'first' to discover the source of the Blue Nile. He was called a 'liar' because of his jocular tone and his claim to know about everything (including Islam). James Fennell, a young man who worked as his amanuensis, told him that his book was like a novel, to which Bruce replied that if it was like a novel, women would read it, and if women read it men would as well (Fennell, *Apology*). There is certainly a great deal of both sentimental and lurid fiction-toned material in Bruce's *Travels*.

Although Bruce was primarily interested in Ethiopia, the records of his journeys through Muslim lands, and the information on Islam he brings out reveal something of his attitudes and appreciation of the faith and the culture shaped by it. His view of polygamy appears to be very understanding, and even suggests an apologetic attitude towards it. His awareness of the application of food laws in regard to the consumption of meat, and that no Muslim or Christian would be prepared to eat meat slaughtered by the other, reveals a greater sensitivity to the local situation than might be expected.

Nineteenth-century explorers and missionaries read Bruce's *Travels* and were influenced by his reports and approach. For instance, Richard Burton (1821-90) emulated him in dressing himself as an Arab, which allowed him to visit Mecca and to record this in his *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Mecca* (1855-6); Ludwig Krapf (1810-81), first Church Missionary Society missionary to East Africa, spent many years seeking a way to reach the Galla, a Muslim people of Ethiopia,

informed by reading Bruce and his preliminary word lists of their language (Bruce, *Travels*, 1813, vol. 8, pp. 21-3).

Bruce is currently enjoying renewed international appreciation and a reassessment of his value as a travel writer and historian, as is attested by Moran's *James Bruce*, Baccaglioni's *Il signore della sorgente*, Bredin's *The pale Abyssinian*, and Grierson and Munro-Hay's, *The ark of the covenant*. His notoriety rests on his colourful depiction of his own character, though he rightly comes over as a heroic – but also decent – fellow, with liberal attitudes far ahead of the norm.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*, 5 vols, Edinburgh, 1790; ESTC T051608 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- James Bruce, *An interesting narrative of the travels of James Bruce, Esq. into Abyssinia, to discover the source of the Nile*, abridged by S. Shaw, London, 1790 (with several reprints); ESTC T037343 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 6 vols, Dublin, 1791; ESTC N027890 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- James Bruce, *Voyage en Nubie et en Abyssinie, entrepris pour découvrir les sources du Nil, pendant les années 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 & 1773*, trans. M. Castera, Paris, 1791 (French trans.); Archives des études africaines 2,16 (digitised version available through BNF)
- James Bruce, *Kurze Beschreibung von Abyssinien und seinen heutigen Bewohnern*, Leipzig, 1792 (German trans.); Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek – S 218 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- James Bruce, *Jacob Bruces resa genom Abyssinien*, ed. and trans. S. Ödmann, 2 vols, Stockholm, 1795 (Swedish trans.)
- James Bruce, *Reis naar Abyssinie, en te rug door de groote woestijn van Nubie*, E.W. Cramer (trans.), Amsterdam, 1801 (Dutch trans.)
- James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 8 vols, Edinburgh, 1804-5<sup>2</sup>; vols 1-7 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library); for vol. 8, Vet. A6 d.1123 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)
- James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 8 vols, Edinburgh, 1813<sup>3</sup>; (OC) 203 i.8 (-15) (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

- James Bruce, *Travels, through part of Africa, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, into Abyssinia, to discover the source of the Nile*, Manchester, 1817 (abridged, with several reprints)
- James Bruce, *Voyage de Bruce*, 8 vols, Paris, 1817 (French trans.)
- James Bruce, *Voyage en Nubie et en Abyssinie, entrepris pour découvrir les sources du Nil, pendant les années 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 & 1773*, trans. M. Castera, 8 vols, Paris, 1830 (French trans.)
- James Bruce, *Voyage aux sources du Nil en Nubie et en Abyssinie: 1768-1772*, Limoges, 1880 (abridged French trans.)
- James Bruce, *Travels of James Bruce ... to discover the source of the Nile*, London, 1897 (abridged)
- James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*, ed. C.F. Beckingham, Edinburgh, 1964 (selections from the 1805 edition)
- James Bruce, *Zu den Quellen des Blauen Nils. Die Erforschung Äthiopiens 1768-1773*, ed. H. Gussenbauer, Berlin, 1986, Stuttgart, 2000 (abridged German trans.)
- James Bruce, *Nairu tanken*, ed. and trans. Nobuhiro Nagashima and Yumi Ishikiwa, Tokyo, 1991 (Japanese trans.)
- James Bruce, *Voyage aux sources du Nil (1769-1770)*, ed. D. Moran, Paris, 2004 (French trans.; published together with D. Moran, *James Bruce, l'anti-Rimbaud*)

## STUDIES

- Reeve, *Plotting to stop the British slave trade*
- Moran, *James Bruce, l'anti-Rimbaud*
- Baccaglini, *Il signore della sorgente*
- Bredin, *The pale Abyssinian*
- Grierson and Munro-Hay, *The Ark of the Covenant*
- Hancock, *The sign and the seal*

Jane Aptekar Reeve

# Orientalist tropes, themes and pseudo-Orientalist novels, plays and poetry in 18<sup>th</sup>-century English literature

## DESCRIPTION

This selection is of 18<sup>th</sup>-century British and Irish writers whose plays, poems or novels have Oriental allusions that challenged or changed traditional assumed attitudes towards Islam.

Various schemes have been developed to discuss Oriental references in English literature, among them Martha Pike Conant's four groupings of imaginative, moralistic, philosophical and satirical (*The Oriental tale*, 1908, p. xxvi). This entry uses the classifications of 'pseudo-Oriental' for works that pretended to be written by an Eastern author, which usually, but not always, have European settings, 'Oriental' for works set in Eastern locations, subdividing dramas and novels, and 'exoticising' for works set in Europe that utilise Eastern references to add colour or interest.

A surprisingly large number of works were indebted to the *Thousand and one nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*), which, with *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡẓān*, probably inspired Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), which has been described as the first English novel. The first English version of the *Nights* was a translation of Antoine Galland's French translation (1704-17), and was considered to be a Grubb Street work (1712). Then, between 1723 and 1726, it was serialised in *Parker's London News*, appearing three times weekly in 445 parts, each ending with a 'catchword to the next installment' (R.M. Wiles, *Serial publication in England before 1750*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 35). Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*, Frances Sheridan's *Nourjahad* and Joseph Addison's *Mirzah* are among the works influenced by the *Nights*. It can be debated whether the *Arabian nights* and *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡẓān*, in the form in which they reached English authors, any longer constituted Islamic texts, but it can also be argued that enough remained to evoke Islam for readers to know that the works had entered Europe from a region that many dismissed as a cultural wilderness unable to offer Europe anything of value.

*The birth and development of the pseudo-Oriental genre*

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as novelists, poets and playwrights employed copious Oriental references and exotic settings, Turkish art, furniture and decoration were very popular. Joseph Addison and others frequented coffee houses as venues for discussions on social, political, philosophical, religious and moral themes, and used them as settings for their stories. Introduced to London from the Ottoman world, coffee houses were the birthplaces of what became known as 'public opinion' (J. Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere. An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, Cambridge MA, 1989, p. xii). Samuel Johnson's literary club met in a coffee house, while Addison and Steele's Gentleman's Society met at another to discuss each issue of their periodicals, whose fictional narrators frequently described their coffee house conversations.

Several of Addison's stories (dated 1711-13), Lyttelton's 3rd proof *Letters from a Persian* (1735), Collins' *Persian eclogues* (1742) and Goldsmith's *Citizen* (1761) fit the pseudo-Orientalist typology. The earliest work of this genre was *Letters writ by a Turkish spy* by G.P. Marana (d. 1693), published originally in Italian and French versions in 1684-6, followed by an English translation in 1691. It went through multiple editions. However, it was Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) that proved to be the most influential and popular example of the genre. Marana and Montesquieu both claimed that they were publishing letters written by Oriental gentlemen visiting Europe. It is likely that Marana, who described how he had found 'a great heap of papers, more spoiled by dust than by time' in the corner of his lodgings in Paris in 1682, influenced Addison in his use of this device.

Joseph Addison (1 May 1672-17 June 1719) was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1697, sat in both the Irish and English parliaments, held several government offices, and became a Privy Councillor. Together with Richard Steele (d. 1729), he co-founded *The Spectator* which ran from 1 March 1711 to 6 December 1712. Several of its stories are set in the Orient. In *The vision of Mirzah* (*Spectator* no. 159, 1 September 1711), the narrator, who says he found the story among Oriental manuscripts he picked up when visiting Grand Cairo, describes how a certain Mirzah climbed a hill-top outside Baghdad, from where he could see people walking across the bridge of life. All eventually fell off and were carried away either towards the 'islands of the blest' or to the dark clouds beyond 'the rock of adamant'. Suggesting the inevitability of death and that faith at least offers hope, the tale ends with the question that

Mirzah asks the genius who lives on the pinnacle, 'Is death to be feared that will convey thee to so happy an existence?' (*Works*, vol. 3, p. 98), but this remains unanswered because the genius has already departed. The last sentence, 'The end of the first vision of Mirzah', may have promised a sequel, but Addison did not produce one. Conant categorises this story as an example of the philosophical tale (*The Oriental tale*, p. 112). In tale 167 in *The Guardian* for 22 September 1713 (also edited by Addison and Steele), which purportedly had recently been translated from 'an Arabian manuscript', Helim is the renowned physician to Alnare-schin, the tyrannical king of Persia, and tutor to the princes Ibrahim and Abdallah. Abdallah falls in love with Helim's daughter, Balsora, whom the king wants for himself, promising Helim that she would become queen. Aware that queens come and go very quickly, Helim administers his daughter a sleeping potion and she wakes up in a tomb alongside the king's murdered queens. Abdallah is on hand, and the two escape to a beautiful mountain retreat. Replete with Oriental imagery, the tale serves as a straightforward moral story in which virtue thwarts tyranny. Among other Oriental references, the tale in *The Spectator* no. 512 for 17 October 1712 is a story that Addison claimed was a Turkish tale. It tells how a vizier, who pretended to have learned from a dervish how to communicate with birds, tricked the sultan, whose constant wars were leaving whole villages lying in ruin as their men died in battle, into protecting villages instead. Asked by the sultan to tell him what two owls were saying, the vizier invented a conversation between the birds about the parents of two young people who were engaged to marry, vowing that God would grant the sultan a long life if he stopped destroying villages. Touched by the fable, the sultan began to govern for the good of his people and to rebuild towns and villages. This challenges the trope that Muslim rulers were irredeemably bad and selfish.

George Lyttelton (17 January 1709-22 August 1773) was the son of a baronet. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, (he did not take a degree), Lyttelton served in the House of Commons from 1735 until he entered the House of Lords on 18 November 1756 as the first Baron Lyttelton. He was a friend and benefactor of Alexander Pope. His own literary reputation rests on *Dialogues of the dead* (1760), co-authored with Elizabeth Montagu (d. 1800), the social reformer and satirist, and his earlier *Letters from a Persian in England* (1735), a Montesquieu-inspired pseudo-Oriental work.

The 82 letters in Lyttelton's *Letters from a Persian* (1735) (254 pages excluding prefatory and end pages) purport to have been sent home

to Isfahan by Selim, a Persian living in London. His purpose is to satirise the shortcomings of Robert Walpole's England. His dislike of party factionalism, political graft, the ways in which justice was administered and the affectations of the aristocracy, especially of women, permeates the letters. 'Corruption', writes Selim, 'is stronger than the Laws' (p. 171), and while parliament was supposedly a curb on the king's authority, the only way to advance at court was by gaining a parliamentary seat (p. 26). None of these letters contrasts English good government with Muslim bad government, suggesting there are faults and failings on both sides. Selim makes comparisons between what he experiences in England and what he recalls of Persia, usually to the advantage of the latter. For example, learning is honoured and respected there, but is not much valued in England, where it often results in poverty – one scholar tells Selim that he would rather have been born a cobbler (p. 14). In painting a positive picture of Persia in this way, Lyttleton reverses the trope of Eastern barbarism and European culture.

William Collins (25 December 1721–12 June 1759) graduated from Oxford University in 1743. He is best known for his pseudo-Oriental *Persian eclogues* of 1742, issued in a revised edition as *Oriental eclogues* in 1759. He claimed that he had translated the poems from Persian, praising the 'elegancy and wildness of thought which recommends all their compositions' (p. iv), and explaining that his aim is to refresh English pastoral verse by borrowing from the East. Compared with Addison and Lyttleton, he was less interested in moralising than in producing a work of literary merit, yet in pretending to be translating an Oriental work he challenged the presumption that Europe could find nothing of much value in the East. Critics point out that there is little that really locates the poems in Persia, and that stylistically Collins is indebted to Ovid, although he is known to have read about Persia and to have consciously set out to preserve the 'compelling myth' of the Eastern shepherd (Eversole, 'Collins', p. 24).

Oliver Goldsmith (probably 10 November 1728–4 April 1774) was born in Ireland, where he graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1749 and went on to study medicine at Edinburgh (1752–5). After travelling in Europe he became a writer in London before works such as *The citizen of the world* (1760–1) and *The vicar of Wakefield* (1762) earned him a reputation as a serious author. He was a founder member of Samuel Johnson's Literary Club.

Goldsmith's *The citizen of the world*, originally published in instalments in the *Public Ledger*, comments on English life from the perspective of



a visiting philosopher from China, Lien Chi Altangi. Most of the letters have no significance for Christian-Muslim relations, but there is some relevance because Altangi's son, Hingpo, has ended up as a slave in Persia and the book includes correspondence between father and son. Letter 35 describes Persia as a land ruled by tyranny (*The citizen of the world*, 1816, vol. 3, p. 118), which conforms to the popular trope that Muslim rulers are despotic. References to female slavery, opulent court scenes and the role of eunuchs generally confirm popular stereotypes, yet, noting that the ruler is ignorant and unlearned but is universally said to be happy, Hingpo finds himself questioning whether learning is, as philosophers surmise, necessary after all. As well as several references to Muḥammad in the letters, in letter 9 there is also an allusion, which is on the licentiousness of English men, to how the custom of having up to four wives is preferable to English men having one but keeping mistresses and frequenting brothels (pp. 23-4). This reverses the popular trope of a sexually moral European and the promiscuous Oriental, among whose ranks Muslims stand first.

*Dramatic works with Oriental settings and tropes*

Many of the selections in the next group owe a debt to earlier plays by John Dryden (1631-1700), whose *Aureng-zebe* (1675) pioneered the use of an Oriental setting with exclusively or mainly Oriental characters to comment on English life and especially on politics. Dryden alluded to the Prophet and included some obviously Muslim characters, but he did not directly contribute either to knowledge of Islam or to perceptions of Islam because the settings primarily served as devices to criticise English society, and it is difficult to argue that either heroes or villains served to juxtapose Christians and Muslims. In contrast, plays selected in this entry may also use the East as a setting, but are significant for the way they either perpetuated or challenged tropes. Three, Thomas Whincop's *Scanderbeg* (1727), William Havard's *Scanderbeg* (1733) and George Lillo's *The Christian hero* (1735) all dramatise the life of George Castriot (d. 1468), the former Janissary and Albanian prince who won a series of battles against the Ottomans, first brought to the attention of English readers by Richard Knolles' popular *Generall historie of the Turks* (London, 1603, pp. 294-5). A century later, as some perceived the possibility of victory over the Ottomans, the Scanderbeg motif represented Christian

heroism and success against the cruel, godless Muslims. The three 18<sup>th</sup>-century playwrights, however, each offer a different interpretation.

Thomas Whincop (2 June 1697-August 1730) is presumed to be the Thomas Whincop who attended Merchant Taylor's School and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, graduating in 1718/19. Little else is known of his life, except that he was buried in the village of Totteridge (now part of the London borough of Barnet) on 1 September 1730.

In *Scanderbeg; or love and liberty*, which was written in 1727 but never performed and remained unpublished until 1747, Whincop contrasts Turkish tyranny with Christian liberty. It is prefixed with a life of George Castriot (pp. i-xvii), followed by brief lives of earlier dramatists (pp. 89-320). Unlike Knolles, Whincop does not depict Turks as lacking any merit, describing the sultan as courageous (p. xi) and as having 'really loved' Scanderbeg (p. vi). While he wants to see the Ottomans defeated, and praises Scanderbeg as a Christian hero, he falls short of demonising Turks simply because they are Muslim.

William Havard (12 July 1710-27 April 1764) moved from his native Dublin to London in 1730, and remained there for the rest of his life, becoming a permanent member of the Drury Lane Company in 1737. He wrote several plays, including *Scanderbeg* (1733), which celebrated the Albanian commander's resistance to Ottoman rule. However, Thomas Whincop's accusation that this was plagiarised resulted in a poor reception; Havard may well have read the manuscript of Whincop's play while it was in his manager's possession. His play (75 pages) was staged twice, at the time not an unusual number of performances (three being the norm). L.H. Marshall comments that Havard tends to blur the distinction between Christian and Turk, making it less easy to read into the play any 'clearly defined model of consistent doctrinal superiority' on the part of the British (*National myth and imperial fantasy*, London, 2008, p. 173). Havard is not convinced that love of liberty or tyranny are to be found on only one side.

George Lillo (Feb 1691 or 1692-3 November 1738) was born in Moor-gate or Moorfield, London, to Dutch parents, and learned his father's trade of either goldsmithing or silversmithing. He started writing plays in 1730. Despite lacking either a college education or a career in the theatre, his plays displayed knowledge of different dramatic genres and of the history of theatre, also indicated by the range of books he wrote. *The Christian hero*, first staged at Drury Lane in 1735, was a re-enactment of the Scanderbeg story.

This play was somewhat more successful than Havard's, with four performances. It demonstrates how enduring the trope of good Christian versus bad Muslim was, even as others, not excluding Whincop and Havard, were asserting the existence of shared values or perhaps common faults that crossed nationality and religion. Lillo was accused of borrowing from one or both of the earlier plays, having been consulted by Whincop's widow about staging or publishing her husband's work. Lillo's play, also prefixed with a life of Castriot (in *The works of Mr George Lillo*, 1775, vol. 1), revives the more traditional trope of liberty-loving Christian versus liberty-denying Turk, asserting a cause and effect relationship between Islam and the latter. The Prophet had conquered and proselytised with 'manly force'; by gaining and exercising power he enjoyed 'beauty and fame alike', which sounds like the familiar trope of a sword-wielding, womanising Muḥammad (*The works of Mr George Lillo*, vol. 1, p. 252). Scanderbeg attributes his own success to God's blessings (Epilogue), and refers to Ottoman rule as a 'yoke' (*The works of Mr George Lillo*, vol. 1, p. 236), while the Albanians have been led to rebel by love of liberty (*The works of Mr George Lillo*, vol. 1, p. 240).

*The harem, gender-politics and the mystique of the Oriental woman*

Several Oriental plays from this century feature women as victims or as villains, drawing directly or indirectly from two accounts in Knolles, Irene 'the fair Greek beheaded by [the Ottoman sultan] Mahomet', incomparably beautiful in 'body and soul' (*Generall historie of the Turks*, p. 350), and Roxolana, the 'cunning', 'wicked' woman who exercised ruthless cruelty to advance her own political desires (*Generall historie of the Turks*, pp. 758-60; image p. 759). Over time, in various retellings of her story Roxolana or Roxana (the historic Hürrem Sultan, d. 1558, one of the women who exercised *de facto* power in the Ottoman Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) became synonymous in the European imagination with the wicked, scheming, ambitious woman who was sexually aggressive and even practised black magic. Both her story and that of Irene served to depict how inadequate Muslim men were, either because they allowed their passions to distract them from their duty or because they were too weak to assert authority over women, compared with European men who controlled their passions and kept women in their subordinate place.

The Roxana-motif warned Christian men not to allow women to gain power. However, some began to re-conceptualise this as a motif suggesting that women in Muslim space, even while confined to the harem, could exercise power and were not to be seen merely as objects for male sexual gratification. Perhaps Christian women could learn from Muslim women? Also, the harem became for some a place of erotic pleasures that could not be imagined in Europe, and even of lesbian acts of which Europeans dared not speak. Here, Daniel Defoe's *Roxana* will be discussed, although it is a novel and not a play, with only a few direct references to Turkey, together with Elkhana Settle's *Empress of Morocco* (1673) and *Ibrahim the illustrious Basha* (1677), Joseph Trapp's *Abra-Mulé* (1704), Charles Goring's *Irene* (1708), Charles Johnson's *The sultaness* (1712), and Samuel Johnson's *Irene* (1749).

Elkhana Settle (1 February 1648–12 February 1724) wrote his first play, *Cambyzes, King of Persia*, while still a student at Oxford. Leaving without a degree, he continued his writing career in London. His *Empress of Morocco* (1673) ended his relationship with Dryden, who criticised it as the work of an illiterate upstart, provoking an attack by Settle on one of Dryden's own plays. First performed at the royal court in 1771, the 72-page published script was the first to be printed with woodcuts that illustrated the elaborate and sophisticated scenes of an exotic Morocco that no doubt contributed to the play's popularity. The empress, Laula, is a villainess, a schemer who has her husbands poisoned then plots to replace her son with her lover, Crimalhaz. When confronted with this by the commander of the royal army, she accuses him of attempted rape and tricks her son into arresting him. Her lover does become emperor after Laula tricks Morena, her son's wife, to kill him at a masque, thinking that he was someone else who was intent on ravishing her. But by then Crimalhaz has fallen for Morena, and the empress ends up taking her own life.

Even if she was not modelled directly on Knolles' Roxana, Laula's multiple murders and manipulations resemble hers. Settle's decision to locate the drama in North Africa, which he equated with cruelty and barbarism, was inspired by reading an account of the Earl of Norwich's trip to Africa in 1669–70 (Dedication, second page). In fact, the empress was an image of King Charles II's Catholic mistresses, who were seen as too ambitious and dangerous to the Protestant Reformation.

Settle's later play, *Ibrahim the illustrious bassa* (1677), based on Madeleine de Scudéry's lengthy novel, *Ibrahim, ou l'illustre Bassa* (1641), features Sultana Roxolana, whose inflated sense of her own power is again

a warning to beware of the machinations of Charles II's mistresses. Yet this Roxolana is less the villainess than a victim who ends up poisoning herself. Described by G. Yermolenko as 'a rather noble, loyal and suffering woman' ('Roxalana in Europe', p. 36), Settle's Roxolana is less sinister and manipulative than Scudéry's version.

Joseph Trapp (November 1679–22 November 1747) studied at Oxford, achieving a DD degree, and followed his father into the Anglican priesthood. From 1709 to 1718, he served as Oxford's first professor of poetry. His 1704 play, *Abra-Mulé, or, love and empire* (68 pages), set in the Ottoman harem, features Abra-Mulé; the Sultan Mahomet picks her out from a line-up of the six most beautiful women and becomes infatuated with her. When she refuses his advances, Mahomet at first restrains his impulse to compel her to comply, but then, after seeing Abra-Mulé with her lover Pyrrhus the vizier, he sends Pyrrhus to the rack and Abra-Mulé to the harem. His brother, Solymán, who also desires Abra-Mulé, deposes him in order to gain her, but he fails when Abra-Mulé stabs herself, though not fatally. His better nature then wins out over his desires: he releases Pyrrhus, whom the guards had kept alive, and the lovers are reunited.

Abra-Mulé is somewhat passive in the play, yet she not quite the hapless victim who is depicted by Knolles. She remains calm and composed and more in control of her emotions, and the story, though called a tragedy, does not end with her death. The moral character of Trapp's male characters is not determined merely by their being Christian or Muslim but by virtue of their personal traits.

Charles Goring was probably the same individual as the one known to have graduated from Oxford in 1687. His play, *Irene; or, the fair Greek, a tragedy*, set in Istanbul soon after the Ottoman conquest, was performed at the Theatre Royal in 1708, though it was probably written earlier; he wrote in the Preface that it 'was the product of some Leisure hours in the University, where I had the Honour to be a member of one of the best Societies in it' (*Irene; or, the fair Greek, a tragedy*, London, 1708, p. 2).

Goring's *Irene* (60-pages long) was replete with Turkish references and furnishings such as couches, fountains and lavish feasts (Orr, *Empire*, p. 90). He follows Knolles' account closely, except that Mahomet is a more complex figure whose stabbing of Irene (*Irene*, p. 53) causes him regret even though he has raped her, and makes him wish he could have chosen love over power even though love had led him to neglect the empire (*Irene*, p. 60; see also his anguish on killing Irene, p. 54). By contrast, Knolles' Mahomet has no compunction about killing Irene. Orr comments that Goring's Irene is 'guilt-racked' by her own complicity 'in

her enslavement', presumably because she does not have the moral courage to do otherwise (*Empire*, p. 95; see Irene's death scene, *Irene*, p. 54). Goring was clearly more interested than earlier writers in his characters' interior lives.

Charles Johnson (1679-1748) appears to have been connected with Gray's Inn, though nothing is known about him before he published *Marlborough* in 1704. *The sultanness*, an enactment of the Roxana story, was premiered at Drury Lane on 25 February 1717. Shortly after, Johnson fell out with the poet Alexander Pope and was targeted in *The Dunciad*.

*The sultanness* (1708) was based on a translation of Jean Racine's *Bajazet* (1672). Both plays are concerned with the danger of women assuming power, though Racine's Roxana is more 'vacillating and jealous' than self-serving and power-hungry, while Johnson's is more 'clinging and love-sick' (Lund, *Critical essays*, p. 247). These two Roxanas may not be any more sympathetic than Knolles' wicked schemer, but arguably their psychology is presented in a more analytical and compelling way. At least Muslim women are not represented as either passive or power-seeking, but as psychologically complex.

Daniel Defoe (1659/60-24 April 1731) was a pioneer of the English novel. Neither his *Robinson Crusoe* nor *Roxana* qualify as Oriental tales *per se*, though the first may well have drawn on Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* while the second transformed the Roxana-motif, contributing to a process of reducing distance between cultural spheres.

It was Defoe's novel *Roxana* of 1724 (citations here are from the 1854 edition by Walter Scott) that both perpetuated the motif of Roxana as a woman who used her sexuality to seduce and manipulate men, and transformed it into a positive one about a woman who asserted autonomy in a man's world. Although he was known for his dislike of prostitution, Defoe chose to depict his Roxana with sympathy. She does not sell sex as such, but entices men into making her their mistress; for her, marriage would deny her any liberty (*Roxana*, p. 129). His character does not become Roxana until, at a masque ball, she wears Turkish costume (which she also describes as Mahometan, p. 157) and performs what onlookers take to be a Turkish dance (p. 154). Defoe was familiar with Knolles' work, having adapted several stories from it, and his choice of the name Roxana and of the Turkish motif seem deliberately to reinvent her as a woman to be admired although not without qualification. By turning her back on the children of her first marriage, she represses her emotions and ends up damaged and soul-corrupted.

Samuel Johnson (8 September 1709–13 December 1784) is one of the most respected English writers and, after Shakespeare, the most quoted. He attended Lichfield Grammar School and King Edward's Grammar School, Stourbridge, and went on to Pembroke College, Oxford, but left before graduating due to financial hardship. By 1746, his growing literary reputation earned him a commission to write the *Dictionary of the English language*. His one play, *Mahomet and Irene* (1749), and his one novel, *The history of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759), are both Oriental tales.

Johnson began writing *Mahomet and Irene* in 1724 (page references here are to the 1757 edition). It was not considered a success, and Johnson thought it his poorest work, though critics have since questioned this judgement. Performed on nine nights at Drury Lane in February 1749, which was actually a respectable run at the time, it went through a number of reprints. Johnson also used Knolles as a source, citing him five times in his first draft (Belcher, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson*, p. 132), though his version of the plot introduces new characters and transforms Irene from the victim of the sultan's infatuation to a willing associate, who converts to Islam before she is made queen because, as a captive, she does not believe she has a real choice. Her friend Astasia refuses Mahomet's offer and remains both Christian and faithful to her lover, Demetrius. Members of the court think Mahomet unfit to rule and conspire to kill him while he is in Irene's chamber. One, however, repents and informs Mahomet, who, assuming Irene is implicated, has her executed before she can become queen. Then, when he realises his error he cries out that never again will he find pleasure in 'fame', 'dominion' or 'conquest'. Having lost his 'dear Irene', he contemplates withdrawing from the 'tasteless world' (p. 84).

Belcher argues that Johnson flouts several 'norms of English Oriental drama' (*Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson*, p. 140), in refusing to polarise 'us' and 'them' or assuming that virtue belongs to Europeans and not to Turks, or to Christians and not to Muslims. In fact, Johnson is more interested in human failing, and depicts both Christian and Muslim characters, including the sultan, as flawed without being wholly bad or wholly good. C.F. Chapin comments that Irene's conversion is examined as a response to her situation rather than condemned as intrinsically wrong: 'Irene is a comment on general human nature, *not* a study of rival religious ideologies' (*Religious thought*, p. 147). He does not think that Johnson saw Irene's motive as dishonest, while Belcher sees it as similar

to how the Queen of Sheba chose to convert while Aspasia's refusal 'finds correlation ... among the many royal Habesha people who' did not convert (*Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson*, p. 162). Belcher argues that Johnson's interest in how the Habesha (Ethiopians) have had to come to terms with the pressure to convert informed the play. According to this view, Irene consented to convert and marry not so much because she was swayed by the promise of royal status, a selfish motive, but because she thought that Mahomet really did love her, had accepted her argument that women have souls, and believed that she could use her position to protect Christians and do some good for others, which Mahomet had promised she would be able to do (*Irene*, 1757, p. 30; Kemmerer, *Neutral being*, p. 54).

In the next group of plays, Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlaine* (1701) transports his audience to his hero's battle headquarters, Eliza Haywood sets *The fair captive* (1721) in the harem at Constantinople, and Edward Young's *The revenge* (1721) is set against the backdrop of Moorish-Christian Andalusia.

Nicholas Rowe (20 June 1674-6 December 1718) attended Westminster School before enrolling at the Middle Temple in 1691. From 1709 to 1711, he was under-secretary of state for Scotland and later held several sinecures. He became poet laureate in 1715. His first play, staged in 1700, had many revivals and a royal command performance in 1759. *Tamerlaine* (1701) hardly tries to hide the fact that Timur, the Mongol emperor, stands for the English king, and Bajazet, the Ottoman sultan he captures, for the French king.

Unlike the three Scanderbeg plays described above, whose hero was a Christian fighting Muslims, Nicholas Rowe's hero, Tamerlaine, and his villain, Bajazet, are both Muslims. His Tamerlaine is the opposite of how most Europeans pictured Muslim conquerors and rulers, while Bajazet would have fully met their expectations. Bajazet stands for Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), while Tamerlaine is King William III (r. 1689-1702); the play was often performed on the anniversary of King William's death. Rowe, the future poet laureate, was influenced by the former laureate, John Dryden, and followed his predecessor's example of reinventing historic figures for his own purposes. Rowe's Tamerlaine is a reluctant warrior who prefers peace; he is religiously tolerant and loves liberty for his subjects. Bajazet is evil and cruel, enslaves people and rules over them as a tyrant. Here, Rowe was in fact setting out a vision of a future British Empire that would be 'lawful, tolerant, diverse, peaceful and free' (S. Swaminathan and A.R. Beach, *Invoking slavery in the eighteenth-century*



*British imagination*, London, 2013, p. 83). In various ways, the play uses the two men to contrast good Protestant with bad Catholic. Yet both Tamerlaine and Bajazet's Muslim identity is clear from references to the Prophet Muḥammad, including Tamerlaine saying 'from Alha and our Prophet' in a conversation with a Dervish who tells him that it was Mahomet who had 'giv'n' him 'to reign and conquer' (*Tamerlaine*, 1727, p. 37). Tamerlaine forgives Bajazet when he attempts to stab him, allows a deserter from Bajazet's camp conscientiously to abstain from fighting against his former commander, and appoints a Christian prince to his council (the historical Tamerlaine was courteous and hospitable to visiting Christian envoys), much to Bajazet's disgust. Neither Rowe's hero nor his villain is good or bad because of his religion but because of his character, yet by depicting a Muslim as a model king he challenges the prevailing assumption that all Muslim rulers are rapacious, tyrannical and belligerent.

The early life of Eliza Haywood (c. 1693-25 February 1756), born Eliza Fowler, is obscure. By 1715, she was acting in Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre and began writing in 1719. She produced over 70 works in several genres, many of her plays being written for the Haymarket Theatre. Alexander Pope's dislike of her may have helped rather than hindered her career. Women writers were routinely stigmatised by their male peers as little better than prostitutes who earned with the pen rather than their body.

Haywood's play *The fair captive* (74 pages) pioneered captivity fiction in English. The original script was written by a Captain Hurst, though Haywood almost completely rewrote it. Her plot contrasts with some other captivity narratives in which the Christian female captive is either ravished or is victim to Muslim male sexual licence, and is rescued at the last moment by the captive's Christian lover. Men are active, women passive. By contrast, in her play the Christian Alphonso attempts to rescue his beloved Isabella but fails. Instead, it is due to the initiative of a woman, the princess and vizier's wife, that she is set free after the vizier's fall from power in a revolt led by the chief Janissary and a 'noble Turk'. Isabella herself is rather passive, so it is Muslim women who are the actors and subjects of their actions, not merely objects for the gratification of Muslim males. This alternative view of the harem as a place of female empowerment, also presented in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Letters* (1763), stands in juxtaposition to more traditional ideas of the harem as symbolic of male Muslim debauchery and female subjugation. On the other hand, Haywood may have fallen short of seeing Muslim

women as fully empowered, since in order to act her two Muslim heroines disguise themselves as men, one of them a eunuch.

Haywood returned to the topic of castration in several later stories, including the 'History of Montrano and Iseria' in *The fruitless enquiry* (1739, pp. 49-87), which begins with an *Arabian nights*-style frame story, where, again reversing gender roles, Montrano is enslaved for eight years during which he resists the queen's sexual advances, only to be rewarded with castration. In many captivity narratives, women who resist men's advances end up being raped. Haywood thus represents castration as an 'ironic analogue for rape' (Snader, *Caught between worlds*, p. 101). Haywood seems to have viewed castration as an equaliser between women and men, because the latter, without the ability to have sexual relations with women, have instead to love them with a non-physical, more egalitarian type of love. In order to explore these themes, Haywood used the Orient as a place where such scenes could be set, because popular ideas about the harem as a place occupied by de-sexed men, captive women and powerful potentates allowed room for such a reimagining.

Edward Young (1683-5 April 1765) was baptised at Upham near Winchester on 3 July 1683. He graduated from Oxford University in 1719. After ordination in 1728, he was appointed a chaplain-in-ordinary to the king. His *The complaint: or, night thoughts* (1742-5) was translated into eight languages and illustrated by William Blake in a 1797 edition. Young was a protégé of Addison and a friend of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

Young's *The revenge* (63 pages) was performed at Drury Lane in 1721, and translated into French (1787 by J.B. De la Horde) and German (for German translations, see J.L. Kind, *Edward Young in Germany, historical surveys, influence upon German literature, bibliography*, New York, 1906, pp. 125-7). It later became popular with repertory theatre companies, and was staged well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Set in Spain, the villain is Zanga, a Moorish prince who was captured in battle by Alonzo, 'conqueror of Afric', who had killed his father. At the beginning of the play, Zanga vows revenge, and in a rare explicitly Islamic reference he calls on Mahomet to deliver this. Young's Zanga and Alonzo reverse the characters of Shakespeare's Iago and Othello, turning the good Moor into a villain and the bad European into the victim, though the audience would have felt some sympathy for Zanga due to his father being killed and Alonzo dispossessing him of his princely inheritance. This reversal continues as Zanga persuades Alonzo that his wife, Leonorra, is still in love with her former fiancé. Alonzo kills him, and, believing herself to be under suspicion,

Leonorra commits suicide. Then, when Zanga reveals his plot to him to take his revenge, Alonzo also stabs himself. In the closing speech, Zanga refers to hell's fires waiting to receive him for having 'followed vengeance too far', despite the opening reference to what was a popular perception that Islam encourages revenge.

*Non-dramatic Oriental tales with exotic settings*

Turning to non-dramatic Oriental tales, the works in this sub-category are Penelope Aubin's *The noble slaves* (1722), Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759), and Frances Sheridan's *History of Nourjahad* (1767).

Penelope Aubin (1679-1738), the third daughter of Sir Richard Temple, married Abraham Aubin, a Jersey sea captain and merchant, in 1696. She began writing in the opening decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but few of her first works survive. *The noble slaves* and two other works involve captivity by Barbary and Ottoman pirates, rape, and Christian women escaping with their virtue intact.

Aubin's *The noble slaves* appeared within a year of Eliza Haywood's play. It represents a more traditional woman's view of the experience of captivity, setting out to extol the integrity, piety and virtue of Christian women in the face of Muslim male sexual licence. Aubin's animus towards Islam is explicit enough in her 'To the reader', where she states that should anyone fall captive to 'infidels or Mahometans' they must expect to be treated as cruelly as her characters were (Dublin, 1730 edition, p. 5). Muḥammad is a 'blasphemous prophet' (p. 43), and one captive woman describes her Muslim captor as 'an odious Mahometan' (p. 28), another prefers death to becoming the vassal of a 'vile Mahometan's unlawful lust' (p. 39), and a renegade Spaniard is as 'wicked as hell', having become rich by ingratiating himself with the Governor of Algiers who used him for his 'bestly pleasures' (p. 39). Aubin contrasts at every juncture immoral, sexually depraved Muslims and moral, pious Christians – except perhaps for one reference to a man, though Mahometan, as 'generous and compassionate' (p. 42). Known as a conservative, moral writer with no plan to promote women's independence, Aubin would frown at salacious scenes in other texts yet could be almost as erotic in her own writing (see Mounsey, "... bring her naked"). Painting the harem as debauched as possible served her purpose of representing Christian women as chaste and resilient in the face of temptation. Yet some of her characters do succumb, suggesting that her book was necessary to

encourage faithfulness, since conversion might result in riches on earth but would only secure a place in hell eternally. Her characters' aristocratic status served to highlight the inhumanity of their treatment in a way that working-class victims of Barbary piracy would not, lacking power to attract the same sympathy or generate as much censure.

Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* was completed in a week, in contrast to the 20 years he devoted to writing *Irene*. It is his longest Oriental work (his tales in *The Rambler* and *The Idler* are short stories), perhaps inspired and influenced by his 1735 paraphrase of Jerome Lobo's *A voyage to Abyssinia*. The first edition was followed by several in the next five years (at least 70 in all), and by translations into German, French, Italian and Russian, and later into Bengali, Gujarati, Arabic, Amharic, Armenian and Japanese, among other languages (citations here are from the 1816 edition). Conant discusses *Rasselas* among her group of philosophical works, though it is usually described as a moral fable. Johnson had earlier developed an interest in Ethiopia's Coptic Christians and, while their identity is not made explicit in *Rasselas*, his main characters are Copts, presenting a form of Christianity Johnson admired and preferred over Catholicism. He deplored the missionary tactics of the Jesuits, who preached with the sword in hand and 'prorogated by desolation and slaughter the true worship of the God of peace' (*Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1789 edition, pp. 13-14). This description sounds rather like the way many thought Muslims spread Islam.

Rasselas is a prince who, following royal tradition, is raised and tutored together with his siblings in a remote Happy Valley, an Eden-like Utopia. He possesses everything, yet yearns for something he cannot define. He is taken under tuition by the wise and widely-travelled philosopher and poet Imlac, who describes Cairo to him as a city whose ancient monuments and cosmopolitan population could perhaps offer opportunity for reflection on life and on the choices of life (1816 edition, pp. 62-3; the book's original title was *The choice of life*).

After a first failed attempt, Rasselas escapes from the Valley in search of happiness, together with Imlac, Nekayah his sister, and Pekuah her high-born companion. In Cairo, they at first think that everyone is happy, but then perceive that no one is truly happy (p. 80). Behind the facades that people construct, whether of wisdom, wealth, or pretended or actual poverty, all are jealous, ambitious or delusional. Egypt's past appears nobler than her present. In the end, the quartet realise that happiness is not to be found anywhere on earth, and they return home.

While there are no explicit references to Islam in the tale, Islam is present everywhere: Imlac learns by heart poems suspended in the mosque at Mecca (p. 51), recalling to a pre-Islamic practice; Turks and Arabs are mentioned as Muslims (p. 141); Arabs are sons of Ishmael (p. 160).

Frances Sheridan (1724–66) was born as Frances Chamberlain in Dublin, daughter of an Irish archdeacon. Secretly educated by her brother Walter (also a clergyman) against their father's wishes, she began writing a novel at the age of 15. After marrying Thomas Sheridan, an actor and manager of Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre, she lived in England and in France. Her *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* (1761) was followed by several successful plays staged at Drury Lane. Her posthumous novel *The history of Nourjahad* (1767, dramatised by Sophia Lee in 1788), influenced by the very popular *Arabian nights*, was regarded as one of the best Oriental tales in English. It was translated into French, Russian and Polish.

Sheridan set her fable in Persia. Women feature prominently in her narrative, in ways that subvert norms by elevating moral over patriarchal and paternalistic authority. Critics see the background as Irish colonial resistance to the arbitrariness of British ascendancy, and the demand for justice and freedom. Schemzeddin becomes sultan at the age of 22, though he is already renowned for his wisdom and 'extraordinary endowments' (*The history of Nourjahad*, London, 1814, p. 1). His friend, Nourjahad, who has been raised with him from childhood, looks certain to enjoy his favour. However, when Schemzeddin tells his advisors that he intends appointing Nourjahad as vizier, they raise many objections, including his inexperience, irreligious conduct and greed. The sultan decides to test him by asking him what would satisfy his wishes (p. 4), to which Nourjahad replies that he wishes for inexhaustible riches and eternal life. This distresses the sultan, who changes his mind about appointing his friend. That night, as Nourjahad agonises over his ambition and the way the sultan has reacted, a genie appears in his room offering him a vial that will grant eternal life and all his desires (p. 7). When he drinks from the vial, a series of experiences follow that convince him that all he has wished for is now his to enjoy. He indulges in every delight he can imagine (p. 15), neglecting all the laws of the Prophet (p. 16) and bedding Mandana, a harem beauty whom he later thinks has died in childbirth. However, as he continues his debauched lifestyle, he begins to feel hollow inside (p. 46). He becomes melancholy, and soon nothing satisfies him. He contemplates making amends (p. 61), and even thinks he would

welcome death (p. 67). In the end, it turns out that all this has been an elaborate trick using drugs and sleight of hand with the help of Mandana, who is still alive, and other inhabitants of the harem. The sultan has even observed him at times from behind a screen and by impersonating one of the slaves. Nothing has been real except the money Nourjahad thought he had gained. The sultan reveals that all has served to teach his friend that wealth and sensual gratification cannot bring happiness and that this world cannot offer eternal life. From this point on, Nourjahad becomes his 'ornament and support', offering 'wisdom and virtue' (p. 82).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The use of Oriental motifs and tropes in 18<sup>th</sup>-century English literature ranges from casual references meant to add colour or an exotic ambience to a work, through outright polemic against Islam and the non-European world, to literary devices that are equally critical of European and Oriental beliefs and practices, including religious ones. Relatively few of the works examined here qualify as polemic, although Young's *The revenge* and Aubin's *The noble slaves* are openly negative towards Islam (even though Aubin's work contains at least one reference to a Muslim acting with courtesy).

Most of these texts do not present Islam as a direct rival to Christianity or ascribe more virtue to Christians or more vice to Muslims, but use the encounters they describe to explore human nature, providing a new perspective from which Europeans could see themselves. In consequence, theological exchange is conspicuously absent in these texts, making dialogue, friendship and even collaboration possible. Recognition that neither Christians nor Muslims occupy the moral high ground by virtue of their religion alone, and what can be identified as openness to aspects of Islamic culture challenged assumptions that European values (supposedly based on Christianity) and Islam were incompatible, and that some type of civilisational clash was inevitable. The 18<sup>th</sup> century ended on the European side with the emergence of attitudes of racial, intellectual and religious superiority that developed into full-blown Orientalism during the next century but even so, the works analysed in this entry indicate that people in this century were generally more open to dialogue with others and less inclined to create oppositions based on principles of religion. In fact, the 18<sup>th</sup> century perspective 'illuminated the aspects of cultural exchange, political and social similarities between the Orient and Europe' (Baktir and Kirca, *Representation of the Ottoman Orient*, p. 186).

## PUBLICATIONS

As many different authors are referred to in the entry, publications are listed alphabetically by author.

- Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, London, 1711-12; (Vet.) 2699 f.157 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Guardian*, London, 1714; XL74.1[Gua] (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- Joseph Addison, *The works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq.*, 4 vols, London, 1721; ESTC N024149 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves: or, the lives and adventures of two lords and two ladies, who were shipwreck'd*, London, 1722; ESTC T106918 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves: or, the lives and adventures of two lords and two ladies, who were shipwreck'd*, Dublin, 1736; ESTC T212841 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Penelope Aubin, *A collection of entertaining histories and novels*, 3 vols, London, 1739, *The noble slaves*, vol. 1, pp. 1-159; ESTC T119464 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves. Being an entertaining history of the surprising adventures, and remarkable deliverances, from Algerine slavery, of several Spanish noblemen and ladies of quality*, Danbury CT, 1797; Evans 32586 (digitised version available through Readex Early American Imprints)
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves. Being an entertaining history of the surprising adventures, and remarkable deliverances, from Algerine slavery, of several Spanish noblemen and ladies of quality*, New Haven CT, 1798; 48342 (digitised version available through Readex Early American Imprints)
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves. Being an entertaining history of the surprising adventures, and remarkable deliverances, from Algerine slavery, of several Spanish noblemen and ladies of quality*, New York, 1800; Evans 36861 (digitised version available through Readex Early American Imprints)
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves: or, the lives and adventures of two lords and two ladies, who were shipwreck'd*, Dublin, 1730
- Penelope Aubin, *The noble slaves. Being an entertaining history of the surprising adventures, and remarkable deliverances, from Algerine*

*slavery, of several Spanish noblemen and ladies of quality*, New York, 1814

William Collins, *Persian eclogues. Written originally for the entertainment of the ladies of Tauris. And now first translated*, London, 1742; ESTC T147056 (digitised version available through ECCO)

William Collins, *Oriental eclogues. Written originally for the entertainment of the ladies of Tauris. And now first translated*, London, 1757; ESTC T043416 (digitised version available through ECCO)

William Collins, *Oriental eclogues. Written originally for the entertainment of the ladies of Tauris. And now first translated*, London, 1760; ESTC T193974 (digitised version available through ECCO)

William Collins, *Persian eclogues. Written originally for the entertainment of the ladies of Tauris. And now first translated*, London, 1787

William Collins, 'Oriental eclogues', in W.C. Bronson (ed.), *Poems of William Collins*, Boston MA, 1898, 7-22

William Collins, 'Persian eclogues', in C. Stone (ed.), *The poems of William Collins*, London, 1907, 3-18

William Collins, *Persian eclogues*, Oxford, 1925

William Collins, 'Persian eclogues', in E. Blunden (ed.), *The poems of William Collins*, London, 1929

Daniel Defoe, *The life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, mariner WITH: The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, London, 1719 (many early editions and later reprints – see the entry on Defoe for further details); ESTC T072264 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Daniel Defoe, *The fortunate mistress: or, a history of the life and vast variety of fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards called the Countess de Wintelsheim, in Germany, Being the person known by the name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles II*, London, 1724 (many early pirated editions and later reprints, including W. Scott (ed.), London, 1854); ESTC T070630 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Oliver Goldsmith, *The citizen of the world*, serialised in *The Public Ledger*, 1760-1

Oliver Goldsmith, *The citizen of the world*, 2 vols, Dublin, 1762 (first collected edition – there are many editions and translations); ESTC N002062 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Oliver Goldsmith, *The citizen of the world*, 2 vols, London, 1762; ESTC T146035 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Oliver Goldsmith, *Le citoyen du monde*, trans. P. Poivre, 3 vols,



- Amsterdam, 1763 (French trans.); Brit. 126-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Oliver Goldsmith, *Briefe eines Chinesischen Weltweisen an seine Freunde in den Morgenländern*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1763 (German trans.); 999/Philos.261(1-2) (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Oliver Goldsmith, *The citizen of the world*, 2 vols, London, 1774; ESTC T146037 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Oliver Goldsmith, *Brefwäxling emellan en chines i London och desz wänner i östern*, Göteborg, 1786 (Swedish trans.)
- Oliver Goldsmith, *Obywatel świata*, trans. K. Grabowskiego, 2 vols, Warsaw, 1817 (Polish trans.)
- Oliver Goldsmith, *De Chinees-wereldburger*, 2 vols., Dordrecht, 1840 (Dutch trans.); Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam UBM: P 73-1392-1393 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Charles Goring, *Irene; or, the fair Greek, a tragedy*, London, 1708; ESTC N016930 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Charles Goring, *Irene; or, the fair Greek, a tragedy*, London, 1953
- William Havard, *Scanderbeg: a tragedy. As it is acted at the theatre in Goodman's-Fields*, London, 1733; ESTC T047121 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Eliza Haywood, *The fair captive*, London, 1721; ESTC T075904 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Eliza Haywood, *The fair captive*, London, 1724; ESTC T075905 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Eliza Haywood, *The fruitless enquiry. Being a collection of several entertaining histories and occurrences, which fell under the observation of a lady in her search after happiness*, Dublin, 1739; ESTC N018603 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Eliza Haywood, *The fruitless enquiry. Being a collection of several entertaining histories and occurrences, which fell under the observation of a lady in her search after happiness*, London, 1767; ESTC T059700 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Eliza Haywood, *The fruitless enquiry*, in E. Griffith (ed.), *A collection of novels*, London, 1777, vol. 2, 161-269 (reprinted with revisions removing 'gross' or 'indelicate' content); ESTC T071302 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Charles Johnson, *The sultanness. A tragedy in five acts and in verse: translated, with alterations, from the Bajazet of Racine*, Dublin, 1717; ESTC N037127 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- Charles Johnson, *The sultanness. A tragedy in five acts and in verse: translated, with alterations, from the Bajazet of Racine*, London, 1717<sup>2</sup>; ESTC T057291 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jeronymo Lobo and Samuel Johnson, *A voyage to Abyssinia*, London, 1735 (English trans. of *Voyage historique d'Abysinnie*, with many reprints); ESTC T088596 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jeronymo Lobo and Samuel Johnson, *A voyage to Abyssinia*, London, 1789; ESTC T110318 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Samuel Johnson, *Mahomet and Irene: a tragedy*, London, 1749 (also published as *Irene a tragedy*; many reprints London, 1754, 1781, 1796, 1973; ESTC T068211 (digitised version available through ECCO))
- Samuel Johnson, *The history of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia. An Asiatic tale*, 2 vols, Dublin, 1759 (with over 70 subsequent editions and numerous translations); ESTC T057362 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Samuel Johnson, *The history of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia. An Asiatic tale*, 2 vols, London, 1759<sup>2</sup>; ESTC T057339 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- George Lillo, *The Christian hero: a tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, by His Majesty's servants*, London, 1735; ESTC T030655 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- George Lillo, 'The Christian hero', in *The works of Mr George Lillo*, London, 1755, vol. 1, pp. 221-311; ESTC T052777 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- George Lyttleton, *Letters of a Persian in England, to his friend at Ispahan*, London, 1735 (with several editions, reprints and translations); ESTC T063257 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Nicholas Rowe, *Tamerlane, a tragedy*, London, 1702 (more than 20 editions during the 18<sup>th</sup> century); ESTC T049851 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Elkhana Settle, *The Empress of Morocco: A tragedy*, London, 1673 (several other editions during the 18<sup>th</sup> century); Wing S2678 (digitised version available through EBBO)
- Elkhana Settle, *Ibrahim the illustrious Bassa: A tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre*, London, 1677, repr. 1694; Wing S2694 (digitised version available through EBBO)
- Elkhana Settle, *Ibrahim the illustrious Bassa*, Cambridge, 1994
- Frances Sheridan, *The history of Nourjahad*, London, 1767; ESTC T118782 (digitised version available through ECCO)

- Frances Sheridan, *Nourjahad, histoire orientale*, Paris, 1769 (French trans.)
- Frances Sheridan, *The history of Nourjahad*, London, 1788; ESTC T0118086 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Frances Sheridan, *The history of Nourjahad*, London, 1792 (new edition); ESTC T070711 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Frances Sheridan, *The history of Nourjahad*, London, 1798 (Cooke's edition abridged); ESTC T036433 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Joseph Trapp, *Abra-Mulé, or, Love and empire, A tragedy*, London, 1704 (several editions during 18<sup>th</sup> century); ESTC T019029 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Joseph Trapp, *Abra-Mulé, or, Love and empire, A tragedy* [The Hague], 1711; ESTC T014973 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Thomas Whincop, *Scanderbeg, or Love and liberty: A tragedy*, London, 1747; ESTC T059607 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W----y M-----e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to persons of distinction*, 3 vols, London, 1763; ESTC T066096 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J.A. Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie Wharncliffe (ed.), *The letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, London, 1837
- M. Jack (ed.), *Turkish embassy letters*, Athens GA, 1993, 1994
- Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish embassy letters*, ed. T. Heffernan and D. O'Quinn, Peterborough Ontario, 2013
- Edward Young, *The revenge. A tragedy*, London, 1721 (many editions during 18<sup>th</sup> century); To44866 (digitised version available through ECCO)

## STUDIES

- M. Butler, *Mapping mythologies. Countercurrents in eighteenth-century British poetry and cultural history*, Cambridge, 2015
- G.M. Deeb, 'Inventing a myth. The medieval Islamic civilization through Western perspectives', *International Journal of Language and Literature* 2 (2014) 139-77
- W.L. Belcher, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson. Ethiopian thought in the making of an English author*, New York, 2012
- A.A. Krishat, 'The image of the Orient in Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759)', *Research of Humanities and Social Sciences* 2 (2012) 20-7

- G.Q. Nassir, *Samuel Johnson's attitude toward Islam. A study of his Oriental readings and writings*, Lewiston NY, 2012
- H. Baktir and K.M. Kirca, *The representation of the Ottoman Orient in eighteenth century English literature. Ottoman society and culture in pseudo-Oriental letters, Oriental tales and travel literature*, Stuttgart, 2010
- G.I. Yermolenko, 'Roxolana in Europe', in G.I. Yermolenko (ed.), *Roxolana in European literature, history and culture*, Farnham, 2009, 23-56
- C. Mounsey, 'Conversion panic, circumcision, and sexual anxiety: Penelope Aubin's queer writing', in C. Mounsey and C. Gonda (eds), *Queer people. Negotiations and expressions of homosexuality, 1700-1800*, Lewisburg PA, 2007, 246-60
- P. Rogers, art. 'Addison, Joseph (1672-1719)', in *ODNB*
- J.H. Baer and D. Welham, art. 'Aubin, Penelope (1679?-1738)', in *ODNB*
- D. Griffin, art. 'Collins, William (1721-1759)', in *ODNB*
- Paula R. Backscheider, art. 'Daniel Defoe', in *ODNB*
- R. Shaughnessy, art. 'Havard, William (1710-1778)', in *ODNB*
- P.R. Backscheider, art. 'Haywood, Eliza (1693?-1756)', in *ODNB*
- J.W. Kelly, art. 'Johnson, Charles (1679?-1748)', in *ODNB*
- P. Rogers, art. 'Johnson, Samuel (1709-1784)', in *ODNB*
- C. Gerrard, 'Lyttelton, George, first Baron Lyttelton (1709-1773)', in *ODNB*
- J.L. Steffensen, art. 'Lillo, George (1691/1693-1739)', in *ODNB*
- P. Demers, art. 'Moore, Edward (1712-1757)', in *ODNB*
- H. Erskine-Hill, art. 'Pope, Alexander (1688-1744)', in *ODNB*
- A. Sherbo, art. 'Rowe, Nicholas (1674-1718)', in *ODNB*
- A. Williams, art. 'Settle, Elkanah (1648-1724)', in *ODNB*
- I.C. Ross, art. 'Sheridan, Frances (1724-1766)', in *ODNB*
- J. Sambrook, art. 'Thomson, James (1700-1748)', in *ODNB*
- R. Sharp, art. 'Trapp, Joseph (1679-1747)', in *ODNB*
- C. Brayne, art. 'Whincop, Thomas (1697-1730)', in *ODNB*
- J.E. May, art. 'Young, Edward (*bap.* 1683, *d.* 1765)', in *ODNB*
- C. Mounsey, '"... bring her naked from her Bed, that I may ravish her before the Dotard's face, and then send his Soul to Hell": Penelope Aubin, impious pietist, humourist or purveyor of juvenile fantasy?', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2003) 55-75
- B. Orr, *Empire on the English stage, 1660-1714*, Cambridge, 2001
- K.T. Saxton and R.P. Bocchicchio, *The passionate fictions of Eliza Haywood. Essays on her life and work*, Lexington KY, 2000

- J. Snader, *Caught between worlds. British captivity narratives in fact and fiction*, Lexington KY, 2000
- R.B. Yeazell, *Harems of the mind. Passages of Western art and literature*, New Haven CT, 2000
- K.N. Kemmerer, *A neutral being between the sexes. Samuel Johnson's sexual politics*, Lewisburg PA, 1998
- R.D. Lund, *Critical essays on Daniel Defoe*, New York, 1997
- R. Fleck, 'Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*. A perspective on Islam', *Weber Studies* 10 (1993) 50-7
- R. Eversole, 'Collins and the end of the shepherd pastoral', in R.F. Hardin (ed.), *Survivals of pastoral*, Lawrence KS, 1979, 19-32
- C.F. Chapin, *The religious thought of Samuel Johnson*, Ann Arbor MI, 1968
- M.P. Conant, *The Oriental tale in England in the eighteenth century*, New York, 1908
- D.E. Baker, I. Reed and S. Jones, art. 'Goring, Charles', *Biographica dramatica*, London, 1812, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 292

Clinton Bennett



Scandinavia





# Petrus Laurbecchius

Petrus Laurentii Laurbecchius

DATE OF BIRTH 10 August 1628  
PLACE OF BIRTH Gammalkil, Östergötland  
DATE OF DEATH 16 April 1705  
PLACE OF DEATH Vyborg, eastern Finland (present-day Russia)

## BIOGRAPHY

Born in Sweden in 1628, Petrus Laurbecchius studied in Turku, Finland, completing his MA in 1661. His career at the Academia Aboensia (Royal Academy of Turku) followed a path typical of the times, passing through a range of fields, but ending in theology. Thus, he was professor of mathematics from 1666 to 1668, then of (Latin) poetry from 1668 to 1688 and finally, of theology from 1688 to 1696. In 1696, he became bishop of Vyborg in eastern Finland (present-day Russia), a position he held until his death in 1705.

Prominent among Laurbecchius's literary works are his poetry and studies on poetics.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

- K. Karttunen, *Mooseksen kirjoista kungfutselaisuuden klassikoihin ja Jerusalemissa Siperian tundralle: Aasian-tutkimuksen vaiheet Suomessa* (Suomen Itämaisen Seuran suomenkielisiä julkaisuja 38), Helsinki, 2011, p. 63
- H.K. Riikonen, art. 'Laurbecchius, Petrus', in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, Hakemisto-osa, 2008, pp. 49-51
- H. Råbergh, *Teologins historia vid Åbo Universitet* 1. (Åbo Universitets lärdomshistoria 4:1. SLSF-S 23), Helsingfors, 1893, pp. 141-7

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dissertatio philosophica theorematum  
miscellaneorum  
'Philosophical dissertation [consisting] of  
miscellaneous theses'

DATE 1684

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

*Dissertatio philosophica theorematum miscellaneorum* is a collection of separate theses, four of which are developed while a dozen are stated only briefly. It was printed by Turku University, at the expense of the student who was to defend the theses at a public examination, an event that took place at the Turku Royal Academy on 6 December 1684. Petrus Laurbecchius, as a professor at the Academy, wrote the *Dissertatio* in Latin for the purpose of 'dissertationes pro exercitio', part of the dialectical training of his student, Christiernus Samuelis Frisius. This was the usual practice in Helsinki until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The little fascicle contains 15 unnumbered pages. Of the long theses, the two final ones, both erroneously numbered 'III', deal with Turkey and Islam. It is possible that the Frisius whose name appears on the title page died in 1693/4. He was the vicar of Ruovesi in central Finland.

The third thesis (pp. 8-11) has the heading *Regnum Turcarum non est monarchia seu summum in mundo imperium* ('The kingdom of the Turks is not a monarchy but the ultimate empire in the world'), claiming that the Ottoman Empire is not a righteous monarchy in the sense of the prophecy of Daniel, but a wicked tyranny. The fourth thesis (pp. 12-14), headed *Passagia, sive expeditiones sacrae in Turcos, sunt licita* ('Passages, or holy expeditions against the Turks, are permissible'), calls for Christians to join forces and conquer the Ottomans as this would lead to universal peace.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Rallying Christians to unify against the perceived or actual Ottoman threat was a common theme in 17<sup>th</sup>-century European literature, though the belief that defeating the Turks would hasten the coming of the end-time was less common. Given Finland's relative distance from the places of European-Ottoman encounter, this Latin dissertation shows that fear

of the Ottoman 'other' was not necessarily associated only with the risk of conflict. By linking the unification of Christians in opposition to Ottoman Turkey with the millennium, it could be seen to broaden the possibilities for engagement with Islam among those for whom it would otherwise be a distant phenomenon, unrelated to their lives.

In 17<sup>th</sup>-century Finland, this type of brief dissertation would remain practically unknown outside the confines of the university, which was founded in 1640 and is now known as the University of Helsinki (the Academy moved there in 1828). It would have been read by some students, but it probably did not attract much attention. Nonetheless, it presents an example of how a Finnish pastor was conceptualising the distant Turks in 1684.

#### PUBLICATIONS

C.S. Frisius, *Dissertatio philosophica theorematum miscellaneorum: quam, consensu plurimùm suspiciendi philos: collegii, moderatore ... m. Petro Laurbecchio, poës. professore, nec non h. t. rectore Academiae magnifico, praeceptore ac promotore summâ veneratione perpetim colendo, publico doctorum examini modestè submittit Christiernus Frisius, Reg: stip: Die 6. Decemb: anni 1684, Aboae (Turku), 1684*

Klaus Karttunen

# Erland Dryselius

Erlandus Brodderi Dryselius

DATE OF BIRTH 1641  
PLACE OF BIRTH Ljungby, Sweden  
DATE OF DEATH 24 April 1708  
PLACE OF DEATH Jönköping, Sweden

## BIOGRAPHY

In spite of coming from a peasant family, the young Erland Dryselius showed enough talent to receive stipends that enabled him to visit foreign universities in Rostock, Wittenberg and then Jena. Following further studies in Uppsala, he managed to return to Wittenberg for three years, where he also defended his dissertation in 1673. He was ordained as a Lutheran minister in 1675 and served for a while as preacher to the royal family, after which he moved to Sorunda. Between 1688 and his death, he was pastor to the congregation at Jönköping.

Apart from a collection of his sermons, Dryselius published a history of the Old and New Testaments, and also wrote on secular topics. His works are characterised by a strong loyalty towards the Swedish royal house, either through direct glorification (as in *Lineamenta gloriae Svecicae*, 1673) or through comparison (pointed out in the forewords) with other, allegedly tyrannical regimes, such as in *Luna Turcica*, or *Monarch-Spegel* ('Mirror of princes', 1691), the story of the 'four empires' and rulers from Old Testament times down to the Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705). A history of the papacy from his pen has survived in fragments.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Erland Dryselius, *Lineamenta gloriae Svecicae*, Wittenbergae, 1673.

Erland Dryselius, *Monarch-Spegel, eller Kort Berättelse om de Fyra Monarchier och Hufwud Regimenten i Werlden, ifrån den Förste Monarchen Nimrod, in til denne tid regerande Keisar Leopold I. af åtskillige Trowärdige Historieskrifware, på vårt Swänska Språk, enfaldigt sammanfattadt*, Jönekjöping, 1691

*Secondary*

B. Olsson, art. 'Dryselius, Erlandus Brodderi', in *Svensk Biografisk Lexikon*, vol. 11, Stockholm, 1932, 472-5

R. Björkman, *Jönköpings historia III*, Jönköping, 1919, pp. 429-37

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Luna Turcica eller Turkeske måne 'Turkish moon'

DATE 1694

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Swedish

## DESCRIPTION

*Luna Turcica* (in full, *Luna Turcica eller Turkeske måne, anwijsandes lika som uti en spegel det mahometiske wanskelige regementet*, 'Turkish moon that shows as in a mirror the Muhammadan government of vanity') was intended to be a treatise about the Turkish government and specifically their tyranny, written in order to give Christian readers a bad example to avoid. The octavo volume of 515 pages only partly fulfils these expectations because of the author's recurring lack of focus. Ch. 1 (pp. 1-64) gives a short and conventionally hostile biography of Muḥammad and then a summary of the history of Muslim rulers (Arabs, Seljuq Turks and Tatars) down to the coming of the Ottoman Turks. Questions related to the faith of Islam are discussed briefly, as Dryselius ridicules elements of the Qur'an by the use of rationalist argumentation. Some elements of the Muslim lifestyle, such as the treatment of women, are also scathingly touched on in ch. 4 (pp. 438-515), which focuses primarily on the Ottoman government and military.

Chs 2 and 3 (pp. 65-236, and 237-438), give a history of the Ottoman Empire from its foundation to 1688. Here Dryselius's method of compiling his narrative from a huge variety of unspecified sources becomes problematic. On the one hand, he often dedicates long sections to events not related to the Ottomans at all, such as a five-page description of Leopold I's coronation as King of Hungary. On the other, he often fails to create and apply his own perspective, which results in confusion. This is best illustrated by the treatment of Imre Thököly, the leader of the Hungarian anti-Habsburg movement in the 1670s-80s: he is introduced twice, once as a cruel supporter of the Ottomans, then as a pious and virtuous defender of Protestantism.

Despite all this, Dryselius is consistent in the negative image he gives of the Muslims.

*Luna Turcica* is illustrated with relatively unsophisticated woodcuts, some of them (depicting Charles V and Ferdinand I) re-used from Dryselius's *Monarch-Spiegel*.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The impact of Dryselius's work on his contemporaries is unknown, while in recent literature it is only referred to briefly in passing among other anti-Turkish works. Proper research on it has not yet been carried out. The general lack of knowledge about it is exemplified by the fact that the simple woodcut on p. 157 depicting a massacre has been repeatedly published as an illustration of the early modern Swedish image of Turkish cruelty, in spite of the fact that it shows Christian soldiers taking revenge on the Christian garrison of Pápa, who had submitted to the Ottomans.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Erland Dryselius, *Luna Turcica eller Turkeske Måne, anwijsandes lika som uti en Spegel det mahometanske wanskelige Regementet*, Jönköping, 1694; BLL01017840807 (digitised version available through the British Library)

#### STUDIES

- G. Kármán, 'Magyarország és Erdély egy XVII. századi svéd népkönyvben', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 120 (2004) 105-18
- E. Świącicka, 'Den diplomatiska trafiken mellan Sverige, Tatariet och Osmanska riket från Gustav Vasas tid till Karl XII', in R. Bostrom Andersson (ed.), *Den nordiska mosaiken. Språk- och kulturmöten i gammal tid och i våra dagar. Humanistdagarna vid Uppsala Universitet 1997*, Uppsala, 1997, 291-305, p. 300
- G. Broberg, 'Stormaktstida möten', *Multiethnica* 8 (1991) 2-4
- T.J. Arne, *Svenskarna och Österlandet*, Stockholm, 1952, pp. 65-70

Gábor Kármán

# Ludvig Holberg

DATE OF BIRTH 3 December 1684  
PLACE OF BIRTH Bergen  
DATE OF DEATH 28 January 1754  
PLACE OF DEATH Copenhagen

## BIOGRAPHY

Ludvig Holberg was born in 1684 in Bergen, Norway (then under Danish rule). He received his primary education there, and went on to study philosophy and theology at the University of Copenhagen, graduating in 1702. In 1704, he went to Amsterdam to continue his studies and then to Oxford in 1706, where he spent time at the Bodleian Library reading books not available in Denmark. He returned to Copenhagen with the manuscript of a work entitled *Introduktion til de fornemste europæiske Rigers Historie fortsat indtil disse sidste tider* ('An introduction to the history of the more important European states, continued until recent times'), and had it published in 1711.

A professor of Greek studies at the University of Copenhagen persuaded Holberg to visit Germany as mentor for his son, and in 1714-16 he went to France and Italy, where he had time once again to study books on contemporary issues not available in Denmark. In 1716, he published *Introduction til Naturens- og Folke-Rettens Kundskab* ('Introduction to the law of nature and of nations'), introducing to the Danish public ideas of important European legal scholars as the Dutchman Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and the German Samuel Pufendorf (1632-94). The book is an excellent example of what remained the driving force in all his published legal and historical books: a wish to introduce to the Danish public matters and subjects discussed in a wider European Enlightenment context.

Holberg became a professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1717, and initially had to lecture on metaphysics and various classical Greek and Latin subjects until he became Professor of History in 1730. During the following years he published a large number of books on Danish and European history, church history, the history of the Jews, and two volumes containing biographies of important men and women through history. In many of his historical books, as well as in his later works on moral law and ethics, he wrote about Islam and Muslims and became

the first academic scholar to introduce knowledge about Islam in Danish. In many cases, he introduced and discussed aspects pertaining to Islam that had been unknown earlier. An example can be found in his *Almindelig Kirke-Historie* ('General history of the Church') published in 1738, where he carefully explains the Muslim perception of Islam not as a new religion but as a correction of earlier monotheistic revelations (p. 400). Through translations of his writings into several languages (English, Dutch, French, Russian and German), he was internationally recognised as a historian and moral philosopher. He also wrote novels and plays, many of which are still performed in Denmark and Norway.

Holberg died in Copenhagen in 1754.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Ludvig Holberg, *Almindelig Kirke-Historie Fra Christendommens første Begyndelse Til Lutheri Reformation. Med nogle Anmærkninger Over de udi Historien omtalte Cyclis og Aars-Beregninger*, Copenhagen, 1738

Ludvig Holberg, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammenlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade*, Copenhagen, 1739

J.A. Scheibe, *Nachricht von dem Leben und den Schriften Holbergs*, Copenhagen, 1764

C.W. Smith, *Om Holbergs Levnet og populære Skrifter*, Copenhagen, 1858

G. Brandes, *Ludvig Holberg*, Copenhagen, 1884

#### *Secondary*

S. Olden-Jørgensen, *Ludvig Holberg som pragmatisk historiker. En historiografisk-kritisk undersøgelse*, Copenhagen, 2015

K. Schmidt, *Ludvig Holbergs Heltehistorier. Mellem moralfilosofi og historie*, Copenhagen, 2014

P. Braks, 'Holbergs historiske helte', in A.E. Sejten (ed.), *Helte og antihelte. En litteraturkritisk mosaik*, Frederiksberg, 2006, Kap. 2, 21-34

L.R. Langslet, *Den store ensomme. En biografi om Ludvig Holberg*, Copenhagen, 2002

S.H. Rossel, *Ludvig Holberg, a European writer. A study in influence and reception*, Amsterdam, 1994

F. Bull, *Ludvig Holberg som historiker*, Kristiania, 1913



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær  
 Orientaliske og Indianske sammenlignede Historier  
 og Bedrifter

‘Comparison of the history and achievements  
 of several great heroes and praiseworthy men,  
 particularly Orientals and Indians’

DATE 1739

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Danish

## DESCRIPTION

Holberg comments on Islam, Muslims and Muḥammad in many of his books. In his two-volume book published in 1739, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammenlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade* (‘Comparison of the history and achievements of several great heroes and praiseworthy men, particularly Orientals and Indians, according to the way of Plutarch’), he compares Muḥammad and Zoroaster. This was his most comprehensive introduction to Muḥammad and Islam. The book became a best-seller, and was reprinted three times within a few decades (1742, 1753 and 1763). It was translated into German in 1741, republished in 1748, 1753, 1754 and 1756, published twice in an incomplete Dutch edition in 1748 and 1757 and in full in 1769, and published in an incomplete edition in Russian in 1766. No wonder that in 1745 he found it worthwhile to publish *Adskillige Helteinders og Navnkundige Damers Sammenlignede Historier efter Plutarchi Maade* (‘Comparison of several female heroes and praiseworthy ladies according to the way of Plutarch’).

Holberg thought that the works published in the 17<sup>th</sup> century on the world outside Europe obliged European scholars to include the history of these places in their academic work. Accordingly, his own two volumes on important historical individuals had to introduce heroes unknown to the European public, from America and Asia. (By the way, a number of French, German and English authors of this time also copied Plutarch’s format; see Schmidt, *Ludvig Holbergs Heltehistorier*, pp. 32-4).

Although a number of important Muslim sources had been published and thus made available for closer research, Holberg’s discussion of Muḥammad and Islam (vol. 2, pp. 1-108) is not based on an analysis of

primary sources available in his time. Throughout his many books, he refers now and then directly to Muslim writers as well as to the Qur'an, but in general he relies heavily on two books by the English Orientalist Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724), *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* (1698) and *The history of the Jews and neighbouring nations* (1716-18). He also used Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), Gottfrid Arnold's *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (1699), Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1720), Henri de Boulainvilliers' *La vie de Mahomed* (1731) and Adriaan Reland's *La religion des Mahometans* (1721). His many *verbatim* borrowings from the books he used without proper references have long been recognised (Amundsen, 'Om Helte-historiernes tilblivelse', p. 15; Langslet, *Den store ensomme*, pp. 22-4).

Holberg's understanding of Islam rests on the traditional Christian interpretation of Muḥammad as a false prophet. Thus, Islam is a false religion that was invented by Muḥammad himself. He explains how Muḥammad's parents died when he was a child, how he married the wealthy widow Khadija and travelled to Syria and Palestine. He realised changes were underway, as his contemporaries were beginning to give up their traditional religious beliefs. Thanks to his wife's wealth, he was able to withdraw from ordinary daily life and began to live for periods of time as a hermit in a cave. Coming back one night to his wife, he told her how he was receiving revelations from God through the archangel Gabriel. Khadija was sceptical, but in secret Muḥammad persuaded a Christian monk to confirm his claims. Khadija was then convinced and became the first to accept that he was God's messenger. After her, a few more accepted his claim and the first believers were won.

Holberg goes on to explain how Muḥammad was able to impress and influence the local population and how he described the paradise that would be awarded to those who accepted his claims, and the hell to which those who rejected them would be condemned. He made public his revelations, some written by the monk, and in this way he was able to seduce many people. The powerful in Mecca resisted him, forcing him to migrate with his followers to Medina in 622. There he changed his tactics, as a growing number of people required him to perform miracles to prove his claims. He initially presented his revelation as a miracle but his opponents were not convinced, so he took up arms to force them to follow him. By the time he died, most of Arabia had accepted Islam.

Holberg ends his biography with a description of how the rulers after Muḥammad were able to maintain the fervour of the early Muslims, and how the caliphs used the sword to conquer the Middle East, Persia and North Africa. He also offers an introduction to the theological principles of Islam based on Adriaan Reland (p. 95), though he himself is not convinced and concludes: *Men denne grundlærde Mand [i.e. Reland] maa sige saa meget som han lyster, til den Mahomedanske Lærdoms forsvær, saa bethøver man kun at læse Alcoranen, for at blive langt anderledes overbevist, nemlig at det meste, som derudi indholdes, er Foster af en Drømmers og forvirred Mands Hierne* ('But this very learned person [i.e. Reland] may say as much as he wants in defence of Muḥammad's learning, we only need to read the Qur'an to become far differently convinced that most of its content is a creation of the imagination of a dreamer and a confused man's brain') (p. 98).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Despite the fact that Holberg's account of Islam and Muḥammad is based on other scholars' ideas, it remains important because he was the first scholar in Denmark to introduce Islam to his contemporaries and to engage in an effort to understand Islam in its proper historical context. In this respect, he freed Muḥammad from the earlier Christian tradition and tried instead to understand him as a man of his own time.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Ludvig Holberg, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1739

Ludvig Holberg, *Vergleichung der Historien und Thaten verschiedener insonderheit orientalisches- und indianischer grosser Helden und berühmter Männer. Nach Plutarchi Beyspiel*, Copenhagen, 1741 (German trans.); Biogr.c. 157 b-1 [2] (digitised version available through MDZ)

Ludvig Holberg, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1742

Ludvig Holberg, *Vergeleken geschichten en daden, van verscheide zo oostersche als Indiesche grote helden en beroemde mannen, naar het voorbeeld van Plutarchus*, Amsterdam, 1748 (abbreviated Dutch trans. from the German)

- Ludvig Holberg, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1753
- Ludvig Holberg, *Vergleichung der Historien und Thaten verschiedener insonderheit orientalisch- und indianischer grosser Helden und berühmter Männer. Nach Plutarchi Beyspiel*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1754 (German trans.); 113018005512 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen)
- Ludvig Holberg, *Vergleichung der Historien und Thaten verschiedener insonderheit orientalisch- und indianischer grosser Helden und berühmter Männer. Nach Plutarchi Beyspiel*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1756 (German trans.)
- Ludvig Holberg, *Vergeleken geschichten en daden, van verscheide zo oostersche als Indiesche grote helden en beroemde mannen, naar het voorbeeld van Plutarchus*, Amsterdam, 1757 (abbreviated Dutch trans.)
- Ludvig Holberg, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1763; 113018005431 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen)
- Ludvig Holberg, *Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske sammlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maade*, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1864-5
- Ludvig Holberg, *Sravneniē zhitū i die l raznykh, a osoblivo Vostochnykh i Īndūsikikh velikikh geroev i znamenitykh muzheĭ, po primieru Plutarkhovu*, St Petersburg, 1766 (partial Russian trans.)
- Ludvig Holberg, *Vergeleken geschichten en daden, van verscheide zo oostersche als Indiesche grote helden en beroemde mannen, naar het voorbeeld van Plutarchus*, Amsterdam, 1769 (Dutch trans.)

## STUDIES

- Olden-Jørgensen, *Ludvig Holberg*
- Schmidt, *Ludvig Holbergs Heltehistorier*
- Braks, 'Holbergs historiske helte'
- J.B. Simonsen, *Islam med danske øjne. Danskernes syn på islam gennem 1000 år*, Copenhagen, 2004
- Langslet, *Den store ensomme*
- Rossel, *Ludvig Holberg*

L. Amundsen, 'Om Helte-historiernes tilblivelse. Holbergs bruk av literære kilder', in F. Bull and C.S. Petersen (eds), *Holberg Aarbog*, Copenhagen, 1925  
Bull, *Ludvig Holberg som historiker*

**Jørgen Bæk Simonsen**

# Georg Hjersing Høst

DATE OF BIRTH 1734  
PLACE OF BIRTH Vitten  
DATE OF DEATH 1794  
PLACE OF DEATH Copenhagen

## BIOGRAPHY

Georg Hjersing Høst was born in Vitten, a small town 30 km north-west of Århus in Denmark, in 1734. He finished high school in 1752 and was admitted to the University of Copenhagen, where he graduated with a degree in theology in 1755. He also studied Arabic, and in 1760 he was employed by Dansk-Afrikansk Kompagni (the Danish-African Company), which had been established by a group of private investors in 1749 to engage in trade with Africa in general and Morocco in particular. The Company was legally recognised in 1755, but it never succeeded in its efforts to establish a profitable trade with Morocco or other parts of North Africa and was dissolved in 1767.

In 1761, Høst was appointed vice-consul and was thus formally recognised as an official Danish diplomat in the sultanate of Morocco with direct access to the administration of the sultanate. He met and negotiated on a regular basis with the sultan's representatives as well as with the sultan, Sidi Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (r. 1757-90) himself. Through his work in the Danish-African Company and his diplomatic position he gained a thorough knowledge of the Moroccan economy and agriculture and local products around the country, as well as the arts and crafts in the many towns throughout the sultanate. During his eight years in the country, he used his command of Arabic to deepen his understanding of how ordinary Moroccans lived, and become thoroughly acquainted with their cultural customs and religious beliefs and practices. His official status as vice-consul gave him access to the court and, through his many conversations and discussions with officials at all levels, he gained an extraordinary insight into both the official and unofficial rules governing the sultan's administration.

Høst returned to Denmark in 1768, and from 1769 to 1776 he lived and worked for the Danish king in the Virgin Islands. In 1755, the Danish trading company that had established control over the islands late in

the 17<sup>th</sup> century was declared bankrupt, and control of the islands was transferred from them to the Danish crown. The islands remained under Danish control until they were sold to the United States in 1917.

Høst published two books about Morocco, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* (1779), and *Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed Ben Abdallahs historie* (1791). He died in Copenhagen in 1794.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Georg Høst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes, samlede der i landene fra 1760 til 1768*, Copenhagen, 1779

Georg Høst, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fez, im Lande selbst gesammelt, in den Jahren 1760 bis 1768*, Copenhagen, 1781

Georg Høst, *Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed Ben Abdallahs historie*, Copenhagen, 1791

### Secondary

K. Larsen and S.E. Green-Pedersen, art, 'Georg Hjersing Høst', in *Dansk Biografisk leksikon*, Copenhagen, 1979-84<sup>3</sup>; <http://denstoredanske.dk/index.php?sideld=291751>

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Efterretninger om Marokos og Fes, samlede der i Landene fra 1760 til 1768*

'Information about Morocco and Fes collected in the countries from 1760 to 1768'

DATE 1779

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Danish

### DESCRIPTION

When Høst returned to Denmark from the Virgin Islands in 1776, he began preparations for his first book on Morocco *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes, samlede der i landene fra 1760 til 1768* ('Information about Morocco and Fes collected in the countries from 1760 to 1768'). It was published in Copenhagen in 1779. In the preface, he explains that, during his stay in Morocco, he often wrote down his daily experiences in order to give news to people back home. On his return to Denmark, he met Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), who had been a member of a scientific expedition to

Arabia between 1761 and 1767, sponsored by King Frederik V (r. 1746-66). Niebuhr urged Høst to publish his many notes, and he finally complied.

Høst explains at length why he agreed to publish the book. Relations between Denmark and Morocco had been growing closer for decades, and with this in mind Høst realised the general need in Denmark for more substantial knowledge about Morocco. He is careful to assure his readers of his deep knowledge of Morocco, now presented for the general reader as well as for professional Danish traders who wished to trade in the region, despite the sad demise of the company for which he had worked for several years.

His book is divided into 10 chapters: ch. 1 offers an introduction to the history of Morocco (pp. 1-66 in the 1779 edition); ch. 2 presents a description of the country and its regions, cities and infrastructure (pp. 66-94); ch. 3 offers a thorough ethnographic description of the various groups living in the country (Berbers, Arabs, renegades – converted foreigners who had settled in the country, Jews, Christians, and the many blacks who were testimony to the close contact between Moroccan traders and the entire Sahel area), their daily life, what they eat and drink, how they dress, how they perform weddings and funerals, and it also gives an introduction to the many languages used in the different parts of the sultanate (pp. 94-158); ch. 4 describes how the government and the court function (pp. 158-72); ch. 5 briefly introduces the organisation of the army and the navy and how the officers are educated, and also describes some of the fortifications along the Moroccan coast (pp. 172-3); ch. 6 describes the corsairs and how their ships are built, and where as well as how they organised their raids on Christian ships along the Moroccan coast and elsewhere (pp. 173-5); ch. 7 gives a very detailed description of the religious beliefs and rituals of the Muslims, the various religious sects, local saints, mosques and how the local religious authorities work (pp. 175-200); ch. 8 introduces the reader to the two most important languages of the sultanate, Arabic and Berber, outlines the theology and philosophy of the scholars, describes the legal system and how medicine is practised, introduces Moroccan poetry and music, describes examples of the local architecture, and ends with information about how the various crafts are organised (pp. 200-51); ch. 9 explains how both international and local trade is organised, and describes the customs and the tariffs demanded by the sultan and his administration, the currency in circulation and what measures and weights are used (pp. 251-68); finally, ch. 10 offers a description of the wild animals, birds, trees, wild flowers and the general



vegetation, ending with a short listing of the minerals found in the different parts of the sultan's domain (pp. 268-91).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Høst gives the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century Danish reader a very informative book on the daily life of the various ethnic and religious groups in Morocco, and offers a description of Islam as interpreted and practised by Muslims in the country. Although he now and then expresses critical views, what he writes conforms to the generally positive Enlightenment view of the world outside Europe. In general, he is not at all condescending towards either Islam or Muslims and does his best throughout the book to help the reader understand the framework in which the Muslim Moroccans live their daily life and practise their religion as he witnessed it during the eight years he spent in the country.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Georg Høst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes, samlede der i landene fra 1760 til 1768*, Copenhagen, 1779; 30:2,-281 (digitised version available through Det Kongelige Bibliotek)

Georg Høst, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fez, im Lande selbst gesammelt, in den Jahren 1760 bis 1768*, Copenhagen, 1781 (German trans.); 30:2,-281 (digitised version available through Det Kongelige Bibliotek)

Georg Høst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes, samlede der i landene fra 1760 til 1768*, Copenhagen, 1799

Georg Høst, *Relations sur les royaumes de Marrakech et Fés, recueillies dans ces pays de 1760 à 1768*, Rabat, 2002 (French trans.)

#### STUDIES

Neither of Høst's books of 1779 and 1791 has been the subject of academic analysis. They have been used by:

F. Løkkegaard, 'Semitisk og Østerlandsk filologi' [Semitic and Oriental philology], in *Københavns Universitet 1479-1979*, Copenhagen, 1979-2001, vol. 8, 477-509

C.F. Waaben, *Danmark og Barbareskerne 1746-1845* [Denmark and the Barbary states], Copenhagen, 1919

Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed  
ben Abdallahs historie  
'The history of the Moroccan Emperor  
Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh'

DATE 1791

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Danish

DESCRIPTION

In 1791, Høst published *Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed ben Abdallahs historie*, based on his personal impression of the sultan acquired through his work as vice-consul in the Moroccan sultanate. He describes the relationship between the sultan and himself as a professional one based on mutual sympathy, although the book records a number of instances in which relations between the two were less sympathetic because of economic and political tensions between the two powers. In general, he offers a detailed account of the power struggle inside the sultanate during Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh's reign.

The establishment of the Danish-African Company to increase the trade between Denmark and North Africa was strongly supported by the ruling Moroccan sultan, who in 1751 approached the king of Denmark to establish more formal links for the benefit of both countries. In 1753, a formal bilateral agreement was signed, to be followed by several others despite the fact that the trading company was abolished in 1757.

Both Moroccan and other North African corsairs seized many Danish ships and seamen during the years Høst spent in Morocco. The captives were enslaved for shorter or longer periods of time until most of them were ransomed by private or official Danish intervention. Høst mentions in *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* that, to the best of his knowledge no Danish seaman enslaved in Morocco converted to Islam: 'To the honour of the nation there are no Danish renegades and never have been' (*Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes*, p. 158) and, in his history he mentions that the sultan showed disrespect and contempt for Europeans who did convert (*Den marokkanske Kejser*, p. 87).

SIGNIFICANCE

Høst's book gave Danish readers a rare insight into the scope of Danish diplomatic and commercial relations with a part of the world that for many would seem remote and exotic. Developing relations between

Muslim states in North Africa and such northern European countries as Denmark shows how awareness of the Islamic world and of Islam was increasingly available from first-hand accounts, and not only from polemical Christian literature based on dubious sources that simply perpetuated old tropes.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Georg Høst, *Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed ben Abdallahs historie*, Copenhagen, 1791; 30:2,-281 (digitised version available through Det Kongelige Bibliotek)

Georg Høst, *L'histoire de l'empereur du Maroc Mohamed Ben Abdallah*, trans. U.K. Damgaard, Copenhagen, 1791, republished Rabat, 1998, 2002 (French trans.)

#### STUDIES

The work has not been the subject of academic analysis. It is referred to in:

Løkkegaard, 'Semitisk og Østerlandsk filologi'

Waaben, *Danmark og Barbareskerne 1746-1845*

**Jørgen Bæk Simonsen**

## Danish captivity narratives

### DESCRIPTION

Denmark had extensive trade with North Africa and the rest of the Middle East through the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and a number of seamen were taken captive by corsairs from the Sultanate of Morocco or from the semi-autonomous Ottoman provinces of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. We have no reliable knowledge of the total number of European captives and recent research gives very different estimates, from one million (Davis, *Christian slaves*, p. 8) to 180,000 (Panzac, *La marine ottoman*, p. 95). The exact number of Danes taken captive is also unknown and is generally estimated at a few thousand in all (Wandel, *Danmark og Barbarekerne*, p. 3).

Most Danes were taken at sea, but several times North African corsairs also raided the coasts of areas that were part of Denmark. In 1627, they raided several places in Iceland and took with them 242 prisoners, and in 1629 they raided a small settlement in the Faroe Islands, taking 30 local women with them as prisoners (Helgason, 'Historical narrative'). As a result, the king ordered the navy to intensify surveillance of the sea around both Iceland and the Faroe Islands in an effort to protect his subjects (Gøbel, 'Danish "Algerian sea passes"').

The purpose of the corsair raids was, of course, to demand ransoms. Thus the captives were allowed to write letters to both the Danish king and their families urging them to raise money to set them free. Money was also collected in local churches, so the public all over the country was well aware of the dangers involved in trade in the Mediterranean and along the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The increasing number of captives forced the Danish king to establish a Slave Fund in 1715, financed by taxes on cargo, contributions from seamen and officers as well as small sums from their salary, and also sums from private companies engaged in international trade. From this fund, 163 persons were ransomed in the period 1715-36 (Gøbel, 'Danish "Algerian sea passes"', pp. 173-4, although many were never ransomed and were sold at slave markets in the Barbary states. They were set to build harbours, palaces, public buildings and fortifications along the coast, and also to work in local crafts or farms.

In an effort to reduce the raids, from 1746 onwards Denmark signed treaties with Barbary states. In 1746 a treaty was signed with the Dey in

Algiers, in 1751 with the Bey in Tunis, in 1752 with the sultan in Tripoli, in 1753 with the sultan of Morocco, and in 1756 with the sultan in Istanbul. These treaties were accompanied in 1747 by the introduction of Algerian sea passes. Ships under the Danish flag were issued with these, so that if they were accosted by corsairs they were usually allowed to sail on. In the years between 1747 and 1848, the Danish authorities issued around 28,000 passes.

After their release and return to Denmark, a number of ransomed captives published books about their experiences. The raid on the island of Heimaey off the southern coast of Iceland in 1627 resulted in 242 captives being taken back to Algiers (Helgason, 'Historical narrative', pp. 275-6). One of the captives was the local priest, Olafur Egilsson, who was sent back to Iceland to try to raise ransom money. He was able to raise some of the amount but not the total needed, and some captives had to remain where they were. On his return, he published a small book in which he described how the captives were taken to Algiers, how they were treated, and how some of them were finally ransomed. His book also gives interesting details about Algeria in general, though there is not much information about the religion or how the local population lived (Kristensen, *Barberiet tur retur*).

In 1724, Hark Olufs was taken captive by corsairs close to the Scilly Isles off the west coast of England and sold as a slave in Algiers. He was traded several times before he was finally bought by the Bey of Constantine. He became the bey's personal servant, learned both Turkish and Arabic, and was appointed to head the tax administration. He was later appointed chief of the bey's private guard, with several hundred men under his command. In 1732, he was appointed chief of the bey's cavalry and took part in several battles, and also participated with the bey and thousands of his entourage in a pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1735, in a foray against the bey of Tunis, he volunteered to steal into the enemy camp, enabling him to suggest a surprise night attack. This was successful, and as a reward Hark Olufs was granted his freedom and he returned to his home island of Amrun in April 1736.

Years later, he told the local priest, Otto Riese, about his years away from his native country and his many adventures in Algiers and Constantine. His account was edited in 1747 with the title *Hark Olufs besynderlige advanturer eller forunderlige skiebne i tyrkiet samt hans lykkelige hjemkomst derfra til sit fædreland, den Øe Amrun i Riber-Stift efter hans egen mundtlige udsigelse for merkverdighedens skyld opteget og til trykken*

*udgivet af Otto Riese*. The book is 31 pages long, and contains only a few details about the habits and traditions of the Barbary population. People questioned whether his experiences as chief of the bey's guard, his later position as chief of the cavalry, and his participation in the pilgrimage indicated a possible conversion to Islam, though Hark Olufs insisted that he had always remained loyal to his Christian faith (Rheinheimer, *Der fremde sohn*; Guldberg and Rheinheimer, *Pirater og kristne slaver*).

In 1749, a Jew named Josef Buzaglo de Paz succeeded in raising interest to engage in trade with the sultan of Morocco. De Paz emphasised that the ruling sultan was interested in establishing closer contact with Denmark, and as a result an official Danish delegation was organised. At first everything looked encouraging, and soon an agreement was reached between the two sides, but traders from other countries convinced the Moroccan ruler that the Danes intended to establish a fort on the coast. As a result, all persons related to the Danish mission were taken prisoners while negotiations were conducted between the two countries. In the end, a formal treaty was signed in 1753, and all the captives were released. One of them, named Wilhelm Friedrich Ravn, who was responsible for the accounts of the mission to Morocco, published a short book in 1754 on his experiences entitled *Kort underretning om det Maroccanske slaverie i aarene 1751, 1752 og 1753, dagviis forfattet på vers* ('Brief notification about the Moroccan slavery in the years 1751, 1752 and 1753, written as a diary and composed in rhymed verses'). A year later, it was translated into German prose and the diary format abandoned. According to the introduction to this edition, Ravn's original book was well received and widely read (*Kort underretning*, p. 7). It should be said, however, that neither Ravn nor his fellow Danes were slaves. The allusion in the title was probably to help the book sell.

Ravn gives little information about the religious life of the local population, although he briefly mentions that the Ramaḍān fast lasts all day and that the people eat at night (*Kort underretning*, p. 61). He also explains the Friday prayers and says that everyone returns to work afterwards (p. 85), he describes how the women are dressed and veiled in public (p. 26), and writes about the celebrations for the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad (p. 80). He also describes the punishment of a woman involved in adultery (pp. 32-3), and the execution of a Christian man who had been involved in adultery (p. 36). There is no sustained account of Moroccan religious beliefs or practices, however, which is probably explained by the fact that, along with the other prisoners from

the Danish mission, Ravn was kept in isolation and had no chance to mingle with the people.

In 1756, a book was published entitled *Sandfærdig fortællelse om de Christnes ynkværdig slaverie udi barbariet, især hos den Maroccanske keyser, med noget angaaende folkets religion, regierings-form, skikke og leve-maade forfattet for enhver Christen, som et opbyggeligt speyl, med en samtale imellem Theophilum og Timotheum, hvorudi den første fremstiller den historiske sandhed, hvilken Timotheus bruger til gudfrygtigheds opbyggelse*. It was written by Lars Diderich, and it is 144 pages long. In the 'Dedication', written in Bergen, Norway, and dated August 1755, the author says he was urged by many people to write about his experiences so that Christians would thank their God for his word and for the gracious and careful government He has established for people to live in. Having spent six years in captivity, he agreed to write and publish the book as a tribute to the king who ransomed him and others from slavery (*Sandfærdig fortællelse*, pp. 6-7). The text is written as a dialogue between Theophilus and Timotheus.

The book contains repeated praise of the Christian God, and has endless denials of the religion of the Moroccans. This is never referred to as Islam but as *den Mahomedanske tro* ('the Muḥammadan belief'), and is condemned as a teaching instigated by Satan. The captives were asked by the ruler to convert but they declined and were condemned to slavery (p. 20), though some did convert in order to gain their freedom. The author makes the point that these were all Catholics, while none of the Lutherans converted in all the six years of their captivity (p. 24). When the Danish mission to Morocco arrived in 1751, he wrote to ask for their help, but as they themselves were taken hostage nothing could be done (p. 44).

From p. 88 onwards, Diderich explains how the Qur'an (Alcoran), in spite of all its lies, agrees in several aspects with Christianity, though the experts never tried to explain these to the common people. The author is unable to describe how the religion is practised as it was forbidden for Christians to enter mosques, but he mentions the call to prayer, explains that the weekly holy day is Friday, though the people return to their daily work after prayers, and describes how they cleanse themselves before praying. He refers to three festivals a year, of which the one for Muḥammad's birthday is the greatest, the Ramaḍān fast, and the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, 'where their prophet Mahomet is buried' (p. 94).

In 1773 in Trondheim, a book was published by Niels Moss entitled *En fuldstændig historisk efterretning om de medfarendes skiæbne paa skibet*

*jomfrue Christina fra Tronhiem som i aaret 1769 blev optaget af Algieererne og gjorte til fanger, til deres hiemkomst derfra sidste i aaret 1772 hvorhos er tilføyet et kort anhang om staden Algiers beliggenhed, dens indvaanere og videre beskaffenhed eenfoldigt sammenskrevet af N. M.* It is 80 pages long, and like *Sandfærdig fortællelse* it offers an account of how Moss's ship was taken by the corsairs of Algiers, and how and where they worked during their captivity. The second half offers descriptions of the city of Algiers, and of how people are buried outside the walls, of the king's absolute power, of how people are punished if they commit a crime, of the city's hospital, and how slaves are accommodated in three houses, each with its own church. There is a chapter on the practice of religion, which contains a far more detailed description than any of the other captivity narratives. Moss also describes Muslim festivals, the month of fasting, and the marabouts and the miracles they perform.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Scandinavians had contact with Moors and Turks through trade and merchant naval activity in the Mediterranean, where it was almost impossible to avoid some encounter with Muslim pirates. Awareness of the danger of capture was acute. Efforts to raise ransom money to redeem Danish captives usually involved local churches, whose efforts would have been assisted by first-hand accounts such as these of experiences of captivity. However, those who read them would have gained little accurate knowledge about Islam, beyond the impression that followers of the religion were lawless and dangerous.

These early accounts of encounters may have helped prepare the way for later condemnatory attitudes towards Muslims and Islam among some parts of the Danish population.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Oluf Eigilssen, *En kort Beretning om de tyrkiske Søe-Røveres onde Medfart og Omgang, da de kom til Island i Aaret 1627, og der borttogte over 300 Mennesker, ihjelsloge mange, og paa tyrannisk Maade ilde medhandlede dem. Sammenskreven af Præsten Oluf Eigilssen fra Vest-Manøe, som tillige blev ført derfra til Algier, og 1628 kom tilbage igien*, Copenhagen, 1628

Otto Riese, *Hark Olufs, født på Øen Amron udi riber Stift i Jydland besynderlige avantures som have tildraget ham især til Constantine og paa andre steder i Africa, For deres merværdigheds skyld i trykken udgivet*, Copenhagen, 1747 (the Danish edition was reprinted



- several times in the following decades); 130017662822 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek)
- Otto Riese, *Hark Olufs aus der Insul Amron im Stifte Ripen in Jütland, gebürtig, sonderbare Avanturen, so sich mit ihm insonderheit zu Constantine und an andern Orten in Africa zugetragen Ihrer Merkwürdigkeit wegen in Dänischer Sprache zum Drucke befördert, itzo aber ins Deutsche übersetzt*, Flensburg, 1751 (German trans.); 11227605 (digitised version available through Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt)
- Wilhelm Friedrich Ravn, *Kort underretning om det Maroccanske slaverie i aarene 1751, 1752 og 1753, dagviis forfattet på værs af den ved expeditionen antagne Casserer Wilhelm Friedrich Ravn daværende slave*, Copenhagen, 1754; G 11277 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek)
- Wilhelm Friedrich Ravn, *Wilhelm Friedrich Ravns Zuverlässiger bericht von dem was während seiner Gefangenschaft in Marocko vorgefallen nebst andern die Person des dort regierende fürsten und seine Lebensart betreffende nach*, Copenhagen, 1754 (German trans.); G 11277/5 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek)
- Lars Diderich, *Sandfærdig fortællelse om de Christnes ynkværdig slaverie udi barbariet, især hos den Maroccanske keyser, med noget angaaende folkets religion, regierings-form, skikke og leve-maadet etc. Forfattet for enhver Christen, som et opbyggeligt speyl med en samtale imellem Theophilum og Timotheum hvorved den første fremstiller den historiske sandhed, hvilken Timotheus bruger til gudfrygtigheds opbyggelse. Til trykken fefordret af den, som selv ved sex aars id her erfaret Slaveriets Bitterhed*, Copenhagen, 1756; 130020102285 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek)
- Otto Riese, *Hark Olufs besynderlige avanturer eller forunderlige skiebne i tyrkiet samt hans lykkelige hjemkomst derfra til sit fædreland, den Øe Amron i Riber-Stift*, Haderslev, Jutland, 1761
- Niels Moss, *En fuldstændig historisk efterretning om de medfarendes skiebne paa skibet jomfrue Christina fra Tronheim som i aaret 1769 blev optaget af Algiererne og gjorde til fanger, til deres hjemkomst derfra sidste i aaret 1772. Hvorhos er tilføyet et kort anhang om staden Algiers beliggenhed, dens indvaanere og videre beskaffenhed. Enfoldigt sammenskrevet af N.M., Trondheim, 1773, repr. 1970; 112808036936 (digitised version available through Kongelige Bibliotek)*

Lars Diderich, *Sandfærdig fortællelse om de Christnes ynkværdig slaverie udi barbariet. Forfattet for enhver Christen, som et opbyggeligt speyl med en samtale imellem Theophilum og Timotheum*, Bergen, 1774

Otto Riese, *Hark Olufs besynderlige avanturer eller forunderlige skiebne i tyrkiet samt hans lykkelige hjemkomst derfra til sit fædreland, den Øe Amron i Riber-Stift*, Haderslev, Jutland, 1796

#### STUDIES

E. Gøbel, 'The Danish "Algerian sea passes", 1747-1838. An example of extraterritorial production of "human security"', *Historical Social Research* 35 (2010) 164-89

D. Panzac, *La marine ottoman. De l'apogée à la chute de l'Empire (1572-1923)*, Paris, 2009

R.C. Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters. White slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, Basingstoke, 2003

M. Guldberg and M. Rheinheimer, *Pirater og kristne slaver. En sømands møde med den islamiske kultur i 1700-tallet*, Esbjerg, 2003

J.I. Kristensen, *Barberiet tur retur*, Copenhagen, 2003

M. Rheinheimer, *Der fremde sohn. Hark Olufs wiederkehr aus der sklaveriei*, Neumünster, 2001

T. Helgason, 'Historical narrative as collective therapy. The case of the Turkish raid on Iceland', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 22 (1997) 275-89

H.C. Bjerg, 'Danmark og Barbaresk-Staterne 1745-1845', in K. von Folsach (ed.), *Den Arabiske rejse. Danske forbindelser med den islamiske verden gennem 1000 år*, Århus, 1996, 77-87

E. Gøbel, 'De algierske søpasprotokoller. En kilde til langfarten 1747-1840', *Arkiv, Tidsskrift for Arkivforskning* 9 (1982-3) 65-108

E.G. Friedman, 'Christian captives at "hard labor" in Algiers, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13 (1980) 616-32

A.B. Fossen, '"Under Turkish yoke and tyranny". Bergens sjofart og Barbareskstaterne ca. 1630-1845', *Sjøfartshistorisk Årbok* (1979) 233-56

E.G. Friedman, 'The exercise of religion by Spanish captives in North Africa', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 6 (1975) 19-34

C.F. Wandel, *Danmark og Barbareskerne 1746-1845*, Copenhagen, 1919

Netherlands





Illustration 6. Above, Shipwreck of the warship Het Huis in 't Bosch; below, Men freed from slavery arrive back in Amsterdam



# Simon Oomius

DATE OF BIRTH 1 March 1630  
PLACE OF BIRTH Heenvliet, The Netherlands  
DATE OF DEATH 25 November 1706  
PLACE OF DEATH Kampen, The Netherlands

## BIOGRAPHY

Simon Oomius (also Omius, Ooms) was born into a family of teachers and Reformed ministers. He studied Eastern languages, philosophy and theology in Leiden and Utrecht between 1647 and 1652, and in 1674 was awarded a doctorate in theology from Harderwijk University. He served as a minister in Purmerland (1654-74), in the Dutch army (1674-7) and in Kampen (from 1677 until his death).

In Leiden, he studied Arabic and Islam with Jacob Golius, and in his period in Purmerland he wrote 27 treatises and books for the general reader. He was a prominent author of *Nadere Reformatie* ('Strict Reformation'), a movement close to British Puritanism and German Pietism. He also showed some preference for mystical interpretations of scripture. After 1673, he wrote more than ten books about the political history of his country. He showed himself a proud supporter of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 in Great Britain, when Queen Mary and her Dutch spouse Prince William reintroduced Protestantism. As a prolific and popular author, he remained known as one of the *oudvader* or 'founding fathers' of the Dutch Strict Reformed tradition, though he was not always original; many of his writings were somewhat free translations of English works.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

- G.D. Schuringa, *Embracing leer and leven. The theology of Simon Oomius in the context of Nadere Reformatie orthodoxy*, Grand Rapids MI, 2013
- J. van den Berg and G. Brinkman, art. 'Oomius', in C. Houtman et al. (eds), *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme*, vol. 6, Kampen, 2006, 211-12
- F. van der Pol, 'Religious diversity and everyday ethics in the seventeenth century Dutch city Kampen', *Church History* 71 (2002) 16-62

K. Exalto, 'Simon Oomius (1630- c. 1707)', in T. Brienens (ed.), *De Nadere Reformatie en het Gereformeerd Piëtisme*, The Hague, 1989, 149-79

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Het Geopende en Wederleyde Muhammedisdom of Turckdom 'Islam or Turcism opened and rejected'

DATE 1663

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

#### DESCRIPTION

Oomius wrote this work, which is 991 pages long, with the twin purposes of correcting false representations of Islam and of giving examples of piety among Muslims, all for the benefit of his fellow Christians. But he also wrote to argue against the teachings and practices of Islam, because in his view Islam was built upon a combination of fragments of heresies and false teachings. His major sources were the works of Jacob Golius, Iohannes Andrea, Adriaan Reland and Richard Pococke, as well as Theodor Bibliander's Latin Qur'an.

The first four chapters give a general history of Islam, the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith, and the expansion of the faith through countries that had previously been entirely Christian, a point Oomius stresses. He explains that Muslims reject the doctrine of the Trinity, like the Socinians (this leads into a long excursus against Socinianism), and points out that, despite the great emphasis on monotheism among Muslims, veneration of saints crept into their tradition and Muslims honour them just like the 'Papists'. Ch. 5 discusses the possibility of the conversion of Muslims to Christianity because, in contrast to what is predicted in scripture about the Jews, there is no divine promise of their conversion.

The positive side of Islam comes to the fore in ch. 6 in the form of Arab proverbs translated from Thomas Erpenius's *Kitab al-amthāl* of 1614. The two last chapters, 7 and 8, which are each 100 pages long, deal with the challenging problem of Christians taken as slaves in the Mediterranean and North Africa. Oomius pleads that Christian prisoners should not embrace Islam, since Muslims have no respect for renegades and so apostasy would not improve their lot. To ransom Christian slaves is for him one of the seven works of charity, and he demonstrates in much



detail the efforts made by various towns and districts in the Netherlands to gather large sums of money in order to free them.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This book on Islam was a somewhat strange inclusion among Oomius's serious writings, but it is significant as a translation into Dutch from Latin works by professors at the universities of Leiden and Utrecht. Although it was initially planned as a help for seafarers who were in danger of being enslaved by Muslims, it often compares Islam to Catholicism, to the detriment of the latter, and uses Muslim beliefs and practices as an example for Christians.

In 2010, a reprint was published in order to 'provide sound knowledge of Islam and an orthodox appraisal' for Dutch people in the Netherlands who were now living with Muslim migrants in their midst. The reason why this modern reprint would be of use is explained as that it had been written by one of the leaders of the Strict Reformation.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Simon Oomius, *Het Geopende en Wederleyde Muhammedisdome of Turckdom*, Amsterdam 1663; H.g.hum. 433 v (digitised version available through MDZ)

P.H. Op 't Hof (ed.), *Simon Oomius. Het Geopende en Wederleyde Muhammedisdome of Turckdom*, Wijk en Aalburg, 2010 (reprint)

#### STUDIES

J. van den Berg, 'Een detail en detail. Over Simon Oomius en de Arabische taal', in G.J. van Klinken (ed.), *Jacob ging zijn weegs. Opstellen voor Jaap van Gelderen uit het Archief van de Theologische Universiteit Kampen*, Kampen, 2006, 41-6

J. van den Berg, 'Het Geopende en Wederleyde Muhammedanisdome of Turckdom. Beschrijving van een werk van Simon Oomius (1630-1706)', Kampen, 1998 (MA Diss. Kampen Theological University)

Karel Steenbrink

# Wouter Schouten

DATE OF BIRTH 2 September 1638  
PLACE OF BIRTH Haarlem, Dutch Republic  
DATE OF DEATH October 1704  
PLACE OF DEATH Haarlem

## BIOGRAPHY

Wouter Schouten was born into a wealthy family in Haarlem in 1638. He started to study medicine at the age of 14. On 16 April 1658, at the age of 19, he became an assistant surgeon for the Dutch Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) on the *Nieuwpoort*, a ship heading for Batavia in the Dutch East Indies, where he arrived on October 15. After almost a year, he travelled to Japara on the north coast of Java and to the Molucca Islands, making many observations that would become the groundwork for his later travel report. On Ambon, he was ordered to stay in Victoria Castle, but later he was allowed to travel around the Moluccan archipelago for almost a year. He witnessed the *hongi-tochten*, penal revenge exacted by the Dutch, who contracted local rulers to punish local communities for trading with competitors such as the Portuguese and Chinese by burning houses and moving populations. He gives a description of the Dutch attack on Makassar Castle, and the sultan's banishment of two thousand Portuguese. Portugal was by then the VOC's biggest competitor in the clove trade, in which the Dutch were seeking a monopoly.

Later, Schouten travelled to Arakan, a Dutch slave-trading post. He decided he had not seen enough of the world and signed a new three-year contract with the VOC. Back in Batavia, the Dutch decided to attack Portuguese posts on the coast of Malabar to gain a monopoly in the pepper trade. Quillon and Cranganor were conquered, but a first attack on Cochin failed. Back in Batavia, Schouten met with Philippus Baldaeus (1632-72). Cochin was taken a year later, but Schouten was by then travelling to Hoogly on the coast of Bengal, which he visited twice.

Schouten travelled back to the Dutch Republic in December 1664. His ship encountered English war vessels in the English Channel (the second Dutch-English war started on 3 March 1665) and had to take an alternative route around Ireland and Scotland, reaching Bergen in August 1665.

In 1665, Schouten started up as a medical practitioner in Haarlem. He married and was elected as a *vinder* (inspector) of the Haarlem Surgeons' Guild. He wrote two theses on the care of wounds, fractures and tumours and published some of his poems. In 1676, his travel reports were published as *Oost-Indische voyagie* ('East-Indian journey') in three parts in Amsterdam. He died in 1704.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

M. Breet and M. Barend-van Haeften, *De Oost-Indische voyagie van Wouter Schouten*, Zutphen, 2003 (repr. 2015)

### Secondary

M. Barend-van Haeften, 'Inleiding', in M. Barend-van Haeften and H. Plekenpol, *Wouter Schouten, dichter en VOC-chirurgijn. 36 gedichten bij de Oost-Indische voyagie*, Zutphen, 2012

M. Gosselink, 'Schilderijen van Bengaalse VOC-loges door Hendrik van Schuylenburgh', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 46 (1998) 390-409

M. Barend-van Haeften, 'Wouter Schouten. Haarlemmer, reiziger, schrijver en chirurgijn', in E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800*, Hilversum, 1993, 149-62

F.S. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, Zutphen, 1991

M. Barend-van Haeften, 'Wouter Schoutens "Papiere wicht". De *Oost-Indische voyagie* (1676)', *Indische Letteren* 6 (1991) 19-32

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Oost-Indische voyagie 'East-Indian journey'

DATE 1676

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

### DESCRIPTION

Schouten's journal, *Oost-Indische voyagie, Vervattende veel voornamen voorvallen en ongemeene vreemde geschiedenissen, bloedige Zee- en Landt-gevechten tegen de Portugeesen en Makassaren ; Belegering, Bestorming, en Verovering van veel voornamen Steden en Kasteelen. Mitsgaders Een curieuse Beschrijving der voornaemste Landen, Eylanden, Koninckrijcken en Steden in Oost-Indien; Als oock Sijn seer gevaerlijcke Wederom-Reyse naer 't Vaderlandt, daer in een bysondere harde ontmoetinge met*

*d'Engelsche Oorloghs-Vloot, soo in Bergen-Noorwegen, als in de Noord-Zee* ('East-Indian journey, containing many important events and very strange histories, bloody sea and land battles against the Portuguese and Makkasars; siege and assault of many important cities and castles, and a curious description of the most important countries, islands, kingdoms and cities in the East-Indies; also a very dangerous return to the fatherland, specifically a very harsh encounter with the English battle fleet both in Bergen and also in the North Sea'), was published in three books printed in one volume of 616 pages (in modern reprint with a small font still more than 500 pages). The first book begins with his departure from Holland in April 1658 and continues to his arrival in Batavia, his sailing to Ambon and return to Batavia in August 1660; the second book tells about his travels to Burma, south India and Sri Lanka; and the third book describes his two trips to Bengal, the return journey to Europe and his arrival in Holland in 1665.

Schouten's *Voyagie* contains a number of remarks about 'Mohammedans' and 'Mores', but in Book 3, ch. 9 (ed. Breet and Barend-van Haften, pp. 380-94), he describes the 'Moorse religie' (Moorish religion) systematically, and describes the 'rise of Muḥammad', his cunning, the Qur'an, mosques, prayers and fasting. He attempts to write a complete introduction to the Islamic religion and focuses on behaviour, rituals and ethics within a frame that shows a deep antipathy towards the sources of Islam, but also a deep respect for 'Bengalese Mores'.

He observes that 'Mohammedans' (later on he writes about 'Muzelmannen' or 'true believers') fill 'almost all' leadership functions in Bengal. They follow 'the false teachings of the Koran and the seducer Muḥammad'. In introducing the reader to the Moorish religion, Schouten writes about Muḥammad as a person of humble descent. He served as a soldier under the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-41), became a merchant and later emerged as a false prophet. He died in 632. He suffered from epilepsy, which was the cause of his 'drivel about divine revelations'. Sergius, the Arian monk, was his companion. Together, they established a new sect, collecting the Qur'an, which is a 'mishmash of Christianity and Judaism'. Muḥammad used the dissatisfaction that had arisen among the Saracens because Heraclius did not pay them, and by means of money, cunning words and deeds he succeeded in mobilising the Saracens to rob the lands of the empire.

Schouten explains Muḥammad's success by identifying three elements: Muḥammad's deceptive deeds and fanaticism (*geestdrijverij*),

permission to indulge desires of the flesh and polygamy, and warfare (p. 381). As the leader of thieves and robbers, Muḥammad was very sly and brave, carrying out his godless plans. In Medina, he was appointed by Abubakar, Ali, Omar and Otman to become the first *amiras* or king. From there, 'the new religion' was spread 'by means of arms'.

After these details about Muḥammad's biography, Schouten mentions the Qur'an as a book filled with 'collected lies and errors that are untrustworthy'. He gives a few examples: the belief that Christ was a great prophet but no more than a human being, that God is physically seated on a chair borne by angels, that salvation is impossible without God and Muḥammad, that Muḥammad can grant permission to marry as many women as a man likes, that he is the Counsellor mentioned in John 14:16 and the prophet mentioned in Deuteronomy 18:15. Schouten's account of the contents of the Qur'an becomes compromised towards the end of the section, and after mentioning some instructions about marrying and washing, he writes: 'Every person is allowed to kill heretics and unbelievers' (Schouten uses the blunt Dutch phrase 'van kant maken' for 'to kill', p. 381). He has a fascination for the Muslim belief in paradise as full of lust, luxury, pleasure and beautiful virgins, and describes it twice.

After describing the Qur'an, Schouten writes that Islam is split into four, aligned with Abubakar, Ali, Omar and Otman. The Persians curse Abubakar and venerate Ali 'as their greatest saint and prophet', while the Turks, following Abubakar, Omar and Otman, show most faith in the Qur'an, and the Moors consider Hassan and Hussain their greatest saints. Schouten mentions a few feasts, and describes at some length the commemoration during 'Āshūrā' (which he calls 'the feast of the two brothers Hassan and Hussain') as celebrated by the Moors. Schouten's description mentions interesting details, such as carrying around two coffins draped with weapons and jewellery, the making of two puppets that are cut up and burned, representing the murderers, and the fear of revenge among non-Shi'a and heathens.

Schouten's description is accompanied by an engraving showing a 'Mores feast in Bengal commemorating the murder of Hassan and Hussain'. He goes on to describe the architecture of mosques ('temples'), *ṣalāt*, and marriage, divorce and polygamy, where he shows interest in the status of women: 'Most of them are perceived as but poor sluts and slaves' (p. 388). On the other hand, Schouten writes repeatedly about the hospitable, polite and well-mannered Moors in Bengal, though they are not very responsive to his zeal to convert them (p. 391). He compares a



Illustration 7. Frontispiece of *Oost-Indische Voyagie* showing Dutch traders interacting with peoples of the East

Muslim wedding he attends in Batavia favourably with Christian weddings.

At the end of Part 3, Schouten reflects on the battle with the English he witnessed on his journey back home, and writes that this battle with Christians surpasses the cruelty of the battles he had seen in the East. The comparisons he makes might count as examples of his appreciation of Muslim conduct based on his own experiences, though the doctrinal framework he employs remains indebted to negative European attitudes towards Muḥammad and ‘the Muḥammadan belief’.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Voyagie* was a popular travel account throughout the later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1676, immediately after it was published, a German translation appeared, and it was republished in 1708, 1735 and 1775, while in 1725 a French translation entered the market. Schouten’s influence

lasted through the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He inspired several stories, such as Hendrik Smeeks' *Beschryvinge van het magtig koninkryk Krinke Kesmes* (1708) and Joannes Nomsz's *Anthonius Hambroek of de belegering van Formosa*. He also influenced historical works; according to François Valentijn (1666-1727), his description of Ambon was one of the best descriptions of the island.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam – OTM: OG 63-3964 (1675)

Wouter Schouten, *Oost-Indische voyagie, Vervattende veel voornamen voorvallen en ongemeene vreemde geschiedenissen, bloedige Zee- en Landt-gevechten tegen de Portugeesen en Makassaren ; Belegering, Bestorming, en Verovering van veel voornamen Steden en Kasteelen. Mitsgaders Een curieuse Beschrijving der voornaemste Landen, Eylanden, Koninkrijcken en Steden in Oost-Indien; ... Als oock Sijn seer gevaerlijcke Wederom-Reyse naer 't Vaderlandt, daer in een bysondere harde ontmoetinge met d'Engelsche Oorloghs-Vloot, soo in Bergen-Noorwegen, als in de Noord-Zee*, Amsterdam, 1676; Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden M 3c 102 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Walter Schultze, *Ost-Indische Reyse, worin erzehlt wird viel Gedenckwürdiges, und ungemeine seltzame Sachen, ... Aus dem Niederländischen ins Hochdeutsche übergesetzt durch J. D.*, Amsterdam, 1676 (German trans.); Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam OTM: OM 63-1093 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Wouter Schouten, *Reys-togten naar en door Oost-Indien; : in welke, de voornaemste landen, koningryken, steden eylanden, Bergen, en rivieren, met haare eigenschmeten, beneffens de wetten, godsdienst, zeden en dragten der inwoonders, en watverder zoo van dieren, vrugten, en planten aanmerkelyks in die gewesten is naauwkeurig word beschreven ... Hier is nog by gevoegt des autheurs gevaarlyke te rug-reys, in welke naauwkeuriger dan elders, beschreven werd, de harde bejegening onzer Oost Indize retour-scheepen, in de haven van Bergen in Noorwegen door de Engelze in 't jaar 1665. : Verzierd met een aanzienelyk getal voornamen, en door den schryver, naar 't leeven geteekende, afbeeldingen; zoo van steden, bergen en kasteelen, als andere beschouwens waardige vreemdigheden dier landstreeken,*

1708; Koninklijke Bibliotheek KW 2204 B 29 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Gautier Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales, commencé l'an 1658 & fini l'an 1665 trad. du Hollandois*, Rouen, 1725 (French trans.); Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden M k 44 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Wouter Schouten, *Reistogt naar en door Oost Indiën, waar in de voor-naamste landen, steden, eilanden, bergen, rivieren, enz.; de godsdienst, wetten, zeden, gewoonten, en kleding der bijzondere volken; en het merkwaardige in de dieren, planten en gewassen der indische gewesten, nauwkeurig worden beschreven : doormengd met veele ongewoone voorvallen, zonderlinge geschiedverhaalen, getrouwe berigten van bloedige zee- en veldslagen met de Portugeesen, Makassers en anderen / door Wouter Schouten ; verciert met koperen platen., in eenen verbeterden stijl en cierlijk Neêrduitsch gebragt, en met aantekeningen verrijkt*, Utrecht, 1775

Wouter Schouten, *Reistogt naar en door Oost Indiën, waar in de voor-naamste landen, steden, eilanden, bergen, rivieren, enz.; de godsdienst, wetten, zeden, gewoonten, en kleding der bijzondere volken; en het merkwaardige in de dieren, planten en gewassen der indische gewesten, nauwkeurig worden beschreven : doormengd met veele ongewoone voorvallen, zonderlinge geschiedverhaalen, getrouwe berigten van bloedige zee- en veldslagen met de Portugeesen, Makassers en anderen / door Wouter Schouten ; verciert met koperen platen., in eenen verbeterden stijl en cierlijk Neêrduitsch gebragt, en met aantekeningen verrijkt*, Amsterdam, 1780; 4 It.sing. 364 g-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Breet and Barend-van Haeften, *De Oost-Indische voyagie van Wouter Schouten*

#### STUDIES

M. Barend-van Haeften and H. Plekenpol, *Wouter Schouten, dichter en VOC-chirurgijn. 36 gedichten bij de Oost-Indische voyagie*, Zutphen, 2012

Barend-van Haeften, 'Inleiding'

Barend-van Haeften, 'Wouter Schouten. Haarlemmer, reiziger, schrijver en chirurgijn'

Barend-van Haeften, 'Wouter Schoutens "Papiere wicht"'



# Heinrich Seike

Henry Sike

DATE OF BIRTH 1669  
PLACE OF BIRTH Bremen  
DATE OF DEATH 20 May 1712  
PLACE OF DEATH Cambridge

## BIOGRAPHY

Heinrich Seike, later known as Henry Sike, was born in Bremen in 1669. Despite his family's modest means, from April 1687 he attended the prestigious local Gymnasium, where his studies included Hebrew as well as Latin and Greek, mathematics and theology. As was not unusual at the time, he left after three years 'without obtaining any kind of certificate' (Forster, 'Sike', p. 255). Joining the Danish army or navy, he served in the Levant, where he may have deserted and escaped a hanging. His interest in Arabic, which reputedly he taught himself, probably began during this period (Forster, 'Sike', p. 256).

On 11 September 1693, he enrolled as a student of theology at Leiden University. By 1699, having moved to Utrecht in 1697, he was involved in running a review journal, *Bibliotheca librorum novorum*, and also taught Arabic; Adriaan Reland was among his students. In 1697, he published his annotated translation of the Arabic Infancy Gospel, *Evangelium infantiae*, the work that firmly established his scholarly reputation. Colleagues and friends recommended him to Lord Huntington (d. 1705) in 1703 as a companion on his planned trip to Constantinople, though the earl only got as far as Rome. Sike learned English while travelling with Huntington, and spent most of his wages on manuscripts.

When the Regius Chair in Hebrew in Cambridge became vacant, Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity, was advised to recruit Sike. Huntington and others were among those who commended him. Bentley was attracted by his competence in Arabic as well as Hebrew, and he was duly appointed.

At Cambridge, Sike was mainly expected to engage in research, with few teaching duties. He duly embarked on a translation of ancient Arabic poetry, making use for this of the larger collection of Arabic works

at Oxford. Earlier, he had completed a Latin translation of the Qur'an, though this is now lost. He may have left it unpublished owing to the popularity of Ludovico Marracci's translation of 1698, exactly when he was working on his own version. There is some evidence, though, that his view of the Qur'an was very positive. Thomas Hearne (d. 1735) recorded a conversation from 22 May 1712 in which he was told by a Mr Oddy that Sike 'thought the Alcoran not only the elegantest but the most rational book in the world' (*Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne*, Oxford, 1889, vol. 3, p. 368).

Sike had a wide circle of academic friends. He maintained close links with Dutch scholars and enjoyed a considerable reputation for his linguistic skills, which some say were without match at this time. On 20 May 1712, he was found dead in his rooms, having hanged himself.

#### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

##### *Primary*

J.H. Monk, J. Wordsworth and C. Wordsworth (eds), *The correspondence of Richard Bentley, D.D., master of Trinity college, Cambridge*, London, 1842 (includes letters to Sike)

##### *Secondary*

A. Hamilton, art. 'Sike, Henry', in *ODNB*

L. Forster, 'Henry Sike of Bremen (1669-1712) Regius Professor of Hebrew and Fellow of Trinity', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10 (1933) 249-79

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Euangelium infantiae* : vel, Liber apocryphus de  
infantia Servatoris

'The Gospel of the infancy, or the apocryphal book  
of the infancy of the Saviour'

DATE 1697

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

##### DESCRIPTION

*Euangelium infantiae* is a 100-page annotated Latin translation of an Arabic manuscript that had belonged to Jacobus Golius (d. 1667). Already in

the process of translating the Qur'an, Sike would have been attracted to this work by references in the Qur'an to some of its contents. He did not himself versify the Latin translation, but when it was reproduced by J.A. Fabricius (*Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Hamburg, 1703), he divided it into 55 verses. Jeremiah Jones used this for his English translation (*A new and full method of settling the canonical authority of the New Testament*, Oxford, 1798, vol. 2, pp. 168-220).

In his Preface, Sike refers to mentions of the Gospel in early Christian writings, including by Irenaeus and John Chrysostom, suggesting that, while he thought the copy he had before him was from a date closer to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, it was likely that Muḥammad was familiar with this Gospel and that it was a source of some of what he wrote about Jesus (which assumes that Muḥammad compiled or wrote the Qur'an). Some scholars have reversed this, arguing that the Qur'an was the source for this Gospel's story of Jesus speaking from the cradle.

The opening verse of the *Evangelium* describes Jesus speaking in Mary's defence from the cradle, which Sike identifies with Q 19:30-3 (p. 3). While he does use the term 'pseudo prophet' (\*\*2) and refers to Islam as 'God's scourge on misguided Christians' (\*\*3), the work cannot be described as polemical.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Soon after Sike published his edition and translation, William Whiston and John Toland, among others, challenged the ways in which the four canonical Gospels were privileged over apocryphal gospels in theological discourse. Toland, who saw Islam as a sister faith that was closer than historical Christianity to Jesus' actual teaching, referred to Sike in his *Nazarenus* (London, 1719, p. 21), while George Sale, whose writings emphasised affinity and common ground between Christianity and Islam, also drew attention to the existence of Christian sectaries whose opinions about Jesus anticipated those of Muḥammad, questioning the view that these ideas were original to him (*Koran*, London, 1734, p. 42).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Henry Sike, *Euangelium infantiae: Vel, Liber apocryphus de infantia Servatoris. / Ex manuscripto edidit, ac Latina versione & notis illustravit*, Utrecht, 1697; Goertz 433 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

## STUDIES

- A. Hamilton, 'A Lutheran translator for the Quran. A late seventeenth century quest', in B. Westerweel, A. Hamilton and M.H. van den Boogert (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, Leiden, 2005, 197-222, pp. 215-19

**Clinton Bennett**

# Georg Everhard Rumphius

Jeuriaen Everhard Rumpf; Georg Eberhard Rumpf

DATE OF BIRTH 1 November 1627  
PLACE OF BIRTH Wolfersheim, Germany  
DATE OF DEATH 15 June 1702  
PLACE OF DEATH Ambon Island, Indonesia

## BIOGRAPHY

Georg Rumphius was born Georg Rumpf in 1627 in Wölfersheim, Hessen, Germany, and spoke Dutch from an early age because his mother had family in the Dutch Republic. His youth was troubled by the Thirty Years War, as well as a wave of plague in 1635. He learned Latin and studied at the gymnasium in Hanau. In 1645, at the age of 18, he joined the Dutch West-Indies Company (WIC) as a soldier and sailed to Brazil, where the Dutch and Portuguese were engaged in a trade war. After a chaotic journey, he landed in Portugal, where he remained for almost three years employed as a soldier. There is not much information about this period of his life.

Around 1649, he returned to Hanau. After his mother's death in 1651, he enlisted with the Dutch East India Company (VOC) as a midshipman. He arrived in Batavia in June 1653 and proceeded in November to Ambon Island, where he lived until his death nearly half a century later. On Ambon at the time of his arrival, the VOC was engaged in a war (1651-6) with local Muslim communities under the leadership of Kimelaha Madjira, who refused to meet the exacting demands of the VOC concerning the monopoly in the cultivation and trade of cloves, and was concerned about the spread of Christianity along the southern coast of Seram. Rumphius took part in this war between the Dutch and the island of Ternate as a reserve officer candidate.

In 1656, after Madjira was defeated, Rumphius became a technical officer at Victoria Castle. However, he started to dislike his military career, and a year later he requested a civilian position, which was granted to him by the governor. In 1657, he was assigned as a merchant at Larike, Ambon-Hitu. A few years later, in 1660, he was promoted to Hila and became 'head' of the west coast of Hitu, north of Ambon, where he started

to study the flora and fauna of the Spice Islands and collected specimens. He could read and write Malay in Arabic script and soon became well-known as a specialist in botanical science. He composed the *Kruidboek* ('The Ambonese herbal'), which is still read in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

He was appointed *secunde* in Ambon in 1666, serving directly under Joan Maetsuycker, the governor-general in Batavia. Because Maetsuycker had a keen interest in science, he granted Rumphius permission to suspend his normal duties and take time for study. In 1670, Rumphius was stricken by an illness that caused permanent blindness. He could not continue his work in Hitu and was sent to Ambon City where he served as a counsellor of the VOC.

In 1672, he was asked by the new governor, Anthonie Hurdt van Middelburg, to write a book on Ambon. Rumphius finished the work, entitled *De generale lant-beschrijvinge van het Ambonese Gouvernement*, in 1678, but he continued to be known mostly as a scholar of the flora and fauna of the island of Ambon, rather than as a historian.

Notwithstanding his blindness, he continued to work on his books until his death in 1702. His work on various kinds of animals and minerals was published in 1705, and the six volumes of his great work on Indonesian biology in 1741. His historical works were published only in 1910 and after 1980.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Georg Everhard Rumphius, *Waerachtigh verhael, van de schrickelijcke aerdbevinge, nu onlanghs eenigen tyd herwaerts, ende voornaementlijck op den 17. february des jaers 1674. voorgevallen, in, en ontrent de eylanden van Amboina, mitsgaders ongehoorde watervloeden, droevige ongelucken, en wonderlijcke by-sonderheden, &c. daer op gevolght, gelijk sulcx in het Dagh-Register van dien, neerstigh en omstanstigh aengeteyckent staet, en uytgetrocken is, als mede autentique extracten van brieven over het selve. Alles met het laetste schip de Vrye-zee bericht, en bekend gemaectt*, Batavia, 1675

Georg Everhard Rumphius, *D'Amboinsche rariteitskamer*, Amsterdam, 1705

Georg Everhard Rumphius, *Het Amboinsche Kruid-boek. Herbarium Amboinense*, 6 vols, Amsterdam, 1741

### Secondary

G.E. Rumphius, *The Ambonese herbal*, 5 vols, New Haven CT, 2011 (trans. E.M. Beekman)

- W. Buijze, *Leven en werk van Georg Everhard Rumphius (1627-1702), een natuurhistoricus in dienst van de VOC*, Den Haag, 2006
- M.A. Loderichs (ed.), *Rumphius' Wonderwereld*, Zutphen, 2004
- E.M. Beekman, *The Ambonese curiosity cabinet*, New Haven CT, 1999
- E.M. Beekman, *Troubled pleasures. Dutch colonial literature from the East Indies, 1600-1950*, Oxford, 1996 (ch. 5 on Rumphius)
- E.M. Beekman, *The poison tree. Selected writings of Rumphius on the natural history of the Indies*, Amherst, 1981
- R. Nieuwenhuys, *Oost-Indische Spiegel*, Amsterdam, 1978<sup>3</sup>, esp. pp. 55-61
- H.C.D. de Wit (ed.), *Rumphius memorial volume*, Baarn, 1959
- G. Ballintijn, *Rumphius de blinde ziener van Ambon*, Utrecht, 1944

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De Ambonse historie ..., and De generale lant-  
beschrijvinge ...

'A history of Ambon', and 'A general description of  
the Islands of Ambon'

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

#### DESCRIPTION

The two works *De Ambonse historie, behelsende een kort verhaal der gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen, zo in vrede als oorlog voorgevallen, sedert dat de Nederlandsche Oost Indische Comp. het besit in Amboina gehadt heeft*, and *De generale lant-beschrijvinge van het Ambonese Gouvernement behelsende en wat daaronder begrepen zij, mitsgaders een Summarisch verhaal van de Ternataanse en Portugeese regeering en hoe de Nederlanders eerstmaal daerin gecomen zijn ofwel De Ambonese Lant-beschrijvinge* ('A history of Ambon' and 'General description of the Islands of Ambon') were probably intended to become one great introduction to this richest region of the Dutch spice trade in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century for new VOC officials; they were probably never meant to be published for the general public. The history is written in the form of annals, beginning with a short summary of the arrival of Islam in 1510 from Ternate, from where clove cultivation was also introduced. The first Portuguese landed only a decade later. The 16<sup>th</sup> century is recalled very briefly and the real history begins with the arrival of the first Dutch ships in 1605 (*Historie*, vol. 1, p. 19).

From this point on, the history is divided according to the succession of governors, with much interest in the economic history and the trade in cloves, the monopoly in this trade and later also in cultivation. The Christians were divided into Catholics (Portuguese from Goa and Malacca, Spanish from Manila) and Dutch Protestants, and not all Muslims were united. The governor of Ternate in Hoamoal (the western peninsula of Seram) acted independently of the sultan of Ternate, and was in fact more openly opposed to the Dutch. In social politics, the strategy was to separate Christians from Muslims, and there were efforts to convert pagans to Christianity. Due to a lack of Protestant ministers, however, several places turned to Islam after they had shown interest in becoming Christian (thus, p. 59 on Larique and Wackasieuw).

Rumphius loves a systematic description, and he assigns a number to all the governors in the series. He also divides the period 1605-56 into six periods of war, each fought to establish a monopoly in the trade in cloves. His work is less dramatic than two other accounts by the Ambonese Imam Rijali and the Dutch secretary to the governor, Livinus Bor. Rumphius mentions Rijali several times, in one place denouncing him as 'a leader who showed himself a better soldier than a pope' (p. 186), where 'pope' (Dutch, *paap*) stands for a member of the Muslim clergy, wearing white robes like Catholic priests. Towards the end of the fifth war, the most serious of the six, Rumphius describes 15 August 1655 as a 'Day of thanksgiving in Ambon' as the transition to a more peaceful period.

The initial plan to wipe out clove trees in Muslim regions and concentrate their cultivation, and so the trade, in Christian regions, proved to be impossible, though the north-western (and mostly Muslim) and largest peninsula of the island of Ambon was willing to accept the VOC rules and restrictions, together with the Muslim villages of three minor islands. The *Historie* ends in 1664 with the death of Governor Simon Cos. It was published in 1910 in two volumes totalling 474 pages.

Probably written as a sequel to the *Historie*, the *De generale lant-beschrijvinge*, 260 pages in print, begins with the peninsula of Hitu, where Rumphius had been working as administrator for some 15 years. Each settlement in this largest part of Ambon is described on pp. 23-61 of the van Fraassen and Straver edition (references below are to this edition), and sometimes historical (and also religious) notes are included. Rumphius notes that several members of the ruling family of Hitu had embraced the Catholicism of the Portuguese. 'But when this was annihilated at the arrival of the Dutch, they accepted Islam, because they had not yet really integrated Christianity into their lives' (p. 28).



Rumphius includes a long discussion of the practice of circumcision as older than either Islam or Christianity in the region and, as a naturalist, he gives a detailed description of the operation (better called an incision because the skin is not removed but only cut in two parts by a bamboo knife) as a remedy for what he calls *capistratio*. The Portuguese priests (he presumes) and later the Protestant ministers preached against this practice, but with little effect (p. 20).

In the chapter on the Christian peninsula of Ambon (Leitimor), a certain Paulo Gomes is mentioned as a prominent official. Although he was a Muslim goldsmith, he was nominated 'because he was a clever man'. This is just one example of Rumphius's quite pragmatic policy towards difference in religion: it need not prevent the nomination of useful officials.

After the island of Ambon, the description turns to the three smaller islands of Haruku, Saparua and Nusa Laut, followed by the large island of Seram, and it concludes with the island of Buru. Even in the chapter on Hoamoal, the western peninsula of the island of Seram that was totally depopulated in the mid 1650s, Rumphius has positive words about the Muslim population of Luhu as 'the best kind of people in this region, gentle, mild and very polite in contacts. Somewhat slow in their decision and also somewhat timid' (p. 143). At various points, the imam of Hulu, Abdul Rahman, is praised for his loyalty to the Dutch. Thanks to his warning, the VOC garrison of Luhu had been saved, and when in August 1651 he was killed by the enemy in his boat, as a sign of gratitude and recompense his son was given a position in the VOC army at 12 guilders per month, though he was excused from actually serving and only had to take part in the *hong*i trips (the yearly control of the clove trees in the region). The whole peninsula was depopulated 'because their ruler, the Sultan of Ternate, handed them over to the Noble Company' (p. 150). In this way, the cruel decision of the Dutch was blamed on the sultan of Ternate, then an ally of the Dutch.

Rumphius moves in this way from island to island and from coastal regions to the interior, describing land and settlements, and also giving much attention to the religious dynamics of pagan regions that between 1500 and 1700 mostly opted for either Islam or Christianity.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Rumphius's approach towards Muslims was not to enter into a dialogue or polemical debate, but to find a practical way of dealing with their presence in this region where the Dutch were now dominant. There are numerous instances of this throughout his *Historie*, showing that he did

not necessarily look on them as bad simply because they were Muslims, but treated them according to their conduct and abilities. He was careful to try to keep Christians and Muslims apart, for the pragmatic reason that through mingling, their religious differences might be revealed and would lead to tension and fighting.

#### PUBLICATIONS

For details of the four MSS of the *Generale lant-beschrijvinge*, three in the Dutch National Archives, Den Haag, and one in ANRI, Jakarta, see the edition by W. Buijze, pp. xxxix-xli.

Georg Rumphius, *De Ambonse historie, behelsende een kort verhaal der gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen, zo in vrede als oorlog voorgevallen*, 2 vols, The Hague, 1909

Georg Rumphius, *Ambonsche Landsbeschrijving*, ed. Z.J. Manusama, Jakarta, 1983

Georg Rumphius, *De generale lant-beschrijvinge van het Ambonese Gouvernement behelsende en wat daaronder begrepen zij, mitsgaders een Summarisch verhaal van de Ternataanse en Portugeese regeering en hoe de Nederlanders eerstmaal daerin gecomen zijn ofwel De Ambonese Lant-beschrijvinge*, ed. W. Buijze, The Hague, 2001

Georg Rumphius, *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC, zoals opgetekend in De Ambonse Landbeschrijving*, ed. C. van Fraassen and H. Straver, Utrecht, 2002 (modern Dutch)

#### STUDIES

H.E. Niemeijer and Th. van den End (eds), *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de Gouvernemen ten Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie 1605-1791*, The Hague, 2015

K. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Muslims. Contacts and conflicts 1596-1950*, Amsterdam, 1993

G.J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen. De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon, 1656-1696*, Dordrecht, 1987

K. Polman, *The Central Moluccas. An annotated bibliography*, Dordrecht 1983

R. Chauvel, 'Ambon's other half. Some preliminary observations on Ambonese Moslem society and history', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 14 (1980) 40-80

H.J. de Graaff, *De geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken*, Franeker, 1977

# Adriaan Reland

Adrianus Relandus; Adriaan Reelant

DATE OF BIRTH 1676  
PLACE OF BIRTH De Rijp, North-Holland  
DATE OF DEATH 5 February 1718  
PLACE OF DEATH Utrecht

## BIOGRAPHY

At the age of 11, Adriaan Reland became a student in the Latin school at Amsterdam and subsequently moved to the university of Utrecht in 1689. Son of a Protestant minister, he learned at a very young age the basics of Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac and Aramaic. He concluded his studies at Leyden university in 1698 with a *Disputatio theologica de Paradiso*. He equipped himself in Middle Eastern languages with the help of the German co-student Heinrich Sike, who later became a professor at Cambridge.

In September 1700, Reland started his university career at the Latin school of Harderwijk, having declined the offer of a professorship in the German town of Lingen. He focused on philosophy and was welcomed in February 1701 into Utrecht University, where he lectured on Persian, Oriental languages and sacred antiquities. His first wife was Johanna Catharina, the daughter of the mayor of Zierikzee. His second wife, Maria Hoffer, was from the same town. He died at the age of only 41 from vari-cella or chicken-pox, and was buried in his native village.

In 1694, Reland had his first *exercitatio* published on the problem of the end of the world as a debate between Muslim philosophers and theologians. This was followed by two more in 1667 on Jewish-Muslim 'consensus' and on the Muslim doctrine of God's unity versus the Christian Trinity. He was best known for his major work on 'the Muhammadan religion', published in 1704.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Secondary*

- J. Hoekman, *Zonen van Ismaël. Rode draden in de christelijke beoordeling van de islam*, Apeldoorn, 2012, pp. 95-7
- Rachida El Diwani, *A l'origine de l'Orientalisme moderne: Adrian Reland*, Alexandria, 2006
- G. Endress, *Islam. An historical introduction*, trans. C. Hillenbrand, Edinburgh, 2002, p. 10
- J. van Amersfoort and W.J. van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps? De visies van Johannes Coccejus, Gisbertus Voetius en Adrianus Relandus op de islam*, Zoetermeer, 1997, pp. 23-8, 103-26
- A. Hamilton, 'Adrianus Reland (1676-1718). Outstanding Orientalist', in H. Jamin (ed.), *Zes keer zestig. 360 jaar universitaire geschiedenis in zes biografieën*, Utrecht, 1996, 22-31
- G. Wiegers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, Leiden, 1994, p. 17
- K.A. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and conflicts, 1596-1950*, Amsterdam, 1993, pp. 54-7
- M. Bastiaensen, 'Adrien Reland à la recherche d'une méthode comparative', *Histoire Epistemologie Language* 6 (1984) 45-54
- J. Waardenburg (ed.), *Islam. Norm, ideaal en werkelijkheid*, Antwerp, 1984, pp. 421-2
- J.W. Hofmeyr, *Johannes Hoornbeeck as polemikus*, Kampen, 1975, p. 85

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De religione Mohammedica libri duo  
 'On the Muḥammadan religion, two books'

DATE 1705

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

*De religione mohammedica* comprises a preface (56 pages) and two books (272 pages) in one volume. In the preface, Reland explains his purpose in disputing Islam, and distinguishes its original doctrine from the doctrine practised by Muslims of his day. He also sets out his method of taking the content of Islam from its own teachers, advocating knowledge of Arabic and Persian so as to discover some element of rationality in Islam.

In the first book, Reland sets out the doctrine of Islam impartially from Muslim sources. He describes the Five Pillars and the Six Articles

of Faith. He proceeds to deal with the confession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting during Ramaḍān and the pilgrimage to Mecca. He underlines the holiness of the Qur'an and the appearances of angels.

In the second book, Reland replies to the many false interpretations from non-Muslim authors, attacking the Dutch theologian Johannes Hoornbeeck as a representative of the errors expressed about Islam. In particular, he argues that Muslims neither believe in a physical appearance of God nor say that angels have gender. He insists that Islam must be understood from its own witnesses in order to avert misinterpretations and inadequate concepts.

Reland concludes with a list of the 24 Arabic manuscripts he has used in the work.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Like Gisbertus Voetius, Reland tries to discover similarities between Islam and Christianity so as to establish a fair and honest contrast between the two faiths. But unlike Voetius, he strives to understand Islam only from its own sources so as to give an impartial portrayal.

Johannes Hofmeyr (*Johannes Hoornbeeck as polemikus*, p. 85) observes that Reland's work on Islam incorporates a new and more scholarly approach ('een nieuwe objektief wetenschappelijke benadering'), while Karel Steenbrink (*Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, p. 56) sees him acting as an apologist for Islam, and Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen (*Voortreffelijk and Waardig*, p. 59) praise him as the 'first orientalist of the Enlightenment'.

*De religione Mohammedica* was placed on the Roman Catholic *Index* of forbidden books, which ensured its popularity up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It saw many translations.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Adrianus Relandus, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Quorum prior exhibet compendium theologiae mohammedicae, ex codice manuscripto Arabice editum Latine et notis illustratum: posterior examinat nonnulla quae falso Mohammedanis tribuuntur*, Utrecht, 1705; KW 486 L 32 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Adrian Reeland, *Of the Mahometan Religion two books*, London, 1712 (English trans.)

Adriaan Reland et al., *Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans ...*, London, 1712 (English trans.; includes 'An Abridgment of the Mahometan Religion' and

'A Defence of the Mahometans from several Charges falsely laid against them by Christians'); ESTC T095376 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Adrianus Relandus, *Zwey Bücher von der Türkischen oder Mohammedanischen Religion*, Hannover, 1716 (German trans.) Turc. 112 m (digitised version available through MDZ)

Adrian Relands, *Welt-berühmten Professoris der orientalischen Sprachen in Utrecht, Zwey Bücher von der Türckischen oder Mohammedischen Religion ...*, Hannover, 1717 (German trans.); Exeg. 913#Beibd.1 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Adrianus Relandus, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Quorum prior exhibet compendium theologiae mohammedicae, ex codice manuscripto Arabice editum Latine et notis illustratum: posterior examinat nonnulla quae falso Mohammedanis tribuuntur*, Utrecht, 1717; KW 486 L 33 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Adriaan Reland, *Verhandeling van de godsdienst der Mahometaanen alsmede van het Krijgs-regt bij haar ten tijde van oorlog tegens de Christenen gebruykelijk*, Utrecht, 1718; (Dutch trans.) Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam OTM: O 63-2790 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Adriaan Reelant, *La Religion des Mahometans exposée par leurs propres docteurs avec des éclaircissements sur les opinions qu'on leur a fausement attribuées*, The Hague, 1721 (French trans.); SJR 253/4 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon)

Hadriani Relandi, *De religione Mohammedica, libri duo*, Utrecht, 1887 D.A. Pailin (ed.), *Attitudes to other religions: comparative religion in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain*, Manchester, 1984, pp. 212-17 (extracts from the London, 1712, translation)

van Amersfoort and van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?* pp. 103-26 (new Dutch trans. of the Introduction)

#### STUDIES

A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Voortreffelijk and Waardig. 400 jaar Arabische studies in Nederland*, Leiden, 2013, 59-64

Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam*, pp. 54-7

A. Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht', in P. Hoftijzer and T. Verbeek (eds) *Leven na Descartes. Zeven opstellen over*

*ideeëngeschiedenis in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, Hilversum, 2005, 97-105

Van Amersfoort and Van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*, pp. 23-8, 103-26

Hofmeyr, *Johannes Hoornbeeck as polemikus*, p. 85

**Leendert Jan Joosse**

# Maria ter Meetelen

DATE OF BIRTH 20 June 1704  
PLACE OF BIRTH Amsterdam  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1751  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Cape of Good Hope

## BIOGRAPHY

Maria ter Meetelen was the third child of a Roman Catholic family living in Amsterdam. When she was 13 years old, she left her parental home, and when she was 21 years old she travelled to Spain dressed as a man. There, she took service as a dragoon, but she was soon discovered and placed in a nunnery. She escaped and went to Madrid, where she met and married the Dutch sailor Claes van der Meer. The couple left Cadiz by ship in 1731, bound for the Netherlands.

Along the Portuguese coast, the ship was taken by corsairs from the Moroccan town of Salé. They were taken to the court in Meknes, where they were presented to the ruler, Moulay Abdallah, as his personal slaves. Claes van der Meer died six weeks after their arrival, and Maria asked a fellow Dutch slave, Pieter Janszoon Iede, to marry her. Maria and Pieter started a very successful 'pub' in a former stable of the slave quarters, where as Christians they could serve alcoholic beverages. This enterprise gave them a steady source of income, much needed as they produced eight children while they were slaves.

In 1743, after 12 years of captivity, most Dutch slaves were freed as a result of negotiations between the Dutch republic and Morocco. Maria, her husband and two surviving children (six died in captivity) returned to Medemblik in north Holland, Pieter Iede's home town, though in 1745 Pieter Iede returned to sea. In 1748, Maria wrote her memoirs.

Shortly afterwards, her two remaining children died, and in 1750 she heard that her husband had died in the Dutch Indies. In the town archives, there is a letter from Maria to the mayors (*burgemeesters*) of Medemblik asking for a testimonial of good conduct, as she wanted to migrate to the Cape of Good Hope. This is the last documentary evidence about her.



## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Maria ter Meetelen, *Wonderbaarlijke en Merkwaardige Gevallen Van Een Twaalfjarige Slavernij, Van een Vrouspersoon. Genaemt Maria ter Meetelen, Woonachtig Tot Medemblik*, Hoorn, 1748

*Secondary*

- L. van den Broek, “Het werelds beloop is wonderbaarlyk”. De twaalfjarige slavernij van Maria ter Meetelen in Marokko (1731-1743)’, Amsterdam, 2003 (MA essay, University of Amsterdam, with genealogical details about the ter Meetelen family)
- R. Dekker and L. van der Pol, *Vrouwen in mannenkleren. De geschiedenis van een tegendraadse traditie*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 45-6, 119, 157
- J. López, ‘El Cristianismo en Marruecos’, *Revista Mauritania* 74 (1934) 3-7 (the baptism and marriage registers of the Franciscan Mission in Meknès)
- A. Hoefer, *Nederlandsche vrouwen in dienst van Mars*, Rotterdam, 1888, pp. 42-4

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Wonderbaarlijke en Merkwaardige Gevallen van  
een Twaalfjarige Slavernij  
‘Wondrous and remarkable matters of a 12-year  
slavery’

DATE 1748

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

## DESCRIPTION

In her memoirs (the full title is *Wonderbaarlijke en Merkwaardige Gevallen Van Een Twaalfjarige Slavernij, Van een Vrouspersoon. Genaemt Maria ter Meetelen, Woonachtig Tot Medemblik. Tot Hoorn Gedrukt, by de Wed: Jacob Duyn, Boek-drukster en Verkoopster op het Oude Noort, by de Nieuwe-steeg*, ‘Wondrous and remarkable matters related to twelve years of slavery of a female person, named Maria ter Meetelen, resident of Medemblik. Printed in Hoorn, by the widow Jacob Duyn, bookprinter and seller on the Old North, near the New Alley’), which are 127 pages long, Maria gives many details of her meetings with various rulers during the 12 years of her captivity, in a period of great unrest between rival factions in Moroccan history. After the death of her first husband, Moulay Abdallah wanted to take her into his harem, ‘as I was young and beautiful

according to the people of that country' ('want ik was jong en schoon navenant het volk van dat land').

Ladies from the harem tried to persuade Maria to convert to Islam. She managed to appeal to them by pretending she was pregnant, and eventually she persuaded Moulay Abdallah, with the help of his sister, to give permission for her marriage to Pieter Iede, who (as a Protestant) had to convert to Catholicism first. The young couple were accommodated in the Franciscan Mission.

As Pieter was attached to the court as a steward, Maria was able to observe the vicissitudes of court life from close quarters. On more than one occasion, she had to manoeuvre cleverly and use her diplomatic skills to restore or fortify their position. She often managed to win the favour of the court ladies, particularly the mothers of the various rulers. Her memoirs describe a number of coups d'état, in which Moulay Abdallah, Moulay Ali and Moulay Mohammad ben Arbiya were involved.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The book gives a lively description of Moroccan court life as seen from the perspective of Christian slaves serving in various positions at court. Maria learned some basic Moroccan (she calls it 'Turkish') in order to communicate with the people of the country. She also had contacts with Spanish, French and English people living in Salé. She describes several religious festivals and occasions, such as the return of the queen mother from her pilgrimage to Mecca, and the 'Id al-Aḏḥā (which she calls 'Easter', as the slaughter of a lamb was central to the festival).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Maria ter Meetelen, *Wonderbaarlijke en Merkwaardige Gevallen Van Een Twaalfjarige Slavernij, Van een Vrouspersoon. Genaemt Maria ter Meetelen, Woonachtig Tot Medemblik*, Hoorn, 1748; KW 30 B 8 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek; the only two remaining copies of this original edition are in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague)

Maria ter Meetelen, *De vrouwelyke soldaat, behelzende haar levensloop [...] haar omswerving en reize door Vrankrijk en Spanjen, en haar dienst als soldaat [...] wordende van een Turkze roover genoomen en opgebragt [...]*, [s.l.], 1750 (there are no known copies of this edition)

H. Hardenberg, *Tussen zeerovers en christenslaven. Noordafrikaanse reisjournalen*, Leiden 1950

- G.H. Bousquet and G.W. Bousquet (trans.), *L'Annotation ponctuelle de la description du voyage étonnante et de la captivité remarquable durant douze ans de moi, Maria ter Meetelen*, Paris, 1956 (French trans.)
- Idris Abu Idris (trans.), *Qiṣṣat al-Hūlandiyya Māriyā Tirmitlin, Maria Ter Meetelen: al-aṣīra allatī 'āshat bi-Miknās al-'āṣima fī l-niṣf al-awwal min al-qarn 18*, [s.l. Morocco], 1996 (Arabic trans.)
- L. van den Broek and M. Jacobs (eds), *Christenslaven. De slavernijervaringen van Cornelis Stout in Algiers (1678-1680) en Maria ter Meetelen in Marokko (1731-1743)*, Zutphen, 2006
- C. Stone (ed. and trans.), *Curious and amazing adventures of Maria ter Meetelen. Twelve years a slave (1731-43)*, Kilkerran, 2010 (English trans.)

## STUDIES

- L. Maziane, 'La captivité au féminin au Maroc à l'époque moderne, le cas de Maria Ter Meetelen, une captive hollandaise entre deux mondes', in A.M. Casares and M.C. Delaigue (eds), *Cautivas y esclavas. El tráfico humano en el Mediterráneo*, Granada, 2016, 129-44
- E. van der Vegt, *Het ongelofelijke leven van Maria ter Meetelen*, Amsterdam, 2014 (novel based on the life of Maria ter Meetelen)
- E. Kloek (ed), *Vrouwen uit de Nederlandse geschiedenis*, Nijmegen, 2013
- Khalid Bekkaoui, *White women captives in North Africa. Narratives of enslavement 1735-1830*, Basingstoke, 2010
- H. Obdeijn, P. de Mas and Ph. Hermans, *Geschiedenis van Marokko*, Amsterdam, 1999
- L. van den Broek, "Die christen vrouw is waardig om een prinses te weesen". Maria ter Meetelen, slavin in Marokko', *Historica* 3 (2004) 21-3

Gé Speelman

## Johan Ægidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg and Johannes Wilhemus Heyman

|                |                                |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Egmond, 1693; Heyman, 1667     |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Egmond, Alkmaar; Heyman, Wesel |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Egmond, 1747; Heyman, 1737     |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Egmond, Leiden; Heyman, Leiden |

### BIOGRAPHY

The authors mentioned on the title page of the *Reizen* were the nobleman Johan Ægidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg and Johannes Heyman, Professor of Oriental languages at Leiden, both of whom had died by the time of publication. The two volumes originally published in Leiden in 1758 had been ‘compiled from both their estates, organised, and seen through the press’ by the medical doctor Johannes Wilhelmus Heyman, a nephew of Heyman.

Johan (or Jan) Ægidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg was the eldest son of the nobleman Cornelis van Egmond van der Nijenburg. He was baptized in the city of Alkmaar on 12 April 1693. His mother, Catharina van Panhuys, had been born in Leiden, and it was there that her son would live for most of his life. Van Egmond registered as a student in Leiden on March 1705, at the age of 12. He obtained his doctorate there and became a member of the municipal elite, serving on the city council in various capacities. He had already begun his famous journey by December 1719, when he reached Marseille, so the Preface to the *Reizen*, which informs us that his travels took place ‘in the years 1720, 1721, 1722, and 1723’ is inaccurate.

Contrary to what the published account suggests, van Egmond was accompanied on his travels not by Johannes Heyman but by Samuel van de Putte, the son of a vice-admiral of the admiralty of Zeeland. Possibly inspired by the Italian traveller Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (d. 1725), van de Putte would eventually traverse South and Central Asia, including Nepal and Tibet, and visit Lhasa and Beijing.

After completing his belated Grand Tour, van Egmond returned to Leiden, where he resumed his position in the militia, combining this with various other offices in the municipal government until his death. In 1738, the States-General appointed him envoy extraordinaire to the

court of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He remained in Naples from 1739 to 1742. In 1742, he inherited the family estate near Alkmaar, but he continued to live in Leiden, where he owned several houses, including one on the Rapenburg, the city's most prominent canal, until his death on 11 October 1747. Van Egmond never married and, because his three siblings had died young without issue, this branch of the van Egmond van de Nijenburg family died out with him. Van Egmond's estate was divided between several heirs, one of whom was his cousin, Cornelis van Panhuys. It was he who would later make van Egmond's travel notes 'in his own hand' available to J.W. Heyman, the collator and editor of the *Reizen*.

Johannes Heyman was born in the town of Wesel on the River Rhine, close to the Dutch border, on 1 January 1667. After studying theology at the University of Franeker, he became a Protestant village minister in the Dutch province of Limburg. In August 1699, the directors of the Levant Trade in Amsterdam appointed him to the post of minister to the Dutch mercantile community in the Anatolian seaport of Izmir (Smyrna). In December that year, Heyman therefore set out from Amsterdam and arrived at Izmir in June 1700. Two years later, he began lessons in Arabic, Turkish and colloquial Hebrew from a local rabbi.

Before leaving the Dutch Republic, Heyman had offered his services to Gisbert Cuper, the scholar-politician at Deventer, who was one of the most prominent Dutch citizens of the Republic of Letters at the time and a potential patron. With Cuper's help, he was eventually offered the position of Professor in Oriental Languages at Leiden, though he insisted that he should first be allowed to travel two or three more years in the eastern Mediterranean to hone his linguistic skills. This would allow him to go to Egypt, Palestine and Syria, where he had already travelled for five or six months at the end of 1704 and the beginning of 1705. Heyman was formally appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden on 21 March 1710. Three days later, he delivered his inaugural lecture, *Oratio inauguralis de commendando studio linguarum Orientalium*.

Heyman had originally been appointed specifically to make a catalogue and scholarly editions of the manuscripts held at the Leiden library that had been collected by his illustrious predecessors Scaliger, Golius and Warner. It was in 1716 that the *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* was published, modelled on those of Cambridge and Oxford; it was circulated widely. Johannes Heyman died on 7 April 1737, leaving a wife but no children.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek – KB 72 G 34

H.C. Millies, 'Iets over Johan Aegidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg', *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* 24 (1842) 1-7

*Secondary*

J. Schmidt, 'Johannes Heyman (1667-1737). His manuscript collection and the Dutch community in Izmir', in C. Imber, K. Kiyotaki and R. Murphey (eds), *Frontiers of Ottoman studies*, vol. 2, London, 2005, 75-90

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Reizen

## 'Travels'

DATE Before 1758

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

## DESCRIPTION

The *Reizen* (in full, *Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa, Klein Asien, verscheide eilanden van de archipel, Syrien, Palestina, Aegypten, den berg Sinai / gedaan door Johan Aegidius Egmond van der Nyenburg [in 1720-23] en Johannes Wilhelmus Heyman [1700-9]; alles uit beider nagelaten Schriften opgemaakt, briefs-gewijze zamengesteld ... door / Johannes Wilhelmus Heyman*) is presented as a series of letters, simply called 'First Letter', 'Second Letter', etc., vol. 1 containing letters 1-26, and vol. 2 letters 27-50 and the index. Each letter is simply addressed 'Sir', and none is dated. Throughout, the account is narrated in the first person, usually in the singular but occasionally in the plural. The anonymous English translator edited out the epistolary element, substituting 'First Chapter' etc. instead. The translation was also published in two volumes, made up of 50 chapters, with the index in the second volume.

In the Preface to the *Reizen*, J.W. Heyman states:

Both [Johannes Heyman and van Egmond] travelled in the strength of their youth, partly with the aim of familiarizing themselves with the customs, manners, and ways of life of the Peoples of the East, and principally to learn and practise the Oriental languages (the latter particularly applying to my esteemed uncle, the late Professor Heyman); but both at different times at the beginning of the [18<sup>th</sup>] century, my esteemed uncle

undertaking his [travels] in the years 1700 to 1709, while high-honourable Lord van Egmond van der Nyenburg [made] his in the years 1720, 1721, 1722, and 1723, which I mention here because the attentive readers should keep it in mind that the things described pertain to that period.

J.W. Heyman therefore explicitly reminds the reader that Heyman and van Egmond travelled in different years. Nonetheless, the two are still often thought to have made the journey together, partly because it is impossible for the reader to distinguish the contributions of the one from those of the other.

With regard to the compilation process, J.W. Heyman writes that he soon discovered that his uncle and van Egmond 'both, albeit at different times, took practically the same course or itinerary in their travels through Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, etc.' To prevent repetitions, which would become tedious for the reader, J.W. Heyman therefore decided to merge the two accounts into a single narrative. In the case of his uncle, he had at his disposal copies of a series of letters Heyman had sent to Cuper. Through Cornelis van Panhuys, one of van Egmond's heirs, J.W. Heyman had obtained the latter's travel notes, which do not seem to have survived.

The claim that Heyman and van Egmond travelled the same route is incorrect, and the itinerary presented in the *Reizen* is largely fictional. Only the journey from Texel to Ottoman territorial waters forms an exception to this. Heyman's letters to Cuper kept in the Dutch National Archives describe his journey from Amsterdam to the Tuscan city of Lucca. Some internal evidence points to Heyman as the author of additional chapters later in the printed work, but other details – people who are named and whom only van Egmond could have met – suggest that the editor at least also mixed in the experiences of van Egmond. The chapters on Palestine and Egypt should probably be attributed to him in their entirety.

One element that sets the *Reizen* of Heyman and van Egmond apart from other works in the genre is the number of personal encounters with Muslims they describe. In general, it can safely be assumed that all Western travellers in the Ottoman Empire were in contact with Ottoman subjects on a far more regular basis than they tended to mention in their accounts. From baggage carriers, porters in wayside inns, grooms looking after riding animals, the people who served them food, the caravan leaders they travelled with, to captains and deckhands on the ships that sailed across the eastern Mediterranean – many of these people will have been Muslims, and encounters with them were usually

left out of the published texts. Heyman and van Egmond are different in this respect. For example, in Istanbul the narrator informs us not only that he met 'Chrysanthus', the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who resided in the Fener (Phanar) quarter between 1707 and 1731, but also that he 'lodged with a Turk of our acquaintance'. It was not uncommon for an aspiring scholar such as Heyman or an aristocrat such as van Egmond to visit a patriarch, but there was no need to lodge at the house of a Muslim in the Ottoman capital, where plenty of 'Christian' alternatives would have been available.

Van Egmond's encounters with some well-known Muslims are also noteworthy. On the island of Chios, the Dutchman met the exiled 'Khan of Tartary'. The description of the meeting takes up several printed pages and offers an interesting example of how the editor combined the experiences of Heyman and van Egmond into a single story. The exile in question was probably Khan Devlet Giray II, who had been the Tatars' commander-in-chief during the Pruth campaign of 1710-11. In 1713, he was banished to Rhodes, but he evidently moved to Chios later. He still had various sources of income, because portions of the customs of Istanbul and Izmir had been assigned to him as a pension, if the travelogue is to be believed, and he still received rations of rice, coffee and other provisions from the capital. The Khan, who had four wives and 31 children, spoke to the Dutch traveller at length, asking all kinds of questions about European politics. All the evidence suggests that only van Egmond could have been involved in this meeting, but when the Khan asked what the Dutchman was doing there, he purportedly replied that the Dutch States General had sent him to study Oriental languages, which applied only to Heyman. Most of the meeting as described in the *Reizen* comes across as genuine, but the interjection of Heyman's voice in a meeting clearly attended by van Egmond again underlines that the whole account should be treated with considerable caution.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Within a year after the publication of the Dutch *Reizen*, an English translation was published in London in 1759. The translation is generally accurate, but was lightly edited by its anonymous translator. Because both travellers were Protestants, they were naturally inclined to use the Dutch and English consular networks, which happened to overlap in parts of the Levant. The original account in Dutch therefore already contains numerous references to English consuls and merchants the two met en route. With the British market in mind, the translator – probably on



the instructions of the English publishers – rephrased references to the Dutch Republic and gave British elements a more prominent place in the narrative. The English translation was widely read in Europe and made van Egmond and Heyman two of the most internationally renowned Dutch authorities on Egypt and other parts of the Middle East.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Johan Aegidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg and Johannes Heyman, *Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa, klein Asien, verscheide Eilanden van de Archipel, Syrien, Palestina of het H. Land, Ægypten, den Berg Sinai, enz*, Leiden: Abraham Kallewier, 1758; W 443 C 2 [-3] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Johannes Aegidius van Egmont and John Heyman, *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago; Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, &c. ... by... J. Ægidius van Egmont ... and John Heyman ... Translated from the Low Dutch. In two volumes*, London: Lockyer Davis and Charles Reymers, 1759 (English trans.); ARCH.DAWK.G256.759 (1-2) (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)

#### STUDIES

- M. van den Boogert, 'Entangled travellers. Analyzing the *Reizen* (1758) by Johan Ægidius van Egmond and Johannes Heyman', *Quaerendo* 47 (2017) 107-31
- A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies in the Netherlands. A short history in portraits, 1580-1950*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 63-4, 73, 75
- B. Chen, 'Digging for antiquities with diplomats. Gisbert Cuper (1644-1716) and his social circle', *Republic of Letters* 1 (2009) online
- Schmidt, 'Johannes Heyman'
- W.N. Du Rieu, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV: accedunt nomina curatorum et professorum per eadem secula*, The Hague, 1875
- Millies, 'Iets over Johan Aegidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg'

Maurits van den Boogert



South-west Europe



Map 2. South-west Europe

France



# Albert Jouvin

Albert Jouvin de Rochefort

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Approximately 1640 |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Unknown            |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Approximately 1710 |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Unknown            |

## BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about the life of Albert Jouvin de Rochefort. In his travel writing, he presents himself as a Catholic French nobleman, traveller and cartographer. Born around 1640, he travelled extensively throughout central, eastern and southern Europe during the 1660s, and visited the Middle East in 1670 or 1671. After his return to France, he published in 1672 an account of his travels in a seven-volume collection of memoirs titled *Le voyageur d'Europe*.

From 1675 to 1702, Jouvin served in the royal administration under Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) as 'treasurer of the king' in the city of Limoges. He was also a skilled cartographer, and produced several maps of major cities in the kingdom of France. He died in 1710.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

- M. Longino, *French travel writing in the Ottoman Empire. Marseilles to Constantinople, 1650-1700*, New York, 2015
- M. Harrigan, *Veiled encounters. Representing the Orient in 17th-century French travel literature*, Amsterdam, 2008
- J.-Y. Sarazin, *Rêves de capitale. Paris et ses plans d'embellissement*, Paris, 2003

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Le voyageur d'Europe  
'The European traveller'

DATE 1672

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

*Le voyageur d'Europe, où est le voyage de Turquie qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Egypte* ('The European traveller, containing the journey to Turkey, including the Holy Land and Egypt') is an account of the travels of its author, Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, to the Middle East and Ottoman Empire during the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. It was published in Paris in 1672 by Claude Barbin, dedicated to Simon Arnould, Marquis de Pomponne, secretary of state to the king. It covers 324 pages, and is preceded by a detailed map showing the author's itinerary. A short French-Turkish phrasebook is appended at the end of the book. The text is divided into 136 sections, each recounting a stage in the author's journey or recording his observations on a cultural, geographical or religious aspect of Middle Eastern society.

The exact dates of Jouvin's journey are unclear. He mentions the name of Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel, who was appointed as French ambassador to Istanbul from 1670 to 1679 (ed. Claude Barbin, 1676, p. 205), from which it can be inferred that Jouvin's journey most probably took place during 1670-1, before his return to France in 1672. Jouvin confirms in the text that it took over a year and a half. Departing from Paris, Jouvin's itinerary took him to Marseille, then by boat to Messina, Malta and Alexandria in Egypt. He then continued by land to Cairo and navigated the Nile to see the ruins of the pyramids in Memphis. Following trade caravans, he went on to Gaza, Ramallah and Jerusalem. He spent several months touring the Christian holy sites of Palestine, and those around Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Dead Sea. He then resumed his voyage north to Syria, through Haifa, Damascus, Homs and Aleppo, and into Turkey through Adana, Konya and Eskisehir. He finally reached Istanbul, where he stayed for several months, before returning to France via Greece and Italy. His journey covered more than 3,200 miles.

In the introduction to *Le voyageur d'Europe*, Jouvin declares that his motive for undertaking his journey to the Middle East was exclusively personal and that he set out on this long and perilous expedition purely



to satisfy his own curiosity and acquire knowledge. Having already travelled extensively throughout Europe, he was interested in seeing foreign places and civilisations. This assertion helps situate his particular enterprise from the outset within the context of French travellers who visited the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As he himself implicitly acknowledges, he had no practical reasons for his voyage: he was not a merchant, or diplomat, or scholar, and nor can he be described as a pilgrim. Rather, he can be categorised as an amateur scholar and an *honnête homme* traveller. Although this category of French travellers was still relatively uncommon in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century because of the financial investment required for such a journey and the risks involved, it was not unique and Jouvin's account is in many respects very similar to other travel accounts published around the same time (see, for example, Jean de Thévenot (1633-67) author of *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris: L. Billaine, 1665). Jouvin's *Le voyageur d'Europe* shares with such accounts the distinctive perspective of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century French ideal of a well-balanced and rational individual who uses his own common sense and judgment to enhance and foster the progress of the 'arts and sciences' through personal, direct observation, providing something useful and enjoyable for his readers.

The contents of *Le voyageur d'Europe* can be roughly divided into two general subjects: the first, the larger by far, is the detailed report of Jouvin's journey itself. Here Jouvin recounts all the details of his itinerary, reporting his means of transport, travelling conditions and observations of the topography, towns, monuments and population of each of the places he visited. Particularly long and detailed are the descriptions of the pyramids in Egypt, the Christian holy sites in Palestine and the monuments of Istanbul.

The second general subject, occupying about a quarter of the book and dominating the latter part, is a description of the culture, customs and religious practices of Ottoman society under Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87). Here, Jouvin depicts life at court and the political organisation of the Ottoman state, and describes several Islamic religious and cultural practices, such as the institution of marriage, the position of women in society, funerals, the Five Pillars of Islam and the consumption of coffee.

Several passages in Jouvin's text are noteworthy for the historical information they provide on Christian communities in the Middle East. The account of the crossing of the Jordan River during Easter 1670 or 1671, in which Jouvin participated along with a group of more than 3,000 Christian pilgrims (p. 110), describes the experience in detail. The

information about several Christian churches Jouvin saw along the way, such as those in Jerusalem (p. 91), Antioch (p. 139), Damascus (p. 156), and Aleppo (pp. 179-80), is also quite remarkable. Of equal interest are the details he provides about the organisation of the missions of some of the Catholic orders in the region, especially that of the French Capuchin missionaries. He describes in detail how their missions in Istanbul and the Middle East were organised and financed (p. 186). Finally, in the section 'Concerning the different nations of Turkey' (pp. 238-42), the book offers demographic information about the situation of the Turkish, Arab, Kurdish, Druze and Jewish populations, as well as other minorities living in the Ottoman Empire in the 1670s. Here, Jouvin affirms that the Christian population in the region numbered about 150,000 Armenians, 50,000 Syriac Orthodox, 50,000 Nestorians and 55,000 Maronites, together with an unspecified number of Copts and about 10,000 Shemsi. It is unclear where Jouvin acquired this information, but his source is likely to have been the Franciscan order that hosted him on several occasions along his journey.

In his account of the Ottoman world and Muslim culture, Jouvin often repeats some of the familiar stereotypes used by many French travellers to the Middle East. Several passages echo a perception of Ottoman culture and Islam as paradoxically fascinating and appalling at the same time.

Jouvin often condemns the Ottomans for their religious heresy and moral corruption: 'After all, there are no other parts of Europe where we find so little good faith and so few religious beliefs as in Turkey [...]' (p. 236). This condemnation is accompanied by an ambiguous acknowledgement of the 'natural' beauties of the Middle East: 'To tell the truth, among all the capitals of Europe, I have never seen any other more populated than Constantinople, nor better situated, with the exception of Paris [...] The beauty of Constantinople could be second [to Paris] if it was not plagued by its inhabitants, and the foolishness of their religion' (pp. 220-1). Similar statements appear regularly throughout *Le voyageur d'Europe*.

In other passages, Jouvin's observations seem less prejudiced. The tone of his descriptions gives way to a more temperate consideration of the Muslim religion, and Jouvin acknowledges certain positive aspects. In a long section in his work (pp. 254-78) in which he describes in detail the religious obligations that constitute the Five Pillars of Islam, he cannot refrain from praising the rule of charity and pointing out that it should also be practised by Christians.

Jouvin included only a rather cursory account of the cultures and places he visited. As is evident from his narrative, he did not know much about the Ottoman Empire before setting out. He also spent very little time in each of the places he describes, nor did he speak any of the languages he encountered, and consequently he had few interactions with the local people. He was not an Orientalist in the modern sense and, while most of the information he provides comes from his own direct observations, it is also based on the testimony of Westerners living in the Ottoman Empire with whom he interacted along the way. They served as his guides and main connection with local cultures. Jouvin was primarily tied to the Franciscan missionary congregation (the *Pères cordeliers* he so often cites in his account). Also, while staying in Istanbul, he gravitated mainly toward the Frenchmen who frequented the French embassy.

Although they are not directly cited anywhere in the text, the other main source of Jouvin's narrative is probably literary works such as classical texts and other contemporary travel accounts that were very popular at the time, and constituted a sort of collective knowledge among the French audience. Jouvin often alludes to this common knowledge when he tries to confirm, dispute or supplement it in his descriptions.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Jouvin's generally dismissive and condemnatory attitude towards Islam and the Muslim practices he encountered on his journey are as much inherited from the stock of French and European judgements about the faith, as from his own reflections on it. He certainly offers nothing new about Islam, nor any views that challenge the traditional views he would have heard expressed at home.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Albert Jouvin, *Le voyageur d'Europe, où est le voyage de Turquie qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Egypte*, Paris: chez Denis Thierry, 1672

Albert Jouvin, *Le voyageur d'Europe, où est le voyage de Turquie qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Egypte*, Paris: chez Claude Barbin, 1676; 317588 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon)

Albert Jouvin, *Le voyageur d'Europe, où est le voyage de Turquie qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Egypte*, Paris: Launay, 1684

# Madeleine de Scudéry

Mademoiselle de Scudéry

DATE OF BIRTH 15 November 1607  
PLACE OF BIRTH Le Havre  
DATE OF DEATH 2 June 1701  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Madeleine de Scudéry was born in Le Havre on 15 November 1607 to a minor noble Norman family. An orphan at age six, she received a solid education from her uncle, and after his death in 1637 she moved to Paris to join her older brother, the dramatist Georges de Scudéry. Through her brother, she was introduced to the literary salons of Paris and the circle of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, quickly becoming an influential social figure and starting her own prolific literary and intellectual production. At this time, Madeleine de Scudéry started writing a series of lengthy novels, which were published either anonymously or under her brother's name. These include *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa* (published in four volumes in 1641), *Artamène ou le grand Cyrus* (published in ten volumes in 1649-53) and *Clélie, histoire romaine* (also published in ten volumes in 1654-60). Her other works include *Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* (1660-63), *Mathilde d'Aguilar, histoire espagnole* (1667), and *La promenade de Versailles, ou l'histoire de Célanire* (1669).

Scudéry's novels are part of a larger wave of *romans héroïques* of the time, a baroque genre that was particularly popular in France during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This genre favours long and intricate narrative structures and exotic settings inspired by faraway historical and geographical scenes. Her works have been long considered an example of *romans à clef*, or novels in which the author portrays people of her time – allegedly the regulars of her Parisian salon's inner circle – behind a fictional façade. Scudéry's novels also include *romans à tiroir* ('novels made of drawers'), a term used to describe the narrative structure of a text in which secondary narratives interrupt the main story and in which the story is usually presented as though orally narrated by secondary characters, resulting in extremely complicated plots.

By the late 1640s, Madeleine de Scudéry had established her own literary salon, known as the *Société du Samedi* (the Saturday Club), which became the gathering place for several writers and social personalities in Paris. Always a prolific author, later in life Scudéry expanded her writing to other genres, such as the novella, the dialogue, the oration and the epistolary.

Madeleine de Scudéry is also often associated with the literary style called *préciosité* (preciousness), which favoured themes associated with romantic love and sociability (the *art de vivre* and *art d'aimer*), and both themes are featured often in her work.

Although her novels became remarkably popular all over Europe during her lifetime, Madeleine de Scudéry's work was also met with disapproval and criticism. She became, for instance, the target of many satires by prominent authors of the time (including Molière, Furetière and Boileau). Madeleine de Scudéry died on 2 June 1701.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Lettres de Scudéry à M. Godeau, évêque de Vence*, ed. M. Monmerqué, Paris, 1835

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry, sa vie et sa correspondance, avec un choix de ses poésies*, ed. E.J.B Rathéry and C. Boutron, Paris, 1873

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Selected letters, orations, and rhetorical dialogues*, trans. and ed. J. Donawerth and J. Strongson, Chicago MI, 2004

### Secondary

E.R. Welch, *A taste for the foreign. Worldly knowledge and literary pleasure in early modern French fiction*, Newark DE, 2011

J. Conley, art. 'Madeleine de Scudéry', in E.N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* (Summer 2011 edition); URL <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/madeleine-scudery/>

M. Longino, *Orientalism in French classical drama*, Cambridge, 2002

M.A. Garnett, 'Madeleine de Scudéry. Les femmes illustres ou les harangues héroïques (1642)', in A.R. Larsen and C.H. Winn (eds), *Writings by pre-revolutionary French women*, vol. 2, New York, 2000, 243-56

J. de Jean, *Tender geographies. Women and the origins of the novel in France*, New York, 1991

M. Lever, *Le roman français au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1981

N. Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry*, Boston MA, 1978

M. Lever, *La fiction narrative en prose au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Répertoire bibliographique du genre romanesque en France (1600-1700)*, Paris, 1976

M. Magendie, *Le roman français au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, de l'Astrée au Grand Cyrus*, Paris, 1932

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa

'Ibrahim, or the illustrious pasha'

DATE 1641

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

*Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa* was the first novel by Madeleine de Scudéry, written in collaboration with her brother, Georges de Scudéry. Although the evidence is inconclusive on this point, critics generally believe that Madeleine wrote much of the dialogues of the novel, whereas her brother provided the elements that served to create the historical background. The novel was published in Paris under the name of Georges de Scudéry – who also wrote the preface – in four volumes between 1641 and 1644 by Antoine de Sommaville. *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa* is a generous novel of more than 3,000 pages (each of the four parts contains five books; the first volume is 637 pages, the second 635, the third 1,081, and the fourth 651). It was a publishing success in France and in many other European countries, and was reprinted in 1665 and 1723, and translated into German (1645), Italian (1646, 1648), and English (1652).

The novel, freely inspired by Ottoman history, is set during the reign of Sultan Süleyman I, the Magnificent (1494-1566). The main character, the Ibrahim of the title, is based on the figure of Pargali Ibrahim Pasha (c. 1495-1536), a Christian slave and a boyhood friend of Süleyman who became his first grand vizier in 1518 and rose to a prominent level of authority and power, only to be executed on Süleyman's orders in 1536.

Even before Madeleine de Scudéry used him as the main character for her novel, the figure of Ibrahim was already known in France. Several French tragedies from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century featured the Ibrahim story (including Mainfray's *La Rodhienne* of 1621, Georges de Scudéry's *Ibrahim* of 1643, and Desfontaines' *Perside* of 1644). The source of these fictional works, including Scudéry's novel, is the *Histories* of the Italian writer Paolo Giovio (first translated into French in 1552), as well as

the French translation of Laonicus Chalcocondyles' *Apodeixeis historiōn* (1463/4) made in 1612 (which was also inspired by Giovio). Madeleine de Scudéry freely adapted these models, modifying the plot and adding or reworking several of Giovio's characters. For instance, in Scudéry's novel, Süleyman pardons Ibrahim instead of executing him, creating a happy ending in contrast with that of her source.

The core plot of Scudéry's *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa* tells the story of Ibrahim, a noble Genoese from the renowned Paleologus family, whose real name is Justinian and who has become one of Süleyman's favourite slaves. After naming him grand vizier, the sultan allows him to leave Constantinople for six months to visit Isabelle Grimaldi, Princess of Monaco, the woman he secretly loves and wishes to marry. However, at the end of the six months, Ibrahim decides to honour his pledge to the sultan and comes back to Constantinople, leaving Isabelle behind. Noticing the despair of his slave, Süleyman orders Isabelle to be abducted and has her brought to Constantinople. Shortly after her arrival at the court, the sultan falls in love with her and begins to oppose her relationship with Ibrahim. However, after a long series of trials, the lovers' perseverance persuades the sultan to set them free.

The main plot of the novel holds together a dense network of 17 sub-plots and minor short stories, which are generally introduced by one of the character's flashbacks. Among the many lengthy sub-plots, some of the most prominent concern the story of Süleyman's infatuation with Axiamire (daughter of Tachmas, the sophi of Persia) in part 2, the story of Osman (a Persian satrap turned corsair, son of the Bassa of the Sea) in part 1, and the story of Bajazet and Roxelane (part 1, book 10).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Since its first publication, literary critics have generally regarded *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa*'s Ottoman setting as a mostly decorative tool used by Madeleine de Scudéry to portray French society of her time by disguising her contemporaries in Oriental clothes. However, the novel testifies to a concern for historical accuracy and realism that goes beyond mere ornamental curiosity. The main source of information for the Ottoman background of the novel comes from the *Histoire de la décadence de l'Empire grec et établissement de celui des Turcs* (1577), a French translation of Laonicus Chalcocondyles' work by Blaise de Vigenère. Georges de Scudéry explains in the novel's preface that the plot's emphasis upon a framework of reality and historical accuracy comes from a pedagogical

concern, and that one of the goals of the text was to educate its readers, much in the fashion of a non-fiction volume.

As a result, the text's references to Ottoman history are, in general, quite accurate and precise, as is the chronology of the reign of Süleyman I. The sultan's campaign against the Persian Sophi Tahmasp is, for example, close to the real events, and so is the story of Mustapha, one of the sultan's sons and heir to the throne, who was murdered by order of his father at the request of his consort, Roxelana. The only events omitted in the novel are Süleyman's European campaigns and the Ottoman siege of Rhodes, episodes that were probably censored because they were too shocking for the French and European audiences of the time.

The novel's concern for historical accuracy falls short, however, when it comes to its depictions of Ottoman culture. In this case, the author appears to have merely made up many of the scenes described. For example, the description of the ceremonies at court for the return of the sultan to Constantinople (1641-4 edition, book 1, pp. 1-24) does not have much of a basis in fact, nor do the descriptions of the magnificent reception for the arrival of Isabelle in Constantinople (book 3, pp. 489-96) or the description of the organisation of the Ottoman military campaign against the Persians (book 2, pp. 526-51). The novel also makes several scattered and imprecise references to alleged Ottoman and Persian customs and practices, such as the seraglio (book 1, p. 351), an imperial ceremony (book 1, p. 253), and mourning in Persian culture (book 3, p. 524).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa*, 4 vols, Paris: Antoine de Sommaville, 1641-4; Y2-67956 (digitised version available through BNF)

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahims oder Des Durchleuchtigen Bassa, und der beständigen Isabellen Wundergeschichte*, trans. P. von Zessen, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1645 (German trans.); VD 17 3:314982A (digitised version available through Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt)

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim, Overo L'illustre Bassa [da Madeleine De Scudéry]*, trans. Paris Cerchiari, Venice: F. Valvasense, 1646 (Italian trans.)

Madeleine de Scudery, *Ibrahim, Overo L'illustre Bassà*, trans. Carlo Vassalli, Venice: Fassina, 1648 (Italian trans.)

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim; The illustrious bassa an excellent new romance: The whole work, in four parts*, trans. H. Cogan, London,



- 1652 (English trans.); Wing 647:01 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa*, 4 vols, Rouen: L. Maurry pour la Compagnie des libraires du Palais, 1665; Y2-67962 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahims oder Des Durchleuchtigen Bassa, und der beständigen Isabellen Wundergeschichte*, trans. P. von Zessen, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1665 (German trans.)
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim; The illustrious bassa: The whole work, in four parts*, trans. H. Cogan, London, 1674 (English trans.); Wing 579:01 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *Des doorlughtigen Bassa Ibrahims en der volstandige Isabellae wonder-geschiedenissen*, trans. S. de Vries, 4 vols, Amsterdam, 1679 (Dutch trans.); 30 A 30 [-33] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa: Nouvelle édition, revûë, corrigée*, 4 vols, Paris: P. Witte, 1723; FINCH.JJ.37 (1-4) (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)
- Madeleine de Scudéry, *Des doorlughtigen Bassa Ibrahims en der volstandige Isabellae wonder-geschiedenissen*, trans. S. de Vries, 4 vols, Amsterdam, 1723 (Dutch trans)

## STUDIES

- Welch, *A taste for the foreign*
- Longino, *Orientalism in French classical drama*
- R. Godenne, *Les romans de Mademoiselle de Scudéry*, Geneva, 1983
- Lever, *Le roman français*
- Lever, *La fiction narrative*
- C.D. Rouillard, *The Turk in French history, thought, and literature (1520-1660)*, New York, 1940 (repr. 1973)
- Magendie, *Le roman français*

Almahide, ou l'esclave reine  
'Almahide, or the captive queen'

DATE 1660

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

*Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* is the fifth novel written by Madeleine de Scudéry, probably in collaboration with her brother, Georges de Scudéry. Although unfinished, it was published under Georges de Scudéry's name in eight volumes between 1660 and 1663 in Paris by Augustin Courbé, Louis Billaine, and Thomas Iolly. Unlike Scudéry's other novels, *Almahide* did not have much success and was never reprinted. However, it was translated into English in 1675 by J. Phillips (who also wrote a conclusion to the story), and into German in 1701 by F.A. Pernauern.

Like most of Scudéry's novels, *Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* is a very lengthy (6,516 pages) *roman héroïque*, constructed as a so-called *roman à tiroirs* (a 'novel made of drawers'), in which the main plot is constantly interrupted by a proliferation of sub-plots, histories and anecdotes that continually delay the denouement. It is set in a fictionalised Emirate of Granada during the reign of Boavdilin, a reference to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII, known as Boabdil (r. 1482-93), the last Naṣrid ruler of Granada before its annexation by Castile. Despite this reference, the novel has only a very weak connection to historical facts, and almost all its characters are purely fictional.

The main plot revolves around Almahide – the source of the novel's title and the main character in the story – who is the wife of Boavdilin. At her birth, her parents learn from an astrologer that their daughter is destined to become '[...] virgin and married, slave and queen, wife of a slave and a king, joyful and miserable, Christian and Mahometan [...]' (book 1, pp. 220-1; all references are from the 1660-3 edition). In order to protect her from this prophecy, her parents decide to send her from Granada to Tunis. However, during the voyage, her ship is captured by pirates and, after a shipwreck, she ends up in Andalusia. Here, Don Pedro de Leon, Duke of Medina, decides to take care of her and raises her alongside his son, Ponce, Count of Pegnafiel. The two young people fall in love, but Almahide's father is informed that his daughter is in Andalusia, and he persuades the Castilian king to send her back to Granada. Separated from Ponce, Almahide is brought back to Granada and forced to marry

King Boavdilin. In desperation, her lover Ponce decides to go to Granada and become Almahide's slave.

A civil war breaks out in Granada between the Zégris and Abencérage families (another loose historical reference to a possible feud between two factions said to have held prominent positions in the Kingdom of Granada). Almahide's lover, the slave Ponce, sides with the Abencérages in the civil unrest and, as a consequence, the chief of the Zégris asks King Boavdilin for his head. Nevertheless, Almahide saves Ponce with her royal powers by manumitting him. Boavdilin starts to suspect that Almahide loves another man, and he organises a series of subterfuges to uncover this man's identity. While the chief of the Zégris conspires to overturn King Boavdilin, Almahide tries to send Ponce away to protect him. The main plot ends here, unfinished.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* is a testimony to the remarkable success of the Morisco-Granada literary theme that flourished in France in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. With its origin in the Spanish literary canon, it was transmitted to France via the Italian epic model of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, and followed the enormous success of Girolamo Graziani's *Il conquisto di Granata* (1650) in France during the 1650s. However, the direct inspiration for Scudéry's novel is Jorge de Montemayor's pastoral romance *Diane* (translated into French in 1562) and Pérez de Hita's *Histoire des factions des Zegrís et des Abencerages, chevaliers maures de Grenade* (translated into French in 1595). Scudéry takes inspiration in particular from de Hita's text for all her historical and geographical references, which appear for example in the first sub-plot of the novel ('Histoire de Moraysel, de Semahis, d'Almadin, de la sultane reine et du bel esclave', pp. 72-670). In this section, Scudéry follows de Hita's chronology of the Kingdom of Granada and, after quickly recounting all the reigns of the first 17 rulers, provides detailed descriptions of Muley-Hasen's reign (Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī, d. 1485), and of his son, King Boavdilin.

Many of the themes in *Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* follow these models, adapting, for example, the figure of the noble and gallant Morisco to the *précieux* taste of the French literary salons of the time: '[...] Those who believe that the Morisco of Granada are Barbarians, only because they are from the Barbary region, show that they do not know them well, since it is certain that anyone can find in this court all the politeness and gallantry that one can imagine [...]' (pp. 78-9). Similarly, in a long passage on the history of the kingdom, Granada is described as a

particularly prosperous and fortunate land (pp. 72-80), a reference to the pastoral literary tradition, which is one of the themes developed in the novel.

Beyond fundamentals, few of the historical details presented in the novel have any resemblance to a real event, and the same is true for its characters. Whereas the novel pays particular attention to the description of the psychology of its main characters, in the end the Morisco or the Spaniard does not seem to differ much from the Turks, Persians, Italians or even the ancient Romans described in Scudéry's other novels.

At the same time, the novel contains many of the anti-Muslim stereotypes that circulated widely at the time. For instance, Boavdilin, the Naşrid ruler of Granada, incarnates in the book many of the features of traditional evil Oriental rulers who are moved only by cruelty and lust.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Almahide, ou l'esclave reine*, 8 vols, Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1660-3; (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Almahide, or, The captive queen. An excellent new romance, never before in English: the whole work*, trans. J. Phillips, 3 vols, London, 1677 (English trans.)

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Almahide oder Leibeigne Königin*, trans. F.A. Pernauern, 3 vols, Nuremburg, vol. 1, 1682, vol. 2, 1685, vol. 3 1695 (German trans.); P.o.gall. 2034-1,1-3 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Madeleine de Scudéry, *Almahide, or, The captive queen*, trans. J. Phillips, 3 vols, London, 1702 (English trans.); ESTC No29846 (digitised version available through ECCO)

#### STUDIES

Welch, *A taste for the foreign*

M. Boixareu (ed.), *L'histoire de l'Espagne dans la littérature française*, Paris, 2000

Longino, *Orientalism in French classical drama*

Godenne, *Les romans de Mademoiselle de Scudéry*

Lever, *Le roman français*

Lever, *La fiction narrative*

Rouillard, *The Turk in French history*

Magendie, *Le roman français*

## Sieur de La Croix

DATE OF BIRTH    Between 1630 and 1640  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH    1704  
PLACE OF DEATH    Paris

### BIOGRAPHY

As noted by Paul Sebag ('Deux orientalistes'), there is much confusion between Sieur de La Croix, author of the memoirs considered below, and François Pétis de La Croix, fils, the celebrated French Orientalist. Both served the same ambassadors, Nointel and Guilleragues, in Istanbul, although Sieur de La Croix (Edouard de la Croix; see Ghobrial, *The whispers of cities*, p. 4), who was roughly 13 to 20 years older than François Pétis, arrived earlier in 1670, and served there until his final return to France in January 1686.

As secretary to Nointel, La Croix was involved in negotiating peace between the Ottoman Empire and Poland in 1676, and he also seconded Nointel in seeking the renewal of France's capitulations with the Sublime Porte. During this same period, he participated in the collection of manuscripts for the Royal Library at the behest of Colbert (Omont, *Missions archéologiques*, vol. 1, pp. 240-3), and of professions of faith from the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Maronite churches (see La Croix, *La Turquie chrétienne*, dedicatory letter; Omont, *Missions archéologiques*, vol. 1, pp. 182-3).

In 1695, La Croix published the results of his efforts and his observations in *La Turquie chrétienne sous la puissante protection de Louis le Grand*. This volume presses the case for the establishment of a Catholic seminary in Istanbul that would serve to train missionaries and eventually unite the Eastern Churches under the protection of the French monarch. La Croix's writings show the high stakes that the beliefs of Eastern Christian communities held for European Christians of all kinds. No interest is shown, however, in extending the reach of Catholic proselytism to Ottoman Jews or Muslims, and La Croix portrays the Ottoman sultans as useful to the extent that, through the capitulations, they legitimise the French role as protector of the Christian communities under their rule. Surprisingly, given the detailed accounts of events in the empire

and the religious customs of the Ottomans, La Croix only began to study Ottoman Turkish in 1685, after his memoirs were written and published (Sebag, 'Deux orientalistes', p. 107).

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Sieur de La Croix, *La Turquie chrétienne sous la puissante protection de Louis le Grand*, Paris, 1695

MS Paris BNF – Français 6101-2, NAF 7124, and NAF 10839-41, Sieur de La Croix, *Journal du Sieur de La Croix, secrétaire de l'ambassade de France à la Porte ottomane*, 3 vols

#### *Secondary*

J.-P.A. Ghobrial, 'Introduction', in J.-P.A. Ghobrial, *The whispers of cities. Information flows in Istanbul, London and Paris in the age of William Trumball*, Oxford, 2014, 1-19, pp. 4-7

P. Sebag, 'Sur deux orientalistes français du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. F. Pétis de La Croix et le Sieur de La Croix', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 25 (1978) 89-117

H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2 vols, Paris, 1902

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Mémoires du Sieur de La Croix

#### 'Memoirs of Sieur de La Croix'

DATE 1682

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

These memoirs (in full, *Mémoires du Sieur de La Croix, ci-devant secrétaire de l'ambassade de Constantinople: Contenant diverses relations très-curieuses de l'Empire Othoman*), dedicated in manuscript form to King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) on 26 March 1782 and later printed by Claude Barbin in 1684, consist of 12 letters spread over 12 volumes and dated from 20 December 1670 to 10 January 1679. The letters are largely grouped together around themes, such as a description of Istanbul, insights into the sultan's harem, and an account of the negotiations of peace with Poland. The author's prefatory remarks support the view that the French have overestimated the power of the Ottomans, and that it would entirely

be within the realm of possibility for the French monarch to encroach upon these 'infidel' territories (vol. 1, pp. xi-xii). These candid remarks, as well as the frank descriptions of ranking officials of the Porte, probably led to the reproach lodged by Girardin, ambassador to Istanbul at the time of their print edition, that La Croix sent his reflections to press with 'much indiscretion' (cited in Sebag, 'Deux orientalistes', p. 108).

La Croix's memoirs provide detailed descriptions of Eastern Christian and Jewish, as well as Muslim, religious services. The bulk of his observations about Islamic rites and rituals are contained in the fourth letter of his memoirs, dated 14 November 1671. Given the previously expressed expansionist rationale behind his memoirs, it is not surprising that he couches his initial assessment of Muslim beliefs in the context of their influence on the morale of the Janissaries, concluding that 'religion' and 'predestination' are the greatest assets of the Ottoman troops (vol. 1, p. 230; all references to the text are to MS Paris BNF – Français 6094-6095; the translations are my own).

La Croix provides an exhaustive account of what he describes as the six principal tenets of the Muslim faith: the unity of God, the creation of angels, the resurrection of the dead, final judgment, the Qur'an as the true law, and God as the source of all good and evil. He adds to these further 'precepts', which comprise prayer, ablution, fasting and the *hajj* (vol. 1, p. 272). Most notably, he relates large portions of a Muslim service in Istanbul and offers in an ecumenical tone that, 'if they had the enlightenment of Faith, God would be better served by these peoples than by any others', adding that 'it is impossible that the punishment of those among them who will have fulfilled their duty as good men and exercised moral virtue should be as grievous as that of lowly Christians who would have had all the enlightenment necessary for their salvation' (vol. 1, pp. 273-4). The lengthy passage describing Muslim worship (vol. 1, pp. 274-80), which includes this statement and a translation of the prayers, is omitted from the later print edition of the memoirs.

Many of the depictions of Islam related by La Croix in his memoirs rely upon anecdotes and hearsay, as, for example, when he asserts that circumcision is not obligatory, but that some men opt for circumcision to increase sexual pleasure (vol. 1, pp. 283-4). He also recounts two anecdotes about Muḥammad's camel, one as a justification for the fast of Ramaḍān (vol. 1, p. 287), and another to introduce the figure of Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, reporting that Muḥammad's camel pointed him to Ayyūb's home when he arrived in Medina (vol. 1, pp. 289-90). The version of the

Ayyūb story reported by La Croix culminates with his burial outside the walls of Constantinople and the construction of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque by Mehmed II (r. 1444-6 and 1451-81) at the site of his mausoleum. La Croix acknowledges the practice of the Ottoman sultan marking the beginning of his reign by coming to this mosque, thereby relating the story of one of Muḥammad's Companions from the perspective of Ottoman claims to the Prophet's mantle (vol. 1, pp. 289-91).

La Croix lauds the Ottomans for their religious tolerance, noting the freedom of worship accorded to Christians in the sultan's realm. He observes that the Ottomans' Christian slaves are well treated, and moreover, 'if these unfortunates bear this relief from their bodily pains, spiritually they are aided with just as much care' (vol. 1, p. 208). Slaves, he emphasises 'complete their devotions with freedom' (vol. 1, p. 208), including Christian slaves. In fact, 'the exercise of the Catholic faith is extremely free, and the divine offices are celebrated in all the churches with the same liberty as in France' (vol. 1, p. 216). Also noteworthy are his portrayals of the free circulation of Christian priests, and the respect accorded to Christian burial services by Sufi dervishes (vol. 1, pp. 217-18).

The principal complaint La Croix forms against the Ottoman treatment of Christians is directed at the practice of *devşirme*, the forcible enlistment of the sons of Christian subjects to serve the Ottoman state. La Croix accuses local governors of abusing this practice to extort hefty tributes from the boys' fathers (vol. 1, pp. 247-8).

La Croix's account of Islam contains a number of inaccuracies. For example, he includes the views of Zoroastrian theologians in a discussion of Islamic beliefs about predestination (vol. 1, p. 285), and also counts 73 different Muslim sects (evidently deriving this number from a prophetic Hadith about the numbers of sects in Judaism, Christianity and Islam), but notes that there are only four approved ones, which he says were 'introduced by the hanefi, schafi, maleki, and hamedî [sic] doctors', thus restricting acceptable Muslim sects to the Sunnī legal schools (*madh-habs*). He declines to name other sects, only declaring that they 'are rejected as heretical and worthy of the eternal fire' (vol. 1, pp. 286-7).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

La Croix's observations contribute significant details about religious ritual in late 17<sup>th</sup>-century Istanbul, and offer insight into the kind of sources of which French travellers and diplomats in the Ottoman Empire would have availed themselves at the time.



## PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris BNF – Français 6094-6095 (1682)

MS Paris BNF – Français 6096-6097 (date unknown; manuscript dedicated to Colbert)

MS Paris BNF – NAF 4438 (date unknown; first volume only)

Sieur de La Croix, *Memoires du Sieur de la Croix cy-devant secretaire de l'Ambassade de Constantinople*, 2 vols, Paris: Claude Barbin, 1684; Turc. 268 i-1, Turc. 268 i-2 (digitised version available through MDZ; the author is incorrectly identified as François Pétis la Croix)

## STUDIES

Sebag, 'Deux orientalistes'

**Jonathan Haddad**

## Richard Simon

DATE OF BIRTH 13 May 1638  
PLACE OF BIRTH Dieppe  
DATE OF DEATH 11 April 1712  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

### BIOGRAPHY

Richard Simon was a French exegetical scholar. He was born into a Catholic family in Dieppe in 1638, and studied theology at the Sorbonne. In 1662, he became a member of the French Oratory. The Oratory's collection of books and manuscripts brought home from the Levant gave him the opportunity to do further studies in ancient languages such as Greek, Hebrew and Syriac. His first publication was *Voyage du Mont Liban* (1675), a translation of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Italian Jesuit Jérôme Dandini's account of his missionary work in Tripoli and Jerusalem.

Simon's first work as an exegetical scholar was *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (3 vols), published in 1678. The work assimilates ideas from the Calvinist Isaac de la Peyrère and Spinoza's *Tractaticus theologicus-politicus*, introduced in France by Leibniz in 1672. Its defining feature is that it casts doubt on the belief that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. Although it had originally been published with ecclesiastical approval, it was condemned, copies were burned and Simon dismissed from the Oratory. Dutch presses, however, printed copies of the work in 1685.

In 1679, Simon retired to the curacy of Bonneville, Seine Maritime. Two years later, he returned to the public sphere with a translation of the Venetian Rabbi Leone Modena's *Ceremonies et coutumes qui s'observent aujourd' huy parmy les Juifs*, which had originally been published in 1637 with the purpose of explaining Jewish rites and beliefs to Christians. Simon added a second section with his own comparison of Jewish and Catholic ceremonies (Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, p. 180). In order to avoid censorship, Simon published his second work *Histoire critique du Nouveau Testament* in Holland in 1689. However, this did not prevent powerful traditionalists within the Catholic Church from attacking it.

Simon died in 1712. Despite exclusion from his order and persecution, he is considered to have remained faithful to the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith (the Council of Trent) and to its institutions.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- C.-M. de Veil, 'Letter to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq. defending the Divine authority of the Holy Script', London, 1683
- J.-B. Bossuet, 'Défense de la tradition et des saints Pères', *Oeuvres posthumes de messier Jacques-Benigne Bossuet*, vol. 2, Paris, 1753
- C. Urbain and E. Levesque (eds), *Correspondance de Bossuet*, 15 vols, Paris 1909-25, vol. 13, pp. 306, 309, 374, 318

### *Secondary*

- B. Heyberger and S. Larzul, art. 'Simon, Richard (Dieppe, 1638-Dieppe, 1712)', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 957-9
- L. Hunt, M.G. Jacob and W. Mijnhardt (eds), *Bernard Picart and the first global vision of religion*, Los Angeles CA, 2010
- L. Hunt, M.G. Jacob and W. Mijnhardt (eds), *The book that changed Europe. Picart and Bernard's Religious ceremonies of the world*, London, 2010
- H. Yücesoy, 'Ancient imperial heritage and Islamic universal historiography. Al-Dīnawarī's secular perspective', *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007) 135-55
- G. Stroumsa, 'Richard Simon. From philology to comparatism', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (2001) 89-107
- P.J. Lambe, 'Biblical criticism and the censorship in Ancien Régime France. The case of Richard Simon', *The Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985) 149-77
- P. Auvray, *Richard Simon, 1638-1712. Etude bio-bibliographique avec des textes in édits*, Paris, 1974
- J. Steimann, *Richard Simon et les origins de l'exégèse biblique*, Paris, 1960

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant*

‘Critical history of the religions and customs of the Eastern nations’

DATE 1684

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

*Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* is divided into 15 chapters, each explaining the beliefs, practices, and interpretative traditions of an Oriental Orthodox church (Greek, Melchite, Georgian, Maronite, Nestorian, Ethiopic, Coptic, etc.). The last chapter, ‘Le créance et les coutumes des Mahometans’, is devoted to Islam. The declared purpose of the book is to prove that the accusations of heresy made against the Oriental churches by the Roman Catholic Church are false and based on ignorance. Therefore, as Simon states in the preface, people who consider making a journey to the Levant should really have no fear of encountering heretics.

The argument of the book is structured in accordance with the methodology of Simon’s ‘histoire critique’, and thus takes the form of an investigation from inside, so to speak, of the liturgical ceremonies and practices pertaining to worship as they have been performed throughout the centuries in Middle Eastern Christian congregations. This endeavour is accompanied by an account of the similarities and apparent deviations from Roman Catholic liturgy. Finally, the religious ceremonies and practices of each church are considered in the light of authoritative testimonies and writings. Each chapter ends with the somewhat ambiguous conclusion that the Oriental liturgical deviations from the Roman Catholic liturgy are theologically insignificant. In addition, Simon demonstrates that, in each case, the deviations can be explained by local interpretative traditions. What appear to be schismatic theological positions, or even heresy, are actually just terminological and cultural differences that in no way affect the substance of the faith.

Simon opens his chapter on Islam by declaring that he wants to free travellers from their many prejudices towards this religion. However, this is followed by the somewhat arrogant statement that the ‘Mahometans’

owe their religion to the Jews and the Christians. Moreover, Simon also claims that all that seems good and praiseworthy in Muslim morality stems from Christianity. From this point on, however, he approaches Islam from the critical historical perspective that structures his investigations into Oriental churches.

Simon gives a remarkably dispassionate account of how Muḥammad created Islam. Given his conviction that religion must be based on the word of God, and not on the word of man, Muḥammad had to pretend to be God's envoy. To convince the Christians in particular he also had to pretend that he represented the second coming of the saviour promised in the New Testament. For Simon, Muḥammad's 'imposture' should apparently not be condemned as cynical calculation. It was a necessity and the natural consequence of his understanding of religion as a system of laws, ideas and practices that had become the object of cultic worship, thanks to a collective or common belief in their divine origin. Muḥammad, says Simon, was also aware of another important condition for the creation of a new religion: in order to convince, it had to display convergences with an already established system of beliefs. As for the tales of miracles (the splitting of the moon, the water flowing from Muḥammad's fingers, etc.), which usually attract Christian mockery, Simon argues that these were not Muḥammad's inventions but were ascribed to the Prophet by 'les Mahometans' in order to give more weight to their belief. While Simon does not represent Muḥammad as driven by an authentic religious conviction, he does not depict him as an imposter either.

Simon draws attention to the similarities between, respectively, Islam and Christianity, and Islam and Judaism. Like the Christians, Muslims believe in the day of judgement and life after death. Like the Christians, who believe that the Archangel Michael will weigh the souls on Judgement Day, Muslims believe that God has assigned the Archangel Michael to reward righteous people for the good they have done. Like the Christians, Muslims believe in Paradise and Hell and, although they do not use the concept of Purgatory, they entertain a kindred idea according to which some dead will pass through Hell to atone for their sins before entering the gate of Paradise. The understanding of Purgatory as a temporary sojourn in Hell can also be found among the Oriental Christians, Simon notes. As for the points of convergence with Judaism, Simon refers to the similarities between the Muslim Sunna – the record of Muḥammad's exemplary deeds and words, and thus a book featuring the social and legal traditions, customs and exemplary ways of living that

Muslims are required to respect and follow – and the Jewish Talmud. As announced by the primary article of the Muslim faith, ‘Allāh is the one and only God’, Muslims, like the Jews, reject the idea of the Trinity.

These comparisons are followed by a description of the basic articles of faith, rituals (of washing and praying), Muslim piety, Ramaḍān, and Muslim moral prescriptions. Generally speaking, Simon appears sympathetic towards Muslim religion and morality. He highlights what he considers to be the simplicity of Muslim penitence and mentions how severely Muslims condemn slander; he seems fascinated by the concrete, visual character of their instructions on how to fight the passions, he notes that they have many rules for how to treat one’s neighbour in a proper and decent way, and he praises their norms of civility.

Throughout history, Christians have repeatedly referred to Muslim scriptures in scornful terms as confused, incoherent, contradictory and full of childish tales bereft of credibility, not least when it comes to the tale of Paradise. But Simon cuts things short by arguing that more often than not the tales of the Qur’an should be read as ‘parables’ and not as ‘true stories’. Actually, Simon writes, one should never take the writings of the ‘docteurs Mahometans & des autres Orientaux’ in a literal sense. Like the biblical scholar and orientalist Pierre-Daniel Huet, who in *Traité des origines du roman* (1670) claimed that love of fiction was a typical ‘oriental’ characteristic, Simon seems to suggest that sensuality and love of images, to which the Qur’an in his view bears witness, originates in a common Oriental culture and not in the Muslim faith.

In the last paragraphs of the chapter, Simon gives a description of the work, role and authority of Muslim exegetical scholars (‘les docteurs Mahometans’). The description seems to be mediated by his personal experiences of trying to maintain the precarious balance ‘between stating the belief that the Scripture could be understood better (which no theologian could disapprove of) and yet not suggesting as such that it had been understood wrongly by the Church (which theologians would condemn) ... From the perspective of his opponents, Simon did not maintain this balance’ (Lambe, ‘Biblical criticism’, p. 164). Judging from Simon’s description, Muslim exegetical scholars do not have to maintain such a balance between orthodoxy and individual, exegetical practice since no institutional equivalent to the Catholic Church exists in the Muslim world.

The exegetical interpretation of ‘les docteurs mahométans’ is indispensable, Simon claims, because the holy scriptures of Islam present

a very high degree of obscurity which makes them incomprehensible to ordinary people. However, the exegetical scholar interprets the law 'selon la capacité de son esprit et donnoit au peuple ses interpretations'. In other words, exegetical reading does not uncover the true meaning of the texts, but represents an interpretation determined by the intellectual and theological capacity of the interpreter. Consequently, many 'sectes' will practise Islam in accordance with various degrees of misinterpretation of the Prophet's words. But this hermeneutical variety does not pose a problem since 'il n'y a point de sectes ou l'on ne puisse se sauver', and since misinterpretations 'ne sont point de pechez'. Moreover, there exists a general contention among Muslims that God wants those who cannot make sense of the holy texts themselves to accept the interpretation of the scholars without considering whether it is correct or not. The only thing that cannot be disputed in Muslim worship is the imperative of total, unconditional submission to the authority of one particular exegetical scholar or sect. In the unlikely event that the interpretation to which the believer has submitted will be contested and proved incorrect, neither the scholar nor his followers will be punished. In spite of the fact that Shī'a Muslims had (and have) often been accused by Sunnīs of being heretics, Simon implicitly states that neither orthodoxy nor heresy plays a role in Islam.

In the very last lines of the *Histoire*, Simon admits that, even though one can be saved in all the Islamic sects, he would prefer 'la secte d'Abuhanisé' (presumably the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, one of the four Sunnī schools of law, named after Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān [d. 767]) because he was 'le plus ancien et le plus éclairé', and therefore provided the best explanations of the holy scriptures.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Richard Simon was a highly respected but also an extremely controversial scholar who battled with almost every theological faction in the France of his time: Oratorians, Benedictines, Jesuits, the Port-Royal, and the Sorbonne. Consequently, his works received a lot of attention, praise, warnings, scorn and scandalised criticism from his contemporaries.

He was very influential in the field of biblical exegesis. Important in this respect was the influence he exerted on Jean Frederic Bernard, the author of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723-37). To Bernard and his publisher Picart, Simon was a hero, and it seems more than likely that his *Ceremonies et coùtumes qui s'observent aujourd'huy parmy les Juifs* influenced their choice of title. We do not

know for sure if Bernard relied specifically on Simon's *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* in the volume on Islam. By his own report, he did not, though in the much less well-known *Histoire, cérémonies, peuples du monde* (1741), a bowdlerised version of Bernard and Picart's work, the authors, two Catholic priests, Antoine Banier and Jean Baptiste Le Mascrier, added an essay on Islam written by Simon in 1684 under the pseudonym of L. Sr. De Moni (Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, p. 226). The essay, which aimed at combatting prejudices against Muslims, is in all likelihood identical to Simon's chapter on Islam in his *Histoire*. The fact that Banier and Mascrier 'diluted the overall message of Bernard's text by not giving Islam its own volume', and instead added the essay by Simon suggests that they felt more comfortable with Simon's description of Islam since he was, after all, a Catholic priest like themselves (Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, p. 266).

It can be argued that Simon initiated the transformative development that allowed the anthropologically defined category of religion to emerge from the category of faith defined as a belief in a particular set of dogmas, rules and doctrines as expressions of God-given truths. In this respect, he was crucial to the emergence of new ways of looking at separate religious traditions and the relations between them.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Richard Simon, *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant*, Francfort [Rotterdam]: Frédéric Arnaud, 1684; 2013-313158 (digitised version available through BNF)

Richard Simon, *The critical history of the religions and customs of the Eastern nations*, trans. A. Lovell, London, 1685 (English trans.); 001933129 (digitised version available through Hathi Library Digital Trust)

Richard Simon, *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant*, Francfort [Rotterdam]: Frédéric Arnaud, 1693<sup>2</sup>

Richard Simon, *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant*, Frankfurt am Main, 1976

#### STUDIES

Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*  
 Lambe, 'Biblical criticism'

Anne Fastrup



# Jacques Abbadie

DATE OF BIRTH    Probably 1654  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Nay, Béarn, south-west France  
DATE OF DEATH    25 September 1727  
PLACE OF DEATH    London

## BIOGRAPHY

Jacques Abbadie was born to Pierre and Violente Abbadie, a Protestant Huguenot family. In 1673, he started at the Academy of Montauban-Puylaurens, and then went to the Academy of Saumur to study theology, receiving his doctorate in divinity from the Academy of Sedan in March 1680. He was appointed to the French Church in Berlin, at the invitation of the Elector of Brandenburg, and served from May 1680 to 1689, gaining a reputation as a preacher. Whilst there, he wrote several works, including *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne* (1684), a Christian apologetic, as well as *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* ('Treatise on the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ', 1689). In both these works, Abbadie used Muḥammad in his arguments (Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 45-50), in *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne* depicting him as a preacher who placed excessive emphasis on material progress in this world (Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*, p. 47).

At the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the Elector invited French Protestants to settle in Brandenburg, which had been depopulated by the Thirty Years' War. Abbadie was sent by him on an official mission to the Netherlands to encourage Huguenot refugees to make the move.

In 1689, Abbadie served as personal chaplain to Friedrich Herman, Duke of Schomberg, accompanying him to Ireland, where Schomberg was killed at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Abbadie moved to London in July 1691 and was appointed to the French church of the Savoy in Westminster, which conformed to Anglican rites. There, he served for eight years, during which he wrote *Art de se connoître soi-même* (1692), *Défense de la nation britannique* (1692) and *Histoire de la dernière conspiration d'Angleterre* (1696). This last work, an account of the attempted assassination of William III (r. 1689-1702) in February 1696, resulted in Abbadie's being recommended by the king for a preferment in Ireland.

His lack of fluency in English made him unsuitable for the position of Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, which was vacant at that time, but he was appointed as rector of Aglishmartin and Castlecomer, and vicar of Odogh, Ballyragget and Donoughmore in the diocese of Ossory in March 1699, and then in May 1699 he was installed as Dean of Killaloe, in Clare. He paid substitutes to perform his clerical duties in his various livings and from 1699 to 1703 lived in Portarlington, where there was a large number of French Protestant refugees.

He became involved in controversy when he attempted to persuade the French Protestant congregations in Ireland to conform to Anglicanism. His 'florid preaching style, merely reinforced [his fellow refugees' view] that Abbadie was determined to lord it over them, leaving behind the sobriety of his own tradition' (Whelan, 'Abbadie', *Dictionary of Irish biography*).

From 1703, he divided his time between Dublin, London and Amsterdam, where he oversaw the publication of his final work *La vérité de la religion chrétienne réformée* (1717). He grew embittered at being denied a more lucrative benefice, which he regarded as his deserved reward. He died in London 25 September 1727 and was buried in Marylebone.

\* Thanks to Ruth Whelan for her comments on the entry.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Art. 'Jacques Abbadie', in J.-P. Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres*, vol. 33, Paris, 1736, 381-7

Anon., 'Essai historique', in Jacques Abbadie, *Sermons et panégyriques*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1760, ii-lvi

### Secondary

V. Larminie (ed.), *Huguenot networks, 1560-1780. The interactions and impact of a Protestant minority in Europe*, Abingdon, 2018

R. Whelan, 'Comment faire voir les vérités évangéliques? Le "tableau" dans les sermons de Jacques Abbadie', in G. Aubert, A. Heneveld and C. Meli (eds), *L'éloquence de la chaire entre écriture et oralité (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, 2018, 217-32

R. Whelan, art. 'Abbadie, Jacques', in D. Masseau (ed), *Dictionnaire des anti-Lumières et des antiphilosophes (France 1715-1815)*, Paris, 2017

R. Whelan, 'The paradoxes of preaching in print. Seeing and believing in the sermons of Jacques Abbadie', *Irish Journal of French Studies* 16 (2016) 87-105

- R. Whelan, 'Réponses théologiques. Jacques Abbadie (1654-1727)', in D.-O. Hurel and M.-C. Pitassi, *La théologie. Une anthologie*, vol. 4. *Les temps modernes*, Paris, 2013, ch. 2
- R. Whelan, 'Jacques Abbadie ou le seuil politique de l'apologétique', in N. Brucker (ed.), *Apologétique 1650-1802. La nature et la grâce*, Berne, 2010, 109-25
- R. Whelan, art. 'Abbadie, Jacques (James)', in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography*, Cambridge, 2009, vol. 1
- R. Whelan, art. 'Abbadie, Jacques [James]', in *ODNB*
- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, Markfield, 1999
- R. Whelan, 'Le Christ de Jacques Abbadie', in M.-C. Pitassi (ed.), *Le Christ entre orthodoxie et Lumières*, Geneva, 1994, 139-62
- R. Whelan, 'From Christian apologetics to Enlightened deism. The case of Jacques Abbadie (1656-1727)', *Modern Language Review* 87 (1992) 32-40
- R. Whelan, 'Le Dieu d'Abraham et le Dieu des philosophes. Épistémologie et apologétique chez Jacques Abbadie', in M.-C. Pitassi (ed.), *Apologétique 1680-1740. Sauvetage ou naufrage de la théologie?*, Geneva, 1991, 59-71
- R. Whelan, 'Between two worlds. The political theory of Jacques Abbadie', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 14 (1987) 143-57
- R. Whelan, 'The Dean of Killaloe. Jacques Abbadie (1656-1727)', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 14 (1987) 101-18
- Art. 'Abbadie, Jacques', in *DNB*
- D.C.A. Agnew, *Protestant exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV*, vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1871<sup>2</sup>, 96-102
- M. Illaire, *Étude sur Jacques Abbadie considéré comme prédicateur*, Strasburg, 1858
- Art. 'Abbadie (Jacques)', in E. Haag and E. Haag (eds), *La France protestante*, vol. 1, Paris, 1846, 7-11
- J.S. Burn, *History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other foreign Protestant refugees settled in England*, London, 1846, pp. 109-13 (esp. p. 112), 247-51

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ 'The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'

DATE 1689

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

*Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* is the third volume of Abbadie's work on apologetics entitled *Traité de la verité de la religion*

*chrétienne*. It was published in 1689, with many subsequent editions. It was translated into English in 1704 as *The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ asserted and defended against the objections of the Arrians, Demy-Arians, and Socinians*, and republished in 1719 as *A sovereign antidote against Arian poyson*, a literal translation with almost identical pagination. In 1777, a new English translation appeared, *The deity of Jesus Christ essential to the Christian religion: a treatise of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*. A German translation, *Tractat von der Gottheit unsers Herrn Jesu Christi*, was published in 1754, and a translation into Dutch, *Verhandelng over de Godheid van onzen Heere Jesus Christus*, in 1783.

The work, which is 339 pages long in the first edition, is divided into six sections, each comprising a series of chapters which together present proofs to defend a premise. The six premises demonstrate aspects of the orthodox doctrine that Jesus was the Son of God and of one essence with the Father, intended as an answer to the spread of Socinianism, which advocated a rationalist interpretation of scripture in which Jesus was no more than human. In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Socinianism spread from Poland to Hungary, Germany, the Netherlands and England, where its influences were strongest among Latitudinarians and Arians in the Church of England during the later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In Section 1 (pp. 6-39; all references are to the first English edition of 1704), the first of the six premises in the work is headed: 'Wherein 'tis shew'd, that if Jesus Christ be not the true God, of one and the same essence with his Father, the *Mahometan* religion is preferable to the *Christian* religion, and *Jesus Christ* inferior to *Mahomet*'. This is the only premise that uses Islam and Muḥammad as part of the argument to demonstrate the truth that Jesus is truly God and of the same essence as the Father.

In ch. 1 (pp. 6-12), which is entitled 'That if Jesus Christ be not of one and the same essence with his Father, the Christianity we profess is the corruption of the Christian religion, and Mahometism is the re-establishment of it', Abbadie sets out two premises: 'That Jesus Christ being not the supreme God, cannot, without manifest idolatry, be worshipt as supreme God. ... [and] That idolatry is a crime which violates the law of God, and destroys the spirit of piety' (p. 8). The first of these is, of course, hypothetical, presented in order to show the impossibility of Socinianism. If it were accepted, it would lead to the consequence that 'the Christianity we profess, is the corruption of the Christian religion, and that *Mahumetism* is the re-establishment of it' (p. 8). If Christ were not one with the Father, as Socinianism teaches, Christianity as it has developed

through history would be a corruption of the original faith, and Islam, with its emphasis on the divinity of God alone, would be the restoration of this faith.

The argument continues in ch. 2 (pp. 12-16), 'Wherein 'tis shew'd, that if Jesus Christ be not of one and the same essence with his Father, we cannot but look upon Mahomet as a divine man'. Abbadie sets out two alternatives for the character of Muḥammad, either that he was an impostor or that he abolished idolatry in the form of the Christian worship of Christ. He goes on to argue: 'If Mahomet has disabus'd the world in point of Christian idolatry, ... by what spirit hath he wrought such a great a work; by the Spirit of God, or by the spirit of the Devil? If by the spirit of the Devil, how has he abolisht idolatry? If by the Spirit of God, how is he an impostor?' (pp. 12-13). The consequence of failing to maintain that Christ is of the same essence as the Father would have to be that Christians committed the sin of idolatry in worshipping him and, since Muḥammad must have been guided by the Holy Spirit to abolish all forms of idolatrous worship, he cannot have been an impostor.

Continuing the logic of this in ch. 3 (pp. 17-24), 'Wherein 'tis shew'd, that if Jesus Christ be not of one and the same essence with his Father, Mahomet is a great prophet, the greatest of prophets and indeed every way preferable to Jesus', Abbadie sets out the case for the superiority of Muḥammad over other prophets. He argues, 'The ancient prophets spake but to the people of Israel: but Mahomet has spoken to the finest and most considerable part of the universe. ... Mahomet had no need of a companion, or a successor to banish idolatry forever from those countries where his doctrine has been receiv'd. The ancient prophets were rais'd up in an extraord'nary manner to destroy superstition and idolatry, by working divers miracles. Mahomet has destroy'd without one miracle, an idolatry spread over the face of the whole earth' (p. 17). The characteristics of Muḥammad's prophethood distinguish him from the biblical prophets, and place him above them.

In the second part of this chapter (pp. 18-24), Abbadie invites the reader to 'consider well the language of Jesus Christ, ... and let him compare it with the language of Mahomet; and he'll soon be convinced of it', i.e. the reader will be convinced of the superiority of what is said in the Bible about the divinity of Christ. He illustrates this by verses from John's Gospel, Revelation and various letters from the New Testament, together with Psalms and Isaiah from the Old Testament, all of which affirm the oneness of Christ with God.

Ch. 4 (pp. 24-40), 'Wherein is compar'd the language of Jesus Christ with that of Mahomet; and 'tis shew'd, that if Jesus Christ be not of one and the same essence with his Father, Mahomet was more true, more wise, more charitable, and more zealous for the glory of God than was Jesus Christ', examines Muḥammad's teachings about the oneness of God: 'He declares in almost every page of his Alcoran, that none but the eternal Father is God. He calls himself a prophet, a man divinely sent: but he will not pass for God. He owns Jesus Christ to be divinely sent: but will not have him call'd God, or Son of God' (pp. 24-5). Muḥammad's belief that Jesus was a man and no more is summed up in a few allusions from the Qur'an: 'Those that say *the Son of Mary is God*, are unbelievers and infidels. *Christ the Son of Mary is no more than God's envoy* [Q 4:171]. [Muḥammad] says, *Christians are infidels, by making three gods where there is but One*' (p. 25). Abbadie's argument is that Muḥammad insisted on the pure oneness of God in a way that Jesus did not, so, unless it is maintained that Jesus was of the Father's essence, any monotheist should logically follow Muḥammad rather than Jesus.

The chapter and section conclude with the statement 'the truth of the Christian Religion and the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ are so essentially united, that we cannot establish one without justifying the other, nor destroy the latter without renouncing the former' (p. 40).

The whole argument of this premise is that anyone who does not affirm that Jesus and the Father are one should become a Muslim, because the teachings of Islam are more clearly monotheistic than those of Christianity. The Socinians cannot be acting truly to themselves since they have not converted. By implication, they should follow a faith that was uniformly condemned throughout Europe as inhuman.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Abbadie's use of Muḥammad is an indication that, writing at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, he could expect his readers to know enough about Muḥammad and Islam to enable him to use them as part of his apologetic against Socinians. The broad implication of this section of his work, that so-called Christians who wished to follow the logic of monotheism by dissociating Jesus from the Godhead should continue this logic and follow Muḥammad, the supposed corrector of the errors in the Christian tradition, shows that the general opinion about Islam among European publics was so low at this time that it was enough to associate a belief with it to stir up widespread aversion.

*Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* was republished many times during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in French and English. Its popularity, particularly in English, was, of course, due to the continuing presence of Unitarian views amongst English-speaking Protestants, rather than anything to do with Muḥammad.

## PUBLICATIONS

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Rotterdam, 1689; D2-5371 (digitised version available through BNF)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Rotterdam, 1690

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Rotterdam, 1699

Jacques Abbadie, *The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ asserted and defended against the objections of the Arrians, Demy-Arrians, and Socinians*, London, 1704 (English trans.); ESTC T202102 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Rotterdam, 1709; OTM: O 62-2749 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Amsterdam, 1719

Jacques Abbadie, *A sovereign antidote against Arian poyson: or, The divinity of our blessed Saviour asserted and plainly prov'd: from the Old and New Testament, the writings of the fathers of the primitive church, and many other holy men and learned doctors, the divinity of our blessed Saviour; that he is God coeternal with the father, and that by him and through him the heavens and earth and all things were created. In full answer to Dr Clarke, Mr Whiston, Mr Emlyn and the rest of their adherents*, London, 1719 (English trans.); ESTC To49556 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Amsterdam, 1729; OTM: OK 62-8447 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, The Hague, 1741

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, The Hague, 1750

Jacques Abbadie, *Tractat von der Gottheit unsers Herrn Jesu Christi*, trans. J.G. Angerer, Nuremburg, 1754, repr. Köthen, 1756 (German trans.)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Lyon, 1763

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, The Hague, 1771

Jacques Abbadie, *The deity of Jesus Christ essential to the Christian religion: a treatise of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*, ed. and trans. A. Booth, London, 1777 (English trans., a new translation, revised, corrected and in some places abridged); repr.: London, 1799 (published by Religious Tract Society); Philadelphia PA, 1802; Charlestown MA, 1817; London, 1838, 1848; 33433068246994 (digitised version of 1777 edition available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Jacques Abbadie, *Verhandeling over de Godheid van onzen Heere Jesus Christus*, trans. G.F. Seiler, Utrecht, 1783 (Dutch trans.); KW Roobol D 83-84 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Jacques Abbadie, *The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ asserted and defended against the objections of the Arrians, Demy-Arrians, and Socinians*, Montrose, 1784 (English trans.); ESTC T197458 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Toulouse, 1864

#### STUDIES

Whelan, 'Comment faire voir les vérités évangéliques?'

Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 48-50

Whelan, 'From Christian apologetics to Enlightened Deism'

John Chesworth



# Pierre Bayle

DATE OF BIRTH 18 November 1647  
PLACE OF BIRTH Carla-le-Comte, France  
DATE OF DEATH 28 December 1706  
PLACE OF DEATH Rotterdam, Netherlands

## BIOGRAPHY

A French philosopher, scholar and editor of a learned journal, Pierre Bayle was born in Le Carla, a village not far from Foix in the French region of Languedoc. His father Jean was a Calvinist pastor, and his mother Jeanne de Bruguière belonged to the local nobility. They had three sons, Pierre, Jacob and Joseph. In the autumn-winter of 1668-9, after his education at the Huguenot academy of Puylaurens, Pierre went to study at the Jesuit college in Toulouse. During this period, he became a Catholic for 18 months, but then returned to the Protestant faith. Condemned as a renegade, he left France to study theology in Geneva from September 1670 to May 1674, and then returned clandestinely in the summer of 1674, working as a private tutor. Finally, in September 1675, he obtained a position teaching philosophy at the Protestant Academy of Sedan, where he remained until 1681.

The intensification of Louis XIV's (r. 1643-1715) anti-Protestant campaign, which was to culminate in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, led to the suppression of the Academy of Sedan. This forced Bayle to go into exile in the Netherlands. In Rotterdam, in March 1682, he published his first work *Pensées diverses* (1682), dedicated to the criticism of superstitions and prejudices, the defence of the existence of 'virtuous atheists' and the possibility of a society of atheists and a morality independent of religion. The work had a second edition in September of the same year. In the same months, Bayle published the *Critique générale* (1682), which was immediately successful, but the following year the volume was condemned to be burnt. For three years, from March 1684 to February 1687, he was the editor of the learned journal *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Bayle also authored both the *Nouvelles lettres de l'auteur de la critique générale de l'histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg* (1685) and *La France toute catholique* (1686).

This editorial commitment did not reduce his production as an author. The biographical and politico-religious events of Bayle's life are punctuated by his impressive epistolary correspondence and by theologico-philosophical polemics with numerous thinkers, in particular with Pierre Jurieu. Bayle published an *Avis important aux réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France* (1690) and the three parts of the *Commentaire philosophique* (1686-8). The latter is a central work in the literature on toleration, criticising the Augustinian idea of the lawfulness of the use of force to convert heretics and to coerce them to return to orthodoxy. He defended the widest freedom of worship and toleration. In May 1692, he published the *Projet et fragmens d'un Dictionnaire critique* with the bookseller Reinier Leers. He completed the composition of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* in the autumn of 1696, and it appeared in Rotterdam dated 1697. The second edition (1702) was enlarged with the publication of *Eclaircissements* on atheism, Manicheism, scepticism, and clarifications and additions concerning some entries and topics. He continued his output of numerous important writings, pamphlets and re-editions until the end of his life. In particular, before his death on 28 December 1706, Bayle put the final touches to *Entretiens de Maxime and de Thémiste*. A large number of his works were collected in *Oeuvres diverses*, published posthumously in 1727-31.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- P. Husson et al. (eds), *Œuvres diverses de Mr Pierre Bayle, professeur en philosophie et en histoire à Rotterdam*, 4 vols, The Hague, 1727-31
- A. McKenna et al., *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, 15 vols, Oxford, 2001-17; <http://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr/?lang=fr>
- P. des Maizeaux, 'The life of the author', in *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr Peter Bayle. The second edition, Carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Translation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages. To which is prefixed, the life of the author, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by Mr Des Maizeaux, Fellow of the Royal Society*, London, 1734, vol. 1, i-cxxviii

### Secondary

- T.M. Lennon and M. Hickson, art. 'Pierre Bayle', *Stanford encyclopaedia of philosophy*, Palo Alto CA, revised 2017; <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bayle/>
- S. Larzul, art. 'Bayle Pierre', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012, 70-1

- H. Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, Paris, 2006
- E. Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, vol. 1. *Du pays de Foix à la cité d'Érasme*, The Hague, 1963, Dordrecht, 1985<sup>2</sup>; vol. 2. *Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, The Hague, 1964, Paris, 1996<sup>2</sup>
- E. Haag and E. Haag, *La France protestante*, Paris, 1888<sup>2</sup>, vol. 6, pp. 85-90

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

'Mahomet', in *Dictionnaire historique et critique*

DATE 1697

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

The *Dictionnaire histoire et critique* was written between August 1693 and October 1696, and first appeared on 24 October 1696 (dated 1697) in two folio volumes. The second edition (1701, dated 1702), which occupies four volumes in folio, was the definitive text and the last published during Bayle's lifetime, although a certain number of additions were incorporated into subsequent editions. There were numerous editions, reproductions and pirated editions during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Concerning the two entries on 'Mahomet' and 'Mahomet II', there are no differences between the first edition of 1697 and the subsequent editions.

These entries describe the life of the Prophet and of the Ottoman Sultan Mahomet II (r. 1451-81), and they both reconstruct historical and narrative aspects. Bayle asks whether the Muḥammadan religion could have been spread only through violence and by dishonest political practice alone, and emphasises the similarity between the spread of Islam and the ruthless coercion exercised towards the Huguenots by the French Dragoons in order to convert them to Catholicism.

Bayle argues that the Prophet Muḥammad would certainly not have worked to combine parts of the Jewish and Christian traditions, nor would he have been concerned with including an infinite number of stories in the Qur'an if his sole intention had been to advance his religion by force of compulsion. Nor was the territorial extension of a religion a proof of its legitimacy or truthfulness, as many apologists of Christianity had claimed. As in the *Pensées diverses*, in this entry Bayle also highlights not only the religious purposes but also the political intention of the Prophet's conquest of Christianity.

Bayle drew on numerous documentary sources, including Edward Brerewood, *Recherches curieuses* (1640), J.H. Hottinger, *Historia orientalis* (1651), Urbain Chevreau, *Histoire du monde* (1686), Cnaeus Cornelius Uythage, *Anti-christus Mahometes* (1666), Samuel Schultetus, *Ecclesia Muhammedana breviter delineata* (1668), Paul Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1677), Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* (second edition, 1697), Barthélémy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, (1697) and also the works of Hugo Grotius, Richard Simon, Edward Pococke, and Ludovico Maracci.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The arguments of both 'Mahomet' and 'Mahomet II' are used as tools for the analysis and interpretation of Bayle's own world. This explains the apparently paradoxical defence of Islam, despite the fact that Bayle always remains convinced of its inauthenticity, which is demonstrated by the political acumen and fury of its prophet. Despite the framework of a comparison of Islam and Christianity, Bayle's corrective analysis has as its target the Christian religion and in particular French Catholicism. The kings of France imposed Christianity in the lands of Friesland, Bayle explains, and more generally from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards Christianity was established with ferocity and power, even though it had originally been born as a religion based on moderation and peaceful teaching. The same happened in the papacy, and elsewhere. Conversely, 'Mohammedanism', imposed in its first three centuries by force, had then spread peacefully in Asia and had tolerated other churches and religions.

Bayle focuses on the theme of toleration, making a comparison between Muslims and Christians. Even in this context, appearing as the defender of the toleration practised by Islam, while not ignoring its excesses and forceful domination, Bayle does not fail to point out that religious obedience to the faith was accompanied by political obedience. In the entries on 'Mahomet' and 'Mahomet II', Bayle underlines the personal ambitions as well as religious weaknesses of the Prophet, but also reflects contemporary interest in Islam and its founder, and in important Arab thinkers. While reminding the reader of the atheistic and heretical thought of these thinkers, he focuses at the same time on their virtuous and tolerant behaviour towards the various religious confessions.

The *Dictionnaire* had an extraordinary circulation both in its original language and in the form of the compilation written by François-Marie de Marsy, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou Abrégé méthodique de ses*

*ouvrages, particulièrement de son Dictionnaire historique et critique*, and in different translations.

#### PUBLICATIONS

The work has been published many times; only the earliest editions and selected translations are listed here.

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4 parts in 2 vols, Rotterdam, chez Reinier Leers, 1697; FOL-H-5119 (1-4) (digitised version available through BNF)

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4 parts, Rotterdam, chez Reinier Leers, 1702; G-999 (digitised version available through BNF)

Pierre Bayle, *An historical and critical dictionary. By Monsieur Bayle. Translated into English, with many additions and corrections, made by the author that are not in the French editions*, 4 vols, London, 1710 (English trans.); ESTC T143095 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 3 vols, Rotterdam (Geneva, Fabri et Barrillot) 1715; G-1002 (digitised version available through BNF)

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4 vols, Rotterdam, chez Michel Bohm, 1720; 999/2Hist.pol.511 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4 vols, Amsterdam, chez P. Brunel *et al*, 1730

Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 5 vols, Amsterdam, Compagnie des Libraires, 1734; G-1011 (1-5) (digitised version available through BNF)

Pierre Bayle, *The dictionary historical and critical of Mr. Peter Bayle, the 2d ed. carefully collated with the several editions of the original, in which many passages are restored and the whole greatly augm. particularly with a translation of the quotations from eminent writers in various languages, to which is prefixed the life of the author*, revised Pierre Desmaizeaux, 5 vols, London, 1734-8 (English trans.); ESTC T143097 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Pierre Bayle, *A general dictionary, historical and critical: in which a new and accurate translation of that of the Celebrated Mr. Bayle, with the corrections and observations printed in the late edition at Paris, is included; and interspersed with several thousand lives never before*

- published*, 10 vols, London, 1734-41; BL 122.h.5-14. (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4, vols, Basle, chez Jean-Louis Brandmuller, 1738; 2 Biogr.c. 150 f-1-4 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4 vols, Amsterdam, 1740; 999/2Hist.lit.76 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Pierre Bayle and Pierre Desmaizeaux, *Historisches und kritisches Wörterbuch: nach der neuesten Auflage von 1740 ins Deutsche übersetzt*, trans. J.C. Gottsched, Leipzig, 1741-4 (German trans.); 2 Gs 61 -1-4 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 4 vols, Basle, 1741; 2 Biogr.c. 8-(1-4) (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Pierre Bayle, *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch für Theologen*, Lübeck, 1779 (German trans., selected entries); Biogr.c. 28-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Pierre Bayle and Pierre Desmaizeaux, *Historisches und kritisches Wörterbuch: im Auszuge neu geordnet und übersezt*, trans. J.C. Gottsched, Leipzig, 1813<sup>2</sup> (German trans.)
- A. Beuchot (ed.), *Dictionnaire historique et critique par Monsieur Bayle*, 16 vols in 8, nouvelle édition, Paris, Desoer, 1820
- E.A. Beller and M. du P. Lee (eds), *Selections from Bayle's Dictionary*, Princeton NJ, 1952, New York, 1969 (English trans.)
- Pierre Bayle, *Historical and critical dictionary; selections*, ed. and trans. R.H. Popkin and C. Brush, Indianapolis IN, 1965, 1991 (English trans.)
- Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, ed. A. Niderst, Paris, 1974 (abridged)
- Pierre Bayle, *Dizionario storico-critico*, ed. and trans. G. Cantelli, Bari, 1976 (Italian trans., selected entries)
- Pierre Bayle, *The dictionary historical and critical of Mr. Peter Bayle*, intr. B. Feldman, New York, 1984 (repr. of 1734-8 edition)
- Pierre Bayle, *Diccionario histórico y crítico. Selección*, ed. S. Landucci, trans. J. Bayod, Barcelona, 1996 (Calatan trans., selected entries)
- Pierre Bayle and Pierre Desmaizeaux, *Historisches und kritisches Wörterbuch: nach der neuesten Auflage von 1740 ins Deutsche übersetzt*, trans. J.C. Gottsched, Hildesheim, 1997 (German trans., repr. of 1741 edition with foreword by E. Beyreuther)

- Pierre Bayle, *Diccionario histórico y crítico. Selección*, ed. and trans. F. Bahr, Buenos Aires, 2010 (Spanish trans., selected entries)
- Pierre Bayle, *Mahomet*, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, 2016; <http://www.zones-sensibles.org/pierre-bayle-mahomet/>

## STUDIES

- M. van der Lugt, 'The body of Mahomet. Pierre Bayle on war, sex, and Islam', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 78 (2017) 27-50
- L. Bianchi, 'Entre athéisme et tolérance. Mahomet II dans le *Dictionnaire historique et critique* de Pierre Bayle', in C. Bahier-Porte, P.F. Moreau and D. Reguig (eds), *Liberté de conscience et arts de penser (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle). Mélanges en l'honneur d'Antony McKenna*, Paris, 2017, 521-33
- L. Simonutti, 'Bayle e la Bibbia. Tra David e Mahomet', in L. Simonutti (ed.), *Religious obedience and political resistance in the early modern world. Jewish, Christian and Islamic philosophers addressing the Bible*, Turnhout, 2014, 393-412

**Luisa Simonutti**

# Mathurin Veyssi re de la Croze

DATE OF BIRTH 4 December 1661  
PLACE OF BIRTH Nantes  
DATE OF DEATH 21 May 1739  
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

## BIOGRAPHY

Mathurin Veyssi re de la Croze was born into a family of wealthy merchants in Nantes. He was first educated by his father and then by private tutors, before going to the West Indies at the age of 14. He was in Guadeloupe until 1677, and learned several European languages there. When he returned to France, he became a novice in the religious order of the Benedictines of St Maur, studying at Saumur, Marmoutier and Le Mans. From 1682, he devoted himself to the historical work of this order, working on both Church Fathers and the history of Brittany.

He developed heterodox interests, which led him to leave the order, and he abjured in Basel in the spring of 1696, joining the Reformed Church. Later that year he left for Berlin, where he obtained the post of royal librarian of Brandenburg and later of Prussia, and he spent the rest of his life there. Despite inducements to return to Catholicism, or to join the Lutheran Church in order to obtain a teaching position in Helmstedt, he remained faithful to the Reformed religion.

He gained a high reputation for his scholarship, learned publications and knowledge of Eastern languages, was in contact with many members of the Republic of Letters, and was the friend of leading intellectuals such as Leibniz, Wolff, Spanheim and Bayle. To supplement his meagre salary, he also worked as a private tutor for noble families, until he was appointed professor at the French College in Berlin in 1724. He published scholarly works on universal history, Eastern missions, philology and theological controversy, particularly directed against Jean Hardouin. Among his unpublished manuscripts were a Latin-Coptic dictionary, an Armenian dictionary and a Syriac dictionary.



## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

C. Jordan, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de M. La Croze*, Amsterdam, 1741

J.H.S. Formey, 'Eloge de M. de La Croze', in *Eloges des académiciens de Berlin*, Berlin, 1757, vol. 2, pp. 63-79

*Secondary*

M. Mulsow, *Die drei Ringe. Toleranz und clandestine Gelehrsamkeit bei Mathurin Veyssière La Croze (1661-1739)*, Tübingen, 2001

P.F. Burger, art. 'Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze', in J. Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des journalistes*, Oxford, 1999, 803-4

L.-G. Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1842, pp. 412-33

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Réflexions historiques et critiques sur le  
mahométisme et sur le socinianisme  
'Reflections on Mahometanism and Socinianism'

DATE 1707

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

This text occupies the first 163 pages of a volume entitled *Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets* ('Historical dissertations on various subjects'), and is followed by an approving letter from Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, to whom La Croze had sent the essay. It is essentially a polemical work directed against Socinians, demonstrating that their doctrines agree essentially with those of Islam, and that they are therefore heretics who cannot be distinguished from Muslims.

The first part of the work consists of an exposition of the main tenets of Islam, explaining that one needs to go beyond the usual opinion that Islam is a confused mixture of undigested opinions, some orthodox and some superstitious taken from the Jews and Christians of Muḥammad's time (p. 2). La Croze begins with the Muslim doctrine of the unity of God, insisting that it is directed against the Christian Trinity, which Muḥammad had misunderstood, probably influenced by the Nazarenes and Ebionites (pp. 20-9). He then continues with other articles of faith, namely alms, prayer, fasting and the pilgrimage to Mecca (pp. 30-6), citing the Qur'an as well as Pococke, Reland and Richard Simon. He denies

that the Prophet was ignorant, claiming that he knew the Christian scriptures, from which he took many details, while claiming that it had been corrupted by the Christians. This leads la Croze to praise Muḥammad's personal qualities, even calling him a man of 'extraordinary genius' (p. 41).

The brief summary of Muslim beliefs leads on to the claim that the Socinians can only agree with them, and that only orthodox Christians can counter Islam effectively.

In order to back up his claim that the unity of God and a misunderstanding of the Christian Trinity are the only causes of Muslims separating from Christians, la Croze quotes (pp. 48-54) a letter written in Latin by the Moroccan envoy to the United Provinces following disputations with Prince Maurice and the son of the Portugese king. The envoy wrote it in 1610 on his return to his native country, and it was printed in Rostock in 1705. There is also a passage in which la Croze quotes the Qur'an concerning the claim that Christ was not crucified, but taken up to heaven, his body being replaced by that of an angel (pp. 64-5).

Most of the rest of the work discusses Socinian publications, the Emperor Julian the Apostate, and various heretical Christian sects, emphasising their closeness to Islam.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Given la Croze's great reputation as an Orientalist scholar, *Réflexions historiques et critiques* attracted a certain amount of attention, perhaps also helped by la Croze's polemics against Johann Heinrich Hottinger. While essentially an attack on heterodox Christians in the context of late 17<sup>th</sup>- and early 18<sup>th</sup>-century worries about Socinianism in particular, it built on the writings of Adriaan Reland and Richard Simon to provide a counter to caricatures of Islam and its Prophet and a brief view of the pillars of its faith, and probably contributed to making Islam seem less alien. This was helped by Leibniz's approbation, characterisation of Islam as a sort of deism and praise for certain Muslim theologians' conception of God (p. 172). It may also therefore have encouraged some deists to praise Islam as a purer and more philosophical religion than Christianity. However, as the orthodox polemic against Socinianism declined after the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the work was undoubtedly read less frequently.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Mathurin la Croze, 'Réflexions historiques et critiques sur le Mahomé-tisme et sur le Socinianisme', in *Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets*, Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1707, vol. 1, pp. 1-163; Mason A 45 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)

Mathurin la Croze, 'Reflections on Mahometanism and Socinianism, translated from the French', in A. Reland, *Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans: to which is prefix'd, the life and actions of Mahomet, extracted chiefly from Mahometan authors*, London: printed by J. Darby for B. Lintott at the Cross-Keys, and E. Sanger at the Post-House in Fleet Street, 1712, pp. 151-245 (English trans.); ESTC T095376 (digitised version available through ECCO)

#### STUDIES

M. Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam and the radical uses of Arabic scholarship', *Al-Qanṭara* 31 (2010) 549-86

Mulsow, *Die drei Ringe*

A. Gunny, *Images of Islam in eighteenth-century writings*, London, 1996, pp. 76-9

**Ann Thomson**

# John Chardin

Jean Chardin

DATE OF BIRTH 16 November 1643  
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris  
DATE OF DEATH Around 5 January 1713  
PLACE OF DEATH Chiswick, London

## BIOGRAPHY

Jean Chardin was born in Paris in 1643, the year of Louis XIV's (r. 1643-1715) accession to the French throne. His father, Daniel, was a wealthy Huguenot jewellery merchant with business interests in India. After enjoying an excellent education, Jean followed in his father's footsteps by becoming a merchant in precious stones. He first left for Asia in 1665, accompanied by a goldsmith from Lyon named Antoine Raisin. Having arrived in Iran in early 1666, he spent about a year and a half in the capital, Isfahan. In late 1667, he and Raisin left for India. They went back to Iran in late 1669, and six months later returned to France.

Realising that his Protestant faith was an obstacle to finding employment and 'honour' at home, Chardin and Raisin returned to the East in late 1671. Travelling via the Black Sea and Georgia, they arrived in Iran in the spring of 1673. Chardin spent the next four years in Iran. In 1678, he once again set sail for India, to return finally to Europe in 1680. The following year, confronted with deteriorating conditions for Huguenots in France, he settled in England, where he was knighted by Charles II (r. 1660-85) and became known as John Chardin. He was also elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and appointed court jeweller.

Chardin died in January 1713 at his estate in Chiswick, near London. On 20 September of the same year, a large part of his library, consisting of 971 books, was sold at auction.

After his first return to Europe, Chardin published *Le couronnement de Soleïmaan troisième, roy de Perse*, an account of the coronation of Shah Šafi II in 1666 and his re-coronation as Sulaymān in 1667. Over time, translations of this work in English, German and Persian appeared. Chardin later integrated this account into his description of his first trip to Iran, *Voyages*, which he drafted after his final return to Europe.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- Jean Chardin, *Le couronnement de Soleïmaan troisième, roy de Perse, et ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable dans les deux premières années de son règne*, Paris, 1671
- Jean Chardin, *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1711
- J. Levi, *Bibliotheca Chardiniana or, a Catalogue of books in all faculties: Being the remains of Sir John Chardin's Library... Will be sold by auction at Tom's Coffee-House in St. Martin's Lane on Monday the 23d Instant ...* London, 1713
- L. Langlès, 'Abrégé de la vie de Chardin', in Chardin, *Voyages ... en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Paris, 1810-11, vol. 1, xi-xviii
- Jean Chardin, *Du bon usage de thé et des épices en Asie. Réponse à Monsieur Cabart de Villarmont*, ed. I. Baghdiantz McCabe, Paris, 2002

*Secondary*

- S. Mokheri, *The Persian mirror. Reflections of the Safavid Empire in early modern France*, Oxford, 2019
- N. Fornerod, 'Une alliance française? Missionnaires capucins et voyageurs reformés à la cour safavide', *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* 70 (2018) 25-48
- Y. Atlas, 'Une frontière qualifiante. Représentation de passage en Perse chez quelques voyageurs français', *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* 70 (2018) 49-62
- C. Sarasu, 'Fange continue ou villes merveilles ? Les représentations discordantes d'Ispahan', *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* 70 (2018) 63-72
- P. Vanezia, 'Comment peut-on être Français en Perse au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle? Echanges interculturels, regards et contre-regards', *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* 70 (2018) 99-110
- R. Matthee, 'The Safavid king who was crowned twice. The enthronement of Safi Mirza as Shah Safi II in 1077/1666, and as Shah Sulayman in 1078/1668', in Nobuaki Kondo (ed.), *Mapping Safavid Iran*, Tokyo, 2015, 67-96
- M. Longino, *French travel writing in the Ottoman Empire. Marseilles to Constantinople, 1650-1700*, London, 2015, pp. 129-44
- L. Valensi, art. 'Chardin, Jean (Paris, 1643 – Londres, 1713)', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 209-10
- A. Euric, art. 'Chardin, Sir John [Jean]', in *ODNB*
- I.B. McCabe, *Orientalism in early modern France. Eurasian trade, exoticism, and the Ancien Régime*, Oxford and New York, 2008
- J. Emerson, art. 'John Chardin', in *Elr*
- S.A. Eurich, 'Secrets of the seraglio. Harem politics and the rhetoric of imperialism in the travels of Sir Jean Chardin', in G.J. Ames and R.S. Love (eds), *Distant lands and diverse cultures. The French experience in Asia, 1600-1700*, Westport CT, 2003, 47-70

- E.R. Samuel, 'Gems from the Orient. The activities of Sir John Chardin (1643-1713) as a diamond importer and East India merchant', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 27 (2000) 351-68
- D. van der Cruysse, *Chardin le Persan*, Paris, 1998 (the fullest account of Chardin's life, with an extensive bibliography listing all the primary sources, including archival ones)
- F. Wolfzettel, *Le discours du voyageur. Pour une histoire littéraire du récit de voyage en France du moyen âge au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1996, 154-61
- R.W. Ferrier, *A journey to Persia. Jean Chardin's portrait of a seventeenth-century empire*, London, 1996
- O.H. Bonnerot, *La Perse dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. De l'image au mythe*, Paris, 1988
- A. Kroell, 'Douze lettres de Jean Chardin', *Journal Asiatique* 170 (1982) 295-338
- L. Labib-Rahman, 'Sir Jean Chardin, the great traveller (1643-1712/13)', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 23 (1981-2) 309-18
- F. Eshghi, 'Jean Chardin et sa présence dans les grands œuvres des philosophes du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France', Paris, 1977 (PhD diss., Université de Paris X)
- H.O. Bonnerot, 'Perspectives nouvelles sur Jean Chardin (1643-1713)', *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* 10 (1972) 81-8
- J. Emerson, 'Ex Occidente lux. Some European sources on the economic structure of Persia between about 1630 and 1690', Cambridge, 1971 (PhD. diss., University of Cambridge), pp. 92-5
- P. Beuzart, 'Le voyageur Jean Chardin (1643-1713)', *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société du Protestantisme Français* (1947) pp. 73-5

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes orientales

#### 'The travels of Jean Chardin into Persia'

DATE 1686-1711

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

*Journal du voyage ... en Perse et aux Indes orientales*, which Chardin drafted after his last return to Europe, first appeared in Paris in 1686. It was censored for its obvious anti-Catholic and anti-monarchical passages. A fuller version, encompassing additional material, including Chardin's second journey to Iran, appeared in Amsterdam in 1711 in a 3-volume quarto edition as well as a 10-volume duodecimo edition.

This edition still omitted the 'anti-Catholic' passages. The edition that appeared in 1735, also in Amsterdam, restored this material and thus Chardin's authentic voice. The 1810-11 edition, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse*, in 10 volumes in octavo, with atlas, edited by the Orientalist L. Langlès, reproduces all the material from previous editions and also contains an index. It is generally considered the standard edition. No critical edition of Chardin's work as yet exists.

Endowed with a keen and curious mind and having fluent Persian, Chardin described Iran under Shah 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66) and Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94) as no outsider had done before and as few foreigners would do afterwards: with great insight, remarkable empathy, and in minute detail. His multi-volume work on the country offers a panoramic picture of its people and society, with a focus on politics and administrative affairs, the make-up of the state, the court, the army and the bureaucracy and its functions, as well as religious beliefs, customs and practices. Direct access to the court enhanced the credibility of his account, as is seen, for instance, in his description of the royal harem, for which he relied on a eunuch he had befriended. Chardin's work is not error-free, and it leaves out information on the parts of the country the Frenchman did not visit, most notably the eastern half. Yet it remains the most complete and informative first-hand account of early modern Iran in any language.

Like Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, his traveller compatriot with whom he is often paired and compared, Chardin, was a Huguenot and thus an outsider in his native country. It is therefore no wonder that he felt at ease in Iran, where he was greeted with the kind of toleration he did not find at home, a toleration that he regarded as underpinned by a remarkable freedom of conscience. Shī'ism, though it was not exactly Protestantism, to him at least seemed a form of protestation against the dominant faith. It was thus bound to appeal to him.

Unlike Tavernier, Chardin was also interested in religion. In Shī'ism, he came to see an intellectual creation on which reason continued to have an effect and, in his rendering, Islam in its Shī'ī manifestation became a religion of light and reason, the opposite of superstitious Catholicism. Chardin's brilliant insight is perhaps best summed up in his observation that Safavid Iran, while it was a land of despotism, also knew tremendous freedom of conscience, so that its people lived better than in some European countries. He was unique in his time, moreover, in offering non-religious explanations for seemingly strange customs. Thus Chardin was the first to link the veil to male pride, as well as being a pioneer

in bringing up climate to explain political submissiveness, a notion that was subsequently borrowed by Montesquieu.

Nonetheless, like Tavernier, Chardin reinforced the idea that Islam lacked inner depth and was all surface glitter and outward conformity. He played into this image with his characterisation of Iran as a realm of the senses and his lengthy descriptions of the opulence of the Safavid court. Never mind that whereas previous authors had seen Muslim lubricity as the handmaiden of Satan, Chardin attributed the love of luxury and sensuality he found in Iran to the climate, and he also had the wastefulness at the court of Louis XIV in mind when he wrote about the extravagance of Safavid rulers. Chardin's writings on this topic are ultimately to be seen as a critique of the Parisian court.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Chardin's description of Iran is easily the richest, most informative and most complete of all the foreign accounts written in the early modern period. His portrait is all the more valuable because of the paucity of Persian-language sources for the reign of Shah Sulaymān.

Chardin's work was to have a significant effect on the European intellectual climate of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and its idea about Islam and Iran. Better than any other contemporary Western author, he clarified the differences between Sunnī and Shī'ī Islam for the European reading public at the time – even though, unlike most, he self-servingly likened Shī'īs to Protestants rather than to Catholics for being a 'reform' movement in opposition to the majority faith. He helped spread the notion of Iranian sophistication and tolerance, describing Iranians as a people who accepted freedom of conscience and Iran as a land marked by a certain upward mobility regardless of one's initial station in life. His influence on 18<sup>th</sup>-century thinkers was accordingly profound.

Montesquieu famously used Chardin's account as a template for his *Lettres persanes*. His theory of despotic government and the effect of climate on human society, as laid out in his *De l'esprit des lois*, similarly betrays Chardin's influence. Rousseau, too, is very complimentary of Chardin, claiming that he had said all there was to say about Iran. Voltaire was less fulsome in his admiration, but he, too, praised Chardin for the valuable information his travelogue offered and the insight it displayed.

Chardin continues to serve as an important source of information for modern scholars engaged in the study of Safavid Iran. In recent times, his account has inspired two French novels.



## PUBLICATIONS

- Jean Chardin, *Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes orientales*, Londres [Amsterdam], 1686; RES FOL-O2H-15 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Jean Chardin, *Travels into Persia and the East-Indies. The first volume, to which is added, the coronation of this present King of Persia, Solyman the Third*, London, 1686 (English trans.); Wing 934:11 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Jean Chardin, *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes orientales, par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*, Lyon, 1687
- Jean Chardin, *Des vortrefflichen Ritters Chardin, des grossen Königs in Persien Hoff-Handelsmanns/ Curieuse Persian- und Ost-Indische Reise-Beschreibung: Bestehend in einem ordentlichen Journal Oder Täglichen Verzeichnüß seiner in Persien und Ost-Indien über das schwartze Meer und den Cholchidem abgelegter Reisen; Erstlich vom Authore selbst in Frantzösischer Sprach beschrieben/ nachgehends in die Englische; anitzo aber ... in die Hochdeutsche übersetzt/ mit schönen Kupffern gezieret/ und nöthigem Register versehen*, Leipzig, 1687 (German trans.); MARC ocm20890460 (digitised version available through *The Making of the Modern World*)
- Jean Chardin, *The travels of Jean Chardin into Persia*, London, 1689 (English trans.); Wing 1664:16 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Jean Chardin, *Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies, through the Black Sea, and the country of Colchis*, London, 1691 (English trans.); Wing 20:17 (digitised version available through EEBO)
- Jean Chardin, *Giornale del viaggio del Chardin in Persia e all'Indie orientali per il Mar-negro, e la Colchide*, Milan, 1693 (Italian trans.)
- Jean Chardin, *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1711; RES 4-O2H-16 1-3 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Jean Chardin, *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 10 vols, Amsterdam, 1711
- Jean Chardin, *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 10 vols, Paris, 1723
- Jean Chardin, *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, 1735
- Jean Chardin, *Reisen nach Persien: nebst einer Beschreibung der wichtigsten Merkwürdigkeiten dieses Reichs*, 2 vols, Frankfurt am Main,

1780-1 (German trans.); VD18 10689370 (digitised version available through Landesbibliothek Oldenburg *digital*)

Jean Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols and map, Paris, 1810-11 (regarded as the definitive edition); 3343308240644-50 and 0826-8 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Jean Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Paris, 1830

Jean Chardin, *Les voyages de Jean Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient racontés par lui-même*, 2 vols, Paris, 1883 (abridged by G. Mantoux)

Jean Chardin, *Sir John Chardin's travels in Persia*, ed. N.M. Penzer, intr. P. Sykes, London, 1927; Amsterdam, 1971 (English trans.)

Jean Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, ed. C. Gaudon, Paris, 1965, 2007<sup>2</sup> (selected extracts)

Jean Chardin, *Voyage de Paris à Ispahan. II: De Tiflis à Ispahan*, ed. S. Yerasimos, Paris, 1983 (abridged)

O.H. Bonnerot, *La Perse dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. De l'image au mythe*, Paris, 1988

Jean Chardin, *Perushia kenbunki*, ed. and trans. N. Okada, Tokyo, 1996, 2009 (Japanese trans.)

Jean Chardin, *A journey to Persia. Jean Chardin's portrait of a seventeenth-century empire*, ed. R.W. Ferrier, London, 1996 (English trans. abridged)

Jean Chardin, *Da Parigi alla Persia. Diario di un viaggio*, trans. V. Pambakian, Milan, 2005 (Italian trans.)

#### STUDIES

F. Tinguely, 'La différence religieuse selon Jean Chardin', *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* 70 (2018) 11-22

D. Digne, *Le joaillier d'Ispahan*, Paris, 2011

D. Carnoy, *Représentations de l'islam dans la France du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La ville des tentations*, Paris, 1998

J.-C. Rufin, *Sauver Ispahan*, Paris, 1998

Rudolph Matthee

# Antoine Galland

DATE OF BIRTH 4 April 1646  
PLACE OF BIRTH Rollot, Picardy  
DATE OF DEATH 17 February 1715  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1646 to a poor family in the small village of Rollot in the Amiens diocese (though it has recently been established that his most likely place of birth was another village in the close vicinity of Rollot, Onvillers), Antoine Galland was lucky enough to attend school and was noticed for his intellectual capacities. Sent to Paris to complete his studies, he later frequented courses at the Collège royal, where he studied Oriental languages. Soon after, he was recommended to become the secretary of the newly appointed French ambassador to Istanbul, Charles Olier de Nointel (1635-85).

Thanks to his linguistic skills, Galland was the obvious person to examine in detail the Oriental Christian sources and deal with the Greek Orthodox representatives in order to get evidence that sustained the Jansenists' position in the Eucharistic controversy. Between August 1670 and early 1675, Galland spent his time in the Ottoman lands, towards the end of his stay accompanying the ambassador on a tour of the French trading posts in Anatolia, Syria and the Greek Archipelago. Between the autumn of 1677 and August 1678, he visited Smyrna as an antiquarian. His trip and his stay there were financed by two patrons, who specifically charged him with acquiring antique coins.

His return to Paris was brief: a year later he embarked for his third journey, the longest and last. His final homecoming was in 1688, after more than nine years in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire.

From the beginning of his career, Galland largely depended on the goodwill of patrons, who paid him a salary. This situation was to prevail almost until the very end of his life. Between 1688 and 1708, he served as collaborator, librarian and antiquarian for various individuals. In 1708, his last patron laid him off, and he decided that he would live on his own for the first time in his life without having to rely on someone else's benevolence. An annual pension arranged for him by one of his former

patrons permitted him to live without a salary, but a few months later he was nominated for one of the two chairs of Arabic at the Collège royal, which had become vacant on the death of its occupant. Through the last seven years of his life, Galland shared his time between his lessons at the Collège royal and his attendance at the sessions of the *Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, of which he had been a member since 1701. During all these years, he rented a room in an inn located near the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève. It is there that he died on 17 February 1715.

Galland is best remembered for his translation/adaptation of the *Thousand and one nights*, but his work included numerous translations from Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Greek, as well as several travel accounts and studies in the fields of numismatics and epigraphy.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- MS Paris, BNF – n.a.f. 11403, *Sommaire ou mémoire chronologique de la vie d'Antoine Galland* (edited in H. Omont, *Journal parisien d'Antoine Galland (1708-1715), précédé de son autobiographie (1646-1715)*, Paris, 1920, pp. 5-14)
- C. Gros de Boze, 'Éloge d'Antoine Galland', in C. Gros de Boze et al., *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres depuis son établissement, avec les éloges des académiciens morts depuis son renouvellement*, Paris, 1740, vol. 2, pp. 34-49
- M. Abdel-Halim (ed.), *Correspondance d'Antoine Galland. Édition critique et commentée*, Paris, 1964
- F. Bauden (ed.), *Le voyage à Smyrne. Un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland (1678) contenant Smyrne ancienne & moderne & des extraits du Voyage fait en Levant*, Paris, 2000
- F. Bauden and R. Waller (eds), *Le journal d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715). La période parisienne*, 4 vols, Louvain, 2011-15
- M. Billet de Fanière, 'Notes inédites sur la vie d'Antoine Galland', in Bauden and Waller (eds), *Le journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, pp. 98-121

#### Secondary

- F. Bauden (ed.), *Antoine Galland (1646-1715) et son Journal. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'Université de Liège (16-18 janvier 2015) à l'occasion du tricentenaire de sa mort*, Louvain, 2019
- P.-S. Filliozat and M. Zink (eds.), *Antoine Galland et l'Orient des savants. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, la Société asiatique et l'INALCO à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Palais de l'Institut) et à l'INALCO les 3 et 4 décembre 2015*, Paris, 2017

- S. Larzul, art. 'Galland, Antoine', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 439-42
- F. Bauden, 'Esquisse biographique', in Bauden and Waller (eds), *Le journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, pp. 33-69
- N. Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, Oxford, 2009
- F. Bauden, 'Nouveaux éclaircissements sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715)', *Journal Asiatique* 289 (2001) 1-66
- J. Miquel-Ravenel, 'À la rencontre d'Antoine Galland, premier traducteur des *Mille et une nuits*', *Arabica* 41 (1994) 147-61
- M. Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1964
- R. Schwab, *L'auteur des Mille et une nuits. Vie d'Antoine Galland*, Paris, 1964

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### La mort du sultan Osman 'The death of Sultan Osman'

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

On his arrival in Istanbul at the end of 1670, Galland had a quite limited knowledge of the main Oriental languages (Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish). In his correspondence (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. CXLIX), he explains that what led him to translate a small book dealing with the assassination of Sultan Osman II (r. 1618-22) was his wish to practise his Ottoman Turkish. He chose *Musîbetnâme* by Hüseyin Tûgî (d. c. 1623), which was composed in the aftermath of the sultan's death, between 21 May and 9 August 1622. Galland expressed his admiration for the author's accuracy and for Ottoman historians in general, whose works his translation inspired him to read in the following years. His translation, 123 pages long (its full title is *La mort du sultan Osman ou le rétablissement de Mustapha sur le throsne. Traduit d'un manuscrit turc de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, 'The death of Sultan Osman or the restoration of Mustafa on the throne. Translated from a Turkish manuscript from the king's library'), was published in 1678 in Paris by the printer Claude Barbin, with two reprints in Cologne in the following years.

The work narrates the circumstances that led to the assassination of Osman II on 20 May 1622, when he was only 17, having ascended the throne in 1618, at the age of 14. His father, Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), was first succeeded by his brother Mustafa I (r. 1617-18, 1622-3), a rare event in

Ottoman history as a newly elected sultan usually ordered the killing of his brothers to prevent any coup and ensure that his descendants would rule instead. Mustafa was deposed but not killed in 1618, when Ahmed I's son, Osman was finally enthroned. Osman's rule was, however, doomed from the beginning. Less than four years later, he had to face a rebellion of the powerful Janissaries, who deposed and strangled him.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

For the first time in more than three centuries, an Ottoman sultan was the victim of regicide. The news of this rare event soon reached European courts, where it reminded rulers of the limits of their power. It also inspired various tragedies composed by French authors, such as Tristan L'Hermite's (1601-55) *Osman* (staged in 1646, published in 1656). Tûgî was a Christian convert to Islam and himself a former Janissary. His aim in composing his account was to criticise the sultan for his behaviour, which led his Janissaries to depose and kill him. Unlike all previous accounts, Galland's translation was the first historical testimony to present the event as narrated by one of the protagonists of the tragedy.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Antoine Galland, *La mort du sultan Osman ou le retablisement de Mustapha sur le throsne. Traduit d'un manuscrit turc de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, Paris: C. Barbin, 1678

Antoine Galland, *La mort du sultan Osman ou le retablisement de Mustapha sur le throsne. Traduit d'un manuscrit turc de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, Cologne: F. Dubois, 1681, 1689<sup>2</sup>

#### STUDIES

R. Beuchat, 'Osman II ou les infortunes de la Majesté. Portrait d'un sultan "corrompu"', *Études de Lettres* 3-4 (2015) 1-13

C. Zonza, 'Écho des guerres ottomanes dans les nouvelles historiques. De la représentation de l'autre à la représentation de soi', *Dix-Septième Siècle* 229 (2005) 653-78

G. Piterberg, *An Ottoman tragedy. History and historiography at play*, Berkeley CA, 2003

N. Aykut, art. 'Hüseyin Tûgî', in *DİA*

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

## Smyrne ancienne et moderne 'Ancient and modern Smyrna'

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

After his return to France from his first stay in the Ottoman Empire in early 1675, Galland spent the next two years in Paris, where he got to know the numismatist Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632-1706). Together with another collector, abbot Giraud, Vaillant financed Galland's trip to Smyrna (present-day Izmir), where he was to collect coins that would enhance the royal collections. Galland left France around October 1677, stopped over in Messina (Sicily) for at least one month and then sailed to Smyrna, which he reached on 8 March 1678. His stay there did not last more than four months, as he was back in France in July. During his time in Messina and Smyrna, he took great pains to record in his diary all the events that were worthy of mention and, on the basis of these notes, he wrote letters to his two patrons. On his return to France in the summer of 1678, he revised them and combined them together in a new work which he called *Smyrne ancienne et moderne*.

His intention was to see this text published in Paris with the help of his friend Jacob Spon (1647-85). However, various vicissitudes prevented Spon from keeping to his promise, while Galland himself was unable to do anything because he left France in early 1679 for his third and last trip to Istanbul, which would last until 1688. On his return to France, he recovered his manuscript, but by now he had abandoned the idea of publishing it.

The work is extant in a single autograph manuscript of 137 folios. He first details his trip from Messina to Smyrna, describing the islands where the ship halted (pp. 41-72; all references here are to Bauden's edition), and then he describes the city in ancient times (pp. 72-103), and modern times (pp. 103-87). In the latter part, Galland gives an account of the various groups who were living in the city, starting with the Europeans and continuing with the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Arabs and Turks. This part ends with an account of trade and the local authorities, with a conclusion in the form of a comparison between the customs of the Turks and those of the French in 166 aphorisms (pp. 187-211).

Galland's *Smyrne ancienne et moderne* is conceived as a history of the city of Smyrna from ancient times. The title reflects a trend that prevailed

in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, when authors aimed at reconstructing the history of ancient Greek cities on the basis of geographies and histories from antiquity together with modern travel accounts. Travellers such as Spon and Galland, who knew the sources and visited these cities themselves, could immediately notice the numerous mistakes in these books. Galland's design here was to provide a perfect example of what should be done: to verify the data given by the ancient geographers and historians through examination of remains, coins and inscriptions, prefiguring later archaeological techniques.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The most significant part of the work for Muslim-Christian relations is obviously the second, where Galland describes the inhabitants of present-day Smyrna and their customs. This contains disparaging comments on Islam and Muslims that were typical of the time, such as the idea that Smyrna could easily be conquered, or the offensive ways in which Turkish officials treated Europeans. However, Galland is no less critical of his fellow-countrymen, and he never misses an opportunity to comment whenever he feels Frenchmen should behave differently. Sometimes, he suggests that they could do worse than learn from the behaviour of Muslims, as in the aphorisms at the end of the work where, far from regarding French ways as superior, he underlines the positive aspects of some local customs and suggests that the French would be wise to take note of them.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>-II 5359, fols 3-137 (1678)  
 F. Bauden (ed.), *Le voyage à Smyrne. Un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland (1678) contenant Smyrne ancienne & moderne & des extraits du Voyage fait en Levant*, Paris, 2000  
 M. Couvreur and D. Viviers (eds), *Antoine Galland, voyages inédits*, vol. 1. *Smyrne ancienne et moderne suivie de Joseph Georgerine, État présent des îles de Samos, Nicarie, Patmos et du mont Athos, et de Jacques-Paul Babin, Relation de l'île de Tine, contenue dans une lettre à Monsr. \*\*\*\**, Paris, 2001  
 Erol Üyepazarcı (trans.), *İzmir Gezisi. Antoine Galland'ın Bir Elyazması (1678)*, Izmir, 2003 (Turkish trans. of Bauden's edition)

#### STUDIES

- Bauden, 'Nouveaux éclaircissements'  
 Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*



## Voyage fait en Levant 'Journey in the Levant'

DATE 1679-80

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

When Galland returned from Smyrna in 1678, it was not long before he received a new charge. The next year, he was given a mission from the commercial *Compagnie du Levant* to visit the Greek Archipelago in order to collect coins and manuscripts for the library of the Minister of Finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83). But after a little more than one year, the *Compagnie* was dissolved and Galland was again unemployed. The ambassador of France in Istanbul, with whom he had travelled when he left France the year before, invited him to stay at the embassy. In the meantime, Galland received a new assignment: appointed antiquarian of the king, he was commissioned to enhance the king's collections with coins, manuscripts and antiquities that he was to acquire in the Ottoman Empire. For this purpose he once again visited Smyrna and also Alexandria. In 1688, he was back in Smyrna when a huge earthquake devastated the city. He himself was saved from the rubble, but he lost all his belongings. By the end of the year, he had returned to France which he never left again.

Faithful to his manner of entertaining his patrons with letters in which he detailed his experiences or gave information about discoveries, Galland addressed three letters in the first two years of his third journey to abbé Pierre Cureau de la Chambre (1640-93), a protégé of Colbert who must have played a significant role in helping Galland to obtain his new appointment. Galland returned the favour with his entertaining correspondence.

The three letters were sent from Milos on 1 November 1679 and 16 March 1680, and from Istanbul on 1 November 1680, at roughly six-monthly intervals. The correspondence did not continue after 1680, because the *Compagnie du Levant* was dissolved and Galland's assignment changed. After his return to France in 1688, Galland nevertheless made a fair copy of his three letters, probably with the intention to publish them together with his *Smyrne ancienne et moderne* and his other travel accounts. The two holograph volumes now preserved in Munich bear corrections and additions by him, showing that he later revised his work.

In the first letter, Galland reports on his trip from Malta to Milos, and gives a very detailed description of some of the islands where the ship stopped. The second letter concentrates on the island of Milos and surrounding islets, and a visit to Chania (Crete). In the last letter, Galland narrates his journey from Milos to Smyrna, where he stayed for a while, visiting Chios, Mytilene, and Tenedos (now Bozcaada). His trip then brought him to Istanbul.

Galland pays attention to everything that could be of interest to his reader, including the climate, plants, antiquities, manuscripts and inscriptions he comes across, ancient and modern monuments, and customs. The presence of the Ottomans in the Archipelago is, of course, the subject of his analysis, and Galland never loses an opportunity to describe their treatment of local Christians and of Europeans, and also their customs, such as a Muslim marriage or the fast of Ramaḍān.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

His depictions are vivid and provide a testimony to the generally peaceful life of the population on the small islands of the Archipelago. Unfortunately, with the exception of some excerpts about Smyrna, the *Voyage en Levant* remains unpublished (an edition of the whole text was prepared as part of an MA thesis in Lyon in 1962, but no copy has been preserved).

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gall. 727 and 728 (1679-80)

C. Brigault (ed.), 'Voyage fait en Levant', Lyon, 1962 (MA diss. University of Lyon)

F. Bauden (ed.), *Le voyage à Smyrne: un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland (1678) contenant Smyrne ancienne & moderne & des extraits du Voyage fait en Levant*, Paris, 2000, pp. 215-34 (partial edition of the passages relating to Smyrna)

E. Themelis, 'Antoine Galland: *Le voyage fait en Levant, Lettre 3* (1680). Édition et commentaire', Liège, 2009 (MA diss. University of Liège; edition of the third letter)

#### STUDIES

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les  
maximes des Orientaux  
'Remarkable sayings, apothegms and maxims of the  
Eastern nations'

DATE 1694

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various languages

DESCRIPTION

In a letter dated 24 June 1693 (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. LXVIII), Galland announced to his correspondent that the manuscript of his *Apologues arabes* was being considered for publication by a printer and that it should appear soon. In 1694, the book was eventually published. It was a substantial work of some 400 pages in small in-12 format. It is composed of a wide variety of proverbs, maxims, puns and apologues selected from numerous works in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish.

The vast majority of these deal with history, but Galland did not refrain from using works of entertainment as well as those of a moralistic nature. The sources on which he relied are given in his preface and he divided the text into two sections, the first devoted to puns and proverbs, and the second to maxims and apothegms. Galland did more than just select and translate: each extract is accompanied by his own commentary, which underlines the sometimes hidden meaning or provides the reader with cultural notes. The book was dedicated to Thierry Bignon (1632-97), who would become Galland's patron the following year. On his death in 1697, Bignon bequeathed Galland an annual pension of 600 *livres*, a source of income on which Galland would rely for the rest of his life, though it was not necessarily paid regularly by Bignon's heirs. In a way, Galland was well repaid for his offering.

With the publication of this book, Galland initiated a new literary genre: the Oriental miscellany. He situated his work in the dispute between the Ancients and the Moderns in most of Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in which he took the side of the Ancients. His aim was to show his readers that the Orientals, by whom he meant not only the Arabs, Persians and Turks, but Asian peoples as a whole, paying no attention to the issue of their religious beliefs, were no less clever and brilliant than Westerners.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Given the nature of the book and the fact that the readership was mainly composed of the upper echelons of society, the book can be considered as a kind of mirror for princes. In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, the book is important for its impact on the reception of Oriental wisdom in Europe during the following centuries. The genre initiated by Galland was indeed prolific: it received numerous reprints and translations, while several authors followed his example. Similar collections were published throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century in French, English and German. While the genre sank into oblivion with the societal changes that affected France in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was still enjoying some success in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## PUBLICATIONS

Antoine Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux. Traduction de leurs ouvrages en Arabe, en Persan, et en Turc. Avec des remarques*, Paris: Simon Bernard, 1694; Z-17811 (digitised version available through BNF)

Antoine Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux*, The Hague: Van Dole, 1694; L.eleg.m. 581 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Antoine Galland, *The remarkable sayings, apothegms and maxims of the Eastern nations: abstracted and translated out of their books written in the Arabian, Persian and Turkish language, with remarks*, London, 1695 (English trans.); Wing 938:39 (digitised version available through EEBO)

Antoine Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux*, Lyon, 1695

Antoine Galland, *Orientaliana ou les bons mots des Orientaux: traduction nouvelle de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan et en turc, avec des remarques*, Paris, 1702, 1707<sup>2</sup>

Antoine Galland, *Les bons mots, et maximes des Orientaux trad. de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan, & en turc; avec des remarques*, Paris, 1730<sup>2</sup>, 1788<sup>3</sup>, 1999<sup>4</sup>

## STUDIES

U. Marzolph, "The literary genre of "Oriental miscellany", in F. Bauden, A. Chraïbi and A. Ghersetti (eds), *Le répertoire narratif arabe médiéval. Transmission et ouverture. Actes du colloque international qui s'est tenu à l'Université de Liège (15-17 septembre 2005)*, Geneva, 2008, 309-19

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vol. 1, Liège, 1892, pp. 35-6

## L'Alcoran de Mahomet 'The Qur'an of Muḥammad'

DATE 1709-12

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

Galland had just been informed that he had obtained the chair of Arabic at the Collège royal when his patron, abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662-1743), invited him to consider translating the Qur'an into French. At that time, the text was only available in translation (the first vernacular version of the entire text made from Arabic) in the translation by André du Ryer (c. 1580-1660) published in 1647. Galland received the formal request on 20 June 1709, and two weeks later he had already started enquiring about manuscripts and existing translations. He was able to consult Ludovico Marracci's (1612-1700) edition and Latin translation, which had appeared a decade earlier (Padua, 1698), and he began to collate it with the manuscripts. On 25 August, he set about translating the whole text, consulting manuscripts that included an interlinear translation into Ottoman Turkish and into Persian. He completed the translation in seven months (March 1710) and then set about adding historical and grammatical notes, and a biography of Muḥammad for which he relied both on what his predecessors had published and also on original Muslim sources.

In August 1711 he considered his work finished, though he was still revising it the following year. On his deathbed, he expressed the wish to bequeath the two handwritten volumes to Bignon, but even though Bignon had invited Galland to undertake the translation, he does not seem to have ever considered printing it. The two handwritten volumes remained in his library, which he sold in 1718. The last trace of it can be found in a sale-catalogue published in The Hague in 1728.

The text was accompanied by historical and grammatical notes and preliminaries which, in addition to the Prophet's biography, included a translation of al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) *Al-quḍsiyya* (found at the beginning of

his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*), and al-Shahrastānī's (d. 1153) *Al-milal wa-l-niḥal*. Its aim was to enlighten the reader interested not only in the Qur'an but also in Islam in general.

Galland's assessment of the Qur'an did not differ from opinions prevailing in Europe at the time. In his opening lecture at the Collège royal (19 July 1709), he stressed the importance of the study of Arabic for those who wished to engage in its refutation ('Harangue', p. 148): theologians could no longer rely only on the Bible in this respect and should consult the works composed by Muslim authors if they wanted to produce valid arguments. The context (a formal address in the presence of his new colleagues and various representatives of the highest level of Parisian society) might explain his critical tone, but his correspondence corroborates that this was his deep conviction (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. CCXCIII).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

If Galland's translation had been published, it would have revolutionised the perception of the Qur'an in Europe. As he himself announced to a friend, his translation was meant to remain faithful to the text thanks to the Persian and Ottoman Turkish versions on which he relied. In this respect, he claimed that his translation was more accurate than Marracci's.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Galland's original manuscript is lost, and there are no known copies.

#### STUDIES

S. Larzul, 'Les premières traductions françaises du Coran (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 147 (2009) 147-65

Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance d'Antoine Galland*

Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

A. Galland, 'Harangue inaugurale', in Bauden and Waller, *Le journal d'Antoine Galland*, vol. 1, 128-62

## Journal 'Diary'

DATE About 1669-1715

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

It seems that Galland used to note the main, and sometimes minor, events of the day in a diary early on in his career. The first mention of such a diary refers to the year 1669, when he was 23 years old. He maintained this activity until the very end of his life, the last entry being two weeks before his death. Only six volumes have been preserved, two covering the years 1672-3, when he was in Istanbul, and four covering the years when he was settled in Paris, from the end of 1708 to early 1715. The preserved volumes make it clear that he regarded his diary as personal, with no other aim than to refresh his memory. Nevertheless, it can hardly be considered a private diary, because he generally refrained from recording his thoughts or feelings, which are much more in evidence in his letters.

During the period covered by the first two volumes, Galland was secretary to the French ambassador in Istanbul, and learned about numerous events concerning the Ottomans and also met official representatives of other nations in the city. His knowledge of ancient and modern Greek was instrumental in obtaining declarations from the Orthodox Church concerning the Eucharist; they were meant to support the views of the Jansenists against their opponents in France and elsewhere in Europe. In his daily notes, he also recorded instances of forced conversion to Islam.

Although the four volumes of his last years cover his life in Paris, they also provide some interesting details about Christian-Muslim relations. Besides recording his progress with his translation of the Qur'an, he also noted events both cultural and religious that were linked in some way to Islam. The matter of a banner with an embroidered Arabic inscription that was placed on a reliquary during religious processions is a case in point: the banner was burnt when it was revealed that the inscription consisted of the Muslim profession of faith. Another anecdote about two Muslims who had been invited for dinner in Istanbul by some Frenchmen is also worth mentioning: some wine had stained the clothes of one of them, so before he left he asked for some salt to rub into it. He justified this by saying that the salt would change the wine in the stain into vinegar and purify it. Galland's conclusion is that the Muslim did not

apparently consider that the wine he had just drunk had also soiled his body and soul.

The most intriguing passages in the diary are about a Maronite who visited France in 1708-9. Ḥannā Diyāb (1687-aft. 1766), who was from Aleppo, accompanied the French traveller Paul Lucas (1664-1737) at the latter's request on his way back to France. Galland met Ḥannā in Paris over a period of a few weeks starting in March, which gave him an opportunity to collect stories and other information about Syria. He would later use the summaries for the last volumes of the *Thousand and one nights*.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The diary is an important witness to Galland's life as he recorded his daily activities and the events he took part in or heard about. It shows his continuing interest in the East, its history and culture.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – f.fr. 6088-9, 15277-80 (c. 1669-1715)

'Journal inédit de Galland, 1710-1715', *Nouvelle Revue Encyclopédique* 3 (1847) 307-20, 479-88 (partial edition)

A.D. Marsy, *Deux années de la vie d'Antoine Galland (1672-1673)*, Amiens, 1882 (partial edition)

H. Omont, *Journal parisien d'Antoine Galland (1708-1715), précédé de son autobiographie (1646-1715)*, Paris, 1920 (partial edition)

C. Schefer (ed.), *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, 2 vols, Paris, 1881; Frankfurt am Main, 1994; Cambridge, 2012

F. Bauden and R. Waller (eds), *Le journal d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715) la période parisienne*, 4 vols, Louvain, 2011-15

#### STUDIES

E. Kallas, 'Aventures de Hanna Diyab avec Paul Lucas et Antoine Galland (1707-1710)', *Romano-Arabica* 15 (2015) 255-67

U. Marzolph, 'A scholar in the making. Antoine Galland's early travel diaries in the light of comparative folk narrative research', *Middle Eastern Literature* 18 (2015) 283-300

A. Hamilton, 'From East to West. Jansenists, Orientalists, and the Eucharistic controversy', in W. Otten et al. (eds), *How the West was won. Essays on the literary imagination, the canon, and the Christian Middle Ages for Burcht Pranger*, Leiden, 2010, 83-100



J. Miquel, 'Le *Journal* (1708-1715) d'Antoine Galland (1646-1715)', in A. Chraïbi, *Les mille et une nuits en partage*, Paris, 2004, 329-49  
 Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*

Mille et une nuit. Contes arabes  
 Mille et une nuits  
 'Arabian nights' entertainment'  
 'Thousand and one nights'

DATE 1704-17

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

It is to this work that Galland owes his continuing fame. In a letter dated 13 October 1701 (Abdel-Halim, *Correspondance*, letter no. CLXXI), he announced to a friend that he had just received three volumes of a work in Arabic entitled *Alf layla wa-layla* ('A thousand and one nights'), which he intended to translate in order to entertain himself during the long winter evenings. (This was not the beginning of his interest in this genre of literature as he had already translated the tales of Kalila and Dimna.) Less than a year later (1702), he received two additional volumes, thanks to which he now had some 400-500 'nights'. He had already started the adaptation of some 70 'nights' by this time. As he explained, his work did not consist in faithfully translating the original into French, but rather in adapting it to the taste of French readers. He had also already had an opportunity to test how his work would be received by reading it to a group of women in Caen, where he was staying at the time.

The first four volumes of the *Mille et une nuit* [singular]. *Contes arabes*, were published in 1704. At the end of the same year, the next two volumes were ready and were sent to the printer the following year, and the seventh was published in 1706. The success was immediate, and not only in France: the first reprint of the first four volumes is dated 1705, with the first translations appearing in following years all across Europe. In 1709, Galland submitted to his publisher the manuscript of the eighth volume, which contained only one tale. Unfortunately, he had reached the end of the material (the manuscripts) at his disposal. Even though he never despaired of receiving from Aleppo more volumes that would have helped him to publish more tales, his wish was never fulfilled.

Not wanting to publish a small volume, his printer decided, without consulting Galland, to include in the eighth volume two additional tales that had been translated by Galland's colleague at the Collège royal, François Pétis de La Croix (1653-1713). Encouraged by the success of Galland's *Thousand and one nights*, Pétis followed in his path and translated his *Thousand and one days*. The text was submitted to Galland's publisher in 1709, which explains how the printer was able to select from it the two additional tales that were to enlarge Galland's eighth volume. Pétis' work was eventually published between 1710 and 1712 in five volumes.

Outraged by the behaviour of his publisher, Galland stopped working on the project, though he was also short of material and still hoping to receive more manuscripts from the East. While he was waiting, he met in 1709 a Maronite from Aleppo called Ḥannā Diyāb, who had accompanied the French traveller Paul Lucas (1664-1737). He was a young man in his early twenties, and he knew several other tales, which he narrated to Galland. Galland recorded summaries of these in his diary – with the exception of one tale that was written down by Ḥannā and given to Galland – among which were some of the most famous tales that later came to be inserted into the collection, such as *Ali Baba and the forty thieves* and *Aladdin and the enchanted lamp*. It is on the basis of these summaries that Galland composed additional tales in the Oriental style, which were published in the next four volumes (the ninth and tenth in 1712 and the last two posthumously in 1717).

The only story in which a Christian (he presents himself as a Copt) plays a central role is the tale told by the Christian merchant (nights 129-40), which is part of the longer tale about the hunchback who was killed. The Copt is unjustly accused of his murder but he is saved at the last moment when the true killer reveals his identity. He is brought to the sultan with the killer and two others, who each tells a tale to save his life.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of *Mille et une nuit* lies in its impact in Christian Europe on perceptions of the East. Under its influence, the East became transformed into an idealised and romanticised world of wonders, and there was a heavy demand for more stories like those in the adaptation.

A crucial part was played by the Maronite Ḥannā, a member of the important Christian community of Aleppo, from which key figures who worked in Italy and in France originated. The manuscripts of the tales owned by Galland came from Aleppo and from a Christian context, as is witnessed by the readers' notes found in them. It would appear that



Illustration 8. Frontispiece of *Les Mille et une nuit* showing Scheherazade telling one of her tales to the caliph

it was from this context and through Christian channels that some of the most popular and enjoyable tales among the *Alf layla wa-layla* came into Europe.

#### PUBLICATIONS

It is impossible to list all the reprints and the translations of the *Thousand and one nights*, so details of only the earliest editions and translations from the 18<sup>th</sup> century are given here. A comprehensive list is given by V. Chauvin in *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège, 1901-3, vol. 4; see also N. Ellisseeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut, 1949:

extant manuscripts, pp. 55-64; 18<sup>th</sup> century translations, pp. 76-7; table of collections, showing divergences, pp. 185-205; for French editions, see S. Larzul, *Les traductions françaises des Mille et une nuits*, Paris, 1996.

MS Paris, BNF – arabe 3609-11 (15<sup>th</sup> century; three-volume Arabic MS used by Galland for the first part of his translation)

A. Galland, *Les mille et une nuit. Contes arabes. Traduits en François par M. Galland*, 12 vols, Paris: Veuve de Claude Barbin, 1704-17; Y2-2891 – Y2-8932 (digitised version available through BNF)

Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuit*, 12 vols, The Hague, 1704-17; LA 3572-1-12 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Antoine Galland, *Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories told by the Sultanness of the Indies to divert the Sultan from the execution of a bloody vow he had made to marry a lady every day and have her cut off next morning, to avenge himself for the disloyalty of his first sultanness, &c.*, London, 1706-17 (English trans.); Opie Microfiche 013:324 (digitised version available through Opie Collection of Children's Literature)

Antoine Galland, *Die Tausend und Eine Nacht: Worinnen Seltsame Arabische Historien und wunderbahre Begebenheiten, benebst artigen Liebes-Intriguen, auch Sitten und Gewonheiten der Morgenländer, auf sehr anmuthige Weise erzehlet worden*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1711 (German trans.)

Antoine Galland, *Arabian nights entertainments: consisting of one thousand and one stories*, 4 vols, London, 1712-15<sup>2</sup> (English trans.); ESTC To68137 (digitised version available through ECCO, vols 3 and 4 only)

Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte. Tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 12 vols, Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1721-2 (Italian trans.); CF00585846-57 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuit*, 6 vols, Paris, 1726; Y2-8933 (digitised version available through BNF)

Antoine Galland, *Las mil y una noche. Cuentos árabes*, trans. F.M. Garziglas, [s.l.], early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Spanish trans.)

Antoine Galland, *De Duizend en ene nacht, Arabische vertellingen*, 12 vols, in 4 books, Amsterdam, 1755 (Dutch trans.); KW 804 G 5 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Antoine Galland, *Tusende og en Nat, hvorudi paa en fornøielig Maade fortælles allehaande selvsomme Arabiske Historier og forunderlige*

- Hændelser, saa vel som behagelige Elskovs Begivenheder, tillige med de Østerlandske Folkes Ceremonier og Sædvane*, 12 vols, in 3 books, Copenhagen, 1757-8 (Danish trans.); 58-433 (digitised version available through Det Kgl. Bibliotek)
- Antoine Galland, *Awantury Arabskie lub tysiąc nocy y iedna*, Warsaw, 1772 (Polish trans.)
- Antoine Galland, *Tysiacha i odna noch'. Skazki arabskiia*, Moscow, 1774 (Russian trans.)
- Antoine Galland, *As mil e huma noites. Contos arabicos*, Lisbon, 1800-3 (Portuguese trans.)

## STUDIES

- U. Marzolph, 'The man who made the Nights immortal. The tales of the Syrian Maronite storyteller Ḥannā Diyāb', *Marvels & Tales* 32 (2018) 114-29
- U. Marzolph and A.E. Duggan, 'Ḥannā Diyāb's tales, Part I', *Marvels & Tales* 32 (2018) 133-54
- U. Marzolph, art. 'Arabian nights', in *El3* (includes details of editions and trans. based on Galland)
- C. Pellat, art. 'Alf layla wa layla', in *Elr*
- P. Pelckmans, 'Un Orient proche. Les volontés du Ciel dans *Les mille et une nuits*', *Féeries* 10 (2013) 137-52
- A. Chraïbi, *Les Mille et une nuits. Histoire du texte et classification des contes*, Paris, 2008
- S. Larzul, *Les traductions françaises des Mille et une nuits. Étude des versions Galland, Trébutien et Mardrus*, Paris, 1996
- G. May, *Les Mille et une nuits d'Antoine Galland, ou le chef-d'œuvre invisible*, Paris, 1986
- Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland. Sa vie et son œuvre*
- V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vols 4-7, *Les Mille et une nuits*, Liège, 1901-3
- H. Zotenberg, 'Notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits et la traduction de Galland', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 28, Paris, 1887, 167-320

# Paul Lucas

DATE OF BIRTH 31 August 1664  
PLACE OF BIRTH Rouen  
DATE OF DEATH 12 May 1737  
PLACE OF DEATH Madrid

## BIOGRAPHY

Paul Lucas, born in Rouen on 31 August 1664, was the son of a merchant, perhaps a jeweller. He seems to have had an adventurous youth, and various references in his works indicate that he was perhaps even at one time a corsair in the Mediterranean. By the time he wrote his travel account, he had certainly travelled throughout the Levant, Turkey and other countries a number of times. He had also acquired highly placed patrons, perhaps because he had brought back from these first journeys a number of medals and other curiosities for the king's private collections. In any case, he boasted that he had contacts even with King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715).

In 1720, Lucas married a relative, with whom he had four children. But for the most part, his life was dominated by his travels, which followed a regular cycle. In all, he spent 35 years in various parts of the Ottoman Empire and some neighbouring regions, and he visited Constantinople, Egypt and modern Syria and Iraq on numerous occasions. Although we know that he started these travels very early, we do not know the precise dates. We do, however, have reliable information about three journeys, which each led to a separate account.

The first of these lasted from 18 June 1699 to 4 July 1703. In addition to the inevitable stops on all the main Mediterranean islands, Lucas travelled through Egypt, especially Upper Egypt, which he claimed to have been the first to explore, then Asia Minor and Persia.

When he set out again on 15 October 1704, he followed the same route for much of his journey, visiting again Constantinople, Egypt and the Mediterranean islands, but also the Holy Land and Tunis. He only returned to France at the end of 1708. A third journey, begun on 19 May 1714, took him to Constantinople via Smyrna; he also visited Thrace and Macedonia, and again Palestine. In Egypt, he travelled up the Nile as far as he could, and finally left Cairo on 9 August 1717 after receiving an

order from the Regent. He returned to Marseille after what he said was a journey of nearly four years.

Lucas travelled to the Levant again in December 1723, and brought back many curiosities and manuscripts for the Royal Library. He wrote an account of this journey, but it was never published and has disappeared. On 12 March 1736, he set off for Spain, where the king employed him to reorganise his medal collection; but he fell ill a month later and died in Madrid on 12 May 1737, aged 72.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- Paul Lucas, extracts from 'Voyages', *Mémoires de Trévoux* August-September 1704; April 1720; January-March 1721
- 'Lettre de M... au sujet des curiosités qui se trouvent dans le cabinet de M. Paul Lucas, à Paris', *Mercure*, December 1732, pp. 2720-4
- Art. 'Paul Lucas', in Louis Moréri (ed.), *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, Bâle, 1740, vol. 6
- John Ledyard, Simon Lucas and James Rennell, *Voyages de MM. Lédyard et Lucas en Afrique*, Paris, 1804 (includes extracts from Lucas's journeys concerning Africa, pp. 50-101)
- P. Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Lucas dans le Levant*, ed. H. Duranton, Saint-Étienne, 1998

### *Secondary*

- L. Valensi, art. 'Lucas, Paul', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 653-4
- P. Jubert, 'Note sur la famille du voyageur rouennais P. Lucas', *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure* 19 (1932-7) 163-4
- H. Omont, 'Missions de Paul Lucas en Orient et en Egypte (1699-1725)', in *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, Paris, 1902, pp. 317-82
- C.A. Dauban, 'Une mission scientifique sous Louis XIV. Documents inédits pour l'histoire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Instructions données par Louis XIV au voyageur rouennais P. Lucas', *Journal de l'Instruction Publique* 26 (1857) 381-3, 522-4

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant

Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy  
Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en  
MDCCXIV

'Journey of Paul Lucas, gent., to the Levant'

'Journey of Paul Lucas, gent., conducted by order  
of the King'

'Third journey of Paul Lucas, gent., in 1714'

DATE 1704, 1712, 1719

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

The accounts of the three journeys were published separately. The first, published in 1704, is in one 372-page volume divided into 27 chapters; its full title is *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant. On y trouvera entre autres une description de la Haute-Egypte, suivant le cours du Nil, depuis le Caire jusqu'aux cataractes, avec une carte exacte de ce fleuve, que personne n'avait donnée*. The account of the second, published in 1712, comprises 2 volumes, the first, 410 pages long, divided into 39 chapters, and the second, 420 pages long, into 13 chapters; its full title is *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique*. The account of the third, published in 1719, also comprises 2 volumes, the first, 384 pages long, containing Books 1-3, and the second, also 384 pages long, containing Books 4-6; its full title is *Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en MDCCXIV, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypte, &c.* The organisation of all three accounts is strictly chronological, following the author's travels, with interspersed geographical, historical and ethnographic comments, except for Book 6 of the third voyage, which contains a 'General description of Egypt'.

According to the secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions, Claude Gros de Boze, 'Paul Lucas never followed any type of studies and had only travelled around the world from his earliest youth. [...] On his return he found some scholar who would agree to write up his disorganised material, adding what was lacking, that is order and erudition, and making it



agreeable to read' ('Eloge de l'abbé Banier', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 16 (1741-3) 299-306). Thus, the various voyages were organised for publication and partially rewritten successively by Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval (first voyage), Etienne Fourmont (second voyage) and abbé Banier (third voyage). All three were respected scholars, and members of the Académie des Inscriptions.

Although Lucas spent most of his life in contact with Islam, his works do not present a coherent vision of it. In fact, he writes that he will not describe the religion of the regions he has visited because, he claims, it is well known and he would simply have to summarise what has been written already. In addition, although he is a curious traveller who is interested in the country he visits and describes archeological remains in particular, he is mainly a merchant, buying and selling jewels, or acquiring rare manuscripts for the Royal Library.

In addition to Islam, Lucas also refers to the presence of other religions in the regions he visits, noting mosques and Christian churches in no particular order. Aleppo is typical, with all the varieties of Christianity together with Islam presented as co-existing, apparently in perfect harmony: 'The Greeks, Armenians and Jacobites live in the suburbs, as well as the Maronites. The Greeks have an archbishop, the Armenians and Jacobites their bishop. The Maronites recognise the pope and go to the Frankish church. There are four of these churches; the Jesuits' is very beautiful and they also have a college' (Duranton, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas*, p. 125; the references that follow are to Duranton's editions). This co-existence is noted in town after town, sometimes in village after village. The traces of the Christian past are also very visible. In the centre of Old Cairo, Lucas goes to the place 'where they say that Our Lord, the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph stayed' (*Voyage*, p. 103). He often travels with priests, once with as many as three Jesuits and a Capuchin monk, without any objection on the part of the authorities or any hostility from the population (*Voyage*, p. 99).

Lucas does not have much respect for the religions he encounters, whether Islam or Christianity, and he mainly describes their superstitious practices or legends recounted by his hosts. For example, he describes the behaviour of the Christian captain of a boat struck by a violent storm who implores the help of the saints of Purgatory and promises them 2 piastres, gradually increasing the amount until the miracle happens at 25 piastres (*Voyage*, p. 188). In his view, Islam is no better, followed by the ignorant populace who resort to ridiculous practices. He describes the manoeuvres of certain Turkish notables to get round the ban on wine,

taking advantage of the visit by the foreign Christian to indulge themselves discreetly (*Voyage*, p. 65).

Lucas also recounts certain religious practices that he witnessed. For example, for fear of the robbers who attacked travellers journeying alone, he travelled with the annual pilgrimage caravan from Damascus to Mecca. This leads him to describe Medina and Mecca, including the holy places, which he obviously did not see himself. On rare occasions, he even interrupts the detailed narrative of his travels to introduce digressions on questions of religion. For example, he recounts what he knows about the religion of the Druzes (*Deuxième voyage*, p. 182), devotes several paragraphs to that of the Maronites (*Troisième voyage*, p. 106), and explains how 'Turks pray in their mosques', copying out the *Prayers or litanies which the Turks chant in their processions* (*Troisième voyage*, p. 145). But such passages are the exception. Usually, the Christian and Muslim religions are no more than a permanent backdrop to the anecdotes he recounts. From this point of view, Lucas's *Voyages* provide a sort of involuntary report in which we see the day-to-day practice of a religion.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Lucas describes a situation in which perfect toleration reigns. In the town of 'La Palude', 'the prince allows all the inhabitants to live in freedom of conscience, and does not prefer the Muslims to the Christians' (*Voyage*, p. 130). During the traditional ceremony of the annual opening of the Nile canals, the governor, 'an honest man', brings together 'all of the people of the town, Turks, Jews and Christians', and makes a speech worthy of the defender of toleration, Voltaire himself (*Troisième voyage*, p. 146). Elsewhere, Lucas witnesses a surprising scene: a Christian monk is allowed to enter the ship of the admiral of the Turkish fleet and speak to the chained galley-slaves. He consoles them, hears their confession, and finally celebrates a mass, amidst general sympathy (*Deuxième voyage*, p. 110).

But this irenic vision, however authentic it may be, also has a dark side. The usually harmonious coexistence sometimes gives way to tensions, harassment and even conflicts, which can become violent. The population is often intolerant, and the ordinary people resent foreigners. Thus, when Lucas is accompanying the French consul to an audience with the pasha, he hears someone watching the procession remark loudly, 'Ah, poor horse, what sin did you commit to justify the punishment of

carrying an infidel?' He goes on to comment that 'throughout Turkey they call Christians *Jiaours*, which means infidel' (*Voyage*, p. 104).

Christians are sometimes subjected to discriminatory practices. At Arzeron, Christians can pursue their activities with no difficulty during the daytime, but in the evening they have to go back to a distant suburb (*Voyage*, p. 134). One pasha, unlike his predecessor, as soon as he takes up his post forbids Franks to wear yellow turbans or slippers (*Voyage*, p. 62), forcing them to pay a heavy tax. Such practices are apparently not rare, as in the vast Ottoman Empire the inevitable decentralisation of power allowed its representatives to abuse their authority unscrupulously. 'Few new Pashas come to Turkish towns without introducing some vexatious measure against Christians, in order to make money.' Lucas provides several examples, including Aleppo (*Troisième voyage*, p. 102), or a renegade governor who persecuted minorities so much that there were many forced conversions. Lucas himself was the victim of a new pasha in Baghdad, who launched a bloody pogrom, and he lost all his belongings without being allowed to appeal for justice (*Voyage*, p. 179). He also recounts the story of the 'mother Sultan' who built a superb mosque in Galata; being unable to bear the proximity of Christian buildings, she ordered all Christians and Jews to leave within 24 hours (*Deuxième voyage*, p. 109).

Such are the contradictory situations that Lucas sees in his journeys and that he faithfully recounts what he witnesses, without trying to discover the reasons. He sees Christians and Muslims conducting a kind of dialogue which includes violent episodes, but in the context of mutual tolerance that is visibly encouraged by the authorities.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Details of the various editions and translations of the three journeys are given in H. Duranton (ed.), *Voyage du sieur Lucas dans le Levant*, ed. H. Duranton, Saint-Étienne, 1998, pp. 16-23

Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant. On y trouvera entre autres une description de la Haute-Egypte, suivant le cours du Nil, depuis le Caire jusqu'aux cataractes, avec une carte exacte de ce fleuve, que personne n'avait donnée*, Paris, chez Guillaume Vandive, 1704, 2 vols (published and probably partly written by Baudelot de Dairval); 8-O2-54 (1-2) (digitised version available through BNF)

Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, The Hague, 1705; It.sing. 617-1/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)

- Paul Lucas, *Reise nach der Levante: vorstellend, den allerneuesten Zustand von Armenien, Persien, Türrkey und Griechen-Land*, trans. J.M. Luyders, Hamburg, 1708 (German trans.); It.sing. 1456 v (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, The Hague, 1709; It.sing. 618-1/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, Paris, 1714
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant*, Paris, 1731
- H. Duranton (ed.), *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas dans le Levant, juin 1699-juillet 1703*, Saint-Etienne, 1998
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique*, Paris, Chez Nicolas Simart, 1712, 2 vols (published and probably partly written by Etienne Fourmont); It.sing. 615-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique*, Amsterdam, 1714
- Paul Lucas, *Allerneueste Reise in Klein Asien und Africa, worin die merckwürdigste Alterthümer von Griechen-Land, Natolien, Carmanien, Macedonien, Egypten und der Barbarey mit angenehmen Umständen beschrieben warden*, Hamburg, 1715 (German trans.); It.sing. 612 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- H. Duranton (ed.), *Deuxième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas dans le Levant, octobre 1704-septembre 1708*, Saint-Etienne, 2002
- Paul Lucas, *Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en mdccxiv, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypte, &c*, Rouen, chez Robert Machuel le jeune, 1719, 3 vols (published and probably partly written by abbé Banier); e-rara-54962 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en mdccxiv, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypte, &c*, Amsterdam, 1720; It.sing. 620-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Paul Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en mdccxiv*, Rouen, 1724
- Paul Lucas, *Herrn Paul Lucas Reise in die Türrkey, Syrien, das Gelobte Land, wie auch Ober- und Nieder-Egypten*, Hamburg, 1721-2 (German trans.); Hist.pol.640 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- H. Duranton (ed.), *Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas dans le Levant, mai 1714 – novembre 1717*, Saint-Etienne, 2004

## STUDIES

- F. Bléchet (ed.), 'Lumières orientales', *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 28 (1996)  
(special issue)
- S. Jean-Claude, *Le voyage en Égypte*, Paris, 1993
- S. Jean-Claude, *Le voyage en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1993
- O.H. Bonnerot, *La Perse dans la littérature et la pensée française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1988

Henri Duranton

# Philémon de La Motte

Philémon de La Motte Vauclin

DATE OF BIRTH 1655  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably Rouen  
DATE OF DEATH 3 June 1735  
PLACE OF DEATH Rouen

## BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known of the Mathurin priest Philémon de La Motte's early life. Apart from a short period in the sister church in Lyon, much of his ecclesiastical career was spent at l'Église de la Sainte-Trinité in Rouen as provincial superior of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives (also known in France as the Order of Mathurins). He was twice tasked with the mission of redeeming Christian captives in the Barbary states of Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. On his return from the second trip, to Algiers and Tunis, in 1720, when he was accompanied by François Comelin and Joseph Bernard, he requested and was granted permission by King Louis XV (r. 1715-74), to build l'Hôpital des Trinitaires in Rouen, an institution to house and care for former captives. It is in this same hospital and among former slaves that Philémon de La Motte died, of an apoplectic attack, on 3 June 1735 at the age of 80, exactly 62 years after he pronounced his religious vows on 3 June 1673.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

- G. Turbet-Delof, *L'Afrique barbaresque dans la littérature française aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Geneva, 1973
- C. de R. de Beaurepaire, *Notes historiques et archéologiques sur le département de la Seine Inférieure et spécialement Rouen*, Rouen, 1883

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis  
et Alger‘The state of the Kingdoms of Barbary, Tripoli,  
Tunis and Algiers’

DATE 1703

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

The first edition of the *État des royaumes de Barbarie* appeared anonymously in 1703, and most biographers of the period attributed it incorrectly to the Mathurin Father and editor Jean-Baptiste de La Faye. Addressed to the superior general of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity, the four letters that make up the *État* were in fact written by Philémon de La Motte, who had been sent on a mission to redeem Christian slaves in the Barbary states of North Africa. Philémon de la Motte is also the sole author of the *Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis*, despite misattribution of authorship once more to Jean-Baptiste de La Faye or to François Comelin and Joseph Bernard.

The *État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger ... avec La tradition de l'Église pour le rachat ou le soulagement des captifs* ('The state of the kingdoms of Barbary, Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers ... with The tradition of the Church for the redemption or consolation of captives') consists of three letters written in the year 1700 during a Mathurin mission to ransom French Christian captives in North Africa, and a fourth letter composed of a series of five dialogues between the author and a mysterious Christian living in Tripoli on the teachings and history of the Church regarding the redemption and consolation of Christian slaves.

The first three letters, written from Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers, respectively, contain detailed descriptions of the geography and natural and political history of each city. They also provide hints of the nature of French diplomatic relations with the Barbary states, customs of the local population, the lives of Christian renegades who had converted to Islam and, more curiously, the promiscuity and wine consumption of Muslims and the aphrodisiacs used by Tripolitan women, which included the eyebrow-raising practice of eating dogs. More importantly, the letters are about the miseries and treatment of Christian slaves living under Muslim

masters, and the means by which the more fortunate among them were ransomed and freed. Finally, the fourth letter, which concludes the book, is meant to contextualise historically and to idealise the redemption mission of the Mathurin monks. By comparing the captives to the Hebrew slaves of Nebuchadnezzar or the first martyrs of Christianity, and their cause to the struggles and charity of the primitive Church, Philémon de La Motte frames the friars' work in a long tradition of biblical or church redemption narratives. By arousing sympathy for and identification with the captives, he also reminds his readers that they are in a position similar to the slaves, in need to be saved, redeemed and delivered from the power of sin.

Although it is a travel narrative to Muslim lands, the *État* focuses more on drawing attention to the teachings of Christianity than on introducing the reader to the tenets of Islam. La Motte makes this point clear from the very beginning, in the *avis au lecteur*. The religion of the *Barbares*, he writes in a marginal note, is not the subject of his book, and he invites those who would like to learn more about Islam to read the works of Luis del Mármol, Pierre d'Avity, Emmanuel d'Aranda and Alain Manesson Mallet.

In the preface to the *État des royaumes de Barbarie*, La Motte does not hide the fact that its purpose is to entertain as well as to excite the pity of the reader. If the readers' curiosity is piqued by colourful descriptions of life in the three regencies of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, their pity is aroused by stories of slaves who either suffered at the hands of pitiless masters or who, by the grace of God, were miraculously saved from a life of misery and persecution. Although La Motte's letters are part of a longstanding literary tradition that focused on captivity narratives to demonise Muslims as debauched and cruel beyond measure, this tradition underwent a revival of sorts after 1685. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which deprived Protestants of religious and civil liberties, Catholics were hard-pressed to remind themselves that they were better off directing their pity towards persecuted fellow-Catholics and their animosity towards the intolerant, evil Turk. In a manner not so dissimilar to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century sentimental novel, the narrative of the *État* is thus marked by instances of dramatic suspense, the exaltation of suffering, and rhetorical embellishments that encourage the reader to loathe the 'barbarians' of Barbary and to identify with the plight of the civilised, French Catholic slaves.

This sense of self-martyrdom is also engendered by the dearth of information regarding Islam. There are instances in the account where



the sight and mention of a mosque impels La Motte to describe not only the place but also the manner of Muslim worship (ablution, number of prayers and direction of the *qibla*), or where the description of a local he meets compels him to explain Muslim taboos regarding alcohol or animals that are unlawful to consume. By and large, however, this cursory review of Islamic practices betrays a *lacuna* from which Islam emerges as nothing more than Christianity's antithesis. Not only does the Muslim appear to the reader as brutal and debauched, yielding without scruple to the most wretched of excesses, but he is also characterised as an immoral being lacking any overarching set of divine principles or, for that matter, religion. Contrary to the pious Christian who has renounced all worldly desires and vanities, what drives La Motte's Muslim is mainly self-serving self-interest. The Turk, he says, lusts for only pleasure and money, and as a case in point he offers the example of a slave master in Algiers who, upon seeing that one of his slaves was ready to convert to Islam, had him beaten mercilessly until he exclaimed out loud his return to Christianity. When there is money to be made, spiritual rewards lose all currency. This sort of indulgence not only presents Muslims as followers of a depraved and, therefore, false religion, it also underscores a widely shared belief in 17<sup>th</sup>-century France: when it comes to religion, there can only be one, or, as Fénelon puts it, *Tout autre culte n'est point une religion* ('Any other form of worship is not a religion').

#### SIGNIFICANCE

What is particularly notable about La Motte's work is that the historical account seems constantly to undermine the literary intention. Although he recounts several captivity stories that exemplify the martyrdom of Christian slaves at the hands of brutal Muslims, they are stories of events that he did not witness personally but only heard about second- or third-hand. Most of what La Motte does see, especially in Tripoli and Tunis, seems rather to shake his preconceived convictions. Witnessing the funeral of a Christian clergyman in Tripoli, for instance, he is amazed that the body was carried to the Christian cemetery publicly in grand ceremony, and that the interment was conducted with great pomp and in complete liberty, as if in a Christian country. He is also astounded to see that the same Muslims who traded in Christian slaves were tolerant enough to let Christian priests exercise their ministry to the captives, sometimes even within the Bey's palace. Solicited by the Bey of Tunis to offer Christmas mass to his slaves, La Motte describes the event as a moment of personal bewilderment but also of reflection on the current

state of Christianity. Whereas the first Christians hid in catacombs to escape persecution, they were now allowed to celebrate their holiest of rites at the 'throne of infidel kings'.

Thanks to the discrepancy between intent and content, La Motte's work left an ambivalent legacy. While its captivity narratives were used in Christian apologetics until well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, some thinkers exploited some of its contradictions to challenge dominant perceptions of Muslims. For instance, citing a passage from the *État* where La Motte complains that some Christian slaves have to endure the seductive (and corrupting) advances of Tripolitan women, the Marquis d'Argens notes that this sort of persecution can only mean one of two things: either the slaves of the Turks enjoy a great liberty, or one must not give too much credence to the exaggerations or falsehoods of captivity stories (*Lettres juives*, The Hague, 1737, vol. 5, pp. 212-14).

#### PUBLICATIONS

- J.-B. de la Faye, *État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger ... avec la tradition de l'Eglise pour le rachat ou le soulagement des captifs*, Rouen, 1703; H.afr. 8038 f (digitised version available through MDZ)
- J.-B. de la Faye, *État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger ... avec la tradition de l'Eglise pour le rachat ou le soulagement des captifs*, The Hague, 1704
- J.-B. de la Faye, *Allerneuester Zustand der afrikanischen Königreiche Tripoli, Tunis und Alger*, trans. L.F. Vischer, Hamburg, 1708 (German trans.)
- J.-B. de la Faye, *État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger ... avec la tradition de l'Eglise pour le rachat ou le soulagement des captifs*, The Hague, 1709
- F. Comelin Godefroy and P. de La Motte, *État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger ... avec la tradition de l'Eglise pour le rachat ou le soulagement des captifs*, Rouen, 1731 (contains a revised and expanded version of the fourth letter)

#### STUDIES

- D. Brahimi, *Voyageurs dans la régence de Tunis. XVI<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Carthage, 2008
- P. Sebag, 'Voyages en Tunisie au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle. La mission du Père de La Motte (2 juin-26 juin 1700)', *IBLA: Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* 53 (1990) 219-36
- Turbet-Delof, *L'Afrique barbaresque dans la littérature française*

Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs  
aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis  
'A voyage to Barbary for the redemption  
of captives'

DATE 1721

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

About 20 years after their first voyage to the Barbary coast, the Mathurin-Trinitarian Fathers Philémon de La Motte and François Comelin undertook another trip to redeem French Christian captives held in Algiers and Tunis and, as in the case of the *État des royaumes de Barbarie*, the publication that resulted from their first voyage, the account of the second trip is quite ambivalent in its description of Muslims and their treatment of Christian slaves. Written by La Motte, the *Voyage* (in full, *Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis, fait en 1720 par les PP. François Comelin, Philémon de La Motte et Joseph Bernard*, 'A voyage to Barbary for the redemption of captives, performed in 1720 by the Mathurin-Trinitarian Fathers, François Comelin, Philémon de La Motte and Joseph Bernard') seeks for the most part to present its readers with a faithful, objective portrayal of life in Muslim lands. The image we are left with is one of two port cities that are less fanatical and more tolerant than early 18<sup>th</sup>-century French readers would have expected or imagined.

Algiers, for instance, seems to be a city where one-third to half of the total population is European. Diplomats, merchants, renegades, mercenaries and slaves seem to live side by side with local residents in a polyglot hodgepodge of Arabic, French, Spanish and Italian; and there is also no shortage of interpreters and go-betweens, or what La Motte calls *les truchements*, a French word derived from the Arabic *turjumān* ('translator'). In this cosmopolitan babel of sorts, slaves experience different fates, depending on their social class and on whether they belong to the Beylik or to other owners. Overall, however, most of the slaves, writes La Motte, are not that unhappy and enjoy relative freedom. Although they were by no means free to leave the city, they were allowed to walk about freely within its walls and to earn a living and a monthly income as cobblers, porters or tavern keepers. These last, notes La Motte, Christians

and slaves though they may be, had the right to strip the local Muslims of their belongings if they refused to pay.

On the other hand, this generally sympathetic or at least neutral portrait of life on the Barbary Coast clashes with a more clichéd image in which Muslims are represented as cruel and capricious followers of a false and immoral religion, and the captives are described as suffering a Christ-like martyrdom. For these rhetorical shifts, La Motte resorts to occasional dramatised anecdotes, which read like sensational or sentimental works of fiction and strive less for accuracy than for an emotional, tear-filled response from the reader. The result is a representation of Islam that is concerned less with factual accuracy and more with fashioning a fitting villain to perpetuate Christianity's cult of martyrdom.

This cult of martyrdom is also evident in *La tradition de l'église pour le soulagement ou le rachat des captifs*, a sort of theological, dialogical novel about the redemption of Christian slaves throughout the Church's history. Although already published alongside the *État des royaumes* in 1703 (fourth letter), the *Tradition de l'église* that accompanies and concludes the *Voyage* is a much-extended version, which eventually took on a life of its own. Reprinted eight times through much of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *Tradition de l'église* was a major best seller. In the *Voyage*, it is also preceded by the list of 400 slaves freed during La Motte and Comelin's 1720 mission in Algiers and Tunis.

As was the case in the *État des royaumes de Barbarie*, the author's attempt here to elicit his readers' pity through pitiful accounts of Christian persecution gives rise to a grotesque depiction of Islam, which comes off less as a moral religion than a convenient partner that could provide the Church with more martyrs to the faith. Islam grew and spread, says La Motte, because Providence has so determined to save its chosen, some through patience in persecution and others through mercy and charity. In contrast to the *compassio* and *misericordia* of Christianity, La Motte's Islam takes on the guise of an unbridled barbarism, and the two religions' encounter on the shores of the Mediterranean is a *mise-en-scène* of biblical proportions. Describing Algiers from its harbour, La Motte compares the city where he was soon to disembark to a theatre where the faith of so many slaves and the zeal of so many Fathers had long fought barbarians more ferocious than lions and tigers. The point of this comparison is not simply to depict the Christian captive in Muslim lands as a modern-day version of yesteryear's martyr; it also serves to portray his master as a predator who is no less animalistic, driven by a ferocity that does not seem to have any theological or moral basis. The



Illustration 9. French envoys negotiating the redemption of captives at an audience with the Dey of Algiers on 2 Dec 1719

few times when Islam is mentioned in the *Voyage*, it is ethnocentrically reduced to Turkish or Moorish hatred for Christians, and characterised as a false religion in which access to paradise, or Muḥammad's paradise as La Motte puts it, is possible only through the persecution and killing of future Christian martyrs.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

More than a validation of Christianity in the face of the Muslim threat, the account of Islam at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in fictionalised form in *La tradition de l'église pour le soulagement ou le rachat des captifs*, served a more local purpose. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there was fear in France that the persecuted Protestants might attract the sympathy of a few Catholics. To counteract this effect, it was important to reclaim the self-martyrdom discourse so

fundamental to Christianity; and, despite the 'impious alliance' between France and the Ottoman Empire, there was no better way to counter the misdirected compassion for the Huguenots than to remind French Catholics of fellow co-religionists held captive and enslaved by the infidel Muslims of Barbary. This explains the resurgence of captivity narratives after 1685 as well as the solemn processions of freed slaves in towns and cities throughout France. While these ceremonies left a deep impression on the public, they failed to give the Mathurins their former renown. This decrease in popularity may be imputed to the general decline of religious orders during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and, ironically, to the Mathurins' own initial successes. Since the Barbary corsairs regarded the Mathurins as partners in a lucrative business, the immediate effect of the order's charitable missions was to encourage the corsairs to raid more European ships and to replenish their stock. These marauding incursions eventually reached such a pitch that the missionaries disappeared and paved the way for navies and guns, operating this time on behalf of national rather than religious politics.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- J.-B. de la Faye, *Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis, fait en 1720, par les Pères François Comelin, Philémon de La Motte et Joseph Bernard*, Paris, 1721 (facsimile reprint, Elibron Classics, 2005); It.sing. 1177 n (digitised version available through MDZ)
- F. Comelin, P. de la Motte and J. Bernard, *Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis, fait en 1720, par les Pères François Comelin, Philémon de La Motte et Joseph Bernard*, Rouen, 1731
- J.-B. de la Faye, *Algemeene beschryvinge van Barbaryen*, The Hague, 1733 (Dutch trans.); KW 3079 C 19 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- F. Comelin, P. de la Motte and J. Bernard, *A voyage to Barbary, for the redemption of captives: Performed (in 1720) by the Mathurin-Trinitarian Fathers, Fran. Comelin, Philemon de La Motte, and Joseph Bernard*, trans. J. Morgan, London, 1735 (repr. London, 1825, 1835) (English trans.); ESTC T148796 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- J.-B. de la Faye, *Several voyages to Barbary*, trans. J. Morgan, London, 1736 (English trans.); ESTC T093348 (digitised version available through ECCO)

## STUDIES

- F. Tiran, 'Trinitaires et Mercédaires à Marseille et le rachat des captifs de Barbarie', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 87 (2013) 173–86
- G. Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs. France and slavery in the early modern Mediterranean*, Stanford CA, 2011
- C.R. Davis, *Holy war and human bondage. Tales of Christian-Muslim slavery in the early-modern Mediterranean*, Santa Barbara CA, 2009
- Brahimi, *Voyageurs dans la régence de Tunis. XVIe-XIXe siècles*
- C.R. Davis, 'Counting European slaves on the Barbary Coast', *Past & Present* 172 (2001) 87–124
- E. Wauters, *Tunis, Carthage, l'Orient sous le regard de l'Occident. Du temps des Lumières à la jeunesse de Flaubert*, Mont-Saint-Aignan, 1999
- Turbet-Delof, *L'Afrique barbaresque dans la littérature française*
- P. Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires pour le Rachat des Captifs*, Toulouse, 1903

Fayçal Falaky

# Henri de Boulainvilliers

DATE OF BIRTH 11 October 1658  
PLACE OF BIRTH Saint-Saire-en-Bray, Normandy  
DATE OF DEATH 23 January 1722  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

The life of Henri de Boulainvilliers is not well known. There are various references to him in the works of Marais, Saint-Simon, Montesquieu and Voltaire, but no trace of correspondence has ever been found. The eldest child of a long-established family, Henri was sent to the Oratorian College of Juilly in 1669. In 1674, he began a military career with the Mousquetaires du Roi, but family circumstances obliged him to return to Saint-Saire-en-Bray in 1683. Having established himself as a local noble, he then turned his attention to study. He had an intense interest in both the history of France, particularly the origins and decline of the nobility, and world history, and was also interested in philosophy. His erratic journey led him from Van Helmont to Descartes, from Spinoza to Locke, and also to a passion for astrology.

Over time, Boulainvilliers grew increasingly attracted to free thought and to deism, as revealed in his works on Spinoza's ethics and in his biography of Muḥammad. Despite the confidential nature of his works, he built a strong reputation at court from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was to Boulainvilliers, for example, that the court of the duc de Bourgogne (the grandson of Louis XIV), including notably the duc de Beauvilliers, entrusted the task of compiling *L'état de la France* for the young prince.

Spending increasingly more time in Paris during the final 20 years of his life, Boulainvilliers made contact with deist circles: he knew Fréret and the Italian alchemist Colonna well; he met with Arouet and Montesquieu, and perhaps visited Dumarsais. However, the hypothesis that there was a 'coterie Boulainvilliers' (I.O. Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton NJ, 1938, p. 101) is far from certain. Close to Philippe d'Orléans, Boulainvilliers devoted several works to the disputes regarding the rights of Louis the XIV's (r. 1643-1715) legitimised sons, a topic passionately debated during the Regency.



Boulainvilliers' first wife died in 1696 leaving three children; his two sons, one an abbot and the other an army officer, both died in 1709. There were no surviving children from his second marriage which took place in 1710 so, at his express wish, the name of Boulainvilliers was taken into the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the descendants of his daughter, who had married one of the sons of Samuel Bernard, treasurer to Louis XIV, a commoner and a Protestant.

With one exception, none of Boulainvilliers' works was published during his lifetime; they circulated largely in manuscript form, in France as well as across Europe, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The first editions date from 1727-30, but some of his works remain unpublished to this day.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- M. Marais, *Journal et mémoires de Mathieu Marais*, Paris, vol. 2, 1864, pp. 212, 227, 242, 348; vol. 4, 1868, pp. 136, 143, 361  
 A.M. de Boislisle (ed.), *Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, Paris, 1914, vol. 26, pp. 245-9

#### *Secondary*

- O. Tholozan, *Henri de Boulainvilliers. L'anti-absolutisme aristocratique légitimé par l'histoire*, Aix-en-Provence, 1999  
 R. Festa, 'An eighteenth-century interpretation of the Ethica. Henry de Boulainvilliers's "Essai de métaphysique"', in S. Berti, F. Charles-Daubert and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe. Studies on the Traité des Trois Imposteurs*, Dordrecht, 1996, 307-32  
 D. Venturino, *Le ragioni della tradizione. Nobiltà e mondo moderno in Boulainvilliers (1658-1722)*, Florence, 1993 (with an extensive bibliography)  
 S. Brogi, *Il cerchio dell'universo. Libertinismo, spinozismo e filosofia della natura in Boulainvilliers*, Florence, 1993  
 H.A. Ellis, *Boulainvilliers and the French monarchy. Aristocratic politics and the uses of history in early eighteenth-century France*, Ithaca NY, 1986  
 R. Simon, *Henry de Boulainvilliers. Historien, politique, philosophe, astrologue, 1658-1722*, Paris, 1941 (modern critical studies of Boulainvilliers begin with this work, followed by a nearly 40-year silence broken by only a handful of articles, before the debate was reopened by the four books listed above)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

La vie de Mahomed par M. le comte de  
Boulainvilliers

'The life of Muḥammad by the Count of  
Boulainvilliers

DATE About 1718-22

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

Boulainvilliers only completed the first two parts of *La vie de Mahomed*, as far as the first *hijra* to Ethiopia, before he died in 1722. The biography from that point to the death of Muḥammad is by an unknown author. Although Boulainvilliers did not know Arabic, his information was sound because, thanks to the works of the best Orientalists of the time (Mar-racci, Herbelot, Ockley, Pococke, Prideaux, Reland), he was able to access Arabic sources. Resolutely deist, even Spinozist, towards the end of his life, he was attracted by the cataclysmic questioning of the universality of Eastern Christianity provoked by the emergence of Islam in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

*La vie de Mahomed* is the first text ever produced in the West to give a positive appreciation of the Islamic religion. Boulainvilliers transformed the political-religious legislator most hated by Christians into an enlightened protagonist of world history. Of course, as a religious legislator Muḥammad is still portrayed as an impostor but, at the same time, Boulainvilliers notes that he was blessed with 'superior qualities' as both a political and a religious legislator, and in this Boulainvilliers compares him to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. Furthermore, praise for the rational transparency of Muḥammad's absolute monotheism casts a shadow of obscurity, and thus of doubt, over the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Unaware of the mystical aspects of Islam, Boulainvilliers judges the message of Muḥammad to 'conform to the light of reason', its clarity compelling the conviction of every rational being. Muḥammad's self-professed inability to work miracles paints the perfect portrait of a legislator who never went beyond the bounds of nature, unlike Moses and, above all, Jesus. In short, all that Muḥammad 'said is true in accordance with the essential dogma of religion'. Boulainvilliers adds that 'he has not revealed the whole truth, which is where our religion differs from his', though such cautionary language does not fool anyone.

Doubt is cast on the superiority of Christianity because what Muḥammad does not accept is really the superfluous revelation brought by the Messiah, the elements that are inadmissible to reason and, in turn, strangers to truth. Islam is much closer to natural religion than Christianity, which is marked by the obscure irrationality of its fundamental dogmas. Although the theology of Muḥammad is not impervious to ancient traditions and accepts, for example, certain Judeo-Christian doctrines such as the resurrection of the body, this does not detract from its monotheist message. Muḥammad sought to reconcile the ancestral practices of the Arabs with the precepts of the new religion (circumcision, forbidden foodstuffs, etc.), which explains his prodigious success. In particular, he accepted polygamy, a more natural system than the monogamy espoused by Christianity, and better adapted to the Arab spirit.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Boulainvilliers' praise stops with the founding principles of Muslim civilisation and religion. Indeed, he considered that Muḥammad's successors transformed the purity of a peaceful and tolerant religion into a barbaric instrument of war and domination. Consumed by fanaticism, the Arabs scorned other religions and intolerance characterised their political organisation, which soon turned into despotism. Territorial expansion left in its wake devastation, desolation and shadows.

It is not surprising that free-thinking Boulainvilliers would write about the dissociation between the happy origins of civilisation and the decadence of the contemporary world provoked by fanaticism. But to apply this schema to the Muslim world caused scandal at the time of publication, as the rationality of Muslim theology had never previously been asserted. Sale, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Condorcet and many others would not forget this.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – fonds frs. 9094 (18<sup>th</sup> century; digitised version available through BNF)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 1946 (18<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 1947 (18<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 1948 (18<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Angoulême, Alpha Médiathèque – 1178 (18<sup>th</sup> century; this MS alone contains the beginning of a third part, which was a continuation to the two completed and published parts, though it amounts to only a few pages which cannot be attributed to Boulainvilliers with any certainty)

MS Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale-Bibliothèque d'étude – 1170 (18<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vire, Médiathèque Vire-Normandie – C821 (18<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – 1265 (Gall. 622) (18<sup>th</sup> century)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *La Vie de Mahomed par M. le comte de Boulainvilliers. Auteur de l'Etat de la France et des Mémoires historiques qui l'accompagnent*, Londres [Amsterdam]: P. Humbert, 1730; 8-02G-156 (digitised version available through BNF)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *L'Histoire des Arabes avec la Vie de Mahomed par le comte de Boulainvilliers. Auteur de l'Etat de la France et des Mémoires historiques qui l'accompagnent*, Amsterdam: P. Humbert, 1731; J-11815 (digitised version available through BNF)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *La Vie de Mahomed, avec des réflexions sur la religion mahométane et les coutumes des musulmans. Par M. le comte de Boulainvilliers auteur de l'Etat de la France et des Mémoires historiques qui l'accompagnent*, Amsterdam: Fr. Changuion et P. Humbert, 1731 (practically identical in contents with *L'Histoire des Arabes avec la Vie de Mahomed*); KW 2221 B 19 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *The life of Mahomet*, London: W. Hinchcliffe, 1731 (English trans.); STC T110364 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Vita di Maometo*, Venice: Glichi, 1745 (Italian trans.)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Das Leben des Mahomed*, Lemgo: Meyer, 1747 (German trans.); Bio 886 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *The life of Mahomet*, London: T. Longman, 1752 (English trans.); STC T110647 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Das Leben des Mahomed*, Lemgo: Meyer, 1769 (German trans.)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Leben des Mahomed*, Halle: Hendel, 1786 (German trans.)

D. Venturino (trans.), *Vita di Maometto*, Palermo, 1992, pp. 222-9 (Italian trans. of the continuation to the first two parts of the work contained in MS Angoulême)

Henri de Boulainvilliers, *The life of Mahomet*, Piscataway NJ, 2002 (English trans.)

- P.J. Salazar, *Mahomet. Récits français de la vie du Prophète*, Paris, 2005, pp. 37-54 (excerpt from *La Vie de Mahomed*, 1730)
- Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Tārīkh al-‘arab wa-ḥayāt Muḥammad*, trans. Mustafā al-Tawātī, Tunis, 2013 (Arabic trans.)

## STUDIES

- F. Frigerio, 'Une source méconnue de la vie de Mahomed du comte de Boulainvilliers', *Studi Settecenteschi* 21 (2001) 35-41
- P. Anis, 'Henry de Boulainvilliers et les débuts de la tolérance conditionnelle de l'Autre musulman au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Romance Quarterly* 46 (1999) 74-83
- D. Venturino, *Le ragioni della tradizione. Nobiltà e mondo moderno in Boulainvilliers (1658-1722)*, Florence, 1993, pp. 159-82
- D. Venturino, 'Introduzione' to Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Vita di Maometto*, Palermo, 1992, pp. 11-42
- D. Venturino, 'Un prophète philosophe? Une vie de Mahomed à l'aube des Lumières', *Dix-huitième Siècle* 24 (1992) 321-31
- R. Diwani, 'Boulainvilliers et le prophète de l'islam', *Bulletin du Centre International de Langue et Civilisation Françaises, Zagazig University* 1 (January 1990) 58-73
- M. Petrocchi, 'Boulainvilliers et il mito di Maometto', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 60 (1948) 367-77

Diego Venturino

# Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy

DATE OF BIRTH    Late 17<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH    19 September 1748  
PLACE OF DEATH    Amsterdam

## BIOGRAPHY

Despite his relatively distinguished career, very little is recorded about the life of Laugier de Tassy, and his date and place of birth are unknown. He entered the service of the French Ministry of the Navy in 1699, and he mentions a spell as a Spanish prisoner of war in 1706 (*Histoire*, p. 330). On 27 July 1717, he was appointed chancellor at the French consulate in Algiers. The sources differ as to how long he remained there; according to one, he left in July of the following year. What is certain is that on 1 October 1720 he was appointed as 'commissaire de la Marine', the representative of the French government, in Amsterdam, a post in which he was renewed on 7 May 1729 and where he remained until his death in 1748.

He seems to have earned the confidence of the Dutch, and was given an honorary distinction by the Duke of Orleans in 1737 and made a baron of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Charles VII (r. 1742-5). He married a German aristocrat and they had one son, who followed his father into the service of the Ministry of the Navy. The only work of his that is known is his history of Algiers.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MSS Paris, Archives Nationales – AE.B.III/7; MAR/C/7/169

L. de Tassy, *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger*, Amsterdam: Henri du Sauzet, 1725

### *Secondary*

A. Mézin, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières (1715-1792)*, Paris, 1997, pp. 381-2

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Histoire du Royaume d'Alger 'History of the Kingdom of Algiers'

DATE 1725

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

Laugier's *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger* (in full, *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger avec l'état présent de son gouvernement, de ses forces de terre et de mer, de ses revenus, police, justice politique et commerce*) is a volume of 347 pages, divided into two parts. The first deals with the present state of Algiers, here called a Kingdom although other writers called it a republic or a regency, its inhabitants and administrative regions (11 chapters, occupying 153 pages); the second with the city of Algiers, its geography, administration, naval forces, economic activity and foreign relations (21 chapters). Laugier only discusses very briefly the state's history, referring the reader to a list of other works on the subject. The book is mainly descriptive, drawing, as the author indicates in his Preface, on his own experience and memoirs found in the European consulates in Algiers, and he also includes certain 'romantic tales and adventures' to illustrate his descriptions. For example, he recounts at some length the love story between the pirate Barbarossa and Princess Zaphira, claiming that it was well known in the country and that he took it from a manuscript belonging to a religious notable in Constantine who claimed to be descended from the princess's family. This is typical of his insistence on his objectivity and freedom from prejudice.

Chapter 7 (pp. 88-100) is devoted to religion, specifically as it is practised by the inhabitants of Algeria, with a discussion of the Muslim conquest, the various sects, popular practices including devotion to local saints and prayer beads. Laugier does not discuss the main Muslim doctrines, referring the reader to other works on the subject, but he does insist in several places on Muslim tolerance, recommended by the Qur'an. Several pages are devoted to the status of women and the ease with which they can be divorced.

This work differs from many other European accounts of Muslim countries in its attempt at open-mindedness and fairness, and its citing many examples of the rulers' toleration of Christians and respect for them, while acknowledging the defects of their government. Laugier also

gives several historical examples to demonstrate that Christians can be just as 'barbarian' as Muslims. Particularly striking is the author's Preface, in which he denounces Christians' prejudices against 'Turks and other Muslims', often based on the propaganda spread by Spanish monks, particularly lies about the ill-treatment of Christian captives. He insists on judging Muslims by the same standards as his fellow-Christians, pointing out that the same mixture of virtues and vices can be found on both sides. He denounces those who despise others because they believe, worship, behave, dress or eat differently (Preface, 7 pages, not numbered).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to know how far the attitude expressed here reflects hostility towards the Catholic Church (perhaps from a Protestant point of view, as Laugier spent so many years in the Netherlands, although there is no evidence for this). It seems to have been this aspect of the work that interested Joseph Morgan, who claims to have known Laugier and quotes this passage in *A complete history of Algiers* (London, 1728 and 1731).

Laugier de Tassy's work seems to have been quite widely read and was translated and referred to in several works on North Africa, as well as being used by Montesquieu in *Esprit des lois*. This seems, however, to have been more for the details he gives about the region than for his attempt to reduce anti-Muslim prejudices.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger avec l'état présent de son gouvernement, de ses forces de terre et de mer, de ses revenus, police, justice politique et commerce*, Amsterdam: Henri du Sauzet, 1725; KW 223 M 36 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Beschryving van het Koningryk ende stadt Algiers ... Uit het Fransch vertaalt, en met een Lyst der genomene Hollandtsche schepen ... vermeerdert*, Amsterdam: Marten Schagen, 1725 (Dutch trans.); Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden 1127 A 14 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger avec l'état présent de son gouvernement, de ses forces de terre et de mer, de ses revenus, police, justice politique et commerce*, Amsterdam: Henri du Sauzet, 1727; Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam OTM: O 61-995 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)



- Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Historia del reyno de Argel, con el estado presente de su gobierno, de sus fuerças de tierra, y mar, de sus rentas, policia, justicia, política y comercio, escrita en idioma frances*, trans. A. de Clariana y Gualbes, Barcelona: J. Piferrer, 1733 (Spanish trans.); GMm 1561 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)
- Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *A compleat history of the piratical states of Barbary*, London: R. Griffiths, 1750 (English trans.; the parts on Algiers are a translation of Laugier de Tassy's work; they are followed by sections on the other North African states); ESTC T092932 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Istoria degli stati di Algeri, Tunisi, Tripoli e Marocco: trasportata fedelmente dalla lingua inglese nell'italiana*, London, 1754 (Italian trans. of the 1750 English edition); BKE 116 A2 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire des États Barbaresques qui exercent la piraterie: contenant l'origine, les révolutions et l'état présent des royaumes d'Alger, de Tunis, de Tripoli et de Maroc, ... par un auteur qui y a résidé plusieurs années avec caractère public*; Traduite de l'anglais, Paris: Chaubert, 1757 (French trans. of the 1750 English work); KW 3109 F 17-18 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du royaume d'Alger. Un diplomate français à Alger en 1724*, preface by N. Laveau and A. Nouschi, Paris, 1992

## STUDIES

- N. Laveau and A. Nouschi, 'Preface', in Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du royaume d'Alger*, 1992, i-xii
- A. Thomson, *Barbary and Enlightenment*, Leiden, 1986
- D. Brahimi, 'Laugier de Tassy et sa préface à l'*Histoire du Royaume d'Alger*', *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* 8 (January 1970) 74-81

Ann Thomson

# René-Aubert de Vertot

René-Aubert, abbé de Vertot

DATE OF BIRTH 25 November 1655  
PLACE OF BIRTH Bennetot, Normandy  
DATE OF DEATH 15 June 1735  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

René-Aubert de Vertot was born into an impoverished noble family in Normandy. He had a vocation to the religious life but his poor health prevented him from following the rules of monastic life as rigorously as he wished. He was a friend of Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757) and Charles-Irénée Castel, abbé de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743), also from Normandy, and was interested in history. His first work, *Histoire de la conjuration de Portugal* ('History of the conspiracy in Portugal', 1689), which became in 1701 *Histoire des révolutions du Portugal* ('History of the revolutions in Portugal'), was a great success, as was his *Histoire des révolutions de Suède* ('History of the revolutions in Sweden', 1696). As a result, he was elected to the Académie royale des inscriptions in 1701, even though he was a simple country priest. From 1703 he lived in Paris.

Until 1726, when he fell ill, his memoirs, which were regularly read at the Academy, and his numerous works were mainly devoted to the history of France, though his most famous were his *Histoire des révolutions de la république romaine* ('History of the revolutions of the Roman Republic', 1719), which was repeatedly republished until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and his equally successful *Histoire des chevaliers de l'ordre de Malte* ('History of the Knights of the Order of Malta', 1726), which was reprinted up to 1885.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

[Claude Gros de Boze], 'Éloge de M. l'abbé de Vertot', in *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, vol. 3, 1740, 187-221; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k63228426/fig9.item>

*Secondary*

- G. Poumarède, 'Une crise de la guerre turque. La course chrétienne et sa contestation', in G. Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 2009, 431-527
- C. Volpilhac-Augier, 'Mon siège est fait ou la méthode historique de l'Abbé de Vertot', *Cromohs* 2 (1997) 1-14; <http://www.fupress.net/index.php/cromohs/article/view/15754/14651>

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem

### 'The history of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem'

DATE 1726

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

The *Histoire des chevaliers de Malte* (in full *Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, appelés depuis les chevaliers de Rhodes, aujourd'hui les chevaliers de Malte*, 'The history of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, afterwards styled the Knights of Rhodes and at present the Knights of Malta') was published in 1726 in four quarto volumes and five duodecimal volumes (around 2,400 pages in both cases). It recounts the history of the Order of St John of Jerusalem as it tried to preserve the Holy Land against the infidel and then retreated to Cyprus after defeat at Acre in 1291. After their expulsion from Rhodes in 1523, the Order settled in Malta in 1530 and took up rule of the island. It thus appears over the centuries as the Christian powers' spearhead against the Ottoman Empire. The story, which finishes with the death of Grand Master Jean de La Vallette in 1568 (Book XIII), is continued up to 1725 with Annals (Book XIV), and ends with a 'Treatise of the Order's government' (Book XV). The work thus retraces European relations with the Turks over several centuries.

A 12-page section at the beginning of vol. 1 is devoted to Muḥammad, clearly showing from the start that the work sets out to be a history of the confrontation between Christians and Muslims. This was read by Vertot to the Académie royale des inscriptions in 1724 and was reviewed in the *Mercure de France* in December 1724 (vol. 1, pp. 2577-80), thus giving the

impression that it was a separate dissertation (A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, Markfield, 2010, pp. 35-7), but it was never published separately.

The history of the creation of the Order reflects the ideology of the crusades. The heroic qualities of the Frankish armies trying to preserve the Holy Land are contrasted with the despicable and dishonest behaviour of their infidel adversaries, whose courage is only mentioned by Vertot when it can magnify Christian victories. Šalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin, 1138-93) nevertheless stands out among the infidels for his heroism and his exceptional qualities, which led Vertot to suspect that he had abandoned Islam (Book II).

The later history of the Order conforms to this general impression; the Christians' enemies only serve to glorify the brave warriors who are defending the faith. Following a historiographical tradition dating from Giacomo Bosio (*Dell'istoria della sacra religione et illustrissima militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, 2 vols, Rome, 1594, 1602), the privateering activity conducted against the Ottoman Empire by the Order of Malta from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards was also presented by Vertot as a holy war, sustained by faith, which enabled him to exalt 'the role of these Christian knights in the fight against the Ottomans' (Poumarède, 'Une crise de la guerre turque', p. 431). This hagiographical dimension ignored the purely economic aspect of the privateering.

As for the discussion of Muḥammad at the beginning of Book I, it repeats and reinforces all the common European clichés: the Prophet is a hypocritical impostor, an illiterate who, in order to write the Qur'an, shut himself up for two years with a Jew and the monk Sergius in order to copy the Bible. The presentation of the 'unholy sect' is even more of a caricature; according to Vertot, Islam was only able to spread by force of arms.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The publication, on which Vertot had been working since 1713, was a huge success; the heroic vision of the struggle between Christians and infidels, in which the French nobility had played a large part, was calculated to please the public. It conformed to the Gallican tradition, in which the papacy, whose purely political aims were exposed, was treated with little respect. As a result, the work was immediately condemned by the Order of Malta, and then put on the Index in Rome (1728). But that did not stop it being read, including by members of the Order (W.

Zammit, 'Decree prohibiting Vertot's *Histoire de Malte* (1726)', *Treasures of Malta* 22 [2016] 80-1).

Other passages sparked other types of criticisms; the heirs of certain leading families were offended by the treatment accorded to their ancestors, who were in their opinion insufficiently praised or relatively ignored (C. Volpilhac-Augier, 'Mon siège est fait'). But nothing could dampen the work's success in Europe as well as France, as it was translated into German and English (1728), and then into Russian (1799) and Spanish (1802); in France its success continued until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was said that everything that was known about Malta in France and in Europe came from Vertot's *Histoire*, which transmitted a simplified, traditional image of the history of the Islamic world presented as the enemy of Christianity.

#### PUBLICATIONS

René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 4 vols, Paris: Rollin, Quillau, Desaint, 1726; 32101 037455647 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Paris: Rollin, Quillau, Desaint, 1726 (a variant edition published by the same publisher in the same year); 32101 037455951 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

René Aubert de Vertot, *Geschichte des Ritterlichen Johanniter-Ordens*, ed. and trans. J.C. Dithmar, Frankfurt an der Oder, 1728 (German trans.); 4 Herald. 34 (digitised version available through MDZ)

René Aubert de Vertot, *The history of the Knights of Malta*, 2 vols, London: G. Strahan *et al.*, 1728 (English trans.); ESTC T053873 (digitised version available through ECCO)

René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Amsterdam, 1732; OTM: O 63-1277-1281 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Paris, 1735

- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 7 vols, Paris, 1737
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, The Hague, 1741
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Amsterdam, 1742; OTM: O 63-3301-3305 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Paris, 1755; 32101 037455704 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *The history of the Knights of Malta*, 5 vols, Edinburgh, 1757 (English trans.); ESTC No08487 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte, par M. l'abbé de Vertot*, 7 vols, Paris, 1761
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Amsterdam, 1764
- René Aubert de Vertot, *The history of the Knights of Malta*, 5 vols, Edinburgh, 1770 (English trans.); ESTC No08485 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte, par M. l'abbé de Vertot*, 7 vols, Paris: Leclerc, 1772-8 (new edition); KW 3118 E 15 [-21] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *The history of the Knights of Malta*, 5 vols, Edinburgh, 1774 (English trans.); ESTC No08486 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, 5 vols, Amsterdam, 1780-1; KW 3118 E 10 [-14] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

- René Aubert de Vertot, *Geschichte des Maltheserordens*, trans. F.I. Niethammer, 2 vols, Jena, 1792-3 (German trans.); Herald. 56-1/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Istorīia Ordena Sviatago Ĭoanna Ĭerusalimskago*, trans. A. Labzin, 5 vols, St Petersburg, 1799-1801 (Russian trans.)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, par M. l'abbé de Vertot, 5 vols, Lyon, 1839
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, par M. l'abbé de Vertot, 7 vols, Paris, 1842
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des chevaliers de Malte*, Tours, 1847 (abridged version for children)
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, par M. l'abbé de Vertot, 5 vols, Lyon, 1853
- René Aubert de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte*, par M. l'abbé de Vertot, ed. A.M.L. de Busy, 3 vols, Lyon, 1859

## STUDIES

- R. Thake, *A publishing history of a prohibited best-seller. The abbé de Vertot and his Histoire de Malte*, New Castle DE, 2016 (see pp. 106-60 on the dissemination of *Histoire*; 212-75 for details of editions and translations)
- W. Zammit, 'Vertot's *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*. Its prohibition in the context of Hospitaller historiographical practices', in I.C. Ferreira (ed.), *VII Encontro internacional sobre ordens militares. 'Entre Deus e o rei. O mundo dos ordens militares'*, Palmela, 2016, 109-37
- Poumarède, 'Une crise de la guerre turque'
- Volpillac-Auger, 'Mon siège est fait'

Catherine Volpillac-Auger

# Andrew Michael Ramsay

Chevalier Ramsay

DATE OF BIRTH 9 January 1686  
PLACE OF BIRTH South-west Scotland  
DATE OF DEATH 6 May 1743  
PLACE OF DEATH Saint-Germain-en-Laye

## BIOGRAPHY

Andrew Michael Ramsay was born in Scotland, but spent most of his life in France where, although of humble origins, he was eventually granted the title of chevalier by the Duc d'Orléans. The son of a Calvinist father and an Episcopalian mother, he grew up during years of religious unrest. After studying at Ayr Grammar School, he went to Edinburgh University, where he graduated around 1707.

According to his autobiography, he had originally intended to be a Calvinist minister, but experienced a spiritual and intellectual crisis. He therefore entered a network of religious circles that crossed the confessional church boundaries, moving from Scotland to England, and on the continent between episcopalianism, deism and mysticism: in Aberdeen, he attended the group of James and George Garden, in London the Philadelphians and the Camisards, thanks to Fatio de Duillier; he visited Pierre Poiret in Holland, and François Fénelon and Mme Jeanne-Marie Guyon in France. He was associated particularly closely with Fénelon, continuously claiming to be his heir. It was Fénelon who converted him to Catholicism, although he never renounced the Origenistic concept of universal salvation.

From 1716 until his death in 1743, he lived in Paris and its surroundings. In 1724, he was in Rome, on a failed attempt to educate the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart. In 1729-30, he went to England in search of subscriptions for a new edition of the most famous of his works, *Les voyages de Cyrus*. He died in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, residence of the exiled Stuart court.

Ramsay was an eclectic writer of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. With very good connections, he was acquainted with many prominent intellectuals of his time, and was an active intermediary in cultural and political



relations between France and Britain. Initially favourable to a Jacobite restoration in Britain, he later broadened his political and philosophical ideas. He was involved in many contemporary disputes, from Chinese ceremonies to Quietism, and Spinozism to scepticism, and contributed to the organisation of freemasonry in France along Christian and mystical lines. He used ancient theology and mythology to support Christianity as a universal religion that could assimilate cultural diversity and counter contemporary corruption.

Ramsay started his career as an editor for Fénelon, and a writer on politics (e.g. *Essai de politique*; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, *Essai philosophique sur le gouvernement civil*). He always brought together religion, history, philosophy and pedagogy in a political and cultural project. He usually wrote in French, as is seen in his works *Histoire de la vie de Fénelon*, *Les voyages de Cyrus*, *Histoire de Turenne* and *Discours prononcé à la réception de Frère-Maçons*, but his works were translated into English soon after publication. His English works include *A plan of education* and the posthumous *Philosophical principles of natural and revealed religion*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

MS Aix en Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes – MS 1188 (published as Andrew Michael Ramsay, ‘Anecdotes de la vie de Messire André Michel de Ramsay’, ed. M. Baldi, in M. Baldi and A.M. Ramsay, *Verisimile, non vero. Filosofia e politica in Andrew Michael Ramsay*, Milan, 2002)

### Secondary

- A. Mansfield, *Ideas of monarchical reform, Fénelon, Jacobitism and the political works of the Chevalier Ramsay*, Manchester, 2015
- G. Eckert, ‘True, noble, Christian freethinking’. *Leben und Werk Michael Ramsays (1686-1743)*, Münster, 2009
- M. Baldi, *Verisimile non vero. Filosofia e politica in Andrew Michael Ramsay*, Milan, 2002 (trans. into French as *Philosophie et politique chez Andrew Michael Ramsay*, Paris, 2008)
- G.D. Henderson, *Chevalier Ramsay*, London, 1952
- A. Chérel, *Fénelon au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France, 1715-1820, son prestige, son influence, tableaux bibliographiques*, Paris, 1917, repr. Geneva, 1970

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Les voyages de Cyrus

La nouvelle Cyropédie

The travels of Cyrus; 'A new Cyropaedia'

DATE 1727

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

*Les voyages de Cyrus*, Ramsay's most famous work, is a philosophical novel in two volumes, with *Discours sur la mythologie des Payens* added at the end. It was published first in Paris, and translated into English the same year by Nathaniel Hooke under the title *The travels of Cyrus*. The book was a best-seller of its time: within a century of its original publication it had enjoyed more than 90 editions, reprints and translations into modern European languages. Thanks to its skilful storytelling, it met the 18<sup>th</sup>-century public's taste for ancient and new myths, the fascination for the exotic and esoteric, and the curiosity for travel literature. The two volumes of the 1727 first edition together cover more than 760 pages.

The novel tells the story of the education of the young Cyrus the Great (590-529 BCE), future first emperor of Persia, following his imaginary Oriental journey to learn about history, politics and religion. As suggested by the title, the book is reminiscent of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, or *the education of Cyrus*, a work that exalts Cyrus as an example of the perfect ruler. Like Fénelon's celebrated *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699), edited in 1717 by Ramsay himself, *Les voyages de Cyrus* is a didactic novel, but broadens the traditions of the 'mirror-for-princes' genre. Already disappointed by his failed attempts to educate the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Ramsay reads the past as a cipher for the present. Part forerunner to the so-called *Bildungsroman* and part initiation novel, the work is addressed to the general public and aims at the moral reform of humankind.

Cyrus travels through the eastern Mediterranean, moving from ancient Persia, where he visits the Zoroastrian contemplative philosophers, known as the magi. Zoroaster initiates him into 'all the mysteries of the ancient wisdom', explaining for him the origin of all things, and the life-giving presence of an infinite god indwelling an infinite world, the perfect harmony of the universe at the beginning of time. In Egypt,

Cyrus learns that the history, politics and laws of this country were 'the models of those of Greece', and hears from the young Hermes Trismegistus about the goddess Isis, the god Osiris and their son Horus, and the revolt of Typhon and the subsequent destruction of the original harmony of nature. In Greece, Cyrus witnesses a long dispute between a Fene-lonian Pythagoras and a proto-Spinozian Anaximander, who, according to Ramsay, represents all philosophical errors, from pantheism to episcureanism, idealism to materialism, and scepticism to Jansenism. While visiting Tyre, Cyrus attends the ceremonies for Adonis's death, ascent to heaven and return to earth to free it from all suffering and evil. At the end of his journey, in Babylon, Eleazar explains to Cyrus the solution to the problem of evil, and illustrates how the Jewish doctrine concerning the three states of the world is 'perfectly conformable to the doctrine of the Persians, Egyptians and Greeks'. The Hebrew prophet Daniel reminds him of Isaiah's prophecy (Isaiah 44:28-45:1) regarding Cyrus as the only truly Gentile type of Christ, the desire of all nations, who is to come in the fullness of time. Having been educated to become a benevolent ruler of the entire East, Cyrus returns to Persia. He will be the one to liberate the Jews from their captivity, and rebuild the temple of Solomon.

*Discours sur la mythologie des Payens*, which is inserted at the end of the novel explains its significance and outlines Ramsay's philosophy of history. As opposed to atheism, the theology of the ancients shows the universal belief in the existence of 'a supreme Deity', a good and wise creator of the world. Unlike deism, the mythologies of the ancients hypothesise that the world undergoes three states: those of being innocent, fallen and restored. The return of Astrea and the victories of Adonis, Mythra and Horus represent the second coming of the Messiah; they are prophecies of a new harmony, the final victory over evil and the restoration to good of every creature, whether human or animal.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In the wake of the English Platonist Ralph Cudworth, whose *True intellectual system of the universe* is quoted extensively in *Les voyages de Cyrus*, Ramsay supports the idea of a universal arcane religion, an idea in his opinion compatible with Masonic universalism. If the heathens' ancient wisdom is akin to Christian monotheism, Ramsay, like Cudworth, goes further back than Christianity, beyond traditional Christian apologetics which aims to describe different 'types' of Jesus Christ in different cultural traditions. Thus, Ramsay focuses on the 'Orientals', whose religion is older than Christianity and relates to the original beliefs and

common heritage of humankind: the Orientals are the heirs of Noah and of the monotheist antediluvian patriarchs, who represent the beginning of the history of religions before the corruption of idolatry. The theology of the Orientals is purer than that of the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, and of 'the most knowing and civilised nations', since God revealed himself to pre-Mosaic and prediluvian patriarchs. The Orientals are the Persian Magi with their Zoroastrianism, a 'sequel of the doctrine of the Indian Brachmans', and the Egyptians with their original spiritual Hermeticism.

Unlike Chinese theology, Muslim culture and religion are not dealt with directly in the *Discours*, and not only for obvious reasons of chronology. According to the work, in Cyrus' times the Arabs were the uncivilised people of the Shepherd Kings who invaded Egypt in around 1650 BCE and 'made the sublime and occult sciences be despised and forgotten' *The travels of Cyrus*, London, 1727, vol. 1, p. 166 in that country. Ramsay is very mindful of the Arianism of the Newtonians who challenge Athanasius's Trinitarian creed and defend a position similar to John Toland's (1670-1722) freethinking account of natural religion. Toland exploits the apocryphal *Gospel of Barnabas* in the 'Mahometan Gospel' of his *Nazarenius* (1718). The alleged identity between Judaism, Christianity and Islam is disproved by Ramsay, as it is immersed in Socinianism: it sets aside the sacred and revealed mysteries, and the teaching of Jesus as a god, not as a man, for universal salvation. More generally, Ramsay aims to refute the 'pan-Spinozism' of Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), who searches for similarities between the philosophy of Spinoza and Buddhist or Islamic traditions in order to prove the original atheism of mankind.

In Ramsay's counter-attack on freethinking, Islam is not the source of the 'ancient Oriental errors', which are the same as the errors of contemporary freethinkers and 'predestinarian' or 'Judaizing' doctors. Both interpret the third state as a theocracy for the conversion 'to external profession of Christianity', a paradoxical kind of Christian 'Mahometan paradise'.

Thanks to his universalist attitude, Ramsay does not formally exclude Islam from the truth, and praises the 'holy' city of Mecca, but he does not examine the Muslim religion directly or cite primary Muslim sources. However, he refers to secondary literature, in particular, going back to Edward Pococke's *Specimen historiae Arabum* (Oxford, 1650) and Thomas Hyde's *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (Oxford, 1700) to prove that the love of God is not foreign to the Muslim religion. Consequently,

Ramsay quotes from these authors to offer excerpts from the historian Ismā'īl Abū l-Fidā' (1273-1331) about the priority of God to light and darkness, and especially from the 12<sup>th</sup>-century philosopher Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Shahrastānī, a defender of free will. Ramsay rejects Bayle's interpretation of al-Shahrastānī as a dualistic philosopher, but he misunderstands the French author.

The content of the *Discours* is expanded in the second volume of *The philosophical principles of natural and revealed religion*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Eighteenth-century editions and translations of *Les voyages de Cyrus* are very numerous. The most important editions are listed here, together with selected translations:

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Les voyages de Cyrus avec un discours sur la mythologie*, 2 vols, Paris, 1727 (first edition); Y2-9539 and Y2-9540 (digitised version available through BNF)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *The travels of Cyrus in two volumes. To which is annex'd a discourse upon the theology and mythology of the ancients by the Chevalier Ramsay*, 2 vols, London, 1727 (first English trans.; ten further editions during 18<sup>th</sup> century); ESTC To82619 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Chevalier Ramsay, *Des Ritters Ramsay Reisender Cyrus*, trans. J. Mattheson, Hamburg, 1728 (German trans., from English edition)

Chevalier Ramsay, *De gevallen van Cyrus.: Nevens eene redenvoeringe over de verdichtzelkunde*, The Hague, 1728 (Dutch trans.); KW 31 E 33 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Chevalier Ramsay, *I viaggi di Ciro: con un discorso sopra la mitologia*, trans. F. Zannino Marsecco, Venice, 1729 (Italian trans.)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Les voyages de Cyrus avec un discours sur la mythologie*, 2 vols, Paris; 8-1843 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Les voyages de Cyrus*, London, 1730 (new revised edition); ESTC To82683 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Novoe Kironastavlenie, ili Puteshestviia Kirovy s prilozhennymi przgovorami o bogoslovii i basnotvorst drevnikh, sochinennyya Gospodinom Ramzeem*, trans. A.S. Volkov, Moscow, 1765 (Russian trans.)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Podroże Cyrusa. Historya Obyczajna Z Rozmową o Baykach Pogańskich*, Warsaw, 1770 (Polish trans.)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Ēthikè periégēsis Kýrou Basiléōs Persôn*, trans. Iōánnou Boebóna Maurokordátō, Vienna, 1783 (Modern Greek trans.)

Chevalier Ramsay, *Nueva cyropedia, o los viages de Cyro*, trans. F. Savila, Madrid, 1784 (Spanish trans.)

Andrew Michael Ramsay, *Les voyages de Cyrus avec un discours sur la mythologie*, ed. G. Lamoine, Paris, 2002 (modern critical edition following the 1728 Paris edition)

#### STUDIES

U. App, *The birth of Orientalism*, Philadelphia PA, 2011, pp. 254-96

M. Stausberg, *Faszination Zarathushtra. Zoroaster und die Europäische Religionsgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 838-69

A. Gunny, *Images of Islam in eighteenth-century writings*, London, 1996

R. Grandroute, *Le roman pédagogique de Fénelon à Rousseau*, Geneva, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 227-300

**Marialuisa Baldi**

# Jacques Villotte

DATE OF BIRTH 1 November 1656  
PLACE OF BIRTH Bar-le-Duc, Lorraine  
DATE OF DEATH 1743  
PLACE OF DEATH Bar-le-Duc

## BIOGRAPHY

Jacques Villotte was born on 1 November 1656 in Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, in north-eastern France. Admitted to the Jesuit Order in 1673, he subsequently taught grammar and rhetoric in his home town. In 1688, his Order sent him east in the context of a multi-pronged effort to find an overland route to China without travelling through Russia. In the autumn of 1688, Villotte set sail from Marseille, making landfall in Smyrna and thence travelling to Istanbul. After a three-week stay in the Ottoman capital, he took a boat for Trabzon, and thence travelled with a caravan to Erzurum, where he arrived on Christmas Day 1688. From there, he joined a caravan to Yerevan and another to Shamakhi, where he arrived on 2 March 1689. Travelling in the company of the Polish envoy Comte de Siry, via Shamakhi, Baku, Qazvin and Kashan, he arrived in Isfahan on 16 October 1689.

Despite repeated efforts, Villotte never made it to China. Instead, he was to spend a total of 14 years in Safavid Iran and the Ottoman Empire between 1689 and 1708, when he was recalled to France by his superiors. Part of this time he spent in Erzurum, having been called to replace Father Roche, the head of the local Jesuit mission, who died in late 1690. He arrived in Erzurum on 3 March 1691, and in the next few years he travelled back and forth to Yerevan numerous times. In 1693, he went to Istanbul and as far as Edirne, where both the sultan and the French ambassador were residing at that time. Another journey, undertaken in 1695-96, took him all the way to Rhodes and Cyprus.

During his stay in Iran and the Ottoman Empire, working predominantly with local Armenians, Villotte applied himself assiduously to the study of the Armenian language. The Propaganda Fide in Rome in 1714 published the result, his Latin-Armenian dictionary, the first of its kind. In its preface, he praises Armenian for its elegance and utility. This 750-page work, containing some 22,000 entries, is preceded by a brief

grammar of the language, and followed by chronological lists of patriarchs and rulers and the history of Armenia, an overview of Catholic missions in Iran and the Caucasus, and a brief catalogue of the errors committed by Armenians in belief and liturgy, as seen from a Catholic perspective.

In the same year, the press of the Propaganda Fide published his *Commentarius ad Evangelia*. Approved by the various bishops in the Levant, this work, written in 'elegant Armenian idiom', explicates difficult passages in the Gospels. While in Isfahan, he ran a school for Armenian children, where he taught his pupils to sing liturgical chants. He copied these in a booklet, the text of which he sent to Marseille, where it was printed. Sent back to Iran, copies were distributed among the Armenian people.

Like all missionaries, Villotte sought to convince the Gregorian Armenian community of the truth of the Catholic interpretation of the faith. But he also appears to have played a mediating role between the European missionaries and the local Armenian community, pleading for toleration and mutual understanding. This helped prevent the Jesuits from being expelled with the Carmelites from New Julfa in 1694 and helped them preserve the right to run a school for Armenian children. Villotte was also instrumental in the establishment of a *Kunstkammer* in the Jesuit convent in Isfahan. Filled with curiosities from European countries, this cabinet of curiosities attracted many members of the Muslim elite. Upon his return to Europe in 1712, Villotte presented Pope Clement XI (r. 1700-21) with a memorandum in which he argued that the Catholic Armenians did not differ fundamentally from Roman Catholics in their beliefs and practices.

Following his return to France, Villotte served as rector of the mission at Bar-le-Duc for the remainder of his working life. He died in 1743.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- [T. C. Fleuriau d'Armenonville], *Estat présent de l'Arménie, tant pour le temporel que pour le spirituel*, Paris, 1694
- [P. Gaudereau (Godreau)], *Relation d'une mission pour la réunion des Arméniens à l'Eglise catholique*, Paris, 1702
- [J. Villotte], *Dictionarium novum latino-armenium ex praecipuis Armeniae linguae scriptoribus concinnatum : In quo praeter adiunctos singularum vocum sensus multiplices, multa etiam Theologica, Physica, Moralia, Historica,*



*Mathematica, Geographica, Chronologica suis quaeque locis passim explicantur; Accessit tabula chronologica regum et patriarcharum utriusque Armeniae*, Rome, 1714

J. Villotte, *Commentarius ad Evangelia*, Rome, 1714

[J. Villotte], *Armenia Christiana seu Tabula chronologica regum et patriarcharum utriusque Armeniae*, Rome, 1730

For copies of Villotte's work see Post-Reformation Digital Library; [http://www.prdl.org/author\\_view.php?a\\_id=3433&sort=language](http://www.prdl.org/author_view.php?a_id=3433&sort=language).

#### Secondary

C. Windler, *Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Cologne, 2018

Art. 'Villotte, Jacques', in C. Sommervogel (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Bibliographie*, Brussels, 1898, vol. 8, pp. 787-8 (with a full bibliography of lesser known works)

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Voyages d'un missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus en Turquie, en Perse et en Barbarie

#### 'Travels of a Jesuit missionary in Turkey, Persia and Barbary'

DATE 1730

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

Villotte's journey to Iran, his stay in Isfahan, and the years he spent in Erzurum are narrated in *Voyages d'un missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, which was published in 1730, more than two decades after his departure from the East. It was composed by fellow Jesuit Nicolas Frizon (born 1649, in Rheims, died 1737, in Nancy), who based the text on notes left by Villotte, referring to the latter in the text as 'our missionary'. Frizon also added material, such as information about the fall of the Safavids and its aftermath, that can only have been in Villotte's notes if he wrote them after 1722.

*Voyages* offers important information about caravan travel and its rigours, the Caspian Sea – about the contours and characteristics of which Europeans at the time were still poorly informed – and about urban centres such as Erzurum, Shamakhi, Baku and Kashan. It contains valuable information on the state of the Jesuit missions in both

the Caucasus and Isfahan, with a long account of the vicissitudes of the Jesuit presence in Erzurum and also offers a great deal of information on the Armenians of the region, whom Villotte calls the closest to Europeans of all eastern peoples.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Various references in the book suggest that Frizon had access to earlier (French) writings on Iran, such as Chardin's account and a work by Martin Gauderau, published in 1702, a fellow missionary who resided in Iran at the same time as Villotte.

Villotte's account as rendered by Frizon is valuable for being one of the few first-hand external sources about Iran in existence for the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

#### PUBLICATIONS

[Jacques Villotte and Nicolas Frizon], *Voyages d'un missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus, en Turquie, en Perse, en Armenie, en Arabie, et en Barbarie*, Paris, 1730; It.sing. 1190 (digitised version available through MDZ)

#### STUDIES

C. Windler, 'Ambiguous belongings. How Catholic missionaries in Persia and the Roman Curia dealt with *communicatio in sacris*', in R. Po-chi Hsia (ed.), *A companion to the early modern global missions*, Leiden, 2018, 205-34

**Rudolph Matthee**

# Laurent d'Arvieux

DATE OF BIRTH 21 June 1635  
PLACE OF BIRTH Marseille  
DATE OF DEATH 30 October 1702  
PLACE OF DEATH Marseille

## BIOGRAPHY

Laurent d'Arvieux was a native of Marseille who made a noted career as a traveller, linguist and diplomat in the Levant. Biographical details about him come mostly from his own *Mémoires* and from brief life histories compiled by his two editors, Jean de la Roque and Jean-Baptiste Labat. His family originated in the region of Lombardy and, after settling in Provence, they modified their Italian name 'Arveo' to the Provençal-sounding 'Arviou'. As an adult, Laurent altered the spelling and pronunciation to 'Arvieux' and, in recognition of service to the French crown, was granted the title 'Chevalier' and the ennobling particle 'de'.

His father died when he was young, and an older cousin named Antoine Bertandié took an interest in his future. When d'Arvieux turned 18, Bertandié took him on a 12-year trip into the Ottoman Empire. While there, d'Arvieux worked with his cousin (and later, his siblings) as an import-expert merchant, first in Smyrna but later in Sidon. During these years abroad, he gained excellent fluency in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, as well as learning some Hebrew and acquiring skills in translation, diplomacy and ethnography.

In 1665, d'Arvieux returned briefly to Provence, only to be sent away again, this time to help deliver a peace treaty to Tunis and negotiate the liberation of French captives. He was beginning to acquire a solid reputation at home for his knowledge of Ottoman culture and society. In 1666, he returned once more to France, this time travelling to Paris where, thanks to his talents as an entertaining raconteur, he attracted the attention of King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715).

In 1669-70, d'Arvieux applied his talents domestically, serving as the crown's interpreter for Süleyman Aga, the Ottoman envoy to France. In 1672, the king named him envoy extraordinary to the Sublime Porte. D'Arvieux was knighted in 1673 for his services to France, and in 1674 named Consul to Algiers, where he again negotiated the liberation of

French captives. In 1679, Finance Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert nominated him Consul of Aleppo. D'Arvieux rightly regarded this posting as the pinnacle of his career. He returned to France in 1686. In 1690, he married Marguerite de Fabre, a noblewoman of Marseille, and in 1702 he died, childless, at the age of 67.

Although d'Arvieux began to compose memoirs about his experiences around 1673, he never published them. Only after his death were his writings put in order by two of the leading contemporary compilers and editors of French narratives of travel in the Islamic world: Jean de la Roque, the famous author of *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, and Father Jean-Baptist Labat, himself a traveller and author as well as a prolific editor. De la Roque published the stand-alone narrative *Voyage dans la Palestine vers le grand Emir des Bédouïns* in 1717. Labat's project, to publish d'Arvieux's complete *Mémoires*, was much longer (six lengthy volumes), and required so much editorial work that it was not printed until 1735.

Although celebrated in his own lifetime as a skilled diplomatic negotiator, traveller and linguist, d'Arvieux is today a mostly forgotten figure from the reign of Louis XIV, except for his influential role in shaping the plot and costuming for Molière's celebrated 1670 play, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, as recounted in vol. 4 of the *Mémoires*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles – Lebaudy, *Mémoires de Laurens d'Arvieux*

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Les capitulations ou Les nouveaux traitez entre Sa Majesté tres-chrestienne Louis XIV roy de France et de Navarre, et l'empereur des Othomans sultan Mehemed IV fils de sultan Ibrahim renouvelles pendant le ministere de monsieur Charles Francois Olier marquis de Nointel et du grand-vezir Ahmed Pacha. Traduites en françois par M. Laurens d'Arvieux*, Marseille, 1673

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Voyage fait par ordre du roy Louis XIV, dans la Palestine, vers le grand Emir, chef des princes arabes du desert, connus sous le nom de Bedouïns, ou d'Arabes Scenites. Avec la Description generale de l'Arabie, faite par le sultan Ismaël Abulfeda, traduite en françois sur les meilleurs manuscrits, avec des notes par M. de La Roque*, Paris, 1717 (the preface contains the earliest biography of d'Arvieux)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, Consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoli, & autres Echelles du Levant*. [...] *mis en ordre avec des réflexions, par le R. P. Jean-Baptiste Labat*, 6 vols, Paris, 1735, vol. 1, dedication and preface

#### Secondary

- M. Longino, *French travel writing in the Ottoman Empire. Marseille to Constantinople*, New York, 2015
- S. Larzul, art. 'Arvieux, Laurent D' (Marseille, 1635 – Marseille, 1702)', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012, 30-1
- D. Pettet, 'A veritable bedouin. The Chevalier d'Arvieux in the camp of the Emir Turabey', in G. Ames and R. Love (eds), *Distant lands and diverse cultures. The French experience in Asia, 1600-1700*, London, 2003, 21-46
- F. Assaf, 'Voyageurs dans le Levant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in G. Dotoli (ed.), *Les Méditerranées du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> colloque du Centre international de rencontres sur le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Monopoli (Bari), 13-15 avril 2000*, Tübingen, 2002, 295-309
- M. Hossain, 'The Chevalier d'Arvieux and *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 12 (1990) 76-88
- L. Hamilton, *Levantine adventurer. The travels and missions of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1653-1697)*, London, 1962

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Voyage dans la Palestine vers le grand Emir des Bédouins 'Travels in Palestine to the Grand Emir of the Bedouins'

DATE 1717

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

The Chevalier d'Arvieux died before this work could be published, and it was edited and published posthumously by fellow writer Jean de la Roque, who dedicated it to Hilaire Rouillé, Seigneur du Coudray, who was a councillor of state, director-general of finance, and controller general. Its full title is *Voyage fait par ordre du roy Louis XIV, dans la Palestine, vers le Grand Emir, Chef des Princes Arabes du desert, connus sous le nom de Bedouïns, ou d'Arabes Scenites, qui se disent la vraie posterité d'Ismaël fils d'Abraham. Ou il est traité des moeurs & des coutumes de cette*

*nation. Avec la Description generale de l'Arabie, faite par le Sultan Ismaël Abulfeda, traduite en François sur les meilleurs manuscrits, avec des notes par M. de La Roque.*

The two English-language editions, of 1718 and 1732, appear to be translated from the shorter Francophone edition published in 1718. One final translation appeared in German, published in Leipzig in 1789. It contains no illustrations and is the shortest of all the editions.

La Roque pairs two works to form the first edition of 1717, one by d'Arvieux and the other by the medieval historian and geographer Ismā'īl Abū l-Fidā' (1273-1331). The first and more substantial work is the *Voyage dans la Palestine*. It is 316 pages long and contains two introductory narratives and 23 observational chapters. These are preceded by a dedication and 16-page preface written by La Roque. In the preface, La Roque gives the reader the first published biography of d'Arvieux. Following this, the opening narrative piece immediately immerses the reader in 1664 Sidon.

D'Arvieux has decided temporarily to leave his import-export business in his relatives' hands in order to embed himself with a group of Bedouin nomads for some months, and thereby deepen his knowledge of the Arabs' language and customs. La Roque provides next to no context (other than the biographical preface) to explain why this Frenchman is living in Syria, or what his relationship is with Antoine Bertandié, who has just been named France's consul in Sidon. The remainder of the *Voyage* mixes ethnographic description with individual histories to paint a picture of life among the Bedouin Arabs of Mount Carmel in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Palestine. D'Arvieux tells the history of Hassan, a Majorcan slave, and the history of Emir Turabey, chief of the Arabs of Mount Carmel and also d'Arvieux's host for the duration of his stay. He then describes the Arabs' customs and manners, their religion, their famous hospitality, their medicines and their funeral customs.

The book's second section is titled *Description generale de l'Arabie, faite par le Sultan Ismaël Abulfeda*, which is an extract of a longer *Geography* by Abū l-Fidā' translated by Jean de la Roque. It is 76 pages long and contains two sections: a description of Arabia, and a description of the Red Sea. These combined sections have a title page and a 14-page preface by La Roque, and are renumbered to start anew at page 1. The two descriptions are followed by a set of geographical tables listing the longitude and latitude of all the cities in Arabia described by 'Abulfeda', along with their climate and their regional location. These tables were

also part of the original 14<sup>th</sup>-century work. The very last pages of the volume offer a table of contents for the *Description generale de l'Arabie*.

Like the *Mémoires* that would appear in 1735, *Voyage dans la Palestine* is far more an ethnography of Bedouin manners and customs than an account of their religion. D'Arvieux does include a chapter on Islam among the Bedouins, but he hastens to announce that 'I won't have much to say about the religion of the Arabs, which is the same as that of the Turks; they both follow the law of Muḥammad with more or less correctness and superstition. It is already so well known thanks to what so many authors have written about it, that it seems to me almost useless to touch that Subject at all' (p. 137; all references are to the 1717 edition). All the same, d'Arvieux does in fact recount various Muslim customs, as practised among the Bedouins of Mount Carmel. He claims their notion of Islam amounts to 'Circumcision, fasting, and prayer; otherwise they follow the Law of Nature, which means they live morally well, recognise the unity and immensity of God, and believe that the blessed shall reap rewards in the other life, and the wicked shall be punished eternally, as Muḥammad has spoken of them' (p. 139). He describes the rituals and festivals surrounding circumcision with care, as this was a subject of much fascination to a Christian and European readership (pp. 139-41).

Later in the volume, in a chapter on Arabs' respect for beards, he finds another way to discuss religious faith: 'There is no greater mark of infamy than to shave oneself. It's an essential point of their religion, because Muhammed never had himself shaved' (p. 173).

Returning to the chapter on religion, d'Arvieux also notes that 'Christians are very well treated under the rule of these Arabs; they leave them in complete liberty, and have no involvement with our religion, or with our devotions ... They speak often of God, but very little of religion, because they know little about it' (p. 145). He concludes that the Arabs rely on Muḥammad's having been one of them to excuse them for any errors of doctrine. The Turks, on the other hand, observe their religion more strictly than do the Arabs precisely in order to be worthy of Muḥammad (p. 147).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Voyage dans la Palestine* is essentially reproduced in its entirety within vol. 3 of d'Arvieux's *Mémoires*. Probably for this reason, modern scholars have largely ignored it. However, in its own day it received more immediate attention than the cumbersome multi-volume *Mémoires*. Unlike the *Mémoires*, which were neither reprinted nor translated for

many decades, *Voyage dans la Palestine* was reprinted under a different title in Amsterdam and translated into English, all within one year of the original edition appearing in Paris, and a second edition in English was printed some years later, as well as a German edition in 1789. However, once the *Mémoires* was published, for the most part *Voyage dans la Palestine* ceased to interest the reading public. Similarly, it has received virtually no attention from modern scholars, who prefer the better contextualised version of the same narrative as reproduced in the *Mémoires*.

An early review that appeared in the *Journal de Trévoux* actually cast doubt on Laurent d'Arvieux's authorship. Only Jean de la Roque's name appeared on the title page and, as he had published another book about French travellers in Yemen just two years earlier (*Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, 1715), the reviewer suggested it was 'ingenuous' of de la Roque to claim that 'Mr. le chevalier d'Arvieux is the author of these memoirs' when the world had no reason to think d'Arvieux had written any memoirs, and plenty of reason to believe La Roque wanted to share more knowledge about Arabia ('Review of *Voyage fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV*', p. 1476). However, within a year or so readers had accepted the idea that d'Arvieux was in truth the author, and in 1732 the second English edition added d'Arvieux's name to the title page.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Voyage fait par ordre du roy Louis XIV, dans la Palestine, vers le Grand Emir, Chef des Princes Arabes du Desert*, Paris, 1717; O2f-104 (digitised version available through BNF)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine, vers le Grand Emir, chef des princes Arabes du desert, connus sous le nom de Bedoüins, ou d'Arabes Scenites, qui se disent la vraie posterité d'Ismaël fils d'Abraham. Fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV. Avec la Description generale de l'Arabie, faite par le Sultan Ismaël Abulfeda, traduite en François sur les meilleurs manuscrits, avec des notes par M. de La Roque*, Amsterdam, 1718; KW 1133 G 48 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *The Chevalier d'Arvieux's travels in Arabia the desert*, London, 1718 (English trans.); T113346 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *The Chevalier d'Arvieux's travels in Arabia the desert*, London, 1723<sup>2</sup> (English trans.); T165187 (digitised version available through ECCO)



Laurent d'Arvieux, *The travels of the Chevalier D'Arvieux in Arabia the desert; Written by Himself, and published by Mr. De la Roque: Giving a very accurate and entertaining account of the religion, rights, customs, diversions, &c. of the Bedouins, or Arabian Scenites. Undertaken by order of the late French King. To which is added, A general description of Arabia, by Sultan Ishmael Abulfeda, translated from the best manuscripts; with notes. Done into English by an eminent hand*, London, 1732<sup>2</sup> (English trans.); N021540 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Reis naar de legerplaats van den grooten Emir: en beschrijving van de zeeden en gewoonten der woestyn-bewoonende Arabieren*, trans. G. Kuipers, Utrecht, 1780 (Dutch trans.); 354 F 16 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Die Sitten der Beduinen-Araber aus dem Französischen des Ritters Arvieux übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen versehen von Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller,... mit einem biblisch-zoologischen Anhang des Uebersetzers*, trans. E. Rosenmüller, Leipzig, 1789 (German trans.); H.g.hum. 436 y (digitised version available through MDZ)

#### STUDIES

V. Parlea, *'Un Franc parmi les Arabes'. Parcours oriental et découverte de l'autre chez le chevalier d'Arvieux*, Grenoble, 2015

Pettet, 'A veritable Bedouin'

'Review of *Voyage fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV dans la Palestine...*', *Journal de Trévoux* (September 1717) 1475-1513

## Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux

DATE 1735

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

The *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux* is dedicated to Louis François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, in posthumous gratitude for his grandfather's support of d'Arvieux during their lifetimes. The full title is *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, Consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoli, & autres Echelles du Levant. Contenant ses Voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Egypte, & la Barbarie*,

*la description de ces païs, les religions, les moeurs, les coûtumes, le négoce de ces peuples, & leurs gouvernemens, l'histoire naturelle & les événemens les plus considerables, recüeillis des ses mémoires originaux, & mis en ordre avec des réflexions.* The work consists of six volumes, each containing between 20 and 30 chapters, each approximately 450-600 pages in length, and each with its own table of contents at the beginning and an index at the end.

Although textual evidence indicates that the Chevalier d'Arvieux began to write his memoirs while he was young and still travelling, he concluded his life travels, grew elderly and ill, and died without finishing the text. The work was completed, edited and published posthumously by Father Jean-Baptiste Labat. Perhaps for this reason, the volumes are not divided up logically in accordance with d'Arvieux's various journeys. Instead the first three volumes read as one continuous narrative, with a single journey being recounted partly in one volume and the narrative taken up again immediately in the following volume. Although the length of the memoirs may seem off-putting, they are well-leavened with humour and vivid anecdotes about local people, customs and politics, as the example from vol. 1 below demonstrates.

Vol. 1 is 470 pages long in the 1735 edition, and contains 22 chapters. It opens with a dedication and a 16-page preface, both written by Labat, which together give the reader a biographical overview of d'Arvieux's life. Ch. 1 starts in 1653 with d'Arvieux, aged 18, departing for his first trip east to the Ottoman Empire to study Oriental languages and commerce, and his initial establishment in Smyrna. Scarcely after arriving and meeting the local *cadi*, he receives his first cautionary lesson in linguistic mishaps:

They told me about a Frenchman who went to greet the *Cadi*, was asked his name, and replied that his name was *Bonquier*; the *Cadi* retorted angrily, 'Bonquier yourself!' believing the Frenchman had meant to insult him. His dragoman explained that this term did not have the same meaning in French as in Turkish, and the *Cadi* relaxed. To understand, you must know that *Bonquier* in Turkish means eat shit, or shit-eater, and this was a very rude term! The thing ended there, but the Frenchman was advised to take a new name without such obscene associations. (pp. 37-8).

Chs 2-4 describe Smyrna; then, in chs 5-12, d'Arvieux recounts his 1658 journey to Egypt and Palestine. He settles at Sidon in ch. 13. The remaining chapters describe that city's commerce, products, government and various local potentates, and ch. 22 ends with d'Arvieux still at Sidon.

Vol. 2 is 521 pages. Its 27 chapters mostly describe d'Arvieux's tour of the Holy Land in 1659-60. He travels to the cities of Jaffa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Acre, Nazareth, Beirut, Tripoli, Damascus, and finally returns to Sidon. At the end of vol. 2, Labat introduces a new editorial element: he appends four documents (presumably found posthumously among d'Arvieux's papers), which provide ancillary source material for appreciating this volume of the *Mémoires*. These include a French translation of the letters patent issued to Knights of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem; a list of the privileges appertaining to such Knights; and a sort of tourist's guide, which first lists the expenses of a trip to the Holy Land and then catalogues the sites shown to pilgrims travelling there.

In 1664, still during his first 12-year experience of living in the Levant, d'Arvieux made a prolonged visit to the Bedouin Arabs of Mount Carmel. He did so out of ethnographic curiosity, but also because the French navy had been recently causing trouble on the Algerian coast, and d'Arvieux thought it wise to go into temporary hiding for a while, in case the Ottoman authorities felt like expelling all the French from their empire. An account of this adventure was eventually published in 1717 by Jean de la Roque under the title *Voyage dans la Palestine*. Vol. 3 of the *Mémoires* edited by Labat, which is 558 pages long and contains 29 chapters, contains an expanded version of that same material. Labat adds a brief foreword in which he acknowledges and applauds La Roque's prior publication of this account, but also claims that La Roque's abbreviated version did not do the material full justice and so he feels obligated to include this more complete version in the *Mémoires*. It is worth noting that, when the *Mémoires* was reviewed in the *Journal de Trévoux*, the reviewer found the differences between La Roque's version and Labat's to be negligible ('Review of Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*', May 1735, p. 927). This volume also recounts d'Arvieux's first return trip to France in 1665, and his immediate posting to join a French mission delivering a peace treaty to the regency of Tunis. He took the assignment on his cousin's advice, 'as a favorable way to make me known to the royal court' (vol. 3, p. 391).

The last three volumes are organised differently. Various journeys and experiences are presented as stand-alone narratives, but supplemented with many additional documents, which contribute to d'Arvieux's life story. Vol. 4 is 572 pages long. While it contains only six chapters, these are followed by 22 unnumbered narratives and other types of entries that

fill the remaining 463 pages. Chs 1-5 describe d'Arvieux's time in Tunis following the treaty negotiated successfully at the conclusion of vol. 3. Ch. 6 brings d'Arvieux back to France and to Paris, where he sets about making himself known at court in order to advance his fortunes. While waiting for another posting abroad, he finds employment working for the Orientalist Melchisedech Thévenot, uncle of Jean de Thévenot whom d'Arvieux had befriended during their overlapping years in the Ottoman Empire (vol. 4, pp. 102-5). Much of the remainder of vol. 4 is presented as a loose set of narratives that, strung together, tell the story of d'Arvieux's involvement as translator and cultural interpreter during the visit of Suleiman Aga, a famously rude envoy from Sultan Mehmed IV to King Louis XIV in 1669. After the Aga's difficult sojourn in France concludes, d'Arvieux helps Molière create the Turkish ceremony in *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, a play widely seen as a satirical critique of the departed Ottoman diplomat (vol. 4, p. 252). D'Arvieux performs his duties so faithfully and thoroughly that in 1672 the king rewards him with the post of royal envoy to Constantinople (vol. 4, p. 287).

Vol. 5 is 613 pages long. Technically, it contains just one chapter, in which d'Arvieux wraps up his time in Constantinople and prepares to return to France in 1674 (pp. 1-6). The rest of this lengthy volume contains a jumble of unnumbered documents, in which d'Arvieux continues his life story interspersed with memoirs, histories of people he encountered, letters he carried between various Ottoman dignitaries and the king of France, a treaty he negotiated between France and Algiers, and descriptions he wrote of various towns in Algiers. In the course of this volume, d'Arvieux becomes consul first in Algiers in 1674 and then in Aleppo in 1679.

Vol. 6 is 615 pages long and, much like vol. 5, has no numbered chapters. It too presents a series of documents including relations of events, histories of other people, royal declarations, letters by and to other people that passed through d'Arvieux's hands, and memorandums penned by d'Arvieux about the future of France's commerce with the East Indies. Out of all this, it is possible to discern threads of narrative about d'Arvieux, if barely. Only the final short document in this concluding volume of the *Mémoires* resumes and concludes the tale of his life. In it, he returns to France in 1686 to settle down, 'much weakened in health by his many works and many voyages' (vol. 6, p. 613).

## SIGNIFICANCE

D'Arvieux's *Mémoires* have had a warmer and longer-lived reception than *Voyage dans la Palestine*, both in translation and reprint, and in the modern realms of literary, historical and archeological scholarship. Labat's original 1735 edition was translated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century first into German and later into Danish, but as a condensed version of only two volumes. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new generation of scholars have reprinted extracts or single voyages taken from the *Mémoires*, but no one has yet seen fit to publish a modern edition of d'Arvieux's (or rather, Labat's) complete six-volume work. The work has never been translated to English.

The same year the *Mémoires* were published, two responses appeared which indicate how and why d'Arvieux's life might interest audiences even three decades after his death. The first was wryly positive. In April and May of 1735, the *Journal de Trévoux* reviewed the work carefully and thoroughly. Although the reviewer approved of the overall project to publish d'Arvieux's memoirs, and found them full of interesting material, he had two criticisms. First, he thought d'Arvieux played a little too much the hero in recounting his own story, and that Labat as editor was likewise overly basking in the glow of establishing d'Arvieux as a heroic figure. Second, the reviewer argued that the plethora of added documents, treatises, letters and histories of unrelated individuals was unnecessary, and the *Mémoires* would have been much improved had it been reduced to four volumes. The only merit of including so many extras might be, in the reviewer's opinion, to teach French merchants how to conduct themselves when engaged in business within the Ottoman Empire.

The second response was cruelly negative, but for entirely personal reasons. Alexandre-Louis-Marie Pétis de la Croix, a former Arabic interpreter to Louis XV and future professor of Arabic at the Collège royal, was moved by filial loyalty to write a scathing refutation of d'Arvieux's memoirs. He published it as *Lettres critiques de Hadji Mehemmed Effendy à Mme la marquise de G\*\*\* au sujet des Mémoires de M. le Chevalier d'Arvieux* in 1735, and even claimed that it was translated from Turkish into French by a fictitious Flamand. In reality, the author was the son of François Pétis de La Croix (1622-95), who had been one of two official interpreters appointed by Louis XIV to assist in translating between him and Suleiman Aga, the Ottoman envoy of 1669. Pétis de La Croix père had been deeply irritated by d'Arvieux's interference when the latter, at the king's request, acted as a monitor 'to observe if the interpreters faithfully repeat everything that is said on both sides' (vol. 4, p. 131). In 1672, the

two men clashed again, when Pétis de La Croix returned from Constantinople with a signed Capitulation from the sultan, and d'Arvieux was (once more at the king's request) assigned the job of double-checking his translation of the document into French. What the father had found offensive, the son could not forgive. And so he attacked the *Mémoires* for the way d'Arvieux repeatedly celebrated his own linguistic skills at the expense of all others in the diplomatic service, with particular venom reserved for vols 4 and 5 as they recounted the events of the 1669 Ottoman envoy's visit and the follow-up French diplomatic mission to Constantinople. In effect, Pétis de la Croix  *fils*  criticised the *Mémoires* for the same reason as the *Journal de Trévoux*: in the hands of Labat, d'Arvieux came across as overly heroic for readers' taste in 1735.

Religion comes up frequently across the volumes of the *Mémoires*. However most of the references to Islam and to Muslim-Christian relations are incidental or brief. D'Arvieux was far more interested in observing the *moeurs* of those he travelled with and lived among in the Ottoman Empire, than in their religious convictions. Although not particularly devoted to his own religion (at least during his younger years), d'Arvieux possessed the stock bias against Islam common to his Christian European contemporaries. Islam, he exclaimed at one point, was nothing more than a 'confused, amorphous, and ridiculous cluster of ideas borrowed from Judaism, Christianity, and most of the heresies which at one time or another had infected the Church and corrupted its true doctrine and purity' (vol. 3, p. 146). Nonetheless, d'Arvieux was an observant traveller, as well as being an open-minded ethnographer for a man of his era. He was deeply interested in and curious about the many Muslim peoples among whom he travelled, worked and lived for years at a time. In his eyes, Arabs, Bedouins, Turks and Ottomans were culturally and intellectually equal to the French, and had much to teach France about moral living. During his first trip to Palestine he visited a little mosque, 'which according to local tradition marks the spot where the whale vomited out the prophet Jonah. The Turks always bow profoundly at this place, and ask the prophet's permission to pass. How can anyone say, after hearing this, that the Turks have no manners?' (vol. 2, p. 329). Years later in Constantinople, he similarly reminded his readers that 'wit and merit are not absolutely contained in France' (vol. 4, p. 572) in concluding a lengthy portrait of Grand Vizier Ahmed Cupruli, whom he considered a friend.

D'Arvieux was very willing to look past religion to forge friendships with those among whom he travelled. Half a decade of residence in

Sidon, where he always practised 'polite and generous manners', earned d'Arvieux the 'esteem and confidence' of the local pasha (vol. 3, p. 342). Of all the people he met abroad, he was particularly proud of the friendship he forged with the Bedouin Emir Turabey, who controlled an area in the Carmelite mountain range of Palestine, and with Turabey's people, among whom he lived for several months in 1664. Here, as elsewhere, he focused more on people's behaviour than on their religious beliefs: 'One errs hugely when one takes Arabs to be an impolite, coarse, brutal, unjust, violent, unfaithful, uncaring people. What I have to say, with the most careful attention to truth, and without flattery, will undo the mistaken prejudices [we French] have formed about this People' (vol. 3, p. 188).

Despite his pleasure in living among people of faiths, cultures and languages different from his own, d'Arvieux well understood where his allegiance was supposed to stand. In 1672, King Louis XIV revived an old royal Order of the Knights of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and of St Lazarus of Jerusalem, and chose d'Arvieux to be one of the first inductees. D'Arvieux reported being almost wordless with delight. However, to receive the cross of the Order, he had to pass a number of tests, one of which was to prove he had no 'stain of Judaism or Mahometism' (vol. 5, p. 32). For most of the king's circle of acquaintance this would have been a mere formality. But d'Arvieux, having spent so much of his adult life living in the Ottoman Empire, needed three witnesses to testify to his Christian faith before he could be admitted.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles – manuscript  
Lebaudy *Mémoires de Laurens d'Arvieux*

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, Consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoli, & autres Echelles du Levant. Contenant ses Voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Egypte, & la Barbarie, la description de ces païs, les religions, les moeurs, les coùtumes, le négoce de ces peuples, & leurs gouvernemens, l'histoire naturelle & les événemens les plus considerables, recüeillis des ses Mémoires originaux, & mis en ordre avec des réflexions, par le R. P. Jean-Baptiste Labat*, 6 vols, Paris, 1735; It.sing. 29-1(-6) (digitised version available through MDZ)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Des Herrn von Arvieux hinterlassene merkwürdige Nachrichten: worinnen er sowol seine Reise nach Constantinopel, in Asien, Syrien, dem gelobten Lande, Egypten, und der Barba- rei, als auch die Beschaffenheit dieser Länder, die Religion, Sitten, Gebräuche, und Handlung dieser Völker, nebst der Regierungsart, der natürlichen Historie, und den besondern in diesen Gegenden vorgefallenen Begebenheiten, genau und richtig beschreibet*, 6 vols, Copenhagen and Leipzig: Ackermann, 1753-6 (German trans.); Hist.pol.656 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Herr von Arvieux...hans efterladte merkverdige Beretninger, i hvilke han nøie og tilforladelig beskriver saavel sin Reise til Konstantinopel, i Asien, Syrien, det forjættede Land, Egypten og Barbariet, som og disse Landes Beskaffenhed, disse Folks Religion, Sæder, Skikke og Handel, tilligemed Regjeringsmaaden, den naturlige Historie, og hvad som i Besynderlighed har tildraget sig i disse Egne...*, trans. N. Jonge, 2 vols, Copenhagen, 1775-8 (Danish trans.)

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ed. Antoine Abdel Nour, Beirut, 1982

Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux: voyage à Tunis*, ed. Jacques de Maussion de Favières, Paris, 1994

#### STUDIES

Parlea, 'Un Franc parmi les Arabes'

H. El-Mudarris and O. Salmon, *Le Consulat de France à Alep au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Journal de Louis Gedoy, vie de François Picquet, mémoires de Laurent d'Arvieux*, Aleppo, 2009

H. Watenpaugh, 'A French humanist in the Islamic city. The Chevalier d'Arvieux (1635-1702), merchant and consul in Aleppo', *Thresholds* 27 (2003) 18-22

F. Assaf, 'De l'observation en tant que l'un des beaux-arts. Le chevalier d'Arvieux en Afrique du Nord', in A. Bournaz (ed.), *L'Afrique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mythes et réalités. Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> colloque du Centre international de rencontres sur le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Tunis 14-16 mars, 2002*, Tübingen, 2003, 167-80

M. Hossain, 'L'Empire ottoman dans les *Mémoires* et dans les lettres manuscrites du Chevalier d'Arvieux', in B. Bennassar and S. Sauzet (eds), *Chrétiens et musulmans à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1998, 177-88

M. Hossain, 'The Lebaudy manuscript of the *Mémoires* of the Chevalier d'Arvieux. The question of authenticity revisited', *Revue*



- d'Histoire Maghrébine*, 85-6 (1997) 103-17
- M. Hossain, 'The authenticity of the "Mémoires" of the Chevalier d'Arvieux', *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 7-8 (1993) 71-101
- E. Sirriyeh, 'The memoirs of a French gentleman in Syria. Chevalier Laurent d'Arvieux (1635-1702)', *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies* 11 (1984) 125-39
- A. Abdel Nour, 'Le réseau routier de la Syrie ottoman (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Arabica* 30 (1983) 169-89
- A. Pétis de la Croix, *Lettres critiques de Hadji Mehemmed Effendy à Mme la marquise de G\*\*\* au sujet des Mémoires de M. le Chevalier d'Arvieux, traduit de Turc en François par Ahmed Frengui, Renégat Flamand*, Paris, 1735
- 'Review of Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*', *Journal de Trévoux*, April 1735, 581-606, and May 1735, 921-36

Julia Landweber

# Abbé de Saint-Pierre

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre

DATE OF BIRTH 1658  
PLACE OF BIRTH Saint-Pierre-Église  
DATE OF DEATH 1743  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre was born in Saint-Pierre-Église in 1658, into a noble family from lower Normandy. He studied at the Jesuit college in Rouen and then Caen, and on becoming a priest he settled in Paris in 1680 with his fellow student, the mathematician Pierre Varignon, became friends with Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle and René-Aubert Vertot, and mixed with Nicolas Malebranche and Pierre Nicole. He wanted to apply René Descartes' (1596-1650) method to politics, which he decided was his vocation. He became almoner to the Palatine Princess in 1693 and was elected to the Académie française in 1695, but was expelled in 1718 because of his criticisms of Louis XIV's (r. 1643-1715) government in his *Discours sur la polysynodie*. He was an active member of the Entresol Club, a political discussion club, which was banned by Cardinal Fleury in 1731.

Between 1706 and 1733, he continued to write and distribute plans and projects on education, trade, government, law, taxes, the poor, and cultural institutions; these writings were published in a series of 16 volumes in the Netherlands between 1733 and 1741 under the title *Works on politics and morals*. The most famous of his writings, the *Project of perpetual peace* (1713), proposed a federal union of European states in order to make peace permanent 'between nations of different religions'. He at first envisaged including all the sovereignties in the world and then restricted his scope to Europe, Turkey and the Barbary states, but he finally limited himself to a union of Christian states.

In 1715, the Ottomans declared war on Venice in order to take back Morea, prompting Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who had read the *Project*, to suggest a defensive union against Ottoman expansion in order to show the need for a Christian union in favour of peace on the continent.

Hence, in the third volume, written in 1715, Saint-Pierre proposed expelling the Turks from Europe. He then suggested creating a Christian police force in the Mediterranean against the attacks by the North African corsair states, which were threatening trade. It was not a new crusade to convert the Infidel, but a strategy directed against piracy, which would be replaced by agriculture and manufacture (*Project for the extirpation of the Barbary corsairs*, p. 85).

Saint-Pierre left five works on Islam; one, written before 1730, remained in manuscript form while the others were published in the Netherlands between 1733 and 1737. The titles of some of these works indicate a condemnation of Islam, following a long Christian tradition. As a deist, a Cartesian with the Moderns' faith in progress, the abbé was addressing readers who were used to strategies of camouflage in order to spread militant heterodox thought. He also adopted the dialogue form, using the mouthpiece of a fictional character, such as an Indian philosopher or an imam. In his *Éloge* of Saint-Pierre, Jean le Rond d'Alembert prudently suggested that the latter's severity towards the errors of Islam also applied to Christianity. Voltaire lists him in his *Reasoned catalogue of freethinkers*, and refers to his 'Allegory of Mahometanism', which in fact represents the Catholic Church, thus enlisting him posthumously in Voltaire's own deistic campaign. While outwardly aiming to destroy Islam or purify the Qur'an, Saint-Pierre in fact wanted to purify all the revealed religions, rejecting ceremonies, miracles and prophecies, in order to establish a universal rational religion based on an ethics of reciprocity, which corresponded to his political projects in favour of a state of well-being.

Saint-Pierre died in Paris in 1743.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, *Mémoires pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe*, Cologne, 1712 (on the representation of Muslim states in the European union, p. 76)

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe*, Utrecht, 1713, 2 vols (Préface, pp. XIX-XX, reference to an initial project of union between all the states in the world)

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, *Projet de traité pour rendre la paix perpétuelle entre les souverains chrétiens ...*, Utrecht [Lyon: Deville], 1717, vol. 3, 'finished on 10 November 1715' (project to expel the Turks from Europe, pp. 431-8)

- G.W. Leibniz, 'Observations sur le *Projet de paix perpétuelle* de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre', in A. Foucher de Careil (ed.), *Oeuvres de Leibniz* [...], Paris, 1862, vol. 4, p. 326 (letter of 7 February 1715)
- Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, *Discours sur la polysynodie*, London, 1718 MS Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale – 950 (I, 12), vol. 3, 'Annales de Castel', pp. 211-27 (undated autobiographical note, c. 1730)
- Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, *Ouvrages de politique et de morale*, Rotterdam, 1733-41, 16 parts in 13 vols (contains most of Saint-Pierre's writings, including *Projet pour l'extirpation des corsaires de Barbarie*, vol. 2, pp. 84-104)
- Voltaire, *Lettres à son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince de \*\*\**, London, 1768, p. 64 (notice on Saint-Pierre)
- J. le Rond d'Alembert, 'Éloge de Saint-Pierre', *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1821, vol. 3, p. 261

### Secondary

- Les écrits de l'abbé Castel de Saint-Pierre*, ed. C. Dornier, Caen, 2018; <https://www.unicaen.fr/puc/sources/castel/accueil> (inventory of MSS and printed works, bibliography of books and articles on Saint-Pierre, critical edition of works)
- R. Tlili Sellaouti, 'La présence de la Turquie dans les projets de paix universelle de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre', in C. Dornier and C. Poulouin (eds), *Les projets de l'abbé Castel de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743)*, Caen, 2011, 63-77
- F. Bessire, 'Voltaire et cet homme moitié fou et moitié philosophe nommé l'abbé de Saint-Pierre', in Dornier and Poulouin (eds), *Les projets de l'abbé Castel de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743)*, 233-43
- T. Mastnak, 'Western hostility towards Muslims. A history of the present', in A. Shrycock (ed.), *Islamophobia/Islamophilia. Beyond the politics of enemy and friend*, Bloomington, IN, 2010, 29-52, pp. 40-1
- T. Mastnak, 'Abbé de Saint-Pierre. European Union and the Turk', *History of Political Thought* 19 (1998) 570-98
- J.-M. Beyssade, 'Quelles frontières pour l'Europe? L'Islam pour l'abbé de Saint-Pierre et J.-J. Rousseau', in R. Pomeau et al. (eds), *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, politique et nation. Actes du II<sup>e</sup> colloque international de Montmorency, 27 septembre – 4 octobre 1995*, Paris, 2001, 859-70
- A. Guellouz, 'Évolution de l'idée internationale dans les écrits de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre', in *La Régence. Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence sur la Régence, les 24-26 fév. 1968*, Paris, 1970, 324-42 (concerning the place of Muslims in the European peace project)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dialogues sur la divinité de l'Alcoran et du Vedam  
 'Dialogues on the divinity of the Qur'an and the  
 Vedas'

DATE About 1730

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

This work is composed of 20 dialogues, occupying 169 manuscript pages, between Soliman, a Muslim merchant from Persia, and Calani, an Indian Brahman philosopher. The latter is the author's mouthpiece and defends rationalist theses, criticising both his own religion and that of Soliman. The aim of the dialogues, indicated in the preface, is to convince Muslims and Hindus that their religions are composed of human opinions, and thus to encourage them to tolerate any religion that promotes justice and benevolence, which alone are worthy of Paradise; it is thus to bring intolerance to an end. The two characters show mutual esteem, and Soliman's questions provide Calani with an opportunity to show that the Muslims' criticisms of the Indians' religion and the Vedas can also apply to Islam and the Qur'an.

The success of Islam comes from the fact that it improves on the two earlier religions, those of the ancient Jews and the reformed Jews (i.e. the Christians) and reinforces the idea of rewards for the just and punishment for the wicked after death, which is a strong incitement to virtue. But Muslim rites, circumcision, prayer, fasting, ablutions and pilgrimages are useless for bringing about human happiness. The Qur'an is a human work written by an ignorant man, full of anachronisms and mistakes. The predictions and prophecies in it are fevered dreams of madmen or impostors. They cannot be disproved as they are ambiguous and vague. Muḥammad himself, seduced by his own visionary melancholia, succeeded in seducing others. In addition, why should one imagine a truth transmitted to a single prophet when God can educate crowds? The Islamic religion contains some truth when it calls on the believer to follow justice and do good works, but it cannot claim infallibility, any more than any other religion can.

While Islam, which is used in the work as a mask for Christianity, is criticised as a revealed religion full of useless ceremonies, the Indian

philosopher calls his Muslim interlocutor a saint for his good deeds, justice and modesty. Truth matters less than the everyday practice of virtue. As the political powers cannot remove fanaticism, they should guide it towards respecting justice until human reason has made sufficient progress.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

These undated dialogues were copied in a collection that is preserved in Rouen, which dates from 1730 at the latest. They were written after 1727, in the context of the affair of the Saint-Médard 'convulsionists', seen as a revival of the irrational, which relaunched the debate on miracles in Catholic France. The criticisms of Islam are, in fact, directed against the Catholic religion and the French Church, which was divided by the dispute between Jansenists and Molinists, here shown under the guise of the division between the followers in Islam of 'Alī and of 'Umar. The true target of these dialogues is clearly visible in expressions used about Islam, such as 'the teaching Church', which refers to the infallibility of the Catholic magisterium, opposed by the Jansenists, or in the reference to the need to keep 'the truth in silence', a reference to the political measures banning discussion of the papal bull *Unigenitus*. The arguments follow Fontenelle and a whole rationalist corpus in the criticism of revelation, miracles and the authority of tradition, subjected to the establishment of proof and examination by reason.

This work, which is repetitive and not very well written, was never published by Saint-Pierre, and it was ignored, at least officially, by his contemporaries and posterity. It was the first of his writings on Islam, and it is remarkable for the audacity of some expressions (such as 'ignorance is the mother of religion'), which were unacceptable to the censors.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale – Manuscrits de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre, vol. 1, 948 (I. 12), pp. 51-680 (before 1730)

MS Paris, BNF – N.A.Fr. 11231, Papiers de Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, vol. 1, *Extrait d'un dialogue entre un mahométan et un philosophe indien*, fols 171r-174v (before 1730; partially original fragment)

## Discours contre le mahométisme 'Discourse against Islam'

DATE About 1730

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

This discourse, published in 1733, was probably finished by 1730, as is attested in an incomplete manuscript version extant in Rouen in a collection that cannot be later than this date. Under a title condemning Islam, Saint-Pierre denounces and analyses superstition, fanaticism and intolerance. He borrowed from his friend Fontenelle the rationalistic criticism of supernatural beliefs that arose from the ignorance of the first humans, the authority of tradition and the taste for fiction; but he makes more use of *La recherche de la vérité* ('The search for truth') by Malebranche, whom he knew in Paris in the 1680s, to analyse the working of the imagination – which makes body and mind interact – in the spread of Islam. Muḥammad corresponds here to Malebranche's visionary with a lively imagination, which is contagious (*Recherche*, II, III, 1, § 6). In his *Life of Mahomed* (London, 1730), Henri de Boulainvilliers emphasised the Prophet's extraordinary though natural qualities (p. 179) and his skill in establishing a religion that could speak to reason (p. 226). Saint-Pierre rejected this view, which did not sit easily with what was at the basis of such praise, turning the criticism of Islam into a pretext.

The discourse is composed of a preface and 19 observations (occupying 35 printed pages), following a discussion between Saint-Pierre and de Boulainvilliers, who apparently claimed 'that the establishment of Mahometism was totally miraculous'. The aim of the work is to refute this statement. For Saint-Pierre, Muḥammad was first and foremost a 'fanatic in good faith', who took his dreams for revelations by the angel Gabriel and, being convinced, was able to transmit this conviction to those around him. His circle initially kept his words secret for fear of his being seen as mad, and so they added mystery to fanaticism, thus preventing any examination of the revelations. Saint-Pierre claims that in time, Muḥammad realised that he had been fooled by his visions but, driven by pride, self-interest and ambition, he continued to give credit to them, as did his first disciples.

The success of Islam can be explained by this imposture, which replaced Muḥammad's disturbed imagination, combined with the

qualities of a religion useful for encouraging its followers to be just and benevolent; it was also more rational than the idolatry that preceded it, expressed as it was in simple, brief formulae, and he was militarily successful. Muḥammad also preserved the pilgrimage to Mecca and its ancient temple, and he inspired in the Arabs the hope of Paradise and the fear of Hell. He was speaking to people living in a hot climate, which makes the imagination more lively, to ignorant people with a tendency to admire, hope and fear. This combination of circumstances provides a rational, not a miraculous, explanation for the progress and lasting success of Islam.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

At the time Saint-Pierre was writing this work, the quarrel over the papal bull *Unigenitus*, the supposed miracles of the Jansenists and the affair of the 'convulsionists' were in full swing, and Jansenism, which had been definitively condemned by the French civil and religious authorities, needed signs of divine approval. By claiming that the long-lasting success of Islam was due to purely rational causes (with which Boulainvilliers would no doubt have agreed), Saint-Pierre reaffirmed rationalist positions that excluded any exception to natural laws, at a moment when the spectacle of fanaticism had revived the question of miracles and prophecies.

The *Discours contre le mahométisme* was published in Rotterdam in the series of *Political and moral works*, thus avoiding French censorship, and it was only republished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Gustave de Molinari's work on Saint-Pierre. The *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l'Europe*, produced by Huguenots in the Netherlands, gave a purely descriptive review of it (vol. 12, 1734, pp. 275-8).

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale – Manuscrits de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre, vol. 2, 949 (I. 12), pp. 185-204 (before 1730)

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, 'Discours contre le mahométisme', in Saint-Pierre, *Ouvrages de politique et de morale*, Rotterdam, 1733, vol. 5, 104-38; 8-S-6013 (4) (digitised version available through BNF)

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, 'Discours contre le mahométisme', in G. de Molinari (ed.), *L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1857, 268-86; 1094782956 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire Lausanne)



## STUDIES

Guellouz, 'Évolution de l'idée internationale', p. 331

De Molinari, *L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, sa vie et ses œuvres*, pp. 266-8

## Dialogue entre deux Persans 'Dialogue between two Persians'

DATE 1737

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

This dialogue was published as article XXVI in vol. 12 of a collection called *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, where it takes up about 15 pages. A preface mentioning a passage from Jean Chardin's *Voyages* (Amsterdam: de Lorme, 1711, vol. 2, p. 326) indicates that the subject of this imaginary conversation is the diversity of interpretations of the Qur'an by Muslim scholars, particularly concerning salvation. In the dialogue, Izouf, a Muslim, questions the Imam Ismael on certain points of his religion, namely salvation without faith, the damnation of the pagans and infidels, choosing between the Qur'an's contradictions, and predestination. Ismael replies that those who will be saved are those who have followed the golden rule in both its negative ('do not do unto others ...') and its positive and active forms ('do unto others ...'). These maxims follow universal reason, while rules relating to particular peoples and confessions, such as circumcision or the ban on drinking wine, are not necessary for salvation. God can save those who lived before Muḥammad and did not know the truths of the Qur'an, while infidels who are just and do good are not excluded from salvation either, as God cannot punish involuntary error.

Ismael firmly rejects the idea of predestination as well as efficient grace, thus attributing to Islam a somewhat Jesuitical position: God, who gave humans free will, can therefore only damn or save them following their merit and actions. If some passages from the Qur'an seem to contradict these views, one must trust one's reason in order to understand the intentions of the Creator, who is author of universal reason, and interpret revealed texts in the most reasonable way. To justify the irrational and contradictory aspects of the Qur'an, Ismael explains that God revealed his truths to Muḥammad in a way that would be understood by the multitude; the Prophet preserved a human part in the transmitted

message, in which reason must discover the divine part. The closer the Muslim religion comes to natural religion, corresponding to universal reason, the more worthy it is of respect.

Saint-Pierre claims that religious toleration depends on the capacity of commentators on scripture to follow their reason alone. In making this assertion, he is alluding to his commentary on the English philosopher Anthony Collins' *A discourse of free-thinking* (1713) in a work called *Sur un passage de l'Alcoran cité par un Anglais dans le livre intitulé: De la liberté de penser* (1737), which rejects claims about Muslim toleration based on a passage from the Qur'an. This is contained in the same volume of *Ouvrages de morale et de politique* (pp. 113-14).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As in his other writings on Islam, in this dialogue Saint-Pierre, through the teachings of Imam Ismael, defends a purified Islam that is very much like deism. In his criticism of the positions on predestination and grace that he attributes to Muslim scholars he is in fact referring to French Catholicism, divided between Jansenists and Molinists, and inviting them to move towards a reasonable and tolerant religion, encouraging justice and good works. The defence of the primacy of practical reason to interpret scripture is one of Pierre Bayle's main arguments for toleration in his *Philosophical commentary* (1686).

The dialogue was published in Rotterdam in 1737. A belated review in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l'Europe* in the issue for April-June 1740 (p. 306), indicates that Ismael was the author's own mouthpiece.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, 'Dialogue entre deux Persans', in Saint-Pierre, *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, vol. 12, Rotterdam, 1737, 128-42; E\*-3532 (digitised version available through BNF)

#### STUDIES

J.-P. Bois, *L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre. Entre classicisme et Lumières*, Ceyzerieu, 2017, pp. 222-4

Anéantissement futur du mahométisme  
et des autres religions humaines  
'The future destruction of Mahometism  
and other human religions'

DATE 1737

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

This short treatise comprising 48 pages (its full title is, *Anéantissement futur du mahométisme et des autres religions humaines par le progrès continuel de la raison humaine universelle*, 'The future destruction of Mahometism and other human religions by the continued progress of universal human reason') was published in 1737 in a collection of moral observations, as a continuation of the *Discourse against Mahometism*. It is composed of an argument followed by nine maxims, eight objections and replies to them. While the earlier *Discourse* explained rationally the progress and success of Islam, this work looks to its decline and disappearance, which will follow the progress of universal reason and will allow only the rational part of Islam to subsist. The enlightened élites' contempt for absurd opinions will spread among the population, who will gradually follow the advice of those they respect. The essential truth of this religion, namely the salvation of the just and the benevolent, is mixed with errors that come from local specificities and the opinions of ignorant fanatics. These opinions, inspired by fear and hope, spread because of the human tendency to imitate others by accepting their judgements and sharing their impressions. Visionaries, who at first act in good faith but are deceived by the fevered dreams caused by their bodily dispositions, then become impostors in order to preserve their credit with the masses, and this was the case with Muḥammad.

Saint-Pierre identifies several means used by fanatics and impostors to perpetuate absurd opinions: a written tradition; the threat of Hell and the hope of Paradise; priestcraft; the banning of any rational examination of the Qur'an; the introduction of ceremonies and practices designed to placate the divinity; and the authority of the government. The more universal reason advances, thanks to peace, toleration, commerce between the nations, prosperity and scientific progress, the more Islam will be perfected, freed of useless rites and ceremonies, and be reduced to belief in salvation by good deeds. This belief is one of the obvious propositions

that nations will be able to share in the future, together with a common language, chronology, measurements and money, an objective that requires perpetual peace achieved through the union of all the peoples of the world. The clergy, who at present encourage intolerance, will teach a practical morality in agreement with universal reason.

Saint-Pierre formulates nine maxims that reaffirm the primacy of reason over revelation. The objections to which he replies form the basis for the rest of the argument and concern the resistance to this progress from the clergy and the authorities, the persistence of ignorance and imitation, and the veneration of whatever is old.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As in the *Discourse against Mahometism*, comments about Islam here form a pretext for developing a deistic discourse in favour of a rational, universal religion, based in particular on Malebranche's analysis of the imagination. The work was published in the Netherlands in 1737 and never republished. The *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l'Europe*, which reviewed some of the writings published in vol. 13, does not mention it, but suggests that the author is repeating himself (vol. 25, part 1, July-September 1740, p. 61).

The work nevertheless attracted the attention of Voltaire, who probably did not know the *Discourse against Mahometism*; he added a summary of it in 1756 to the notice concerning Saint-Pierre in his *Age of Louis XIV*. This work convinced Voltaire that Saint-Pierre was a free thinker and deist, with anti-Christian opinions disguised as a criticism of Islam.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, 'Anéantissement futur du mahométisme et des autres religions humaines par le progrès continu de la raison humaine universelle', in Saint-Pierre, *Ouvrages de morale et de politique*, vol. 13, Rotterdam, 1737, 203-50; E\*-3533 (digitised version available through BNF)

#### STUDIES

Bessire, 'Voltaire et cet homme moitié fou'

**Carole Dornier**

# Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens

DATE OF BIRTH 27 June 1723  
PLACE OF BIRTH Aix-en-Provence  
DATE OF DEATH 12 January 1771  
PLACE OF DEATH Toulon

## BIOGRAPHY

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens was from a noble Provençal family of Aix-en-Provence. After studying with the Jesuits, he joined the army at the age of 14 or 15. He came into conflict with his family when he fell in love with an actress, and was imprisoned until he agreed in 1723 to accompany the new French ambassador, the marquis d'Andresel, to Istanbul, where he stayed for six months. On his return to Aix, he studied law and practised as a barrister before returning to the army and being wounded in battle. As his family cut his allowance, he finally in 1735 chose exile in the Netherlands, where he worked as a journalist. He collaborated on several periodicals and published a series of successful multi-volume semi-journalistic works in the form of letters (*Lettres juives*, *Lettres cabalistiques*, *Lettres chinoises*), as well as *Mémoires secrets de la République des Lettres*, *La Philosophie du bon-sens* and a series of novels.

In 1742, he was invited by Frederick II of Prussia (r. 1740-86) to come to his court, where he became the king's chamberlain. He was also involved in the reorganisation of the Berlin Academy and became director of its literary section in 1744. He married Babet Cochois in 1749. He was part of Frederick's circle of French *philosophes* and continued to write works on philosophical and other matters, as well as adding more letters to his earlier works and contributing to periodicals. In these writings, he defended a deistic point of view critical of organised religion, and declared himself to be a follower of John Locke and an enemy of intolerance and obscurantism. Among his works of this period are *Ocellus Lucanus en grec et en français. Avec des dissertations sur les principales questions de la métaphysique, de la physique et de la morale des anciens* (1762) and *Histoire de l'esprit humain ou mémoires secrets et universels de la république des lettres* (1765-8). After several visits to Provence, he finally returned in 1769 and died there in 1771.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens: avec quelques lettres sur divers sujets*, 'Londres' [Amsterdam], 1735
- Jean Henri Samuel Formey, 'Eloge du Marquis d'Argens', in *Nouveaux mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres* 1771, Berlin, 1773, 46-52
- Frederick, King of Prussia, *Ceuvres posthumes de Frédéric II, Roi de Prusse*, vol. 13, Berlin, 1789 (Letters of marquis d'Argens au Roi)
- Dieudonné Thiébauld, *Mes souvenirs de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin*, Paris, 1804

*Secondary*

- J. Gasper, *The Marquis d'Argens. A philosophical life*, Lanham MD, 2014
- H.-U. Seifert and J.L. Seban (eds), *Der Marquis d'Argens*, Wiesbaden, 2004
- J. Sgard, art. 'Boyer d'Argens', in *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789)*, Oxford, 1999, 148-51; <http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/112-jean-baptiste-marquis-de-boyer-dargens>
- J.-L. Vissière (ed.), *Le marquis d'Argens*, Aix-en-Provence, 1990
- S. Larkin (ed.), *Correspondance entre Prosper Marchand et le marquis d'Argens*, Oxford, 1984
- J. Molino, 'Le bon sens du Marquis d'Argens, un philosophe en 1740', Paris, 1972 (Thèse d'état, l'Université de Paris)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens, avec  
quelques lettres sur divers sujets  
'Memoirs of the Marquis d'Argens, with letters on  
various subjects'

DATE 1735

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

D'Argens' *Mémoires*, covering 312 pages, is divided into two parts. The first concerns his youth and his dispute with his family because of his passion for a young actress; the second describes his voyage to Constantinople with the new French ambassador, followed by a series of letters on various national groups and their culture, the twelfth of which concerns the Turks, and the thirteenth the Turkish religion (pp. 291-306).

The description of the embassy to Constantinople is very detailed and includes a discussion of the places visited and the activities of the French delegation in each place, interspersed with accounts of d'Argens' adventures, mainly erotic, whose authenticity cannot be verified. The first port visited was Algiers; d'Argens describes briefly the town, its navy and government, and the French treaty negotiations, but also devotes a lot of space to the punishments for amorous relations between Christians and local women, including an account of one such adventure of his own. This is followed by an account of the embassy's stay in Tunis, which includes brief descriptions of the town, the ruins of Carthage, and its government, and a conversation on religion with a Venetian renegade (pp. 90-2). The visit to Tripoli is much shorter. After the description of various adventures in the Greek archipelago, the remainder of this book concerns negotiations in Constantinople and people he met there; there is no description of the city or the customs, which d'Argens claims are well enough known. He does, however, include reflections on religion. D'Argens claims that, as elsewhere, religious observance is a feature of the lower classes, while the upper classes have little respect for it; he observes the Turks he mixes with drinking wine and eating pork.

Letter 12 (On the Turks) describes the customs of the Turks on the basis of d'Argens' observations during his six-months' stay in Constantinople. He explains that he is talking about the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the Arabs and the Persians, and not what he calls the thieves and bandits, the 'excrement of all the nations', on the coasts of North Africa (p. 292). He discusses in particular their education and learning, their philosophy and poetry, including his discussions with a young poet called Achmet Chelebi on classical poetry. He has little regard for their music, but pays more attention to their theatre.

Letter 13 concerns Turkish religion and is based on discussions with a theologian called Osman, whom d'Argens prefers to Achmet Chelebi, who in his opinion was a bad Muslim. They discuss the violence with which Islam was spread, and Osman points out that the Prophet was obeying God's instructions just as the Hebrews did when they massacred their enemies, and insists on Muslim tolerance for other religions. Osman also defends polygamy, comparing it once again to what is recounted in the Old Testament, and the Muslim paradise. D'Argens concludes by comparing these justifications to those given by the various Christian sects for their own interpretations of the scriptures.



Illustration 10. Painting of The Grand Vizier crossing the Atmeydam in Istanbul



## SIGNIFICANCE

The account of d'Argens' voyage appeals mainly to his readers' wishes for adventures and romance, although he also brings the 'Turks' closer to them by insisting on the fact that they are in general no more observant of their religion than are many people in the Christian world. The two letters on the Turks and their religion are, however, interesting in their attempts to provide readers with authentic accounts from the Muslim point of view. He begins by countering the common French view that the Turks are barbarians who only have crude and low ideas, claiming instead that in Istanbul everyone he met was full of good sense and very honest. He often compares Muslims favourably with Christians, and says that their theologians are much less obscure and ridiculous than the scholastics. In the same way, the theologian Osman compares the violent actions of the Muslims and their polygamy to those of the Hebrews, referring specifically to Solomon's concubines. Particularly interesting is the defence of the Muslim paradise, usually mocked by Christians; Osman defends physical pleasure and points out that, according to the Bible, the angels eat in paradise. D'Argens' aim is probably to cast doubt on all religions, but in so doing, he encourages a more open view of Islam and tries to convince his readers to judge it by the same criteria as they do Christianity.

## PUBLICATIONS

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens: avec quelques lettres sur divers sujets*, 'Londres', 1735 (false place of publication, probably printed in Holland); MYLNE.84 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires et lettres de M. le Marquis d'Argens*, 'Londres', 1748

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Merkwuerdige Lebens-Beschreibung des Herrn Marquis von Argens: nebst dessen Briefen über verschiedene Materien*, Frankfurt, 1749 (German trans.); AS 3554 (digitised version available through Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires et lettres de M. le Marquis d'Argens*, 'Londres', 1755; VET.FR.11.A.17 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires et lettres de M. le Marquis d'Argens*, 'Londres', 1762

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires et lettres de M. le Marquis d'Argens*, 'Londres', 1774

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires du Marquis d'Argens: contenant le récit des aventures de sa jeunesse, des anecdotes et des observations sur plusieurs événemens du règne de Louis XV, et des personnes de ce temps* (with an account of the life of d'Argens by J. Peuchet), Paris, 1807; Biogr. 41 i (digitised version available through MDZ)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Un ami de Frédéric II. Mémoires du Marquis d'Argens*, ed. L. Thomas, Paris, 1941

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens*, preface and notes by Y. Coirault, Paris, 1993

#### STUDIES

Gaspar, *The Marquis d'Argens, a philosophical life*

A. Arrigoni, 'Les *Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens*. Une autobiographie romanesque, ou les enjeux de l'écriture autobiographique', *Studi Francesi* 44 (2000) 297-314

Y. Coirault, 'Les *Mémoires du marquis d'Argens*, ou les infortunes de l'autobiographie', in J.-L. Vissière (ed.), *Le marquis d'Argens*, Aix-en-Provence, 1990, 13-26

A. Thomson, 'D'Argens et le monde islamique', in J.-L. Vissière (ed.), *Le marquis d'Argens*, Aix-en-Provence, 1990, 167-79

## Lettres juives 'Jewish letters'

DATE 1735-7

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

This work (its full title is *Lettres juives ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondants en divers endroits*, 'Jewish letters, or a correspondence philosophical, historical and critical, betwixt a Jew and his correspondents, in different parts') is composed of letters written by imaginary travellers, a popular 18<sup>th</sup>-century genre that enabled writers to discuss contemporary issues, particularly political, social, religious and philosophical matters, and to criticise aspects of their own country through the eyes of a foreign visitor of a different religion. This was d'Argens' first and most successful

attempt, published in twice-weekly pamphlets, and it went through many editions, to each of which he added many letters. The first edition (cited here) was in six volumes of 240 pages, each containing 30 letters, but the last edition produced by d'Argens took up eight volumes (for details see R. Grandroute, 'Lettres juives'). The main imaginary Jewish traveller in this work is 'Aaron Monceca', who is visiting Paris, and his two correspondents are 'Isaac Onis', a rabbi from Constantinople, and 'Jacob Brito' from Genoa. The majority of the letters deal with European countries, but the philosophical, religious or political discussions scattered throughout the different volumes often range more widely, and frequently compare both Christianity and Islam with Judaism. Many aspects of life in France or other European countries are seen from the point of view of a foreign Jew, often comparing them unfavourably with the Muslim world. For example Aaron Monceca criticises the French practice of buying titles and hence honour, praising instead the Muslims for rewarding and promoting those who deserve it, whatever their social origin (vol. 1, p. 115). The letters from Onis and Brito, on the other hand, provide an ample description of the Muslim world.

Letter 9 in the first edition, from Isaac Onis, contains an account of Muslim beliefs compared with those of Judaism, supposedly written by Count de Bonneval, who had converted to Islam in Istanbul and taken the name of Osman Bacha. He was the object of much curiosity in Europe, and is mentioned in several of the letters. While insisting on the similarity between the basic beliefs of the two faiths, he claims that the Jews have corrupted them while the Muslims have restored their purity. In other letters, Isaac Onis severely criticises the 'Turkish religion' as ridiculous, while at the same time admitting that he has also found in it precepts worthy of the admiration of the greatest philosophers, such as charity, respect for parents and honesty (vol. 1, pp. 105-10). But he also recounts a story sent by the French consul at Smyrna about the deceit practised by a holy man, whom he calls a 'dervish', pointing out the similarity between the behaviour of Muslim 'dervishes' and that of Christian monks (vol. 1, pp. 110-12). He is extremely hostile towards the Ottoman capital and court and describes the persecutions suffered by Jews in Muslim countries.

In Letter 74, Onis discusses the Qur'an, which he praises for the system of philosophy it contains and the virtue it teaches, quoting passages to make his point. In Letter 149, Jacob Brito criticises the crusades, saying it would be better to drive the Turks from Europe, emphasising

their destruction of the arts and sciences, which means that fighting against the Turks is fighting against ignorance (vol. 5, p. 383). In Letter 155, however, he quotes Leibniz to the effect that Islam is a sort of deism with some practices added, saying that it has brought pagans to a knowledge of the Divinity, which Jesuit missionaries failed to do (vol. 5, pp. 393-4). In Letter 168, he reviews various opinions, including that of Islam, on the materiality of angels, quoting both the Qur'an and the Sunna (vol. 5, p. 268). In Letter 171, he mocks the superstitions of Muslims in Cairo.

There are also descriptions of various parts of the Ottoman Empire visited by travellers. D'Argens obviously drew on his own experiences in these countries, but he also used earlier printed works. Isaac Onis describes Egypt (Alexandria in Letters 65 and 70, insisting on its decline; Cairo in Letter 73, which discusses the veneration of Muslim 'saints' and popular superstition; the Copts in Letter 77; the pyramids in Letter 89; and other ancient tombs and mummies in Letter 118). Letter 87 describes popular customs inherited from the ancient Egyptians, including male and female circumcision. Onis then travels to Jerusalem (Letter 143), describing the mosque built on the site of the Jewish Temple.

After various travels in Europe, Jacob Brito sails from Lisbon to north Africa, which is the subject of quite a long series of letters combining descriptions of particular places with philosophical reflections. He first visits Algiers: Letter 144 describes the town, its inhabitants and its government in a generally hostile tone; Letter 145 discusses the women, saying they have more liberty there than elsewhere, as they can go out accompanied by female Christian slaves; Letter 147 deals with the Christian slaves, who are said to be treated no worse than Turkish slaves in Europe, which leads to criticism of the French monks' accounts of their sufferings but also condemns the European powers' policy towards the Barbary states. Letter 148 deplores the lack of learning in north Africa and recounts the persecution of Averroes (information taken from Bayle). Brito then moves on to Tunis: Letter 149 describes the town and ruins of Carthage and later, in Letter 155, he recounts stories of Amurat, Bey of Tunis, and his behaviour towards Christian slaves, which alternates between generosity and cruelty. On the way to Tripoli, he describes a pyramid of enemies' skulls in Jerba (Letter 155), and then condemns Turkish claims that victories in battle show the superiority of the Qur'an (vol. 5, p. 388-9). Letter 152 compares Tripolitan superstition with that of the ancient Romans; in Letter 163 he describes the Bedouins he sees

among the ruins of Cyrene, praising their simplicity and saying that, although they are Muslims, they have some customs like those of the Jews. Letter 177 concerns Malta, recounting the struggles of the Knights Hospitaller against the Turks and the north African regencies.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The work provides descriptions of several Muslim-majority countries of the Ottoman Empire, which include information found in (and sometimes taken from) earlier travellers' accounts, about customs and recent events, but there is also much discussion of Islam and the Qur'an, often in the context of comparisons of the three Abrahamic religions. Some of the discussion is critical, often leading to a condemnation of all three religions, while Islam is at other times compared favourably with Christianity.

D'Argens took his information from a variety of sources and, despite the inclusion of some romantic stories designed to attract readers, there is also serious information and discussion. His attitude varies between hostility towards the Turks, seen as the enemies of learning, and a greater sympathy towards the Muslim world, and even Islam itself. This is explained in part by his desire to attack Christian superstition and the intolerance of the Catholic Church. He frequently encourages the reader to judge Turks by the same criteria as Christians, and the fact that the writers are presented as being Jews lends these discussions an air of greater objectivity. This attitude is already found in some of his sources (particularly Laugier de Tassy's book on Algiers) but as d'Argens' work was hugely successful, going through many editions (which the author enlarged by the addition of new letters, to help sales), as well as pirated ones, and giving rise to polemical responses, it probably reached a wider public. It may well, therefore, have helped to familiarise a broader reading public than those who read more specialised works with the countries and people of the Ottoman Empire, and led them to question some of their prejudices against Islam and Muslims.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 6 vols, The Hague, 1735-7

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 6 vols, Amsterdam, 1736-7; 16-Z-15833 (1-6) (digitised version available through BNF)

- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Juif voyageur en différens états de l'Europe, et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 'Nouvelle édition ...', 6 vols, The Hague, 1738; Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek – H 94 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 7 vols, Lausanne, 1738-9
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *The Jewish spy: being a philosophical, historical and critical correspondence: by letters which lately pass'd between certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France, etc.*, 5 vols, London, 1739-40 (English trans.); ESTC T129708 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Jewish letters: or, a correspondence philosophical, historical and critical, betwixt a Jew and his correspondents, in different parts*, 4 vols, Newcastle, 1739-44 (English trans.); ESTC T188569 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Juif voyageur en différens états de l'Europe, et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 6 vols, The Hague, 1742; KW 553 J 63 [-68] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 6 vols, Lausanne, 1742
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *The Jewish spy: being a philosophical, historical and critical correspondence, by letters which lately passed between certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France, transl. from the originals into French by the Marquis d'Argens; and now done into English, second edition*, 5 vols, London, 1744 (English trans.); 848.5 A688J (1-5) (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 7 vols, Lausanne, 1750-1; Epist. 252 0- 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Jewish letters or, a correspondence philosophical, historical and critical, between a Jew and his correspondents, in different parts*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 4 vols, London, 1751 (English trans.)

- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *The Jewish spy: being a philosophical, historical and critical correspondence, by letters which lately pass'd between certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France, etc.*, 4 vols, Dublin, 1753 (English trans.); ESTC T110242 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Des Herrn Marquis d'Argens... Jüdische Briefe, oder philosophischer, historischer und kritischer Briefwechsel, zwischen einem Juden der durch verschiedene Länder von Europa reiset und seinen Correspondenten an andere Orten*, 7 vols, Berlin, 1763-5 (German trans.); Epist. 32-1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Juif voyageur en différens états de l'Europe, et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 8 vols, The Hague, 1764
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *The Jewish spy: being a philosophical, historical, and critical correspondence, by letters, which lately passed between certain Jews in Turkey, Italy, France, etc.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 5 vols, London, 1765-6 (English trans.); ESTC T131033 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Juif voyageur en différens états de l'Europe, et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 8 vols, The Hague, 1766
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Jüdische Briefe, oder philosophischer, historischer und kritischer Briefwechsel, zwischen einem Juden, der durch verschiedne Länder von Europa reiset, und seinen Correspondenten an andern Orten*, Zweyte Auflage, Berlin, 1770-85 (German trans.)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Juif voyageur en différens états de l'Europe, et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 8 vols, The Hague, 1777; Epist. 33 e-1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres juives*, ed. J. Marx, 3 vols, Paris, 2013

## STUDIES

- R. Granderoute, art. 'Lettres juives', in *Dictionnaire des journaux*, ed. J. Sgard, Paris, 1991, 826-9; <http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0829-lettres-juives>
- J. Domenech, 'L'Égypte dans les *Lettres juives* et les *Lettres cabalistiques*. Le marquis d'Argens précurseur de Volney', in *Le marquis d'Argens*, ed. J.-L. Vissière, Aix-en-Provence, 1990, 95-110
- Thomson, 'D'Argens et le monde islamique'
- N.R. Bush, 'The Marquis d'Argens and his philosophical correspondence. A critical study of d'Argens' *Lettres juives*, *Lettres cabalistiques* and *Lettres chinoises*', New York, 1953 (PhD Diss. Columbia University)

## Lettres chinoises

### 'Chinese letters'

DATE 1739-40

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

This work (its title in full is *Lettres chinoises, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Chinois voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, 'Chinese letters. Being a philosophical, historical, and critical correspondence between a Chinese traveller at Paris, and his countrymen in China, Muscovy, Persia and Japan') follows the model of the *Lettres juives*, and its sequel, *Lettres cabalistiques*, consisting in the first edition of five volumes each of 240 pages, composed of 30 letters published bi-weekly, this time exchanged between a Chinese traveller in Paris, Sioeu-Tcheou, and correspondents in other countries, one of whom, Choang, visits Persia. Here again we find much detailed information, taken from Chardin and others, including an account of the recent history of Thomas Kouli-Khan (Letters 91-3) and Zoroastrianism (Letters 99-100, 103-6, 108, 110-11, 113). Of relevance here are the earlier letters. Choang describes Isfahan in Letter 13, emphasising the divisions between its inhabitants even though they are of the same religion, and claims that the Persians are more learned than the Arabs. In Letter 15, he condemns their imprisonment of women, claiming that religion is used to guard Persian women even more jealously than in other Islamic



countries, and they are taught to fear offending the Prophet. Letter 18 discusses polygamy, and also criticises the Persian custom of hiring wives for a fixed period. Further letters discuss Persian courtesans and dancers (Letter 21), and theatre (Letter 23).

Letter 27 is devoted to the Persians' religion, emphasising its mixture of excellent and ridiculous aspects; after praising the Muslim conception of the Divinity he goes on to describe the 'fables' taken from the 'works of Muḥammad' and his disciples, concerning angels and how Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, and Persian theologians' disagreements concerning the creation of the universe. Letter 33 criticises the Persians' love of luxury and the hypocrisy of those who remove their jewels when praying in order to appear poor before God; but it praises the sobriety of their food and their hospitality. Letter 44 is devoted to the Persians' religious feasts, including that of Muhammad al-Mehdi and Ramaḍān, mocking their superstitions but comparing them to those of Christians. Letter 60 denounces the barbarity of punishments in Persia, but also emphasises that the judges try to mitigate the severity of the punishments demanded by families of murder victims, comparing them favourably with the priests of the Inquisition; the reply, Letter 62 speculates that the punishments were taken from the Israelites. Letter 73 contains a long explanation about what d'Argens calls the 'Moustaded' or theologians (accused of hypocrisy) and their doctrine of the Twelfth Imam. After a description of Persian philosophy in Letter 77, Letter 78 presents the Sufis, described as fanatics similar to the French Jansenist *convulsionnaires*, although their conception of the love of God is said to be superior to that of Christian missionaries (vol. 3, p. 144).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Even more than the *Lettres juives*, this work is largely dedicated to denouncing religious intolerance and cruelty and to a comparison of different religions ancient and modern from the point of view of philosophically-minded outsiders. While the information is derived from earlier authors, such as Chardin, d'Argens combines it with the tradition of free-thinking hostility to organised religion.

In addition to the letters specifically concerning Persia, there are many comparisons elsewhere of Christian and 'Turkish' behaviour, often to the detriment of the Europeans. Although the work did not achieve the huge success enjoyed by *Lettres juives*, possibly because it contained fewer titillating stories, it nevertheless went through several editions, with the addition of more letters, and was rapidly translated

into English, and later German. We can, therefore, assume that it was quite widely read and may have contributed towards a greater knowledge and understanding of Shī'ism, and perhaps to more openness towards Islam.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Chinois voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse et au Japon*, 5 vols, The Hague, 1739-40; Sinica1 (digitised version available through BNF)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Chinese letters. Being a philosophical, historical, and critical correspondence between a Chinese traveller at Paris, and his countrymen in China, Muscovy, Persia and Japan*, London, 1741 (repr. New York, 1974; English trans.); ESTC T128899 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises*, 6 vols, The Hague, 1742 (according to Grandroute in *Dictionnaire des journaux*)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises: ou correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, par l'auteur des lettres juives et des lettres cabalistiques. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de Nouvelles Lettres, de Quantité de Remarques, etc.*, 5 vols, The Hague, 1751; Epist. 32 l-(1-5) (digitised version available through MDZ)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *The Chinese spy: being a series of letters between a Chinese traveller at Paris, and his countrymen in China, Muscovy, Persia, and Japan: wherein the government, customs, religion, and learning of those several nations are described and compared with the Europeans: with a preface by the author of The Jewish spy*, second edition, London, 1752 (English trans.)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises, ou, Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique: entre un Chinois voyageur et ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse et au Japon, Nouvelle édition, augmentée de nouvelles lettres et de quantité de remarques*, 6 vols, The Hague, 1755; 848 A69 le (1-6) (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises ou: correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Chinois voyageur à Paris [et] ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse et au Japon. Par l'auteur des lettres juives et des lettres cabalistiques*. 5.

éd., augmentée de plusieurs additions considerables, de remarques, 6 vols, The Hague, 1756; Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek -- 999/Hist.pol.4108 (1-6) (digitised version available through MDZ)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises, ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique, entre un Chinois voyageur et ses correspondants à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse et au Japon. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de nouvelles Lettres et de quantité de remarques*, 6 vols, The Hague, 1766

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Chinesische Briefe: oder philosophischer, historischer und kritischer Briefwechsel, zwischen einem reisenden Chinesen in Paris und seinen guten Freunden in China, Moskau, Persien und Japan*, 5 vols, Berlin, 1768-71 (German trans.); Epist. 32 n 1-5 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises ou Correspondance philosophique, historique, et critique entre un chinois voyageur et ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie, en Perse et au Japon. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de nouvelles lettres et de quantité de remarques*, 7 vols, The Hague, 1769; EC 4-1946 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Des Herrn Marquis d'Argens ... Chinesische Briefe, oder philosophischer, historischer und kritischer Briefwechsel, zwischen einem reisenden Chineser in Paris und seinen guten Freunden in China, Moskau, Persien und Japan*, part 1, Berlin, 1777 (German trans.)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises*, 8 vols, The Hague, 1779 (according to Grandroute in *Dictionnaire des journaux*)

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises*, ed. J. Marx, Paris, 2009

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises*, selection and presentation by Lu Wan Fen, Paris, 2010

#### STUDIES

R. Minuti, 'Orientalismo e idea di tolleranza nelle *Lettres chinoises* di Boyer d'Argens', in H. Méchoulán (ed.), *La formazione storica dell'alterità. Studi sulla storia della tolleranza nell'Europa moderna offerti a Antonio Rotondò*, Florence, 2001, vol. 3, 887-920

R. Grandroute, art. 'Lettres chinoises', in *Dictionnaire des journaux*, ed. J. Sgard, Paris, 1991, 720-2; <http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0799-lettres-chinoises>

W.R. Berger, 'Der Chinese als Philosoph. Die *Lettres chinoises* des Marquis d'Argens', in W.R. Berger, *China-Bild und China-Mode im Europa der Aufklärung*, Cologne, 1990

W.-H. Steinsieck, *Die Funktion der Reise- und Briefliteratur in der Aufklärung: untersucht am Beispiel der 'Lettres chinoises' des Marquis d'Argens*, Aachen, 1975

Bush, 'The Marquis d'Argens and his philosophical correspondence'

**Ann Thomson**

# Antoine Prévost

Antoine-François Prévost

DATE OF BIRTH 1 April 1697  
PLACE OF BIRTH Hesdin, Pas-de-Calais, France  
DATE OF DEATH 25 November 1763  
PLACE OF DEATH Courteuil, Oise, France

## BIOGRAPHY

Antoine Prévost was born in Hesdin on 1 April 1697. From 1705 to 1712, he studied humanities at the Jesuit College in Hesdin, and then he joined the army as a volunteer, though he soon left in order to continue his studies at the Collège d'Harcourt in Paris. On 17 March 1717, he joined the Jesuits as a novice but then, after another period in the army (1718-19), he entered the Benedictine order, taking his vows on 9 November 1721. He was ordained priest around 1726. In 1728 appeared the first volumes of his *Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde*, vol. 7 of which includes *Histoire du chevalier Des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* (1731).

Prévost left the priesthood in October 1728 and went to London, where he became tutor to the son of John Eyles, a rich merchant. Then, in November 1730, he went to Holland, where in 1731 he published the first volumes of his *Philosophe anglais*.

In January 1733, he returned to England, leaving unpaid debts in Holland. He began to edit *Le pour et contre*, but was imprisoned in December for a false IOU. In early 1734, he returned secretly to Paris and obtained a pardon and the authorisation to join a less strict branch of the Benedictines. The first part of *Le doyen de Killerine* was published in the summer of 1735. Between September and December of that year, he undertook a second Benedictine noviciate and became almoner of the Prince de Conti, with whom he lodged in Paris.

In 1740, he published *Histoire d'une Grecque moderne* and *Histoire de Marguerite d'Anjou*. After being involved in an affair concerning clandestine writings, he left for Brussels on 25 January 1741 and then Germany.

He published his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte* and *Les Campagnes philosophiques ou Mémoires de M. de Montcal* in 1741, before

returning to France in 1742, thanks to the Maréchal de Belle-Isle's intervention on his behalf with the Comte de Maurepas. He published *Histoire de Guillaume le conquérant* and in 1745 *Mémoires d'un honnête homme*, followed in 1746, after he settled in Chaillot, by the first volumes of the *Histoire générale des voyages*.

On 20 July 1754, he became Prior of Saint-Georges-de-Gesne, near Le Mans. His last original work was *Le Monde moral, ou mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du cœur humain*. He also published a large number of translations, of Samuel Richardson, David Hume, Frances Sheridan and John Hawkesworth amongst others. He died on 25 November 1763.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- A. de Labarre de Beaumarchais, 'Lettre 16', in *Lettres sérieuses et badines sur les ouvrages des savans et sur d'autres matières*, vol. 8, The Hague, 1740, 253-4
- A.-N. Dupuis, 'Abrégé de la vie de M. l'abbé Prévôt', in Antoine Prévost, *Pensées de M. l'abbé Prévôt, précédées de l'abrégé de sa vie*, Amsterdam, 1764, v-xlv.
- A.-G. Meusnier de Querlon, 'Eloge historique de M. l'Abbé Prévôt', in A. Deleyre et al. (eds), *Continuation de l'Histoire générale des voyages, ou Collection nouvelle 1. des relations de voyages par mer, découvertes, observations, descriptions, Omises dans celle de feu M. l'Abbé Prévôt, ou publiées depuis cet Ouvrage. 2. Des voyages par terre faits dans toutes les parties du monde*, Paris, 1768, vol. 18, xxxij-xxxvij
- C. Palissot de Montenoy, *Le nécrologue des hommes célèbres de France, par une société de gens de lettres* (1765), Maastricht, 1775, pp. 15-32
- P. Bernard d'Héry, 'Essai sur la vie et sur les ouvrages de l'abbé Prévost', in Antoine Prévost, *Œuvres choisies de l'abbé Prévost. Avec figures*, vol. 1, Amsterdam et Paris, 1783, 1-72
- De Bois Jourdain, 'Anecdotes sur l'auteur de l'ouvrage du *Pour et Contre* (1737)', in *Mélanges historiques, satiriques et anecdotiques de M. de B... Jourdain*, vol. 3, Paris, 1807, 149-52

#### Secondary

- J. Sgard, *Vie de Prévost (1697-1763)*, Québec, 2006
- J. Sgard, *Prévost romancier*, Paris, 1968
- C.-É. Engel, *Le véritable Abbé Prévost*, Monaco, 1958
- H. Roddier, *L'Abbé Prévost. L'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1955

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte  
 La Jeunesse du commandeur  
 'Memoirs towards the history of Malta'

DATE 1741

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte, ou histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\*\* Par l'auteur des Mémoires d'un homme de qualité* ('Memoirs towards the history of Malta, or history of the youth of the Commander of \*\*\*\* by the author of the Memoirs of a man of quality') recounts the adventures of its hero during the war in the Mediterranean against the 'Turks' and Moors. The novel consists of a complicated series of adventures, both amorous and military, in which the hero, who becomes a knight of the Maltese order of St John, alternately seizes 'Turkish' ships and makes an alliance with the corsairs.

The question of religion is only present in the novel in the form of ideological clichés and personal concerns, almost always linked to violence arising from the corsairs' actions – the case, for example, of loved ones being abducted to be sold into slavery in Turkey (e.g. *Mémoires*, in *Œuvres de Prévost*, vol. 4, 1982, p. 140; the references that follow are to this edition), or when the king of Morocco offers to release the hero's beloved Helena on condition that he converts to Islam – the king wishes to keep her in his harem, and knows that the hero will not convert (p. 195).

The only religious issue really raised in the novel is that of apostasy, again closely linked to private intentions. Thus, one of the characters, Dom Antonio, seeks exile in Africa in order to find a better position than in Madrid, and he succeeds because he immediately converts to Islam and thus gains the esteem and confidence of that 'infidel nation' (p. 136). But for him faith is subordinate to personal interests and apostasy is merely external, while his true faith is untouched. A similar treatment of apostasy, linked to affairs of the heart, is also present in Prévost's *Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde*.

In Prévost's works, Christianity is the only true faith, and in the novel the knight never doubts his engagement in the crusade against the Turks

and Muslims. Religion is reduced to a simple binary system, with Christianity possessing only positive qualities and Islam only negative ones. While Muslims can on occasion exhibit Christian qualities, when they do not behave like Christians they are merely superstitious and ridiculous. Prévost's total certainty in questions of religion can best be seen in the journal he edited for some years, *Le pour et contre*, where he writes that 'our faith is the sole possessor of the truth', which allows him to pity the blindness of those who are without it and who refuse to receive it (vol. 13, October 1737, pp. 145-6).

These adventures draw on Prévost's reading, with events taken from such Baroque novels as René Aubert de Vertot's *Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem* (Paris, 1726), Mme d'Aulnoy's *Histoire d'Hypolite comte de Douglas* (Toulouse, 1702), and Madeleine et Georges de Scudéry's *Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus* (Paris, 1656). But they also borrow from the contemporary apocryphal memoirs attributed to Claude-Alexandre de Bonneval, which raise the issue of apostasy: *Mémoires du comte de Bonneval, Ci-devant Général d'Infanterie au service de S. M. Impériale & Catholique* (1737), *Nouveaux mémoires du comte de Bonneval, Ci-devant Général d'Infanterie au service de S. M. Impériale & Catholique. Contenant Ce qui lui est arrivé de plus remarquable durant son séjour en Turquie* (1737), *Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques ou Nouveaux mémoires du comte de Bonneval* (1740).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Prévost's condemnation of Islam derives from complete lack of knowledge, which reduces Muslim beliefs to a religion based on ignorance and superstition, promising pleasures that are denied to unbelievers. In this novel, the relations between Christians and Muslims form a connection marked by the hero's blindness, not only about the other's faith but about himself. Thus, the activity of the Muslim corsairs is a crime, while that of the Christian knight is a duty (p. 213). The 'other' is a double of oneself, bearing our own evil and the resulting shame. The hero therefore has the right to use violence against the 'other', who must be destroyed, as he must destroy the evil inside himself.

The Muslim world is therefore a place without ethics (*stēn ēthikē*), a mental space in which the knight faces his own demons and in which good and evil confront each other, or in the case of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte*, in which the indeterminacy of good and evil are played out through the hero's blindness. Islam is the inverted mirror of Christianity, which provides a revealing image of what it really is despite itself.



The novel was too dark and too full of dubious adventures to have much success, and its plot was too unconvincing to have much effect. It was quickly forgotten, even though it reflected the real decline of the Order of the Knights of St John. Despite this, the references to Islam created a space for the investigation of the problems of Christian faith. Islam could be transformed into a mirage which the 'philosophes' could use to project their own ideas. However, true Islam is not present in this or in any other of Prévost's works.

## PUBLICATIONS

Antoine Prévost, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte, ou Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\*\* Par l'auteur des Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, 2 vols, Amsterdam: François des Bordes, 1741 (according to H. Coulet, *Oeuvres de Prévost*, Grenoble, 1982, vol. 8, p. 325, the novel was probably published by Didot in Paris in February, 1741); P.o.gall. 1434 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Antoine Prévost, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte, ou Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\* Par l'auteur des Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, 2 vols, Amsterdam: La Compagnie, 1741 (according to H. Coulet, *Oeuvres de Prévost*, Grenoble, 1982, vol. 4, p. 126, this edition was based on the earlier and maybe a pirated edition from Rouen); Scicluna 972 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)

Antoine Prévost, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte, ou Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\* Par l'auteur des Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, 2 vols, Utrecht: Etienne Neaulme, 1742; P.o.gall. 1422 m-1/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Antoine Prévost, *Wunderbahre Begebenheiten Eines Ritters von Malta Worinnen Nebst dessen wahrhaftigen Liebes- und Lebens-Geschichten auch viele Besondere Nachrichten zur Historie von Malta enthalten sind*, Leipzig, 1744 (German trans.); A27472 (digitised version available through VD18)

Antoine Prévost, *Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\*, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte*, in *Œuvres choisies de l'abbé Prévost*, vol. 13, Amsterdam, 1784; Y2-8056 (digitised version available through BNF)

Antoine Prévost, *Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\*, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte*, in *Œuvres choisies de*

*Prévost*, vol. 13, Paris: Imprimerie de Leblanc, 1810; VET.FR.III.B.292 (t.13) (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

Antoine Prévost, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte ou histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\**, in *Œuvres de Prévost*, vol. 4, Grenoble, 1982, 123-242

Antoine Prévost, *La jeunesse du commandeur*, ed. R. Démoris, Paris, 1996

Antoine Prévost, *La jeunesse du commandeur*, ed. R. Démoris and E. Leborgne, Paris, 2005

#### STUDIES

M. Cortey, 'Les demoiselles de Prévost. Expérimentations romanesques sur le personnage féminin dans l'*Histoire d'une Grecque moderne* (1740), *La Jeunesse du Commandeur* (1741) et *Les Campagnes philosophiques* (1741)', in E. Leborgne and J.-P. Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, Louvain, 2003, 91-105

R. Démoris, 'Imposture narrative et identification dans les romans de Prévost entre 1740 et 1745', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 17-32

É. Lavezzi, 'Mourir de ne pas pleurer. Une interprétation du personnage de Perès dans *La jeunesse du commandeur*', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 53-69

E. Leborgne, 'Fictions du politique dans les romans de Prévost après 1740. Une vision pathologique du pouvoir', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 305-26

Y. Salaün, 'Fonctions de l'ignoble dans les derniers romans de Prévost. L'éventration de Montcal, l'enlaidissement d'Hélène, l'encanaillement de l'honnête homme', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 71-89

J.-P. Schneider, 'Les *Mémoires de Malte*, une invitation à relire *Manon Lescaut* ?', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 133-47

J.-P. Sermain, 'Lieux communs narratifs entre mémoire et structure. Pour une approche rhétorique des romans de l'abbé Prévost de la trilogie de 1728-1740 à la trilogie de 1740-1741', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 149-74

- J.-P. Sermain, 'Un nouveau régime romanesque', in Leborgne and Sermain (eds), *Les expériences romanesques de Prévost après 1740*, 327-57
- S. Neaimi, *L'islam au siècle des Lumières. Images de la civilisation islamique chez les philosophes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2003
- D. Orsini, 'Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de Prévost', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 12 (2001) 355-68
- C. Brun, 'De Fénelon à Prévost: *La jeunesse du commandeur* (1741) et *Les aventures de Télémaque*', *Travaux de Littérature* 13 (2000) 133-42
- R. Francis, 'Les fins de romans chez l'abbé Prévost', in R.A. Francis and J. Mainil (eds), *L'Abbé Prévost au tournant du siècle*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 11 (2000) 129-40
- F. Galtayries-Capdetrey, 'Forme et enjeux de l'ironie dans trois romans des années 40 de Prévost', in Francis and Mainil (eds), *L'Abbé Prévost au tournant du siècle*, 157-68
- É. Bordas, 'La folie romanesque dans *Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur*', in R. Démoris and H. Lafon (eds), *Folies romanesques au siècle des lumières*, Paris, 1998, 252-72
- G. Ansart, 'L'imaginaire politique de l'abbé Prévost. De *Cleveland* aux *Mémoires de Malte*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10 (1997) 29-42
- O.H. Bonnerot, 'Turcs, maures et corsaires dans *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte* ou *Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\**', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 145-59
- H. Coulet, 'Sur les trois romans écrits par l'abbé Prévost en 1740', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 7-19
- É. Goichot, 'Note sur la fonction romanesque de l'ordre de Malte', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 29-36
- P. Hoffmann, 'Figures de l'amour dans l'*Histoire de la jeunesse du commandeur de \*\*\**', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 55-89
- C. Klein, 'Le sentiment de l'honneur et la parole donnée dans les *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte*', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 131-44
- J.-P. Schneider, 'Batailles, saisons, amours. Le sentiment du temps perdu dans les *Mémoires de Malte*', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 91-130
- J. Sgard, 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du chevalier des Grieux', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 21-8
- C. Wimmer, 'La fiction du narrateur-auteur dans l'*Histoire de la jeunesse du Commandeur*. Analyse polyphonique', *Cahiers Prévost d'Exiles* 2 (1985) 37-54

- R.A. Smernoff, 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte', in *L'Abbé Prévost*, Boston, 1985, 99-101
- R. Démoris, *Le Roman à la première personne. Du Classicisme aux Lumières*, Paris, 1975, pp. 414-45
- G. Turbet-Delof, *L'Afrique barbaresque dans la littérature française aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris-Geneva, 1973
- R. Quinn, 'Deux moments dans l'œuvre de l'abbé Prévost. *Manon Lescaut* et *La jeunesse du commandeur*', *French Studies* 26 (1972) 405-20
- J. Sgard, 'Aventure et politique. Le mythe de Bonneval', in W. Krauss et al. (eds), *Roman et lumières au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1970, 411-20
- Sgard, *Prévost romancier*, pp. 463-8
- R. Mercier, 'Le thème oriental dans les romans de Prévost', in *L'Abbé Prévost. Actes du colloque d'Aix-en-Provence 20 et 21 Décembre 1963*, Aix-en-Provence, 1963, 85-92
- C.-É. Engel, 'Le chevalier de Malte type littéraire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 71 (1953) 215-29
- M.-L. Dufrenoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France (1704-1789)*, 3 vols, Montréal, 1946-75, vol. 1, p. 383, vol. 2, p. 511, vol. 3, p. 509
- P. Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1906

Pierre Berthiaume

# Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart

|                |                                          |
|----------------|------------------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Bernard, 1680; Picart, 11 June 1673      |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Bernard, Velaux, Provence; Picart, Paris |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Bernard, 1744; Picart, 8 May 1733        |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Bernard, Amsterdam; Picart, Amsterdam    |

## BIOGRAPHY

Jean-Frédéric Bernard was a bookseller, publisher and author of French origin who made his home in Amsterdam. He came from a Huguenot family, but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had long allowed the Huguenots to profess their faith without fear of state persecution, they hurriedly left France in the autumn of 1685, initially finding refuge in Geneva. After a spell in Frankfurt, the Bernard family settled in Amsterdam, where they had relatives and friends.

Bernard's deep-rooted and lifelong reservations about established religion stemmed from these early experiences of religious persecution, exile and the death of the majority of his family. He entered the Dutch book trade, where he was also able to pursue his search for the foundations and essence of religion. He soon established himself as a publisher, building up a small, selective catalogue consisting mainly of travel literature and works of free-spirited theological speculation. His main source of income, however, was from paperback-size reprints of popular French writers. Another successful venture saw him teaming up with Denis Camusat to publish the journals *Mémoires historiques et critiques* and *Bibliothèque française*.

Bernard acquired genuine intellectual freedom after profiting from the first European stock market boom in 1720, which gave him the means to produce the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, the crowning achievement of his publishing career. The last supplement of the *Cérémonies* appeared just a year before he died a wealthy man, aged 61, in 1744. Three years later, his second daughter Elizabeth married Marc Michel Rey, who became one of the Enlightenment's most prominent publishers.

Bernard Picart was born and brought up in Paris, the son of the successful Catholic engraver Etienne Picart (1632-1721), from whom he later took

over. Both father and son may have had Jansenist sympathies. When he was 16, Picart went to the Royal Academy, where he was in the company of leading artists, and it was not long before he won a prize. His reputation was firmly enough established by the mid-1690s for the Swedish court to try to secure his services, but instead he moved to Antwerp in 1696. He then spent a year in Holland, forging a close relationship with Jean Louis de Lorme, the biggest publisher in Amsterdam, before returning to France in late 1698. One of his friends and mentors in Paris was Roger de Piles (1635-1709), the most influential art theorist of the time and the author of *The art of painting* (in which he expressed his preference for 'emotionalism over formalism, Rubens over Poussin').

After the death of his Catholic wife, Claudine Prost, in 1708, Picart decided to leave Paris, and moved north with his friend Prosper Marchand, a journalist and bookseller. Attracted by the wealth of publishing ventures in Amsterdam, and the variety of religious faiths coexisting in the city, he settled there in 1711, where his father later joined him. The centre of the book trade in the city was the Kalverstraat, where both Picart and Bernard lived and worked.

Perhaps influenced by the writings of the Huguenot exile and prominent Protestant apologist Jean Claude, Picart converted to Protestantism. He also married his second wife, Anne Vincent, and the couple's three daughters were raised in the Walloon Reformed Church. His commitment to some shape or form of Protestant identity was already evident when he arrived in the Dutch Republic, but this was just the start of his intellectual and religious path. As is amply shown by the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, Bernard and Picart read very widely, assisted by the ready availability of works in the Republic. As a result, they were able to draw on and reference a vast body of travel literature, in addition to works by Toland, Hobbes and Spinoza.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

*Catalogus librorum tam Latinorum quam Gallicorum/Catalogue de livres rassemblez par feu M. Bernard Picart celebre dessinateur*, Amsterdam: Bernard en Schouten, 1733

*Impostures innocentes, ou, Recueil d'estampes d'après divers peintres illustres: tels que Rafael, Le Guide, Carlo Maratti, Le Poussin, Rembrandt, & c., gravées à leur imitation, & selon le gout particulier de chacun d'eux, & accompagnées d'un Discours sur les préjugés de certain curieux touchant la gravure / par*

*Bernard Picart, dessinateur et graveur, avec son Eloge historique et le Catalogue de ses ouvrages*, Amsterdam: La veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734  
*Catalogue du fonds de librairie de feu Jean Frederic Bernard*, Amsterdam: Humbert, Schouten & Rey, 1747

*Secondary*

- M.C. Jacob, 'Bernard Picart. French influences', in D. Balani, D. Carpanetto and M. Roggero (eds), *Dall'origine dei Lumi alla Rivoluzione. Studi in onore di Luciano Guerci e Giuseppe Ricuperati*, Rome, 2008, 281-95  
 L. Hunt, M.C. Jacob and W. Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe. Picart & Bernards's 'Religious ceremonies of the world'*, Cambridge MA, 2010, esp. chs 2-4

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les  
 peuples du monde  
 'The religious ceremonies and customs of the  
 several nations of the known world'

DATE 1723-43

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

*Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart; avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses* (1723-43) was compiled by Jean Frédéric Bernard. Published in nine volumes, the work was richly illustrated by Bernard Picart, who was very interested in the many strands of Western and Middle Eastern Hermeticism. As the title suggests, the work set out to chart the ritual and ceremonial customs of all the known religions in the world. Bernard wished to preserve his anonymity as author, and so for a long time the work was catalogued under the name of Picart alone, and indeed many readers simply referred to it as the 'Picart'.

Bernard's text was widely translated, plagiarised and pirated (Dutch, English and German translations and adaptations appeared just a few years after the work was published). But to a great extent, the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* owed its short- and long-term success to the wealth of illustrations – approximately 600 – compiled and arranged

by Picart in over 250 plates, each with its own caption. Indeed, these engravings also circulated independently of Bernard's prose. The expressions, affective gestures and habits depicted in them are generally characterised by tenderness, conviviality and a marked sense of community. Compassionate and sensitive, such depictions complicate prevailing prejudice and our (often received) understandings of ethnocentricity in the early modern world. It must, however, be said that in his efforts to portray the humanity of distant peoples and cultures, Picart often ended up giving them Europeanised affective traits, thereby, paradoxically and inadvertently, making whiteness (and Protestant Christianity) the standard of humanity (and religion), with non-whiteness and non-Christian being considered 'other'. By contrast, a later 'Catholicised' version of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, 'une métamorphose bizarre de tout l'ouvrage', which appeared in Paris in 1741, deliberately made non-Europeans and non-Christians graphically peripheral: on the illustrated title-page, the religious 'other', most evidently the Muslim other, is visually and emotionally confined to the dark edges of the world, with no right to citizenship in the city of humanity. This bowdlerised edition of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, entitled *Histoire générale des cérémonies, mœurs et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde représentées en 243 figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart: avec des explications historiques, et curieuses*, was edited by two Catholic abbots, Antoine Banier (1673-1741) and Jean-Baptiste Le Mascrier (1697-1760).

As a result of the vagaries of 18<sup>th</sup>-century publishing, there is still some vestigial confusion over the numbering of the volumes. Although nine volumes appeared under the same title, the last two, both published in 1743, were tacked on as a kind of afterword, and were numbered by Bernard as the second half of 7, and 8. They do not feature in any of the translations, and contain no illustrations by Picart, who died in 1733. Vol. 8 (i.e. the final, ninth volume), following an extensive reflection on the unbecoming but common practice of plagiarism, and on the zealous modifications made by the Paris editors, brought together in an ironically cavalier fashion lengthy extracts from the Paris edition itself. It seemed to Bernard that they could serve as a supplement to his own work, useful for readers and certainly remunerative for himself. Amongst these there was also a compilation of writings from the Qur'an drawn from the French translation of André Du Ryer (1647), even though, Bernard warned, this was greatly inferior to the English one by Sale (1734), and it would have been better if the French editors had also made use



of the fine Latin translation by Marracci (1698). What is more, the order of publication did not match the definitive outline presented by the editor (after a number of rethinks) to subscribers, according to which the monotheistic religions are numbered 1-5 [1. Jews and Catholics (1723); 2. Catholics (1723); 3. Greek Orthodox, Protestants (1733); 4. other Protestants (Anglicans, Quakers, Anabaptists, etc.) (1736); 5. Islam (1737)] and the religious ceremonies and customs of the 'idolatrous peoples' are numbered 1 (1723) and 2 (1728), maintaining, nominally at least, the traditional four-part classification of Judaism, Christianity, 'Mahometanism' and paganism.

The volume on Islam, significantly the last of the seven produced by both Bernard and Picart, required lengthy preparation. Though not published until 1737, four years after Picart's death, most of the illustrations were either drawn or engraved under his supervision between 1729 and 1731. This fifth volume is divided into ten dissertations (the last two of which are the most richly illustrated): an introduction to the historical context prior to the establishment of Islam; the life of Muḥammad; the beginnings of Islam; prejudices and mistaken ideas about Islam propagated by Western Christians; a discussion of the Qur'an; the Islamic confession of faith (drawn from David Durand's translation of a Latin manuscript found in a public library in Amsterdam); 'le catechisme Mahometan'; the 'eclaircissemens' on the Islamic religion; duties, customs and ceremonies authorised by the Qur'an; and the various sects of 'Mahometism', a term which, as Kishwar Rizvi points out, induces 'a comparison with the religion of Christ, but also makes Muḥammad into an idol' ('Persian pictures'). The final sections focus on popular religious beliefs in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran. (Both these countries were central to European political and economic ambitions, and the volume reflects this.)

Adopting the same procedure he had devised for the earlier volumes, as his meticulous footnotes demonstrate, Bernard amassed and adapted information from a wide range of sources: popular illustrated travelogues and chronicles written by European merchants, ambassadors and adventurers who spent time in the Levant, Turkey and Iran (for instance, the British consul to Smyrna Paul Rycaut, Jean de Thévenot, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, John Chardin, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort); scholars who had studied the Qur'an and early Islamic history using primary Arabic literature or translations (such as Edward Pococke, Barthelémy D'Herbelot, Jean Gagnier); André Du Ryer's French translation of Robert of Ketton's

*Lex Mahumet Pseudoprophete* (1647); Henri de Boulanvilliers' sympathetic *Vie de Mahomed* (1730); and George Sale's first scholarly (but still apologetic) translation of the Qur'an into English (1734).

Picart's illustrations seem to be about much more than documentation, moving towards 'an emotive connection with human subjectivity' (Rizvi, 'Persian pictures'). He did not cite his sources, but most of the full- and double-page studio images of Islam in volume 5 derive directly from the *Recueil de cent estampes representant différentes nations du Levant* (1714-15). Commissioned by Marquis Charles de Ferriol, the ambassador of the Court of Versailles to the Sublime Porte from 1699 to 1710, this was a collection of 100 prints engraved after paintings by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. The only engraving on Islam drawn directly by Picart – a double plate featuring dancing dervishes, dated 1731 and engraved by his student Jacob Folkema – is an exact copy of a plate added to the third edition (1715) of the Ferriol collection. It provides fresh evidence of Picart's interest in mystical and inward-looking forms of worship, as emerges elsewhere in the attention he gives to Guillaume Postel. The illustrated description of Islamic forms of prayer that appears in volume 1 of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* came from Reelant's *De religione Mohammedica*. The unsigned depiction of the Ka'ba also resembles the one published by Reelant in 1717; thought to be based on an Ottoman model, it is made up, however, of human figures that would simply be inconceivable in Islamic religious books. *Le carnaval des Turcs* and *La fête d'Hussein* were the work of Louis Fabricius Dubourg (1693-1775), employed as a draughtsman and engraver in Picart's Amsterdam workshop. Placed on the same page, the former was based on Thévenot's description of Ottoman festivities held to mark Ramaḍān, the latter on Chardin's descriptions of Shī'ite rituals performed to commemorate the death of Muḥammad's grandson Ḥusayn. The Ottoman festivities are depicted as chaotic affairs, in sharp contrast with the actions of the penitent Persians, offering further evidence that Bernard and Picart had greater respect for the contemporary Shī'ite faith of the Savafids. 'Here again, parallels appear with Christianity; Ottoman beliefs are equated with the outdated and clerically overburdened faith of the Catholics, while the Shī'ite faith is seen as one of reform, and thus compatible with the Protestant tradition out of which Bernard and Picart are working' (Rizvi, 'Persian pictures'). Equally important, one of the volume's most intriguing engravings, *Le bairam, ou la Pâque des Mahometans* (designed and executed by Jacob Folkema in 1737 and inspired by Thévenot's travel observations), appears to mock, at one and the same time, the clerical profession as a whole (represented by an



Illustration 11. Turkish celebrations of 'Id, 'the Muslim Easter', from Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*

'emasculated' man in a turban hesitantly swinging through the air during celebrations to mark the end of Ramaḍān in Istanbul) and Ottoman fickleness. As Rizvi observes, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* were not just 'a self-reflective project', the main purpose of which was to expose the clergy's corrupt power, particularly that of the Catholics; it was also an attentive and informed dialogue with the cultures represented. It is of note that the 1733 inventory of Bernard's bookstore lists far more books on Iran than on other spheres of Islamic culture.

Bernard and Picart's sympathetic attitude is reflected in the marvellous *Tableau des principales religions du monde* (1727), originally intended by Picart as a didactic frontispiece for the Dutch translation of the *Cérémonies*. Muslims occupy an important place in this work too, and are depicted in a very dignified way. Not only can we discern a clear awareness of the differences between Sunnī Ottomans and Shī'ite Safavids, but a suggestive analogy appears to be drawn between Shī'ite Islam and the Protestant Reformation. Standing in the foreground of the frontispiece is 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, who is preaching to a group of varied ethnic origins, distinguishable by their attire as Sufis, Janissaries, princes and soldiers. One of them, dressed in Savafid costume, is holding a plaque up with his hand; on it are eight commandments, with the Five Pillars of Islam and the Shī'ite profession of faith conflated within it. As Rizvi notes, 'Alī is consistently portrayed as a heroic figure, often eclipsing Muḥammad, who, notwithstanding a stab at even-handedness and some effort to present him as a talented statesman, is basically made out to be an impostor. (In Bernard's satirical *Dialogues critiques et philosophiques*, published in 1730 under the pseudonym l'Abbé de Charte-Livry, in Dialogue 20, Muḥammad conspires with the ancient god Jupiter to regain the power they have each lost.) "Alī provides an alternate, if parallel, reading of Islam, one that is situated at the limits of anxiety and admiration' (Rizvi, 'Persian pictures'). The Savafids had little love for the Ottomans, having fought several wars against them, and were therefore viewed by Europeans as possible allies in the struggle to counter the threat of Ottoman expansion into Europe.

A seminal work that helped to establish the study of comparative religion, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* would have an enduring influence on how the world's religions were represented in the West, giving accounts that were as impartial as possible, even of the religions of 'idoltrous peoples'. Most significantly, it emphasised that the history of religions provided recurrent examples of cross-cultural contamination,

and of reciprocal influences and adaptations, and that Christianity itself was not immune to these. It challenged readers to view religious ceremonies as an anthropological constant, to reflect and ask questions, and to acknowledge the universal aspects of ceremonies, the needs they meet and the dangers that can arise as a result.

Interestingly, Bernard's volume on Islam gives no consideration to 'the Western father of comparative religion', the religious universalist Guillaume Postel (1510-81). This is notwithstanding Postel's admiration for Islam and his implied message of religious relativism, regarded by some as a forerunner of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, and the fact that a number of his works feature in the auction catalogue of Picart's private library (Brafman, 'Picart, Bernard, Hermes, and Muhammad'). On the other hand, Bernard drew extensively on David Durand's French translation of the second edition (1717) of Adriaan Reland's *De religione Mohammedica* (in which the bitterly abusive *Refutatio Alcorani* by the Italian Catholic priest Ludovico Marracci comes in for severe criticism). This is despite many reservations expressed by Bernard in notes regarding his long-winded, redundant style and the loose and sloppy translation. Reland, an illustrious professor of Oriental languages at Utrecht, presented a broadly sympathetic portrayal of Islamic theology. First published in 1705, his is an erudite and philologically rigorous work, which sets out to correct the innumerable misunderstandings and falsities that had always undermined a genuine knowledge of the Islamic faith. Reland believed that only a careful philological study of the Qur'an would enable any effective action to be taken to counter Islam. Like Reland, Durand stated, in the introduction to the translation, his belief that Christian conversion could be achieved more effectively by not emphasising the differences between the two religions. It would be more fruitful, he argued, to identify areas of affinity, and therefore the conditions for dialogue, which emerged quite clearly from a reading of qur'anic texts untainted by prejudice. So, for example, the 'éclaircissemens' that appear in volume 5 of the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* contested the customary representation of Islam as intrinsically violent and intolerant, and likewise the legitimacy of a deistic reading of Islam, with the firm confutation of the view that, for a Muslim, anyone could be saved in their religion 'pourvû qu'il vive bien'. Also confuted was the attribution to Islam of the belief in a corporeal God or of God as the author of evil. The idea that Muslims violated treaties with infidels as a matter of principle was repudiated, and current ideas about Muslim polygamy were corrected (Minuti, 'L'immagine dell'Islam nel settecento').

Commentators have observed that, while Bernard uses most of Durand's translation, he did away with some of the footnotes, in some cases adding his own, and made corrections to the translation where he judged it right to do so. At times, he simply employed typography to stress his position. This may be the case with a passage that is seemingly critical of Islam, but is more probably taking a swipe at the Catholic Church. Here, Bernard reproduces the passage word for word but italicises a section particularly useful for his attack on the dismal psychological yoke of prelatical imposture: 'Several authors have worked to stop the contagion, by refuting with all their powers a religion that is very pernicious, & fatal to Christianity, but nevertheless rather attractive for the mind and for the heart, which are naturally enemies of mortifications' (*Cérémonies*, vol. 5, p. 148, as quoted in English translation in Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, p. 262). Also functional to Bernard's (radical) Protestant aims rather than to an unreservedly universalist or indifferentist agenda was Reelant's strong argument in favour of tolerance:

Prophet Mahomet earnestly recommends toleration. [... T]here is nothing more absurd than to want to oblige people to receive as truth that which they do not regard as true: and it is a shame for Christians to refuse to other Christians, as they do, the usage of this precious liberty and thus to oblige them by their bad views to take refuge in the empire of the Turks, where they find more repose and charity than with their brothers (*Cérémonies*, vol. 5, p. 162, as quoted in English translation in Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, pp. 262-3).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The first goal of the 1741 Paris edition was to counter what was described as the 'most extravagant Tolerationism' and the clearly anti-Catholic tone of Bernard and Picart's work (Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, pp. 264-7; Hunt, *The Enlightenment*, p. 7). This is evident straightaway from the title page vignette by Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger, one of King Louis XV's favourite engravers, which appears on each volume. While Muslims are shown plunging into a dark abyss, the Catholic Church stands in the centre, radiating light. Alongside it is a large open book with the inscription 'Biblia sacra' on one page and 'Concilia et traditions' on the other. By contrast, in Picart's *Tableau* the Bible is on the side of the Reformed Church and 'Concilia et traditions' are placed, separately, on the side of Catholicism. In the two-part section of the *Histoire* on Islam (that is, the first part of vol. 5), the Catholic

editors modified the layout of the text in some places, introduced subsection headings in the second part, expunged or reworked many of the footnotes of the Dutch edition and introduced others (preceded by an asterisk) with militantly apologetic overtones. Besides all this, they added brief derogatory parentheses identifying Islam – ‘a web of impertinent and ridiculous tales’ – as the ‘most powerful and most dangerous of all the sects’ (even though Bernard had objected to Durand in one of his many polemical and even sarcastic footnotes, that one should speak not of a sect but of a religion). They also dwelt upon the imposture (the ‘customary resource of enthusiasts and false prophets’) and the seductive capacity of Muḥammad, and attributed his success to having skilfully combined, in a ‘composé monstreux’, elements from Judaism, Christianity and paganism, together with sweet enticements for the senses and passions (*Histoire*, vol. 5, pp. 5, 39-40, 99). Where the *Cérémonies*, alluding to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (r. 527-65) stresses that ‘the intolerance of the Christians’ (which, in the Du Bosc English translation, becomes ‘the Spirit of Persecution which began to rule among Christians’) may have contributed to the rise of Islam, the Paris version tones down this charge by relating it to the ‘severity’ of Christian princes (*Histoire*, vol. 5, p. 72). The Paris editors reacted to Durand’s emphasis on Islamic tolerance (‘le Grand Seigneur est plus doux que le Pape, et le Mufti plus charitable qu’un Evêque’) by objecting that ‘tout ceci est encore une addition du Traducteur, qui parle en Protestant, et en Réfugié’ (*Histoire*, vol. 5, p. 191, note a). And when Durand speaks of Roman Catholic persecution of the Protestants, the Paris edition downplays the accusation by limiting it to ‘quelques Catholiques Romaines’ (*Histoire*, vol. 5, p. 138, note g). Above all else, the Catholic revisers were anxious to stress that a quite reasonable curiosity regarding the diverse range of habits and customs to be found among the world’s peoples should not be used to promote a toleration where everything was excused and mutually incompatible practices and beliefs were reconciled. Such curiosity should serve instead to affirm Christian truth (and the Roman Catholic Church) in a firmer and more conscious way, drawing new and significant grounds for comfort from the comparison.

*Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* was a powerful paean to dialogue, knowledge and tolerance, and though at times there are glimpses of an indifferentist (we might perhaps say ‘secularising’, even though the significance of the term has been widely and persuasively contested) and possibly even irreligious conclusion, this is never stated or openly backed. The title of a recent monograph suggests that the *Cérémonies et*

*coutumes religieuses* was 'the book that changed Europe'. This is perhaps going too far, but it undoubtedly contributed to broadening the cultural horizons of the sophisticated European elites, to changing their views of other cultures and beliefs, not least of Islam, Christianity's arch-enemy and biggest rival, and above all to a critical reconsideration of their own culture and convictions about faith and religion.

#### PUBLICATIONS

For a list of editions see Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*, 'Appendix B', 313-16.

Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart; avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses*, 8 vols, Amsterdam: Bernard, 1723-43; RES G 560-5 (digitised version available through BNF)

Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *Naaukeurige beschryving der uitwendige godtsdienst-plichten, tempel-zeden en gewoontens der afgodische volkeren, vervat in eenige historische verhandeligen en door verscheiden aanmerkingen opgeheldert, en in kunstige tafereelen vertoont. Derde Deel. Godsdientige plechtigheden der Amerikaansche en Oostindiansche volkeren*, trans. A. Moubach, Amsterdam, 1727-38 (Dutch trans.); KW 473 B (1-6) (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *The religious ceremonies and customs of the several nations of the known world*, trans. J. Lockman, 3 vols, London: Nicholas Prevost, 1731 (partial English trans.); Religious ZAZB (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *The ceremonies and religious customs of the various nations of the known world, together with historical annotations and several curious dissertations* (7-volume English adaptation published in London for Claude Du Bosc in 1733-9, which included selections of Lockman's translation for Nicholas Prevost, who printed three volumes in 1731, and which was then apparently finished by a certain Daniel Bellamy the elder; the section on 'Mahometism', initially intended to form the second part of the sixth volume, appeared instead as a separate, final volume of the overall work; Prevost's partial English edition is not included in the comprehensive list of editions of 'Picart' published



- as Appendix B to Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe*); ESTC T137604 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *Histoire générale des cérémonies, moeurs et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées en 243 figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picart: avec des explications historiques et curieuses*, ed. Antoine Banier and Jean-Baptiste Le Mascrier, 7 vols, Paris: Rollin, 1741; 28922 – T 1-7 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon)
- Bernard Picart et al., *Heilige Ceremonien, Gottes- und Goetzen-Dienste aller Voelcker der Welt ... : oder eigentliche Vorstellung und summarischer Begriff der vornehmsten Gottes-dienstlichen Pflichten*, Zurich, 1748 (German trans.); Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek – 2 Kult 41 -2 (digitised version available through MDZ)

## STUDIES

- P. von Wyss-Giacosa, 'Visual provocations. Bernard Picart's illustrative strategies in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*', in G. Tarantino and C. Zika (eds), *Feeling exclusion. Religious conflict, exile and emotions in early modern Europe*, New York, forthcoming 2019
- G. Tarantino, 'From labelling and ridicule to understanding. The legacy of Bernard and Picart's religious comparativism', in G. Tarantino and P. von Wyss-Giacosa (eds), *Through your eyes. Debating religious alterities (16th-18th centuries)*, Leiden, forthcoming 2019
- S. Berti, 'Bernard Picart e Jean-Frédéric Bernard: dalla religione riformata al deismo. Un incontro con il mondo ebraico nell'Amsterdam del primo Settecento', in S. Berti, *Anticristianesimo e libertà: Studi sull'Illuminismo radicale europeo*, Naples, 2012, 235-57
- L. Simonutti, 'Inquietudine religiosa e relativismo critico. L'iconografia di Bernard Picart', in M. Geuna and G. Gori (eds), *I filosofi e la società senza religione*, Bologna, 2011, 257-90
- L. Hunt, *The Enlightenment and the origins of religious toleration*, Burgerhart Lectures, Amsterdam, 2011
- Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe. Picart & Bernards's 'Religious ceremonies of the world'*
- D. Brafman, 'Picart, Bernard, Hermes, and Muhammad (not necessarily in that order)', in L. Hunt, M.C. Jacob and W. Mijnhardt (eds), *Bernard Picart and the first global vision of religion*, Los Angeles CA, 2010, 139-68

- K. Rizvi, 'Persian pictures. Art, documentation, and self-reflection in Jean Frederic Bernard and Bernard Picart's representation of Islam', in Hunt, Jacob and Mijnhardt (eds), *Bernard Picart and the first global vision of religion*, 169-96
- M.C. Jacob, 'The nature of early-eighteenth-century religious radicalism', *Republics of Letters. A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1 (2009) 1-11
- M.C. Jacob, 'Bernard Picart. French influences', in D. Balani, D. Carpanetto and M. Roggero (eds), *Dall'origine dei lumi alla rivoluzione. Studi in onore di Luciano Guerci e Giuseppe Ricuperati*, Rome, 2008, 281-95
- R. Minuti, 'L'immagine dell'Islam nel settecento. Note sulla traduzione francese del *De religione Mohammedica* di Adriaan Reeland', *Studi Settecenteschi* 25 (2005-6) 23-45
- P. von Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder der frühen Aufklärung. Bernard Picarts Tafeln für die 'Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde'*, Wabern, 2006

Giovanni Tarantino

# Montesquieu

Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu

DATE OF BIRTH 18 January 1689  
PLACE OF BIRTH La Brède  
DATE OF DEATH 10 February 1755  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Charles-Louis de Secondat was born on 18 January 1689 in the château of La Brède. He was the son of Jacques de Secondat, baron of Montesquieu and Marie-Françoise de Pesnel, baroness of La Brède, and heir to a family that had settled in Bordeaux in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. After receiving some primary education at home, he was sent to the Oratorian Academy at Juilly, near Meaux, from 1700 to 1705, when he entered the law school in Bordeaux. In July 1708, he was admitted to practise law in the Bordeaux parliament. From 1709 to 1713, the young Charles-Louis de Secondat was in Paris. He was recalled to Bordeaux by the death of his father, and in February 1714 purchased the position of counsellor at the parliament of Bordeaux.

On April 1715, Montesquieu married Jeanne de Lartigue, a young Protestant of recent nobility, who added a considerable fortune to his already significant wealth. After the death of his uncle, Jean-Baptiste de Secondat, who appointed Montesquieu as his sole heir, the young baron obtained in May 1716 the position of 'Président à Mortier' in the Bordeaux parliament. In April of the same year, Montesquieu had entered the Bordeaux Academy, where he delivered dissertations on various subjects, particularly the physical sciences. Until 1726, his Bordeaux commitments allowed only short stays in Paris, where he established many relationships with other intellectuals, particularly after the publication of *Lettres persanes* (1721), which gave him an extraordinary notoriety and in which the issue of Islam and more generally of Oriental societies and politics had a particular relevance.

It was in July 1726 that Montesquieu's life would change, because he decided to sell his position of 'Président à Mortier', while reserving the possibility of taking the office again for himself or his sons. He began

travelling and, between 1728 and 1731, visited many European countries: Austria, Hungary, Italy, Germany, the United Provinces and England. After his return to France, Montesquieu maintained relationships with some of the most important salons in Paris and, in May 1734, published the *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*. After that, work on his monumental project, the *Esprit des lois*, increasingly absorbed his time and energy, requiring extensive amounts of reading and the hard task of writing. The first edition was published in Geneva in 1748, and was followed by a long and hard debate, in which the Jesuit journal *Mémoires de Trévoux* and the Jansenist *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* were particularly involved; Montesquieu responded with the *Défense de l'Esprit des lois*, published in 1750. In 1751, notwithstanding the attempts at mediation by his Italian ecclesiastical friends, the *Esprit des lois* was condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index. After the publication of his major work, Montesquieu's fame was vast and universal, and the *Esprit des lois* quickly became a reference for all matters connected to political science. Its importance was particularly associated with the concept of 'oriental despotism', which was widespread in Europe and was important for the interpretation of the Islamic world. Montesquieu continued to work on his masterwork, aiming to publish a new edition, and on other subjects, until his death in Paris on 10 February 1755.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- Montesquieu, *Pensées*, in *Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu*, ed. A. Masson, Paris, 3 vols, 1950-5, vol. 2, pp. 1-677
- Montesquieu, *Correspondance*, vol. 1. 1700-31, ed. L. Desgraves and E. Mass (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 18), Oxford, 1998
- L. Desgraves, C. Volpillac-Augier and F. Weil (eds), *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu à La Brède*, Naples, 1999
- Montesquieu, *Spicilège*, ed. R. Minuti, annotated S. Rotta (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 13), Oxford, 2002
- Montesquieu, *Œuvres et écrits divers*, vol. 1, ed. P. Rétat (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 8), Oxford, 2003
- Montesquieu, *Œuvres et écrits divers*, vol. 2, ed. P. Rétat (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 9), Oxford, 2006
- Montesquieu, *Notes et extraits de lectures*, vol. 1. *Geographica*, ed. C. Volpillac-Augier (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 16), Oxford, 2007

- Montesquieu, *Mes voyages*, ed. J. Ehrard and G. Bertrand (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 10), Lyon, 2010
- Montesquieu, *Correspondance*, vol. 2. 1731-Juin 1747, ed. P. Stewart and C. Volpilhac-Augier (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 19), Lyon, 2014
- Montesquieu, *Correspondance choisie: 'Avec respect et l'amitié la plus tendre'*, ed. P. Stewart, Paris, 2016

*Secondary*

- R. Minuti, *Una geografia politica della diversità. Studi su Montesquieu*, Naples, 2015
- J. Goldzink, art. 'Montesquieu Charles de, Charles-Louis de Secondat dit, baron de la Brède et de', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012, 742-4
- C. Volpilhac-Augier, *Un auteur en quête d'éditeurs? Histoire de l'œuvre éditoriale de Montesquieu (1748-1964)*, Lyon, 2011
- C. Volpilhac-Augier, *De l'esprit des lois. Manuscrits*. Textes établis, présentés et annotés par C. Volpilhac-Augier (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 3 and 4), Oxford, 2008-9
- D. de Casabianca, *Montesquieu. De l'étude des sciences à l'esprit des lois*, Paris, 2008
- C. Volpilhac-Augier (ed.), *Montesquieu en 2005*, Oxford, 2005
- C. Larrère (ed.), *Montesquieu, oeuvre ouverte? (1748-1755). Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux (6-8 décembre 2001, Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale)*, Naples, 2005
- C. Volpilhac-Augier, 'Introduction', in E. Mass et al. (eds), *Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu*, vol. 1. *Lettres persanes*, Oxford, 2004, xi-ccli
- L. Desgraves, *Chronologie critique de la vie et des œuvres de Montesquieu*, Paris, 1998
- L. Desgraves, *Inventaire des documents manuscrits des fonds Montesquieu de la bibliothèque municipale de Bordeaux*, Geneva, 1998
- L. Desgraves, *Montesquieu*, Paris, 1998
- J. Ehrard, *L'Esprit des mots. Montesquieu en lui-même et parmi les siens*, Geneva, 1998
- F. Cadilhon, *Montesquieu ou l'ingrate réalité du quotidien bordelais*, Mont-de-Marsan, 1996
- R. Shackleton, *Montesquieu. A critical biography*, Oxford, 1961

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lettres persanes  
'Persian letters'

DATE 1721

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

One of the literary masterpieces of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *Lettres persanes* was the first important work published by Montesquieu, bringing him widespread fame in France and elsewhere and becoming a model for a literary genre destined to have many imitators and followers. The work consists of 161 fictional letters and covers 347 pages in two volumes in the 1721 second edition (which followed the first edition earlier the same year). This fictional representation of Oriental travellers who visit various European countries making observations and critical remarks on aspects of social life, politics, manners and institutions, was not entirely new. The device had been used, in particular, by Gian Paolo Marana in *L'espion du Grand-Seigneur* (1684), a famous work in Montesquieu's time and certainly a model for his own work.

The editorial history of the *Lettres persanes* is complicated, and is regularly questioned and examined by the huge critical literature on it. Montesquieu considered the first edition of 1721 (chez Pierre Marteau, a false name for Jacques Debordes, publisher in Amsterdam) to be the best. As he wrote in a Preface to the new edition of 1754 (Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau, two books and a Supplement): 'De toutes les éditions de ce livre il n'y a que la première qui soit bonne: elle n'a point éprouvé la témérité des libraires. Elle parut en 1721, imprimée à Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau' (*Pensées* 2033).

In the fictional letters exchanged between two Persian travellers, Usbek and Rica, and their correspondents at home, Montesquieu makes a variety of observations on his times, touching on religion, philosophy, manners, and political and financial institutions in parts of western Europe. His critical reflections on the financial 'system' of John Law (1671-1729), for instance, present a topic of special interest, and he also includes narrative digressions, as in the case of the celebrated fable of the Troglodytes (letters 11-14), where crucial issues of political philosophy emerge. In particular, the topic of religion and Montesquieu's critical remarks about Catholic ecclesiastical institutions were destined to

raise controversy among Catholic writers, such as the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Gaultier, who in 1751 published *Les Lettres persanes convaincues d'impiété*. The increasing turmoil in Usbek's seraglio back in Isfahan forms the core of a general reflection on the diversity of religion, moral values and political systems, encapsulating one of the most important lessons of the *Lettres persanes*.

Although the Oriental character of the *Lettres persanes* is a literary cover, Montesquieu's knowledge of Persia and Islam is not to be underestimated. His close reading of Chardin's *Travels* – the most important and thorough representation of Persian social, political and cultural life at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – and also of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Paul Lucas and others, is proof of this. But the study of Islam is not the primary goal of Montesquieu's work, which is rather a political and philosophical treatise in fictional form. Thus, it would be misleading to analyse it only from the point of view of how comprehensive or correct his information about Islam is.

Writing the *Lettres persanes* allowed Montesquieu to set out ideas and attitudes towards Islam that were evidently already clear in his mind and did not change much in subsequent years, in particular, the close connection between Islam and despotism. The work contains observations and judgements on Islamic society that are often connected to more general considerations about morality, religion and politics. These observations and judgements can also be found in his later *Esprit des lois*, where they are presented in a more organised theoretical and argumentative framework. Examples include the irony in the comments about the prohibition of alcoholic beverages in Islamic countries (letter 33), reactions to credulity about amulets and talismans (letter 143), notions of impurity (letters 17 and 18), and comments on episodes in the life of Muḥammad (letter 39). Beyond the use to which these remarks are put in the exposition of more general ideas concerning morals and manners, they show the persistence of the long-lasting hostility of Christian culture towards Islam. This is also evident, for instance, in the long *Histoire d'Aphéridon et d'Astarté* (letter 67), one of a number of narrative digressions inserted into the work, which contrasts the ancient religion of the Guebres (Zoroastrians) with that of Muḥammad, which was imposed 'non par la voie de la persuasion, mais de la conquête'. In some letters, the connection with the scheme of the *Esprit des lois* is still more direct, as in the pages that emphasise the negative effects of Islam on demographic development (letter 118), or on the relationship between Islam and economic

decline (letter 119). The emphasis on religion as a social factor is clearly shown in these letters, and is closely associated with the methodological premise set out in the *Esprit des loix* (Books 24 ch. 1, and 25 ch. 9), namely the distinction between theological and political inquiry, which is a fundamental element for understanding the secular thought of Montesquieu.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In the *Lettres persanes* Montesquieu does not hide his radical dislike for Islam, a religion that he considers the perfect ally of despotism. Of course, despite the title of the work, its primary subject is not Islam but the complex dynamics of contemporary politics, society and culture. But the epistolary and Orientalist form of the work is a ready device for exposing ideas and problems, which the form of a treatise would not allow. The witness of the other, in the persons of the Persian travellers, offers the best way to present both Montesquieu's opinions and their opposite. This created a problematic scenario which has fascinated readers ever since the work's first publication, evoking both enthusiasm and radical disapproval – mainly from the Catholic side – while proposing a kind of laboratory for philosophical and political inquiry that has never ceased to be effective. Montesquieu's sophisticated approach could be considered the mark of a relativist, although this interpretation does not match the real significance of *Lettres persanes*, which is an exploration of the range of problems associated with politics, morals and manners, and which could be better seen as a step towards a methodology of investigation which later was deployed in the *Esprit des loix*.

Criticism of Islam is clearly present, though this is part of a more general conceptual framework that raises the problem of the reasonableness of religion and its observances, moral consequences and compatibility with differing social contexts at its centre. Thus, comments similar to those made about various ridiculous aspects of Islamic ceremonies and practices are also directed through the words of the Persian travellers at other religious traditions and customs, particularly Christian ones; this was one of the main reasons the work attracted such strong Catholic opposition and the charge of moral and religious relativism.

Montesquieu makes no secret of his preference for Christianity, though he does not hold back his criticism of ecclesiastical institutions and intolerance. But if intolerance is caused by Christians and ecclesiastical power rather than being an original part of the basic Christian message, the situation is exactly the opposite with Islam, which he regards



as founded on violence and fear. Thus, while Islam is the perfect ally of despotism, Christianity is more suited to moderate governments, which best guarantee liberty in modern times.

This last aspect is not as clearly articulated in *Lettres persanes* as in the *Esprit des loix*, but the analysis of religion as a political and social phenomenon follows the same lines. Islam and despotism are typical of a particular part of the world, although Europe could not be considered completely immune to this dreadful threat. The absolutism of the French monarchy in the latter years of the reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) and the years following his death showed that the threat of despotism was not merely imaginary in the geopolitical area that was usually associated with liberty.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Numerous editions and translations of the *Lettres persanes* have appeared. A detailed list of MSS, editions and translations to 1800 is given in Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, ed. E. Mass et al., Oxford, 2004: manuscripts, pp. 81-3; editions 1721-58, pp. 84-119; editions 1759-1800, pp. 119-127; translations – German, p. 127; English, pp. 127-30; Dutch, p. 130; Polish, p. 131; Russian, p. 131.

The following is a selection of the most important of the editions and 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century translations:

Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 2 vols, Cologne: Pierre Marteau [Amsterdam, Jacques Desbordes], 1721, [edition A]; Z-15211 (digitised version available through BNF)

Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 2 vols, Seconde édition revue, corrigée et diminué et augmentée par l'auteur, Cologne: Pierre Marteau [Amsterdam, Jacques Desbordes], 1721 [edition B]; 8-BL-31928 (digitised version available through BNF)

Montesquieu, *Persian letters*, trans. J. Ozell, London, 1722 (English trans.); ESTC T90449 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Montesquieu, *De Persiaansche spion*, trans. L. Foubert, Amsterdam, 1736 (Dutch trans.)

Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 2 vols, Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1754; P-Z-2061 (digitised version available through BNF)

Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, 3 vols, Amsterdam et Leipsick: Arkstée et Merkus [Paris, Huart et Moreau], 1758, vol. 3, pp. 1-347

Montesquieu, *Persianische Briefe*, trans. C.L. Hagedorn, Frankfurt, 1759, repr. 1760 (German trans.)

- Montesquieu, *Persian letters*, trans. T. Floyd, London, 1762 (English trans.); ESTC N20116 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Montesquieu, *Listy pasterskie*, trans. T.K.J. Wegierski, 2 vols, Warsaw, 1778, repr. 1785 (Polish trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Persidskiia pis'ma*, trans. F.T. Pospelov, St Petersburg, 1789 (Russian trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Pis'ma persidskiia*, trans. E.V. Roznotovskii, St Petersburg, 1792 (Russian trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Cartas persianas*, trans. J. Marchena, Madrid, 1821 (Spanish trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Epistolai persikai*, trans. N. Papázoglou, Smyrna, 1836 (Greek trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, ed. P. Vernière, Paris, 1960
- Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, ed. E. Mass et al. (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 1), Oxford, 2004
- Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, ed. P. Stewart, Paris, 2013

## STUDIES

- C. Martin (ed.), *Les Lettres persanes de Montesquieu*, Paris, 2013
- P. Stewart (ed.), *Les Lettres persanes en leur temps*, Paris, 2013
- R. El Diwani, *L'Orient dans les Lettres persanes*, Morrisville NC, 2009
- C. Spector, *Montesquieu, les 'Lettres persanes'. De l'anthropologie à la politique*, Paris, 1997
- J. Goldzink, *La politique dans les Lettres persanes. Théâtre de l'idéologie, scène de la fiction*, Fontenay-Saint Cloud, 1988
- J. Harari, 'The eunuch's tale. Montesquieu's imaginary of despotism', in *Scenarios of the imaginary*, Ithaca NY, 1987, 67-101
- E. Mass, *Literatur und Zensur in der frühen Aufklärung. Produktion, Distribution und Rezeption der Lettres persanes*, Frankfurt am Main, 1981
- A. Singerman, 'Réflexions sur une métaphore. Le sérail dans les *Lettres persanes*', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 185 (1980) 181-98
- A. Gunny, 'Montesquieu's view of Islam in the *Lettres persanes*', in H. Mason (ed.), *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, Oxford, 1978, 151-66
- A. Grosrichard, *Structure du sérail. La fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l'Occident classique*, Paris, 1979
- J. Ehrard, 'La signification politique des *Lettres persanes*', *Archives des Lettres Modernes* 116 (1970) 33-50

- P. Kra, *Religion in Montesquieu's Lettres persanes*, Geneva, 1970
- A. Vartanian, 'Eroticism and politics in the *Lettres persanes*', *Romanic Review* 60 (1969) 23-33
- R.F. O'Reilly, 'The structure and meaning of the *Lettres persanes*', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 67 (1969) 91-131
- P. Kra, 'The invisible chain of the *Lettres persanes*', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 23 (1963) 7-60
- P. Vernière, 'Montesquieu et le monde musulman', in *Actes du Congrès Montesquieu*, Bordeaux, 1956, 175-190
- M.-L. Dufresnoy, *L'Orient romanesque en France (1704-1789)*, 2 vols, Montréal, 1946
- R. Shackleton, 'The Moslem chronology of the *Lettres persanes*', *French Studies* 8 (1954) 17-27
- R.B. Oake, 'Polygamy in the *Lettres persanes*', *Romanic Review* 32 (1941) 56-62
- G.L. Van Roosbroeck, *Persian letters before Montesquieu*, New York, 1932

## De l'esprit des loix 'The spirit of the laws'

DATE 1748

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

*De l'esprit des loix* was indisputably one of the most widespread and influential works published in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It deeply influenced all kinds of reflection on politics and society during the Enlightenment and beyond. This masterly work, a 'labour of twenty years' whose 'majesty' Montesquieu himself explicitly refers to in the Preface, aimed at providing a solution to an extremely large and complex problem, namely, why 'amidst such an infinite diversity of laws and manners', men living in society 'were not solely led by the caprice of fancy' (Preface). This involved finding explanations, based on rational principles verified by experience, for the full range of variety that human societies could offer, in all their different aspects. This was Montesquieu's approach to a fundamental need, which characterises 18<sup>th</sup>-century thought as a whole, namely to find rules of order and hierarchy that could apply to all aspects

of reality. The impressive nature of this enterprise is reflected in the full title of the work, *De l'esprit des loix, ou du rapport que les loix doivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement, les mœurs, le climat, la religion, le commerce, etc. à quoi l'auteur a ajouté des recherches sur les loix romaines touchant les successions, sur les loix françoises et sur les loix féodales*. Here, the meaning of the expression 'spirit of the laws' is explained as 'the relationship that laws must have with the constitution of each government, manners, climate, religion and commerce'. Laws are thus immediately referred to their essential nature, and correspond to 'the necessary relations arising from the nature of things' (Preface, Book 1, ch. 1), which involves everything, including God himself, and their 'spirit', which identifies their nature, the reasons for them, and the relations between them. This fundamental principle forms the pivot around which the entire structure of the work is established.

It follows a methodology of establishing principles, and then organising around them experiential data from a vast range of sources: 'I have laid down the first principles', Montesquieu writes, 'and have found that the particular cases apply naturally to them; that the histories of all nations are only consequences of them; and that every particular law is connected with another law, or depends on some other of a more general extent' (ch. 1). The principles and nature of different forms of government are explained on this basis, coming from experience and becoming a theoretical key to open the doors of political, social and cultural diversity; the relationships between manners, laws, natural environment and cultural attitudes in their different contexts become the subject of extended and clearly organised observation and interpretation – the search for the 'natural reasons' – in the 31 books into which the *Esprit des loix* is arranged, over two volumes consisting of 522 and 564 pages respectively. At the same time, this basis explains and justifies Montesquieu's political views, such as his preference for moderate governments or his detestation of despotism, or his idea that the European world is the geographical and historical area where liberty could be established. Within this theoretical framework, despotism, whose principle is fear, is no longer perceived as degenerate, as in earlier political tradition, but as a system – the most detestable one, but also the most widespread in the world. Its association with religion is particularly noted, and in this conceptual framework Islam plays an important role.

Before the publication of *Esprit des loix*, Montesquieu had already touched on the subject of Islam in some of the notes and remarks of his

manuscript collections of thought, the *Spicilège* and the *Pensées*, and particularly in his *Lettres persanes* (1721), where the fictional use of Persian travellers to Europe provided an opportunity for important reflections on Islam. The theoretical association between the *Lettres persanes* and the *Esprit des loix* is clear, particularly concerning the complementarity of Islam and despotism. As fear is considered the principle of despotic government, Islam could be seen as 'a fear added to fear', and it is the religious submission typical of Islam that explains 'the surprising veneration they [Mahometans] have for their prince' (Book 5, ch. 14). This, remarks Montesquieu, is a fundamental reason for the social, political and moral superiority of Christianity over Islam (Book 24, ch. 5). That conclusion results from a range of comments in which Montesquieu seeks reasons and explanations beyond the level of mere observation that characterises the *Lettres persanes*. Here, reference to the climate and natural environment forms a particularly important element. The Muslim prohibition on alcohol, for example, is directly linked to the Arabian climate, and is recognised as a custom that existed long before Islamic law came into being (Book 14, ch. 10). Similarly, the milieu and climate explains polygamy in Asian societies and, consequently, the reason Islam has flourished more easily than Christianity in Asia (Book 16, p. 2). The servitude of women in this climate is perfectly consistent with despotic government (Book 16, ch. 9) and with the principles of Islam. In this highly oppressive system, the condition of females is particularly painful – a condition which, incidentally, contradicts the very economic principles of slavery, because here it is a condition of absolute subjection 'alleviated only by laziness' (Book 15, ch. 12).

Montesquieu does acknowledge variety within the general framework of Islamic and despotic government, and in some passages his judgement seems less sharp in condemning Islam as a perfect ally of despotism. For instance, he remarks that, in the Ottoman Empire, religion seems to mitigate the effects of despotism (Book 5, ch. 14), that the 'Mahometan doctrine' has helped to overcome internal conflicts in the Arab world (Book 24, ch. 17), or more generally and in seeming contradiction to previous assertions, that the Qur'an's religious precepts could have a moderating influence on the effects of despotism (Book 12, ch. 29). However, these remarks barely change the picture already painted. On the one hand, Muḥammad had displayed incontestable skill as a political leader by making the Arab people a nation of conquerors (Book 21, p. 16) and bringers of despotism. On the other, the moderating function of the Qur'an itself makes it a most effective tool for consolidating the

'tranquility' – which 'cannot be called a peace' (Book 5, ch. 14) – that is characteristic of despotic states and for stabilising what remains arbitrary (Book 12, p. 29). Instead of opposing the effects of despotism, Islam thus reinforces its negative consequences, with its fatalism having catastrophic effects on economic activity (Book 24, ch. 11). The deep attachment Muslims feel towards their religion, associated with the idea of 'a choice made by the deity, and a preference for those who profess it to those who do not' (Book 25, ch. 2), combined with the radically intolerant nature of Islam, which distinguishes it from all other religions practised in the Asian world (Book 25, ch. 15), contribute to amplifying the sinister image sketched by Montesquieu, and make it even more disquieting. It was in fact a fortunate consequence of the natural milieu and climate that Islam found limits to its expansion throughout the world. The reasons, as Montesquieu regretfully notes, why Christianity, which could have checked the establishment of despotism, was limited in its spread – Ethiopia here appearing as a happy exception to the laws of climate (Book 24, ch. 3) – thus had the completely opposite effect to Islam (Book 24, ch. 26).

For Montesquieu, the Islamic world was thus the clearest expression of the spirit of servitude that governed in the whole Asian world (Book 17, ch. 6). This clear and dominant image prevents him from asking more profound questions about Islamic institutions and their history, by confirming the radical and undeniable otherness – political, civil and cultural – of Muslim countries *vis-à-vis* European history and civilisation.

Montesquieu's dislike of Islam, in conformity with the longstanding European Christian tradition, has been frequently noted. The limitations of his understanding of the complexity of Islam, the stereotypical character of his representation of it and the mistakes he sometimes made, even when we consider the information about Islamic societies and culture available in his time, were real and have often been criticised. In particular, the connection he draws between Islam and despotism, highlighting the absence of institutions and laws in all Oriental governments where Islam was established, was sharply criticised in his own day by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron in his *Législation orientale* (1778), a work devoted to rejecting Montesquieu's negative views of the society and institutions of the Islamic East.

Concerning Montesquieu's knowledge of and information about Islam, it should be borne in mind that he was not a philologist or a specialist like, for instance, Pierre Bayle. His method of inquiry was always

characterised by an aim to seek for proof and to demonstrate principles and statements, which, once found and stated, in turn propelled him to find examples to demonstrate the correctness of his ideas. This methodological approach is clearly set out in the Preface of the *Esprit des lois*, where he writes: 'I have laid down the first principles, and have found that the particular cases apply naturally to them; that the histories of all nations are only consequences of them; and that every particular law is connected with another law, or depends on some other of a more general extent'. Specific facts thus came after and as a consequence of his arrival at general principles, and his extensive readings were always guided by a principle of selection and choice, with the aim of supporting his statements. 'Il fallait beaucoup lire', he writes in *Pensée* 1862, 'et il falloit faire très peu d'usage de ce qu'on avait lu.'

This methodological approach notwithstanding, Montesquieu's knowledge of Islamic societies and culture was not negligible and corresponds to an interest in Islam that can be observed from the very first stages in his intellectual career. Texts and documents on Islam, read and at times annotated by Montesquieu, are to be found in his family's library at the chateau of La Brède, to which he added many more while writing the *Lettres persanes* and *Esprit des lois*: from the translations of the Qur'an by Andre du Ryer (1647) and Ludovico Marracci (1698), to the works of Michel Baudier (1625), le Sieur de Moni – pseudonym of Richard Simon – (1684), Michel Nau (1684) and Adriaan Reland (1721), to the biographies of Muḥammad by Humphrey Prideaux (1699), Jean Gagnier (1732) and Henri, comte de Boulainvilliers (1730). Another key source of information on Islam, as well as on many other topics in the *Esprit des lois*, was the direct observations and memoirs of travellers, merchants, diplomats and missionaries; examples are Paul Rycaut for the Ottoman Empire (1665), and Chardin, Tournefort, Tavernier and others for Persia and other parts of the Islamic world. As for the general representation of the Islamic world, we can agree with Paul Vernière's comment that Montesquieu's image is that of 'un monde redoutable, dominé par une religion ritualiste et fataliste, gouverné par des despotes incultes et paresseux, voué à d'incessantes révolutions et à une irrimédiable décadence économique' (Vernière, 'Montesquieu et le monde musulman', p. 179).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

To judge the significance of Montesquieu's approach to Islam in the *Esprit des lois* solely on the basis of his negative assessments would

mean considering only an incomplete, and maybe not primarily important, aspect of his thought process. In fact, the particular importance of Montesquieu's approach, and what connects his ideas on Islam to other eminent thinkers of the Enlightenment, lies in the shift of interest in the Islamic from the strictly religious field, whether philosophical or theological, to a more expanded area, in which society plays the most important role from a universal and comparative perspective. It involved the meaning of civilisation, its components, extent and development, which was the essential problem for Enlightenment historians and philosophers. It also involved attitudes towards Islam that Voltaire, for example, in many respects very different from Montesquieu, clearly shows in his evolution from *Mahomet, ou le fanatisme* (1736) to *Essai sur les mœurs* (1756).

Apart from his indisputably negative attitude towards Islam, it is Montesquieu's approach to finding an explanation of the dynamics of society that provides a useful interpretative key for evaluating the position of Islam in the structure of the argument in the *Esprit des lois*. This new attitude grew slowly, following different rhythms and forms and associated with various intellectual contexts, in the period between the publication of the *Lettres persanes* and the *Esprit des lois*. It corresponded to a general movement within European society, including the economy, means of social communication and cultural mediation, which would form the ground upon which Enlightenment culture could grow.

#### PUBLICATIONS

For the MSS of the work, see C. Volpillac-Augier (ed.), *De l'esprit des lois (manuscripts)*, 2 vols, Oxford, 2008. Details of editions and translations up to 1800 will appear in C. Volpillac-Augier (ed.), *De l'esprit des lois (imprimé)*, 2 vols, Oxford, expected 2021

Numerous editions and translations of *De l'esprit des lois* have appeared. The following is a selection of the most important and recent of these, together with selected 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century translations:

Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois, ou du rapport que les lois doivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement, les mœurs, le climat, la religion, le commerce, etc. à quoi l'auteur a ajouté des recherches nouvelles sur les Loix Romaines touchant les successions, sur les Loix Françaises, et sur les lois féodales*, 2 vols, Genève: Barillot et Fils, 1748; E\*-1293 (digitised version available through BNF)

Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois, ou du rapport que les lois, etc. Nouvelle édition. Corrigée par l'auteur, et augmentée d'une table des matières, et d'une carte géographique, pour servir à l'intelligence des*



- articles qui concernent le commerce*, 3 vols, Genève: Barillot et Fils [Paris, Huart et Moreau Fils] 1750
- Montesquieu, *The spirit of laws. Translated from the French of M. de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. With corrections and additions communicated by the author*, 2 vols, London, 1750 (English trans.); ESTC Togo872 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Montesquieu, *Dello spirito delle leggi*, Naples, 1751 (Italian trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Werk Von den Gesetzen, oder Von der Verhältniss, welche die Gesetze zu jeder Regimentsverfassung ... haben sollen...*, 3 vols, Frankfurt, 1753 (German trans.); 32101 049141110 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des loix. Nouvelle edition. Revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur*, 4 vols, Londres [Paris], 1757; ESTC Togo725 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Montesquieu, *Om lovenes natur og aarsag*, trans. J. Hvas, 3 vols, Copenhagen, 1770-1 (Danish trans.)
- Montesquieu, *De aart der wetten*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1771-3 (Dutch trans.); OTM o 63-4899/4900 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Montesquieu, *O razumie zakonov*, trans. V. Kramarenkovym, St Petersburg, 1775 (Russian trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Del espíritu de las leyes*, trans. MVM, Londres [Madrid], 1821 (Spanish trans.)
- Montesquieu, *A törvények lelkéről*, 3 vols, Posonyban, 1833 (Hungarian trans.)
- Montesquieu, *Uṣūl al-nawāmīs wa-l-sharā'ī'*, trans. Yūsuf Āṣāf, Cairo, 1891 (Arabic trans.); 990030581300203941 (digitised version available through Harvard Library)
- Montesquieu, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. R. Caillois, Paris, 2 vols, 1949-51
- Montesquieu, *Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu*, sous la direction de André Masson, 3 vols, Paris, 1950-5
- Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois, Introduction, chronologie, bibliographie, relevé de variantes et notes*, ed. R. Derathé, 2 vols, Paris, 1973
- Montesquieu, *The spirit of the laws*, ed. and trans. A.M. Cohler, B.C. Miller and H.S. Stone, Cambridge, 1989 (English trans.)
- Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, ed. C. Volpillac-Augier, 2 vols (*Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu* 3-4), Oxford, 2008 (edition of the BNF MS of the work)

## STUDIES

- R. Minuti, *Studies on Montesquieu. Mapping political diversity*, Cham, Switzerland, 2018
- J. Ehrard (ed.), *Montesquieu, l'État et la religion, Actes du colloque de Sofia (7 et 8 octobre 2005)*, Sofia, 2007
- R. Minuti, *Orientalismo e idee di tolleranza nella cultura francese del primo '700*, Florence, 2006
- A. Thomson, 'L'Europe des Lumières et le monde musulman. Une alterité ambiguë', in G. Abbattista and R. Minuti (eds), *Le problème de l'altérité dans la culture européenne aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles. Anthropologie, politique et religion*, Naples, 2006, 259-80
- L. Bianchi, 'Leggi divine e leggi umane. Note sulla religione nel libro XXVI dell'"Esprit des lois"', in D. Felice (ed.), *Libertà, necessità e storia. Percorsi dell'Esprit des lois' di Montesquieu*, Naples, 2003, 243-75
- A. Gunny, *Images of Islam in eighteenth-century writings*, London, 1996, pp. 118-29
- D. Felice (ed.), *Leggere l'Esprit des lois. Stato, società e storia nel pensiero di Montesquieu*, Naples, 1998
- A. Thomson, art. 'Islam', in M. Delon (ed.), *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, Paris, 1997, 600-3
- L. Bianchi, 'La funzione della religione in Europa e nei paesi orientali', in A. Postigliola and M.G. Bottaro Palumbo (eds), *L'Europe de Montesquieu, Actes du colloque de Gênes (26-29 May 1993)*, Naples, 1995, 375-87
- Kra, *Religion in Montesquieu's Lettres persanes*
- Vernière, 'Montesquieu et le monde musulman, d'après l'Esprit des lois'
- F. Weil, 'Montesquieu et le despotisme', *Actes du Congrès Montesquieu*, Bordeaux, 1956, 191-215
- M. Dodds, *Les récits de voyages, sources de L'esprit des lois de Montesquieu*, Paris, 1929

Rolando Minuti

## Joseph de Guignes

DATE OF BIRTH 19 October 1721  
PLACE OF BIRTH Pontoise  
DATE OF DEATH 19 March 1800  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

### BIOGRAPHY

Joseph de Guignes, one of the most distinguished French Orientalists of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was born at Pontoise on 19 October 1721, the son of Jean Louis de Guignes and Françoise Vaillant. A very young disciple of the great scholar Étienne Fourmont (1683-1745), de Guignes followed his teaching in Oriental languages for 12 years, then succeeded him in 1741 (at just 20 years of age) as 'secrétaire interprète' for Oriental languages at the Bibliothèque du Roy. Together with his fellow student Michel-Ange André Leroux-Deshauterays, he dedicated to his master the *Abrégé de la vie et des ouvrages de M. Fourmont* (1747).

In 1752, de Guignes was elected to the Royal Society of London, and in 1754 became an associate of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, where he carried out most of his scholarly work; 28 essays were published in the volumes of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* dealing with various subjects concerning Oriental history and culture, and the relationship between the European and Asian nations. De Guignes played a further important role from 1752 onwards as contributor to the *Journal des Sçavans*. His *Mémoire sur l'origine des Huns et des Turcs*, published in 1748, was the first step in his impressive research, which led to the publication of the *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux [...] avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'à présent* (4 vols, 1756-8), in which his extensive scholarship and competence in Chinese and other Oriental languages was applied to tracking the origins of the barbarian peoples who had invaded the Roman empire, and writing a general history of Central Asia in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. In 1754, he married Hocherau de Gassonville, and they had a son, Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes, who became a diplomat and scholar and continued his father's scholarly work, mainly in sinology; he published a celebrated book, *Voyages à Pékin, Manille et l'Île de France* (1808).

In 1757, de Guignes was given the chair in Syriac at the Collège royal, succeeding Augustin François Jault (1700-57), and was then appointed 'garde des antiques' of the Louvre. Noteworthy among his many scholarly contributions are his edition of *Le Chou-King, un des livres sacrés des Chinois* (1770), translated by Antoine Gaubil, and of *Éloge de la ville de Moukden* (1770) and *Art militaire des Chinois* (1771), translated by Joseph Amiot. In 1759, de Guignes published his *Mémoire dans lequel on prouve que les Chinois sont une colonie égyptienne*; this followed an essay on this topic published the previous year in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* and opened a wide debate, in which Cornelius de Pauw and his old friend Leroux-Deshauterayes in particular (*Doutes sur la dissertation de M. De Guignes*, 1759) were involved.

Also noteworthy are some contributions concerning Arab and Islamic topics, published in the first three volumes of the *Notices et extraits de la Bibliothèque du Roy*, or left as manuscripts and listed by his son in the preface to his *Voyages à Pékin, Manille et l'Île de France*. During the Revolutionary period in France, de Guignes lost some of his assignments, but he persevered with his scholarly work until his death on 19 March 1800.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Joseph De Guignes and M.-A. Leroux Deshauterayes, *Abrégé de la vie et des ouvrages d'Étienne Fourmont*, Paris, 1747

*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1723-1809

*Journal des Sçavans*, Paris, 1752-92

Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux [...] avant et depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent [...]*, Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1756-8, 4 parts in 5 vols

Joseph de Guignes, *Mémoire dans lequel [...] on essaye d'établir [...] que la nation Chinoise est une colonie égyptienne*, Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1759

M.-A.A. Le Roux Deshauterays, *Doutes sur la dissertation de M. De Guignes, qui a pour titre: Mémoire dans lequel on prouve que les Chinois sont une colonie égyptienne*, Paris: Laurent Prault, 1759

*Notices et extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 3 vols, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1787-90

'Notes sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. De Guignes', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 48 (1808) 770-2

C.L.J. De Guignes, 'Avant-propos', in C.L.J. De Guignes, *Voyages à Péking, Manille et l'Île-de-France, faits dans l'intervalle des années 1784 à 1801*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1808, vol. 1, pp. ii-iii

J.-M. Quérard (ed.), art. 'Guignes (Jos. De)', in *La France littéraire, ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens, et gens de lettres de la France*, Paris, 1829, vol. 3, pp. 525-7

J-N [Jourdain], art. 'Guignes, Joseph de', in, M. Michaud (ed.), *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne, Nouvelle édition*, Paris, 1857, vol. 18, pp. 126-9

#### Secondary

I. Landry-Deron, art. 'Guignes, Joseph de', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012, 496

N. Wolloch, 'Joseph de Guignes and Enlightenment notions of material progress', *Intellectual History Review* 21 (2011) 435-48

J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and religion*, vol. 4. *Barbarians, savages and empires*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 99-153

R. Minuti, *Oriente barbarico e storiografia settecentesca. Rappresentazioni della storia dei Tartari nella cultura francese del XVIII secolo*, Venice, 1994, ch. 4, pp. 141-89

G. Abbattista, 'Un dibattito settecentesco sulla storia universale. Ricerche sulle traduzioni e sulla circolazione della *Universal history*', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 101 (1989) 614-95

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Histoire générale des Huns, des Turks, des Mogols,  
et des autres Tartares occidentaux

'A general history of the Huns, Turks, Mongols, and  
other western Tartars'

DATE 1756-8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

The *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turks, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux* [...] *avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'à présent* ('A general history of the Huns, Turks, Mongols, and other western Tartars, etc. before and after Jesus Christ down to the present'; 4 volumes in 5 tomes, 1756-8) was the culmination of Joseph de Guignes' scholarly work. It quickly became a reference work for all historians involved in research on Central Asian history and the connections between Western and Eastern history in ancient and modern times. Edward Gibbon was a particular admirer, and frequently made use of it in his *History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*.

The number of sources de Guignes used – carefully listed in the ‘Tables des auteurs cités dans cet ouvrage’ (tome 5) – applying his extensive and thorough knowledge of many Oriental languages, made this work the best European survey produced thus far of events in Eurasian history, going far beyond what could be found in earlier works such as Barthélemy d’Herbelot’s *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697).

At a time when ‘philosophical history’ was rapidly developing as an expression of Enlightenment historiography, the distinctive character of the *Histoire générale* is more typical of a traditional antiquarian way of writing history, not avoiding new forms of narrative style but remaining firmly committed to careful inquiry and presentation of the complicated sequence of events that marked this great section of universal history. In this respect, it is an explicit rejection of Voltaire’s style and approach to universal history (as is clearly expressed in the prefatory pages of the first volume), which demonstrated a dislike for the history of barbarian peoples that Voltaire thought did not contribute to the development of civilisation. In de Guignes’ systematic inquiry into the history of the nations of Central Asia and their connections and interactions with other nations, it is not easy to find chapters or even pages that reflect on historical principles or processes.

Even though de Guignes tries to avoid a philosophical approach, it is clear that his primary concern is to confirm through historical and documentary evidence the unity of the human family and the various connections between peoples; this is typical of what may be called a diffusionist approach. It was on this theoretical premise that he was prompted to the discovery that the Hsiung-nu peoples living on the frontiers of China were the same as the Huns who had invaded the Roman Empire, a discovery that was to open up a series of debates connected to the ideological implications of the origins of nations, particularly in eastern Europe.

The emphasis on the issue of civilisation is also relevant to de Guignes’ recognition of the importance of the influence of Islam in changing the attitudes, manners and culture of Central Asian peoples. He attaches central importance to the role of Muḥammad in this process when, for instance, at the beginning of the description of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty in Egypt (vol. 3, p. 125), he interrupts his narrative to give a rapid account of the historical role of the Prophet. Following the long-standing wars between Turkish and Arab nations, he remarks that Turks who had been captured and introduced to Islamic culture abandoned their barbarity and became scholars in science and politics, and gained

important positions in society. In another chapter, writing on the history of Bukharia, he presents the Tartars who had converted to Islam as the most civilised people in this nation (vol. 4, p. 437). Other examples could be cited to illustrate this point.

Muḥammad is portrayed as the author of a 'great revolution' by which the Arabs became a conquering nation. But he was not only a leader moved by zeal for conquest, war and destruction of humanity, because his fundamental political aim was to 'enlighten the Arabs' (vol. 3, p. 126), bringing them out of idolatry to belief in the oneness of God. This was the aim of a great politician, who wished to give new unity and strength to a people. Notwithstanding this, he is also referred to as an impostor.

This more sympathetic view of Islam, compared with the widespread antipathy to it in 18<sup>th</sup>-century culture, echoes de Guignes' positive remarks concerning the Arabs more generally, particularly expressed in the prefatory pages to the 'Tables chronologiques' at the beginning of the work (vol. 1, pp. 314-90). Although very little was known about pre-Islamic Arab history, de Guignes remarks that the Arabs were not a totally ignorant people because they cultivated poetry and rhetoric, and probably wrote historical works, though these are lost. Philosophy entered much later into their history; its progress was at first weak because of internal quarrels and conflicts, but after the time of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbasid caliph (r. 754-75), the translation and circulation of philosophical works, which came mainly from Greece, produced a great flourishing of sciences and literary studies. Following Arab sources directly – al-Nuwayrī, Abū l-Fidā', Abū l-Faraj and many others – de Guignes offers a detailed survey of the various dynasties and governments.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

De Guignes' *Histoire générale* is an outstanding example of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century approach to universal history. The features that distinguish it are readily visible when it is compared with other examples of universal histories of the time, such as the *Universal history* (*The ancient part*, 7 vols, London 1736-44; *The modern part*, 16 vols, London, 1759-64), which is an outline of the history of all peoples in all countries and times. While de Guignes expresses appreciation for the scale of this attempt, and for what the authors write about certain topics such as the history of the Islamic nations, he considers that they seriously lack (as he writes in the *Journal des Sçavans*) detailed knowledge of original sources. De Guignes'

own method recognised facility in languages and the access this gave to original sources as indispensable to creating a universal history.

Although de Guignes shared Enlightenment ideas concerning civilisation and the primacy of settled and agricultural societies, like the Chinese, over nomadic peoples, such as the Tartars, he refused to consider the complicated history of the whole of Central Asia as unworthy of historical inquiry. This judgement reveals an essential aspect of the work's significance in the development of modern historiography, namely the identification of connections and interaction in the general history of humankind. Universal history is not merely the act of collecting the histories of peoples and nations, but requires both the direct use of original sources and scholarly ability, and also the reconstruction of the complex system that connects people and nations. Thus, Central Asia acquired for de Guignes a particular significance as a great theatre in which peoples, cultures and events interacted.

The significance of Islam within this network is not overlooked, as it played a highly important role in the connections and interaction between societies. In a word, it was a key actor in the dynamics of universal history. Beyond the condemnation of Islam from a religious and Christian point of view, which is not especially apparent in de Guignes' work, it was Islam in its social and political role that he particularly considered. This primarily involved the figure of Muḥammad, whose political talent he appreciated (sharing ideas that are present in Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*), but also the caliphs and all nations that followed the faith of Islam.

De Guignes' *Histoire générale* was a remarkable attempt to connect narrative history with erudition, and also to track in detail the events marking the history of Islamic society within the single framework of the Eurasian world.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, etc. Avant et depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'à present. Précédée d'une introduction contenant des tables chronologiques et historiques des princes qui ont régné dans l'Asie*, 4 vols, Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1756-8 (vol. 1 is divided into 2 parts, each occupying a separate tome); 4-02Q-69 (1/1-5) (digitised version available through BNF)

Joseph de Guignes, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Hunnen und Türken, der Mogols und anderer okzidentalischen Tartarn*, trans. Johann Karl



Dähnert, 5 vols, Greifswald: Anton Ferdinand Rose, 1768-71 (German trans.); 4 H.as. 289-1-5 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Joseph de Guignes, *Hünleriñ, Türkleriñ, Moğollaryñ wa-daha sâ'ir-i Tātārlaryñ ta'rīkh-i-'umūmisi*, trans. Hüseyin Câhid Yalçın, 8 vols, Istanbul, 1923-5 (Turkish trans.)

#### STUDIES

Wolloch, 'Joseph de Guignes and Enlightenment notions of material progress'

Pocock, *Barbarism and religion*, vol. 4. *Barbarians, savages and empires*, pp. 99-153

R. Minuti, *Oriente barbarico e storiografia settecentesca*, ch. 4, pp. 141-89

**Rolando Minuti**

# Nicolas Antoine Boulanger

DATE OF BIRTH 11 November 1722  
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris  
DATE OF DEATH 16 September 1759  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

The life of Nicolas Boulanger remains little known. Born into a family of modest means – his father was a paper merchant on the Rue Saint-Denis in Paris – Boulanger demonstrated little enthusiasm for study during his youth. He nevertheless completed his studies at the College of Beauvais, under Jansenist influence, but did not study mathematics and architecture until later, teaching himself. He was also fascinated by ancient languages, particularly Oriental languages. In 1743, he was appointed private engineer to Baron de Thiers, who put him in charge of carrying out the excavation works during the siege of Freiburg-in-Breisgau during the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1745, Boulanger joined the *Corps d'ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées* (civil engineers), which allowed him to travel throughout France studying the terrain on which roads were to be constructed, often in harsh living conditions. He completed the construction of the Pont de Vaucouleurs, but his fragile health forced him to leave the construction site of the Pont de Foulain and to take early retirement from his post as engineer. He died soon afterwards, at the age of 37.

During his visits to Paris, Boulanger mixed in the circles of enlightened philosophers, with whom he collaborated. He was a close friend of Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715-71), whom he called 'Papa' and with whom he also corresponded briefly, and he also contributed to the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, authoring the articles 'Corvée', 'Déluge', 'Guèbres', 'Hébraïque (langue)' and 'Économie politique'. His most prominent works circulated quite widely in manuscript form, and were finally published posthumously by Baron d'Holbach (in collaboration with Jacques-André Naigeon), as part of the ideological struggle for enlightened ideas.

The works of Boulanger are those of a self-obsessive. They overlap, complementing and repeating each other – from the *Nouvelle mappemonde* (1753) and his *Mémoire sur une Nouvelle mappemonde* (1753) to

his major treatises, *Recherches sur l'origine du despotisme oriental* (1761), *L'antiquité dévoilée par ses usages* (1766), by way of the *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch* and the articles published in the *Encyclopédie*. The reason for this all-consuming passion is grounded in science. Through his experiences as an engineer and the field observations he made, Boulanger determined that the formation of the earth had occurred over a considerable period of time. Moreover, the presence of various fossils in the layers of the earth attested to the historical reality of major geological catastrophes, preserved by tradition in the biblical story of the flood and the mythologies of almost every people on earth. According to his inferences, our species, which almost perished in these primitive cataclysms, has lived continuously in a state of unconscious fear, obsessed by the idea that a new catastrophe might occur, destroying us forever. Every historical belief and activity of humankind, including its political forms, retains the mark of this primitive fear.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

[D. Diderot], 'Extrait d'une lettre écrite à l'éditeur sur la vie & les ouvrages de Mr. Boulanger', in N.-A. Boulanger, *L'antiquité dévoilée par ses usages, ou Examen critique des principales opinions, cérémonies et institutions religieuses et politiques des différens peuples de la terre*, Amsterdam, 1777, ix-xxiv

### Secondary

P. Sadrin, *Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger (1722-1759) ou avant nous le déluge*, Oxford, 1986

J. Vercruysse, *Bibliographie descriptive des écrits du baron d'Holbach*, Paris, 1971

J. Hampton, *Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger et la science de son temps*, Geneva, 1958

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Dissertation sur Elie et Enoch

DATE Late 1750s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

This treatise was in all likelihood composed at the very end of Boulanger's life. His purpose in it was to 'unmask' an historical and theological deception and to reveal the true face of two imaginary figures on whom Scripture imposed the mythical persona of prophets: Elijah

and Enoch. In the opening lines, he explains that Elijah is merely the embodiment of an astronomical symbol shown to the peoples after many years and centuries, and who was subsequently hidden, provoking the anguished expectation of the return of a fictional character to whom divinity was ultimately attributed. Boulanger supports his assertion using the customs of the Jews, the Bible and etymology.

However, before coming to the case of Enoch, the *Dissertation* examines two figures not named in the title: the Roman Valerius Volusius and 'Alī, son-in-law and cousin of Muḥammad, who are also presented as recurring symbols and emblems of the Great Judge. The *Dissertation* ends with the study of Enoch, who merely confirms the same pattern; the patriarch is simply an embodiment of the same principle, the illustration of the psychological mechanisms that lead to the development of religious beliefs.

For Boulanger, religion is not the product of divine revelation or political deception, but emanates from the primitive psychological trauma of humanity. It is this terror that explains the importance attributed to the natural cycles (day, lunar month, solar month, year, great year), which are enduring signs of death and resurrection. It also explains why, in all ages and places, religious institutions always offer a phase of anxiety followed by a phase of joy when the world, which appeared to be threatened with destruction, is 'renewed'. Valerius Volusius and 'Alī are merely two examples selected from thousands of others which confirm the universal character of human beliefs and the universality of the phenomenon by which primitive catastrophes are made the point of origin of the intellectual and religious history of humankind.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Boulanger's theory show him to be an original thinker. Whereas the philosophers of the Enlightenment rely on a form of relativism in order to destroy the sacred character of the Christian religion, by contrast Boulanger demonstrates that Christianity is no different from other religions, and for the same reasons as other beliefs is a product of natural forces and of fear. Following Pierre Bayle and Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, Boulanger also maintains that fables are not the product of a dysfunctional imagination, but speak to us about humankind, its concerns, its hopes, and its history.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes – 828 (844) (Date unknown)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 1197 (Date unknown)

MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia – Voltaire 240 (IX) (Date unknown)

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch* [Amsterdam?], [1760?]; H.g.hum. 22 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch* [Amsterdam?], [1762?]; H.g.hum. 189#Beibd.1 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch* [Amsterdam?], 1764; S 805384 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht)

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Oeuvres de M. Boullanger*, vol. 6. *Contenant: les dissertations sur Elie & Enoch. & sur Esope le fabuliste*, s.l., 1778

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch*, s.l., 1790 (new edition)

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch* [Geneva/Paris?], 1791

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5. *Le christianisme dévoilé. Dissertation sur Elie et Enoch. Esope fabuliste*, Paris, 1792, pp. 229-302; 39586.10 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Oeuvres de Boulanger*, vol. 4. *Le christianisme dévoilé. Dissertation sur Elie et Enoch. ...*, Amsterdam, 1794

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch*, s.l., [1800?]

Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, *Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch*, ed. P. Sadrin, Besançon, 1991

#### STUDIES

M.S. Seguin, 'Boulanger lecteur de manuscrits philosophiques clandestins?', *La Lettre Clandestine* 12 (2004) 121-34

M.S. Seguin, *Science et religion au XVIIIe siècle. Le mythe du déluge universel*, Paris, 2001

Sadrin, *Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger*

Vercruysse, *Bibliographie descriptive des écrits du baron d'Holbach*

Hampton, *Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger et la science de son temps*

Maria-Susanna Seguin

## 18<sup>th</sup> century Encyclopédistes

### BIOGRAPHY

Islam is present in the *Encyclopédie* in a very large number of entries, written by various authors in addition to one of the general editors Denis Diderot, notably Louis de Jaucourt, Edme François Mallet and probably Paul Thiry d'Holbach.

Denis Diderot (1713-84)

Diderot was born in Langres on 5 October 1713. His father, a master cutter, destined him for the priesthood. He was educated at the local Jesuit college from about 1723, becoming an abbé in 1726. In 1728 or 1729, he went to study in Paris, probably at the Collège d'Harcourt, and perhaps at Louis-le-Grand. He received a master's degree from the University of Paris in 1732 and then studied theology and also law. He lived for a while by various expedients, including translation work, and published various irreligious works, one of which, *Lettre sur les aveugles* (1749), led to his brief incarceration at Vincennes. From 1747, he was editor in chief of the *Encyclopédie*, to which he devoted the next 25 years, also contributing a large number of articles, in addition to writing many other works dealing with philosophical, scientific and political issues (many never published during his lifetime), as well as art and literature criticism, novels and plays.

He remained in Paris, apart from a trip to Russia in 1773-4 at the invitation of the Empress Catherine II (r. 1762-96) to her court in Moscow. He died in Paris on 31 July 1784.

Louis de Jaucourt (c. 1704-80)

Jaucourt was probably born in Paris into a Huguenot family that had been forced to convert to Catholicism. He studied in Switzerland, England and Holland, where he was taught medicine by Herman Boerhaave in Leiden, defending his doctoral thesis under the name of Louis de Neuville in 1730, after which he returned to France. He first contributed to the second volume of the *Encyclopédie*, eventually writing thousands of articles on a wide variety of subjects, particularly geography. He died on 3 February 1780 in Compiègne.

Paul Thiry d'Holbach (1723-89)

D'Holbach was born in Edesheim, in the Rhineland Palatinate, on 8 December 1723. He inherited his title from his rich uncle François-Adam d'Holbach, who brought him to Paris in 1735, and sent him to study law in Leiden in 1744. D'Holbach returned to France in 1749, where he was naturalised. He inherited much of his uncle's wealth in 1753, and was able to frequent aristocratic circles and to devote himself to science as a respected chemist and mineralogist, and to philosophy. His salon in rue Royale Saint-Roch and his country house in Grandval were centres of activity of enlightened intellectuals and many contributors to the *Encyclopédie*. In the 1760s and 1770s, he published anonymously a large number of works of antireligious propaganda. He died on 21 January 1789 at his home in Paris.

Edme François Mallet (1713-55)

Born in Melun on 29 January 1713, Mallet was first educated by the local priest before studying at the Barnabite College in Montargis and entering the Church. He obtained a doctorate in theology in Paris, and was private tutor to the children of the Princesse de Rohan-Guéméné. He then became a parish priest in the countryside near Melun. In 1745, he published *Principes pour la lecture des poètes* and in 1747 *Essai sur l'étude des belles-lettres*. He returned to Paris in 1751 to take up a chair of theology at the Collège de Navarre. He published works on oratory and was preparing various works of history when he died in Paris on 25 September 1755.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

- Édition numérique collaborative et critique de l'Encyclopédie*, Contributeurs; <http://enccre.academie-sciences.fr/encyclopedia/politique-editoriale/?s=20&> (biographies for all contributors to the *Encyclopédie*)
- J. Goldzink, art. 'Diderot Denis', in François Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 324-5
- M. Leca-Tsiomis, *Écrire l'Encyclopédie*, Oxford, 1999
- J. Haechler, *L'Encyclopédie de Diderot et de ... Jaucourt (essai biographique sur le chevalier de Jaucourt)*, Paris, 1995
- J. Lough, *The Encyclopédie*, London, 1971, Geneva, 1989<sup>2</sup>
- F.A. Kafker and S.L. Kafker, *The Encyclopedists as individuals. A biographical dictionary of the authors of the Encyclopédie*, Oxford, 1988
- M.F. Morris, *Le chevalier de Jaucourt. Un ami de la terre (1704-1780)*, Geneva, 1979
- A.C. Kors, *D'Holbach's coterie. An Enlightenment in Paris*, Princeton NJ, 1976

A.M. Wilson, *Diderot*, New York, 1972

J. Proust, *L'Encyclopédie*, Paris, 1965

J. Proust, *Diderot et l'Encyclopédie*, Paris, 1962, 1995

J. Lough, art. 'Louis, chevalier de Jaucourt (1704-1780). A biographical sketch', in E.T. Dubois et al. (eds), *Essays presented to C.M. Girdlestone*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1960, 195-217

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers 'Encyclopaedia or systematic dictionary of the sciences, arts and professions'

DATE 1751-65

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

#### DESCRIPTION

The *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* appeared over a period of years, vols 1-7 between 1751 and 1757, and vols 8-17 in 1765. Its general editors were Denis Diderot and, until 1758, Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-83).

Many of the *Encyclopédie* articles on Islam are purely brief, factual accounts that supply information about various aspects of Muslim belief, history, law and customs; they are usually neutral in tone, in line with what would be expected from an encyclopaedia entry, although some include the clichéd references to Islam as a false and fanatical religion and the Prophet as an impostor. They also include entries on a large number of Muslim sects and their main beliefs. Many of these articles are unsigned, although some are by Jaucourt or the Abbé Mallet, and some are attributed to d'Holbach. The sources of these brief articles are generally not indicated, but they draw on earlier reference works, including Bartélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, and more general dictionaries, as well as travel accounts.

There is no overall unity in the work's treatment of Islam, as the articles vary according to the author and the sources used; for example, de Jaucourt's article 'Pèlerinage de la Mecque' (vol. 12, p. 283a) contains no reference to the article 'Hagi ou Haji', and there are two separate articles on Shi'īs under different names, 'Schiais, Schiaite, ou Schiite' (vol. 14, p.



763b), and 'Shiites *ou* Chiites' (vol. 15, p. 142). Details about Islam are also found in a variety of other entries; for example, de Jaucourt's long geographical entry on Turkey, 'Turquie' (vol. 16, pp. 755-9), includes a factual description of religious beliefs and practices based on travel accounts.

There are in addition a few very long articles devoted specifically to Islam, notably the unsigned article 'Alcoran' (vol. 1, pp. 250-1), 'Mahométisme' (vol. 9, pp. 864-8) by Jaucourt, and the extremely long article 'Sarrasins *ou* Arabes, *philosophie des*' (vol. 14, pp. 663-78) by Diderot. The first of these, which cites d'Herbelot and translations of the Qur'an, reproduces the 'common opinions amongst us' that the Qur'an was written by two monks and based on Christian and Jewish beliefs; this is contrasted with the Muslim belief in its divine origin. In addition to a certain amount of accurate information, there is also the claim that the Qur'an is nothing but imposture and fraud, which appeal to ignorant and sensual people. It singles out as demonstrably false the belief in predestination and the claim that it 'must be established without miracles, without discussion, without contradiction, hence those who reject it must be put to death'. De Jaucourt's article 'Mahométisme' (vol. 9, pp. 864-8) essentially follows Voltaire's account, and includes references to sublime passages in the Qur'an as well as to incoherencies and inconsistencies; but it mainly provides a fairly neutral history of the Prophet and the spread of Islam.

Diderot's article, 'Sarrasins *ou* Arabes, *philosophie des*', which is very largely based on J. Brucker's *Historia critica philosophiae* (1742-4), includes a huge amount of detailed information about the history of Islam and its main thinkers. While Diderot says near the beginning of the entry, after a reference to the destruction of the library at Alexandria, 'On peut regarder Mahomet comme le plus grand ennemi que la raison humaine ait eu' (Muḥammed can be considered as the greatest enemy to human reason there has ever been; vol. 14 (1765), p. 664a), he provides much later a long list of the main elements of Muslim beliefs concerning God, followed by the comment: 'Il faut avouer que les Musulmans ont de hautes idées de la nature de Dieu; & que Leibnitz avoit raison de dire, que le Christianisme ne s'étoit élevé à rien de plus sublime' (It must be admitted that Muslims have elevated ideas about the nature of God, and Leibniz was right to say that Christianity did not reach such sublime heights; vol. 14, p. 670b). Diderot also details at length many of the positions of Muslim philosophers on science and human nature, some of which correspond to his own materialistic philosophy, and he ends with a long quotation from the Persian

poet Sa'dī. It is therefore difficult to characterise this overall as a hostile article. In a private letter in 1759, Diderot makes fun of Muslim fanatics and superstitious practices, as he does those of Christian fanatics, but he also remarks that Islam is a highly integrated theosophical system, peppered with the most sublime truths (*Lettres à Sophie Volland*, ed. A. Babelon, Paris, 1930, vol. 1, p. 136).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to generalise about the view of Islam presented in the *Encyclopédie* and its impact. The reader could find much detailed information about the history, beliefs, organisation and customs of Muslims, chosen from a variety of sources, although not all necessarily reliable. We do find in some of Jaucourt's articles a greater attention to accuracy and use of specialised works. For example, in addition to 'Mahométisme', he contributed a short article called 'Islam' (vol. 8, p. 915) in which he remarks on the etymology of the word, referring to d'Herbelot, and says that this more accurate name deserves to be adopted; likewise he writes that one should prefer the name Coran to Alcoran. But in general the articles were not written by specialists in Islam or the Muslim world and often reproduced longstanding European prejudices. The *Encyclopédie* may therefore be considered to have helped to perpetuate them, but it would be difficult to say that there was an overall intention to denigrate. More often, some of the remarks made by particular authors, such as Diderot or d'Holbach, should probably be interpreted rather as a swipe at Catholicism or more widely at all organised religion, intolerance and fanaticism.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Denis Diderot et al. (eds), *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vols 1-7, Paris, 1751-7; vols 8-17, Paris, 1765; Getty Research Library (digitised copies of vols 1-17 available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

*Édition numérique collaborative et critique de l'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers (1751-1772)*; <http://enccre.academie-sciences.fr/encyclopedia/> (collated text and ongoing critical edition, with numerous studies of aspects of the work – the most authoritative copy of the first edition)

## STUDIES

D. Brewer and J.C. Hayes, *Using the Encyclopédie*, Oxford, 2002

M. Leca-Tsiomis, *Écrire l'Encyclopédie*, Oxford, 1999

J. Lough, *The Encyclopédie*, London, 1971, new ed. Geneva, 1989

J. Proust, *L'Encyclopédie*, Paris, 1965

**Ann Thomson**

# Vincent Mignot

Alexandre-Jean des Aunais Mignot

DATE OF BIRTH 1725  
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris  
DATE OF DEATH 1791  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Vincent Mignot had the honorary title of abbot of Scellières. He functioned as counsellor to the King's Great Council from 1750 to 1765. Nephew and heir to Voltaire, he had a close relationship with the famous philosopher, who was undoubtedly instrumental in stimulating his historical interest, not least in the history of the Muslim world, i.e. the Ottoman Empire. In their correspondence, Voltaire cheerfully salutes Mignot as 'Monsieur le Turc' and refers to *L'histoire de l'Empire Ottomane ...* as 'votre voyage en Turquie' (Hellegouarc'h, 'Cinq lettres inconnues', pp. 197-207). D'Alembert made Mignot's name known outside France when, in a letter to King Frederick of Prussia (r. 1740-86) dated 24 January 1778, he gave a lengthy account of his effort to secure Voltaire a Christian burial (*Posthumous works of Frederic II*, vol. 12, p. 154). Besides his four volumes on the Ottoman Empire, Mignot produced *L'histoire de l'imperatrice Irène* (1762), *L'histoire de Jeanne, Reine de Naples* (1764) and *L'histoire de Ferdinand et Isabelle* (1766).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

A.H. Anquetil-Duperron, *Legislation orientale*, Paris, 1778

Frederick, King of Prussia and Marquis D'Argens, *Posthumous works of Frederic II, King of Prussia*, vol. 12. *Correspondence between Frederik II and Mess. d'Alembert, de Condorcet, Grimm and d'Argel* (trans. from French by Thomas Holcroft), London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789

W-s [Weiss], art. 'Mignot, Vincent', in L.G. Michaud (ed.), *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, vol. 29, Paris, 1821, 24-5

L.E. Smith, 'The library list of 1783', Claremont CA, 1969 (PhD Diss. Claremont Graduate School)

J. Hellegouarc'h, 'Cinq lettres inconnues de Voltaire à son neveu Mignot. L'une est datée de 1766, les quatre autres de 1772', *Revue de l'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 109 (2009) 197-207

*Secondary*

A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature, 1650 to the present*, Markfield, Leicester, 2010, pp. 159-61

Aslı Çirakman, *From the 'terror of the world' to the 'sick man of Europe'. European images of Ottoman Empire and society from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth*, New York, 2002, pp. 132-50

A. Gunny, *Images of Islam in eighteenth-century writings*, London, 1996, pp. 172-3

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman 'The history of the Ottoman Empire'

DATE 1771

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

While he was writing *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* (in full, *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à la paix de Belgrade en 1740*), Mignot, who did not read either Arabic or Turkish, had access to the foreign affairs documents of the King of France, probably thanks to his personal relationship with the former French ambassador to the Sublime Porte (1728-41), the Marquis de Villeneuve, who was a close friend of Voltaire. Mignot's catalogue of sources also includes: Hans Löwenclau, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti* (1588); Paul Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (1666); Giovanni Francesco Sagredo, *Memorie istoriche de Monarchi Ottomani* (1673); Raimondo, count of Montecuccoli, *Memorie della guerra* (1703); Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731); Luigi Ferdinando, count of Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'imperio Ottomano incremento e decremento del Medesimo* (French trans. 1732); and Gabriel François Coyer, *L'histoire de Jean Sobieski* (1761). Mignot also claims that he relied upon French translations of Ottoman historians. Finally, it seems more than probable that the biography of Muḥammad at the beginning of the first volume of *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* was inspired by Humphrey Prideaux's

immensely popular *The true nature of imposture fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* (1697), as well as Henri de Boulainviller's *Vie de Mahomet* (1730), Jean Gagnier's *La vie de Mahomet* (1732), and Voltaire's *Mahomet ou le fanatisme*, although Mignot does not mention any of these as his sources.

*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* is based on the historiographical model established by Richard Knolles, Michel Baudier and Paul Rychaut. Each chapter records the rule, conquests, victories, defeats, political crises, patricides, and moral character of each sultan, starting with Osman I (r. 1299-1324) and ending with Mahmud I (r. 1730-54). Thus, Mignot records the history of the Ottoman Empire from its foundation in the 14<sup>th</sup> century to its incipient decline in the wake of the defeat at the Battle of Vienna in 1683 and up to its unexpected victory in the Austro-Russian-Turkish War 1737-9. In the four volumes of the 1771 edition, which totals 1793 pages, Islam occupies 30 pages of the historical account of Muḥammad's life, 'Discours historique sur Mahomet & ses successeurs', prefixed to vol. 1. However, there are references to Islam throughout the work since, as Mignot states, the sultan's power is based on religious laws, and although the Turks have religious courts to interpret all legal matters, '... il n'y a en Turquie aucune constitution, qui restreigne le pouvoir de l'Empereur. Les Turcs n'ont de Loi écrite que le Koran & la Sunna' (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 1771, vol. 4, p. 453). According to Mignot, the theocratic nature of the Ottoman government originates in Muḥammad's desire to be not only prophet, but legislator and king. Mignot represents the convergence between political and religious sovereignty as the defining feature of the Ottoman power structure, and – he further argues – it is this that constitutes the most fundamental difference from Christian states since there sovereignty is divided between the king and the pope (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. 4, p. 182).

'Discours historique sur Mahomet & ses successeurs' gives an account of Muḥammad's progression from camel merchant to prophet, legislator and ruler of Mecca and Medina. It describes Muḥammad as a man of immoderate ambition driven by a desire for power and – after the death of his first wife, Cadisja – by an unlimited passion for women. Those who converted to his law considered themselves to be his disciples, though in Muḥammad's eyes they were never anything but subjects, slaves and soldiers. Mignot's portrait of Muḥammad thus fits into the well-established stereotypes of 'the lecherous prophet' and 'the imposter'.

According to Mignot, the illiterate Muḥammad owed his success to a Jew and to a Nestorian monk who had been expelled from a monastery in Syria. They persuaded him to ground his power in a new religion, to which both the Jew and the Nestorian contributed with a mixture of elements from Judaism and Christianity. However, Muḥammad and his accomplices were well aware that religion alone would not bring him to the throne. Since Arabs were more sensual, ignorant and credulous than any other people, the new faith had to captivate them through their senses and imagination. The Jew therefore furnished Muḥammad with 'reveries' from the Talmud and encouraged him to feign revelations, ecstasies and conversations with God. Moreover, as he was a profoundly ignorant man, Muḥammad had 'the boldness' to declare himself the envoy of God and the instrument of the divine power. Furthermore, to seduce the senses, Muḥammad offered polygamy and a paradise loaded with all the earthly pleasures that the 'peuple ignorant' of 'la brulante Arabie' could possibly picture in their imagination. On the whole, Muḥammad adapted his laws to the manners and desires of his countrymen.

Mignot seems particularly provoked by the idea of the Qur'an as God's final revelation to humanity. For him, the inherent 'désordre', the 'inégalité', the perpetual medley of 'maximes et de faits qui se combattent' (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 1771, vol. 1, p. 7) reveal that each chapter was conditioned by various circumstances and responds to Muḥammad's shifting personal needs and desires. The praise of Christianity, for instance, that is to be found in the early chapters of the Qur'an constitutes a strategic attempt to win the Christians in Medina to Muḥammad's cause. The rigorous rule that the Qur'an prescribes for women is due to the infidelity of 'Ā'isha, Muḥammad's favourite wife, and also his jealousy and contempt for a sex to whom his passions made him submit in spite of himself. The inference is that, since Muslims are generally requested to follow the example and teachings of their legislator, they inevitably treat women in a highly ambivalent way. On the one hand, they lavish presents on their women and behave as savage idol-worshippers towards their domestic deities, but on the other, they imprison and ill-treat them. In the Qur'an's permission to marry the divorced wives of adopted sons, Mignot finds yet more evidence of the Prophet's opportunistic instrumentalisation of the divine revelations. In order to marry Zaynab, the wife of his adopted son Zayd (who was willing to divorce Zaynab in order to let her marry the Prophet), without violating the prohibition of incest, 'the imposter' procured a divine

revelation giving permission for believers to marry the divorced wife of their adopted sons.

The last section of the 'Discours historique' concerns Muḥammad's successful attempt to extend his law by force of arms after the flight to Medina, followed by the story of his successors, the caliphs and their expansion of the empire, dynastic wars and the victory of the Turkish Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-20). Mignot asserts that 'les circonstances le servirent bien' (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 1771, vol. 1, p. 7) but he also admits that Muḥammad possessed great audacity and many warlike talents. He acknowledges that Muḥammad was the founder of the powerful empire of the caliphs, but he insists that the Islamic religion was placed in his mouth by others. However, the greatest success of Islam did not occur until after the death of Muhammad because then 'son auteur n'étoit plus au yeux du peuple, le scandale d'une conduite qu'il avoit souvent fallu excuser' (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 1771, vol. 1, p. 28).

This 'Discours historique sur Mahomet & ses successeurs' forms yet another re-enactment of the assault on Muḥammad's moral character that Christians had repeated for centuries. What could be the purpose of assaulting the founder of Islam at a moment when the Ottoman Empire 'descended from being perceived as the "terror of the world" to the "sick man of Europe"'? (Çirakman, *From the 'terror of the world'*, p. 1) Perhaps the 'Discours historique sur Mahomet & ses successeurs' was an intervention in an ongoing discussion with Voltaire, who had shown a sustained interest in Islam and who, at frequent intervals, opened new perspectives on Muḥammad 'that were theological, sociological and historical' (Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*, p. 151). Maybe Mignot, who was far more pious than his uncle, was alarmed by Voltaire's partial attempts, in the dictionary article *De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet* (1736) and the vast universal *Essai sur les mœurs* (1756), to nuance his earlier treatment of Muḥammad.

However, if the 'Discours' is viewed within the larger context of the work as a whole, it could be argued that the portrait of Muḥammad as an imposter, and thus of his followers as deceived by their sensual and credulous mind, served as an attempt to explain the many revolutions, upheavals and usurpations at the sultan's court in Constantinople. No matter how despotic the Ottoman government is, writes Mignot, the religious enthusiasm of the Turks nourishes a persistent, childish affection for their despots, so that every time a despot is dethroned, the people want to see a new one (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. 3, 1771, p. 423). While Montesquieu, who seems to be the unrecognised addressee of Mignot's reflections, defined the subjects of despotism as passively



obedient slaves, Mignot describes them as subjects attached to their despots by the same religious enthusiasm that originally made it possible for Muḥammad to deceive the Arabian people. As for the other aspect of Montesquieu's concept of despotism, that of unlimited, arbitrary rule, Mignot insists that the power of the Ottoman sultans is not without restraints, since their rule has always been constrained by the written code of the Qur'an and Sunna. On the other hand, there is no monarch more despotic than the Turkish sultan, because no one has the right to challenge the law under which he governs since the Qur'an is considered to be the revelation of God's will (*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 1771 vol. 4, pp. 453-4).

It has often been argued that Voltaire's *Mahomet ou le fanatisme* (1736), which also presents the Prophet as a scheming, ambitious and wicked tyrant, was making a subtle attack through Islam on all forms of religious fanaticism and all monotheistic religions (Gunny, *Images of Islam*, pp. 136-7). This view is supported by Voltaire's own highly ambivalent and many shifting attitudes toward Islam. However, the fact that he exerted a considerable influence on *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* does not mean that it displays the same intellectual subtleties as do the works and the approaches of the philosopher. Mignot was undoubtedly driven by an authentic historical interest in the Ottoman Empire. Yet, his attempt to explain the instability of its government as an effect of Muḥammad's imposture and of the naivety in the Muslims' religious enthusiasm bears witness to an approach formed by centuries of clichés and Christian stereotypes about Muslims, their Prophet and their faith.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Mignot's *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* contributes to two of the defining discourses in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century's French preoccupation with the Islamic world: that of Muḥammad as an impostor and that of Oriental despotism, which had its most coherent theoretical expression in Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* (1748). Mignot's account of Muḥammad's life in *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* deviates partly from the common understanding as he tries to diminish the historical importance of the Prophet by claiming that 'Mahometanism' was invented by a Jew and a Nestorian monk who at an early point helped Muḥammad build a political career. Mignot also introduces nuances into the concept of despotism by arguing that despotic government takes many forms. While describing the Ottoman sultans as despotic, Mignot denies that their government fits into Montesquieu's definition of despotism. The

Turks are not blindly obedient slaves and their sultan's power is not arbitrary or without restraints, since it is grounded in the Qur'an and Sunna.

Measured in numbers of translations, *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* had a wide circulation. Yet, not much is known about its reception and actual influence on other authors. Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron makes a brief comment on Mignot in his *Legislation orientale* (1778), calling him the 'well-known historian' of the Ottoman Empire. A reference to an unauthorised English translation occurs in the catalogue of books arranged and recommended by James Madison for the use of the American Congress, 24 January 1783. Mignot's work is also highly rated by Louis Gabriel Michaud in *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne* (1811-62) where the abbot is described as well-informed and his *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* is praised for its precision and impartiality (Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*, p. 159).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Vincent Mignot, *L'histoire de l'Empire ottomane depuis son origine jusqu'à la paix de Belgrade en 1740*, 4 vols, Paris: C.G. le Clerc, 1771; 008923208 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Vincent Mignot, *L'histoire de l'Empire ottomane depuis son origine jusqu'à la paix de Belgrade en 1740*, 4 vols, Paris: C.G. le Clerc, 1773

Vincent Mignot, *Geschichte des Ottomanischen Reichs von seinem Ursprunge bis zum Belgrader Frieden im Jahr 1740*, trans. J.G. Wachsmuth, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1774 (German trans.)

Vincent Mignot, *Historya turecka czyli państwo Ottomanskie od początku aż do pokoju Belgradzkiego zawartego w roku 1740*, trans. D. Szybiński, 5 vols, Warsaw, 1779 (Polish trans.); 22364 (digitised version available through Hieronim Łopaciński Lublin Provincial Library)

Vincent Mignot, *The history of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire, from its foundation in 1300 to the peace of Belgrade in 1740*, trans. A. Hawkins, 4 vols, Exeter, 1787 (English trans.); 008923207 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Vincent Mignot, *Istoriia turetskaia nachinaia vremenami kak onaia sostavilas', do zamirenīia mezhdu sultanom Magmutom, ili Magometom Piatym, i rimskim imperatorom Karlom Shestym v 1740 m godu*, 4 vols, St Petersburg, 1788-9 (Russian trans.)

Vincent Mignot, *The history of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire, from its*

*foundation in 1300 to the peace of Belgrade in 1740*, trans. A. Hawkins,  
4 vols, London, 1789 (English trans.)

## STUDIES

Gunny, *Prophet Muhammad*

Çirakman, *From the 'terror of the world'*

Gunny, *Images of Islam*

**Anne Fastrup**

# Voltaire

Francois-Marie Arouet

DATE OF BIRTH 21 November 1694  
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris  
DATE OF DEATH 30 May 1778  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Voltaire, as he is universally known, was one of the most influential French philosophers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. François-Marie Arouet was born into a bourgeois family as the youngest son of François Arouet and Marie Marguerite Damart in Paris on 21 November 1694. He received his education at the renowned Jesuit College Louis-le-Grand. Being strongly encouraged by his father to pursue a legal career, François-Marie continued his studies at law school. However, driven by his desire to concentrate on a writing career, he left law school early. Amongst his first writings there were many satirical poems and critical political writings ridiculing prominent aristocrats and their politics, which regularly put him in trouble with the aristocracy. In 1716, one such conflict resulted in his expulsion from Paris for several months and, in 1717, another conflict led to his imprisonment in the Bastille. After his release in 1718, he changed his name into what would become his pen name, Arouet de Voltaire.

A new period in Voltaire's life began in 1726, when yet another conflict forced him to leave for England. There, he was heavily influenced by English writers, philosophers and scientists such as Isaac Newton and John Locke. During his stay, he also came to admire the English for their religious toleration and became increasingly aware of the beneficial influence of toleration on cultural and economic developments. This was not the first time Voltaire encountered the positive impact of religious toleration, because he had already seen the blossoming Dutch economy during his stay in the Netherlands in 1713. However, it was only in England that he began to further develop his own ideology of toleration.

At the end of 1728 or the beginning of 1729, Voltaire returned to France as a *philosophe*, aiming to make his knowledge and ideas accessible to a wider audience in order to educate them and to influence current political debates. From then onwards, his main purpose was to encourage his contemporaries to act in accordance with reason. He tried to achieve this through his many plays, histories and philosophical works. However, the publication of his first philosophical work, *Lettres philosophiques*, in 1734, sparked a storm of criticism. The vehemence of the discussion resulted in Voltaire seeking refuge in the house of his dear friend and companion, Emilie du Châtelet, in Cirey. This would be his safe haven and main residence between his travels during the following 15 years. It was during this period that Voltaire wrote one of his famous *contes* (tales), namely the satirical oriental story of *Zadig* (1747).

After many tranquil years, Voltaire's life at Cirey changed dramatically with the death of Madame du Châtelet in 1749. He departed to the court of Frederick II (r. 1740-86), king of Prussia, with whom he had already been corresponding for years. However, life there was not as Voltaire had expected; Frederick II turned out not to live up to Voltaire's ideas of an enlightened king, and found Voltaire quarrelsome. Only three years after his arrival, Voltaire left Prussia because of a dispute with Pierre-Louis Maupertuis, the president of Frederick's Prussian Academy of Sciences.

In 1754, Voltaire settled in Geneva because he was not welcome in Paris, but he only stayed there for a year, because he soon experienced at first hand the tense, aggressive, Protestant climate there. In 1759, he settled permanently in his chateau at Ferney, which he had bought at the end of 1758. In 1759, he also published *Candide*, a satire in which he ridiculed the idea that this world was the best of all possible worlds and criticised the alleged atrocities committed by followers of various religious traditions, including Islamic traditions. Yet, the final moral conclusion was put in the mouth of a Turkish sage.

His house was a place where he received many noble visitors and where one could freely engage in scholarly debates. Although Voltaire was moving into calmer waters, it was not long before he began in 1762 one of the most important campaigns of his life, *Ecrasez l'infâme* ('Crush the vile thing'), against religious fanaticism and superstition, as a reaction to the unjust conviction of the Protestant Jean Calas. Calas was falsely accused by the fanatical inhabitants of Toulouse of having killed his own son for the latter's alleged intention to convert to Catholicism. Earlier, Voltaire had ridiculed religious fanaticism and intolerance in works such

as *Henriade* and *Mahomet*, but now he launched a fiercer, more political, campaign for toleration. Religious fanaticism and superstition, particularly Christian, would be one of the more prominent recurring themes in his later works. He addressed the issue not only in polemical tracts and encyclopedia articles, but also in his *Contes en vers* (1764), such as in *Azolan*. Religious values would also be discussed in *L'éducation d'un prince*.

In 1778, Voltaire returned to Paris one last time to attend the premiere of his tragedy *Irène*. He in fact missed the premiere because he was already very ill, but he managed to attend a performance some days later. Shortly afterwards, on 30 May 1778, he died in Paris.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- J.A.N. de Caritat et al. (eds), *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Kehl, 1785-9  
 T.I. Duvernet, *La vie de Voltaire*, Geneva, 1786  
 J.A.N. de Caritat, *Vie de Voltaire*, Kehl, 1789  
 C.A. Collini, *Mon séjour auprès de Voltaire*, Paris, 1807  
 E.A. Lequien et al. (eds), *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, 1820-5  
 S.G. Longchamp and J.L. Wagnière, *Mémoires sur Voltaire*, Paris, 1826  
 G. Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire et la société au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1876  
 L. Moland (ed.), *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, 1877-85  
 Voltaire, *Correspondence and related documents*, ed. T. Besterman, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vols 85-135, Geneva, 1968-77  
 Voltaire Foundation (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire* (*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*), Oxford, 1969-

#### *Secondary*

- J. Goldzink, art. 'Voltaire, François Marie Arouet dit (Paris, 1694-Paris, 1778)', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 1030-2  
 I. Davidson, *Voltaire. A life*, London, 2010  
 G. Tyrnovsky, 'The making of a name. A life of Voltaire', in N. Cronk (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Voltaire*, Cambridge, 2009, 17-30  
 P. Milza, *Voltaire*, Paris 2007  
 R. Pomeau et al., *Voltaire en son temps*, Paris, 1994 (1995<sup>2</sup>)  
 J. Goldzink, *Voltaire. La légende de Saint Arouet*, Paris, 1989  
 H. Mason, *Voltaire. A biography*, Baltimore MD, 1981  
 A.O. Aldridge, *Voltaire and the century of light*, Princeton NJ, 1975  
 T. Besterman, *Voltaire*, Oxford, 1969 (1976<sup>3</sup>)  
 J.H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire historian*, London, 1958

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Theatre

DATE 1732-41

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

During his long career Voltaire wrote many tragedies, several of which are on Islamic themes and stories, in particular *Zaïre* (1732) and *Mahomet* (1741). He also regularly included Islamic characters in his plays, such as *Zulime* (1740) and *Irène* (1778). *Mahomet* is undoubtedly the most interesting of these with regard to Western views of early Islam.

Voltaire's interest in Islamic themes originated in the 1730s, when he began to introduce tragedies on French characters and to experiment with new, non-classical settings, including Islamic ones. This resulted in the staging of his very popular tragedy named *Zaïre* in 1732. Although the play's main characters are loosely based on historical French figures, the events are not demonstrably historically true and the story is reminiscent of Shakespeare's *Othello*. It is set in Jerusalem at the time of the crusades and tells the dramatic love story of the Islamic sultan Orosmane and his Christian French slave girl Zaïre. In order to marry Orosmane and to prove that she will be loyal to him, she is planning to convert to Islam. Her brother and father try to persuade Zaïre to remain Christian and to allow them to baptise her. On the evening of the intended baptism, however, Zaïre is seen with her brother by a confidant of Orosmane, who misinterprets the scenario as a love affair. When Orosmane is informed, he stabs Zaïre to death, blinded by the idea of her unfaithfulness. When the real identity of the man who was with Zaïre is revealed to him, Orosmane commits suicide.

Throughout the play Roman Catholic French culture is contrasted with the Muslim culture of the East. At the beginning, French women are described as intelligent and the companions, almost the equals, of their husbands, and their life is contrasted with that of women in the sultan's harem. The differences between Islam and Christianity are frequently stressed, particularly through the mouth of Zaïre's family. For instance, her father and brother underline the grace of Christ as opposed to the falsehood of Muḥammad. The play was not meant to underline the differences between Christianity and Islam, but rather to warn the public against the negative consequences of religious fanaticism. It is, therefore,

rather about the dangers of Christian fanaticism than about the falsity of Islam. The fanaticism of Zaïre's family ultimately results in her death, while, even though the sultan is not a religious fanatic, his behaviour (demanding Zaïre's unquestionable loyalty and devotion) is reminiscent of that of Zaïre's family and is as least as dangerous (Weber, 'Voltaire's "Zaïre"', pp. 42-62).

The theme of cultural and religious struggles between Christians and Muslims recurs in two later tragedies by Voltaire. The first, *Zulime*, was staged in 1739; it is also known as *Fanine* (1756), *Médime* (1760) and the new *Zulime* (1761-2). The tragedy, and all its subsequent revised editions, were never received well by the public. It is about an African Muslim princess *Zulime*, who commits suicide because a Spanish prince, who is her father's prisoner, does not return her love. The tragedy evokes both the cultural conflict between Spanish Christians and African Muslims, or 'Moors', and the political and social conflicts between people of the same religion and divided loyalties.

In *Zaïre* and *Zulime* the oriental setting and the references to the insurmountable differences between Muslims and Christians mainly serve as



Illustration 12. Scene from Voltaire's play *Zaïre*



the background to the tragic love stories, using current stereotypes of the oriental world that would be easily recognised by Voltaire's public. In *Zaïre*, the references to Muslim Jerusalem and the crusaders are possibly inspired by Louis Maimbourg and Claude Fleury's *Histoire ecclésiastique* ('Zaïre, tragédie', ed. Jacobs, pp. 179, 280-1, 296, 312-13). *Zulime* was based on several literary sources mentioned by Voltaire himself: Corneille's *Le Cid*, *Bajazet* and *l'Ariane*; *Manlius* possibly by de La Fosse; *Inès* by Houdar de La Motte; and *Callirhoé* by Pierre-Charles Roy. Mme de La Fayette's *Zaïde* (1671) and especially Eustache de Noblemon't's *Zulima* (1694) have also been noted as sources. It has also been pointed out that the geography of the work is reminiscent of *La description general de Africa* by Luys del Marmol Caravajal (1573), but it remains unclear whether Voltaire used this work or not. Although *Zulime* does not refer to specific historical events, the story seems to be inspired by true events in sources that Voltaire referred to when he was collecting materials for *Essai sur les mœurs*, especially the story of Queen Egilone in chapter 27 and King Alfonso in chapter 44 of the *Essai* ('Zaïre, tragédie', ed. Jacobs, pp. 114-20, 139-51).

While Voltaire was working to improve *Zulime*, he began to write his most controversial play set in an Islamic context, namely *Mahomet. Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le Prophète*, in English known as *Fanaticism or Mahomet the Prophet*, was written in 1739 but was not staged until 25 April 1741 in Lille. It differs considerably from Voltaire's previous tragedies on Muslim-Christian relations in that it was not primarily a love story (Carlson, Voltaire and the theatre of the eighteenth century, p. 54). Set at the time of the conquest of Mecca by Muḥammad in 630, it tells the story of Mahomet, who, following the advice of his general, persuades a young man, Seide, to carry out a supposedly divine mission to murder the leader of his Meccan adversaries, Zopire. However, Seide does not know that Zopire is his father, while Mahomet is fully aware of this. To conceal his role in this terrible patricide, Mahomet has Seide poisoned before the young man can discover the extent of his crime and publicly expose Mahomet's evil intentions. When questions arise about the deaths of Zopire and Seide, Mahomet further masks his part in the murders by claiming that their deaths were the will of God.

This drama unfolds in five acts, each comprising between four and 11 smaller scenes. Especially interesting are the various views on Mahomet's character presented by Voltaire. The first is that of Zopire, who represents passionate advocates of religious freedom and free will. Zopire accuses Mahomet of absolutism and encouraging fanaticism, and calls

him a false prophet, cruel, a seducer, tyrant and usurper. Another perspective is offered by Phanor, a member of the Meccan council, who symbolises those who are willing to convert to another religion to save their own life, even though they are not convinced of the truth of the new religion. On the one hand, he is convinced that Mahomet is a hypocrite but, on the other, he tries to persuade Zopire to accept Mahomet. A third view follows from the descriptions of the Prophet by a young girl called Palmire, who was kidnapped and raised by Mahomet, and by his general Omar. Both Palmire and Omar admire Mahomet greatly. The final account is given by Mahomet himself, who in the second act, explains his mission to Zopire. He claims that he wants to free the people from the ancient laws that are based on foolishness, and argues that the weak minds of the people should be guided by his strong mind. He wishes to unite the people and their faith, and to guide them as their only monarch. However, Mahomet constantly behaves in an extremely peremptory and manipulative way.

To summarise, Voltaire depicts the Prophet as an impostor and a fanatic who kills his adversaries without remorse, strives to conquer the world, and imposes his new, false religion on the Arabs. Yet, the play also includes characters who praise his qualities. The depiction of Muḥammad, his laws and the miracles associated with him are thus presented in an ambivalent manner.

Voltaire explained the reasons for his negative portrayal of Muḥammad in a letter dated 20 January [December] 1740, addressed to the Prussian King Frederick II (Letter D 2386, in Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents VII*, pp. 380-5). He argues that the primary aim of the theatre should be instruction rather than mere entertainment. When composing *Mahomet*, Voltaire claims, he was driven by his love for humankind and his horror of fanaticism. His intention was to give men food for thought by inspiring them to reflect upon the consequences of their own fanatical behaviour. The play was intended to show how young, virtuous people could become corrupted and extremely cruel under the influence of religious fanaticism. Voltaire adds that he made his characters, including his Mahomet, commit fictitious crimes for the benefit of the play's dramaturgy. He defends his creation of a young character who would kill an old man out of fanaticism, and the context of patricide and incest, by citing worse examples of religious fanaticism from European history. Voltaire also lists what he calls 'Muḥammad's faults', particularly condemning Muḥammad for fighting his own people in the name of God. He points out that he was no more than a camel merchant who

convinced the Quraysh of his conversations with the angel Gabriel and of his ascent to heaven, which he links to the revelation of the Qur'an in a way that is not common in Muslim history. Voltaire ascribes various crimes to Muḥammad, saying that he kills fathers, abducts daughters and forces his defeated opponents to choose between conversion and death; such a man could be capable of anything, and thus also of the crimes shown in the play. His Muḥammad, Voltaire writes, was just an armed Tartuffe. He elaborates on this comparison in a letter to César de Missy (Letter D 2648, in Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents VIII*, pp. 243-4).

The focus on the pedagogical character of the play should be understood against the background of the relation between Voltaire and Frederick II. For Voltaire, who was always encouraging Frederick II to improve himself as enlightened king, the two virtues that inspired him to write *Mahomet*, namely love of mankind and abhorrence of fanaticism, should be central to the rule of the enlightened king. Underlining how these virtues were manifest in the play and in European history was meant to instruct the king as well.

The idea of Muḥammad as an impostor, intriguer, degenerate and criminal had prevailed throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the more positive approach taken by several of Voltaire's contemporaries, this negative opinion remained in vogue among many writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, including Abbé de Vertot, who considered Muḥammad a skillful but dangerous impostor. By his own account, Voltaire based his *Mahomet* on Henri de Boulainvilliers' *La vie de Mahomed* and George Sale's translation of the Qur'an, but he openly admitted to Frederick II that he had made up the story.

The story of Muḥammad and the wife of Seide as narrated by Boulainvilliers and later corrected by Sale formed the basis for the plot of *Mahomet*. Voltaire copied parts of their works almost literally, such as the speech delivered by Mahomet in Act II.5, which seems to be derived from Boulainvilliers' work, or the representation of Mahomet as sensual. In other instances, however, Voltaire adapted the descriptions of the events by Sale and Boulainvilliers. He changed, for instance, the name of the leader of the Meccan opposition Abu-Sufyan to Zopire, and added additional dramatic elements to the plot, such as the abduction of Zopire's children by Mahomet (Tobin, 'The sources of Voltaire's *Mahomet*', pp. 373-4). Three other possible sources for the character Mahomet have been pointed out: Bayle's article 'Mahomet' (Mason, *Pierre Bayle and Voltaire*, p. 50), Humphrey Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, with its negative

depiction of the Prophet as ambitious and driven by lust, and Gagnier's *Vie de Mahomet*, although whether he drew from the last (which he certainly used later) is a matter of debate. It has been suggested that this *Vie de Mahomet* was Voltaire's primary source for the history of Seide (Hadidi, *Voltaire et l'islam*, p. 38). However, Voltaire made no mention of these works in connection to *Mahomet* in his letter to Frederick.

*Mahomet* was the first of Voltaire's many works on the character and motives of the Prophet. However, his later works would differ greatly from *Mahomet* in their presentation of Muḥammad and Islam. Whereas the predominantly negative depiction of Muḥammad in the tragedy was heavily influenced by Voltaire's willingness to stretch the truth for the benefit of dramaturgy, a more positive view of the Prophet emerges from his later works, which pay more attention to the rise of Islam and the contents of Muḥammad's theology and laws. Nevertheless, in all of Voltaire's work Muḥammad is regarded as an impostor, no matter how brilliant.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Bringing the theme of religious fanaticism to the stage and combining it with an Oriental setting were Voltaire's own innovations. But his use of Islam and the Prophet can be compared to that of some 18<sup>th</sup>-century critics of Christianity, who either used Islam as a mask for Christianity, as did Voltaire, or claimed that Islam was superior to intolerant Christianity.

*Zaïre* was translated into many languages and became the basis of various European plays. Italian, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, German, Spanish and English translations appeared throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Jacobs, 'Zaïre, tragédie', pp. 286-92). *Zaïre* never caused as much controversy as *Mahomet*, but was likewise incredibly popular.

The debate that followed the premiere of *Mahomet* in Paris on 9 August 1742 shows that many critics did not believe the play was merely about the evil deeds of Muḥammad, and they regarded it as an outright attack on Christ, Christianity and even revealed religion in general. The Jansenists felt particularly attacked by Voltaire and they interpreted the tragedy as part of an anti-Jansenist campaign. After criticism by Joly de Fleury of the Paris Parliament, the play was withdrawn. Voltaire, who wanted to be elected to the Académie Française, tried to convince his public of his intention to criticise Muḥammad rather than Christ. He wrote a letter to Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740-58) on 17 August 1745 (Letter D 3192, in Besterman [ed.], *Correspondence and related documents IX*,

pp. 307-8), in which he asked the pope's forgiveness for having written a play about the founder of a barbarous religion, and dedicated the play to the pope. In the conclusion, Voltaire – in vain – asked the pope for his blessing, which of course, if given, would have considerably improved his position. He wanted his contemporaries to believe that this desired blessing had been given, and so he forged a papal response and made sure that it circulated widely. Both letters were added to the many subsequent editions of the play. The play was performed again in 1751. It became very popular and was translated into many languages. In 1782, it was staged in Baltimore, Maryland, where Muḥammad was compared to George III (r. 1760-1820) of England. While there were many negative reactions, including from Gabriel Gauchat, Nicholas-Sylvestre Bergier, Lord Chesterfield and Napoleon Bonaparte, Voltaire was also greatly admired for his work by, for instance, César de Missy and Rousseau. One of the most famous references to the play comes from Rousseau, who praised especially the second act in a letter to d'Alembert, saying he considered it aesthetically superior to any other scene he had ever read. Rousseau particularly admired Voltaire for his eloquent style. However, he doubted whether the moral message would influence the public positively (Badir, *Voltaire et l'islam*, pp. 138-41). Goethe rewrote *Mahomet*, but he did agree with Voltaire's predominantly negative depiction of the Prophet.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the play was still much debated and commented on. On the one hand, some writers, such as Geoffrey and Emile Deschanel, continued the 18<sup>th</sup>-century criticism that Voltaire wanted to attack the founders of all religions and to destroy the Roman Catholic Church. On the other, more moderate voices argued that the play was just what it claimed to be. For instance, Henri Lion pointed out that it had no hidden meaning and was only about the ambitious and skillful impostor Muḥammad. Gustave Larroumet noted that the play was meant to be polemical, addressed to all fanatics.

Other plays were based on *Mahomet* during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was popular not only in Europe but also further afield. Two examples of operas derived from it are *Maometto* (1817) by Peter von Winter and *Mahomet* (1877) by Auguste Vaucorbeil.

Nowadays, the content of *Mahomet* and especially the depiction of the Prophet are still much debated. Whereas scholars such as René Pomeau, Ronald Ridgway and Robert Mitchell have emphasised that the play was primarily intended as criticism of the fanaticism of the Church, new editions have repeatedly aroused storms of criticism, because the play was considered blasphemous. In 1993 and 2005, huge discussions flared

up when it was proposed to stage the play in Geneva and in France, respectively. Opponents, including Tariq Ramadan, argued that it was an offence to the Prophet. In other words, there has been a big shift in how the play is interpreted over the past few centuries. Whereas Voltaire's contemporaries mainly felt offended because of the presumably anti-Christian character of the play, modern criticism focuses on the actual representation of the Prophet Muḥammad.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Editions and translations of Voltaire's plays are numerous; a selection of the earliest is given here.

#### *Zaïre*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations see W.H. Barber et al. (eds), *Writings of 1731-1732. Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 8, Oxford, 1988, pp. 329-80.

Voltaire, *Zayre, tragédie. Représentée à Paris, aux mois d'août, novembre et décembre 1732*, Rouen: by or for Jore and sons, 1733 (earliest edition); YF-7007 (digitised version available through BNF)

Voltaire, *Zaïre, of de koninglyke slavin, treurspel. Gevolgt na het Franſche van de Hr. De Voltaire*, trans. Klinkhamer, Amsterdam: Jacobus Hayman, 1734<sup>2</sup> (Dutch trans.; J. Vercruysse, 'Bibliographie provisoire des traductions néerlandaises et flamandes de Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 116, Banbury, 1973, 19-64, p. 53, no. 143 – see further pp. 53-5); BIB.OK.E.000271 (digitised version available through Universiteits Bibliotheek Gent)

Voltaire, *Zara, a tragedy*, trans. Mr. Johnson, [London?]: J. Stone, 1735 (English trans.; H.B. Evans, 'A provisional bibliography of English editions and translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 8, Geneva, 1959, 9-121, p. 111, no. 543)

Voltaire, *The tragedy of Zara. As it is acted in the Theatre-Royal, in Drury-Lane, by His Majesty's servants*, trans. A. Hill, London, 1736 (English trans.; Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 111, no. 544 – see further pp. 111-14); ESTC T181672 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Voltaire, *Zayre. Ein Trauerspiel des Herrn v. Voltäre*, trans. J.J. Schwaben, Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1740 (German trans.; H. Fromm,

- Bibliographie Deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen*, 1700-1948, vol. 6, Baden-Baden, 1953, 261-86, p. 284, no. 27192 – see further pp. 284-5)
- Voltaire, *La Zaira, tragedia del signore di Voltaire*, trans. Giuseppe Finori, Florence: Stamp. Imp., 1748 (Italian trans.; T. Besterman, 'A provisional bibliography of Italian editions and translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 18, Geneva, 1961, 263-308, p. 301, no. 184; later Italian translations are given in ed. E. Jacobs, 'Zaïre, tragédie', in W.H. Barber et al. [eds], *Writings of 1731-1732. Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 8, Oxford, 1988, pp. 286-92)
- Voltaire, *Zaira, tragedia del signor di Voltaire*, trans. Giovambatista Richeri, Genoa: Stamperia Lerziana, 1748 (Italian trans.; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Italian editions', p. 301, no. 185)
- Voltaire, *Zayre. Ein Trauerspiel des Herrn v. Voltäre*, trans. J.J. Schwaben, Vienna, 1749 (German trans.); S nv/La (b) 385 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Voltaire, *Zaira, tragedia del sig. di Voltaire*, trans. Paolo Creponi, Bologna: Stamperia di Gasparo de' Franceschi alla Colomba, 1751 (Italian trans.; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Italian editions', p. 301, no. 186 – see further pp. 301-5)
- Voltaire, *N. 12, Tragedia. La Zayda. En cinco actos. Traducida del Frances al Español*, trans. [Pablo de Olavide], Barcelona: Viuda Pifferrer, [1772] (Spanish trans.; C. Todd, 'A provisional bibliography of published Spanish translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 161, Oxford, 1976, 43-136, p. 122, no. 259 – see further Todd, pp. 121-5; later Spanish translations are given in 'Zaïre, tragédie', ed. Jacobs [see below], pp. 286-92)
- Voltaire, *Zayra, sorge-spel af Herr de Voltaire*, Stockholm: Johan Georg Lange, 1773 (Swedish trans.; T. Besterman, 'A provisional bibliography of Scandinavian and Finnish editions and translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 47, Geneva, 1966, 33-92, p. 87, no. 152)
- Voltaire, *Zaira, tragedia de Voltaire*, trans. Pedro Antonio, Lisbon: Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1783 (Portuguese trans.; T. Besterman, 'A preliminary bibliography of Portuguese translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman (ed.), *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 76, Geneva, 1970, 15-35, p. 32, no. 59)

Voltaire, 'Zaïre, tragédie', ed. E. Jacobs, in W.H. Barber et al. (eds), *Writings of 1731-1732. Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 8, Oxford, 1988, 273-526

### *Zulime*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations, see N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Writings of 1738-1740 (II), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 18B, Oxford, 2007, pp. 170-206.

Voltaire, *Zulime, tragédie en cinq actes*. Par M. De Voltaire. Représentée par les Comédiens Français ordinaires du Roi, Geneva, 1761 (earliest edition); 84-2 (digitised version available through *Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico*)

Voltaire, *La tragédie de Zulime, En cinq actes et en vers* [Paris], 1762; YF-6769 (digitised version available through BNF)

[Voltaire], *Combates de amor, y ley, tragedia segun el mas moderno estylo de los mejores theatros de la Europa*, trans. Francisco del Postigo, Cadiz, 1765 (Spanish trans.; Todd, 'Provisional bibliography of published Spanish translations', p. 121-2, no. 258); A 250/131(06) (digitised version available through *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*)

Voltaire, *Collection complete des oeuvres*. 4, *Théâtre complet; t. 3: Contenant Adeläide du Guesclin, Le Duc de Foix, L'Orphelin de la Chine, Tancrede, Zulime, Olimpie, avec toutes les pièces relatives à ces Drames*, Geneva, 1768

Voltaire, *Oeuvres de M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur*, Dresden, 1770 (includes *Zulime*)

Voltaire, *Zulime, tragédie en cinq actes*, Avignon, 1772

Voltaire, 'Zulime, tragédie', ed. J. Hellegouarc'h, in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Writings of 1738-1740 (II), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 18B, Oxford, 2007, 97-410

### *Mahomet*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations, see N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 20B, Oxford, 2002, pp. 49-135.

Voltaire, *Mahomet, tragédie*. Par M. de Voltaire. Représentée a Paris pour la première fois le Jeudi 9 Août 1742, (s.l.), 1742 (earliest edition); Z BEUCHOT-542 (digitised version available through BNF)



- Voltaire, *Mahomet the impostor, a tragedy. As it is acted in the Theatre Royal, in Drury-Lane by His Majesty's servants*, London: J. Watts, 1744 (English trans.; Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 83, no. 358 – see further pp. 83-7); ESTC TO38844 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Voltaire, *Die Schwärmerey, oder Mahomet der Prophet, ein Trauerspiel*, Braunschweig, 1748 (German trans.; Fromm, *Bibliographie Deutscher*, p. 275, no. 27061)
- Voltaire, *Mahomet de Lügenprophet*, Vienna, 1749 (German trans.; Fromm, *Bibliographie Deutscher*, p. 275, no. 27062 – see further pp. 275-6); S nv/La (b) 385 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Voltaire, *Il fanatismo o sia Maometto Profeta. Tragedia del sig. De Voltaire*, trans. M. Cesarotti, (s.l.) [c. 1750] (Italian trans.; the fragment is incomplete – see Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Italian editions', p. 288, no. 118)
- Voltaire, *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète, tragédie par M. de Voltaire*, Amsterdam, 1753; Res. Bengesco-55 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Voltaire, *Mahomet, treurspel. Gevolgd naar het Fransche van den Heere de Voltaire*, Amsterdam, 1770 (Dutch trans.; Vercruysse, 'Bibliographie provisoire', p. 39, no. 77)
- Voltaire, *De Dwepery, of Mahomet de Profeet, treurspel. Het Fransch gevolgt van den Hr. A. de Voltaire*, Leiden, 1770 (Dutch trans.; Vercruysse, 'Bibliographie provisoire', p. 39, no. 78 – for more references, see pp. 39-40); KW 3180 F 32 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Voltaire, *Tradução do Mafoma de Mr. de Voltaire*, Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1785 (Portuguese trans.; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Portuguese translations', p. 27, no. 43)
- Voltaire, *Il fanatismo o sia Maometto Profeta. Tragedia del signor De Voltaire*, trans. M. Cesarotti, Venice: Giammaria Bassaglia, 1787 (Italian trans.; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Italian editions', p. 288, no. 119 – see further pp. 288-9)
- Voltaire, *Mahomet prorok; tragedia w piaci u aktach J. P. de Voltaire, francuskiego przelozona po polsku*, trans. J. D[ebouhr], Vilnius, 1788 (Polish trans.; C. Todd and A. Gunny [eds], *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète, tragédie*, in N. Cronk et al. [eds], *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 20B, Oxford, 2002, 1-326, p. 133); Rkp. 287 (digitised version available through Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk)

- Voltaire, *El falso profeta Mahoma. Tragedia en cinco actos, traducida del Frances en verso Castellano*, Madrid: D. Joaquin Ibarra, 1794 (Spanish trans.; Todd, 'Provisional bibliography of published Spanish translations', p 108, no. 199 – see further pp. 108-10)
- Voltaire, *Magomet. tragediia v piati diēstviiakh*, trans. P. Potemkin, St Petersburg, 1797 (Russian trans.; V.S. Sopikov, *Olyt' rossiyskoy bybliografy*, St Petersburg, 1905, no 11921, in Todd and Gunny, *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*, p. 134)
- Voltaire, *Mahomet. Tragedi i fem akter, af Voltaire*, trans. J.D. Valerius, Stockholm: Carl Delen, 1806 (Swedish trans.; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Scandinavian and Finnish editions and translations', p. 75, no. 95)
- Voltaire, *Mahomed. Søragespil i 5 Acter ved Voltaire*, trans. Thomas Thaarup, Copenhagen: J.F. Schultz, 1815 (Danish trans.; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Scandinavian and Finnish editions and translations', p. 75, no. 96)
- Voltaire, *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète, tragédie*, ed. C. Todd and A. Gunny, *Writings of 1739-1741 (II)*, in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 20B, Oxford, 2002, 1-326
- Voltaire, *Voltaire's fanaticism, or Mahomet the Prophet. A new translation*, ed. and trans. H. Burton, Sacramento CA, 2013 (English trans.)

#### Collected editions

- Voltaire, *Sämmtliche Schauspiele nebst den dazu gehörigen Schriften*, vols 1-5, Nuremberg, 1766-71 (German trans.; vol. 1 *Zayre*, vol. 2. *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*, and vol. 4, *Zulime*; Fromm, *Bibliographie Deutscher*, p. 262, no. 26867)
- Voltaire, *Théâtre de Voltaire*, Londres [Paris], 1782 (vol. 1, includes *Zaire*; vol. 2, includes *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète*)
- Voltaire, *Raccolta compiuta delle tragedie del sig. Di Voltaire. Trasportata in versi Italiani di Varj.*, 5 vols, Venice: Francesco di Niccolò Pezzana, 1783<sup>2</sup> (Italian trans.; vol. 2 contains *Zaire* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*, vol. 5 includes *Zulime*; Besterman, 'Provisional bibliography of Italian editions', p. 269, no. 19)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 3, *Théâtre*, Basle, 1784 (includes *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 4, *Théâtre*, Paris, 1820 (includes *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)

- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, 1823 (vol. 1 includes *Zaïre*; vol. 2 includes *Zulime*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 4, *Théâtre*, Paris, 1828 (includes *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, 1829 (vol. 1 includes *Zaïre*; vol. 2 includes *Zulime*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 1, Paris, 1835 (includes *Zaïre*, *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 2, Paris, 1859-61 (includes *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 4, *Théâtre*, Paris, 1877 (includes *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3/2, Paris, 1927 (includes *Zulime*)
- Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, vol. 4, *Théâtre*, Nendeln, 1967 (includes *Zulime* and *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète*)

## STUDIES

- C. Lange, *Mohammed. Perspectieven op de Profeet*, Amsterdam, 2017, pp. 121-2
- J. Einboden, *Islam and romanticism. Muslim currents from Goethe to Emerson*, London, 2014 (especially relevant is the first chapter on Goethe's *Mahomet*)
- Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, London, 2014, pp. 137-98
- A. Saviello, 'Muhammad's multiple faces. Printed images of the Prophet in Western Europe', in A. Shalem (ed.), *Constructing the image of Muhammad in Europe*, Göttingen, 2013, 87-142, pp. 128-33
- J.V. Tolan, 'European accounts of Muḥammad's life', in J.E. Brockopp (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Muḥammad*, Cambridge, 2010, 226-50, pp. 214-42
- C. Kelly, 'Pious cruelty. Rousseau on Voltaire's *Mahomet*', in O. Moste-fai and J.T. Scott (eds), *Rousseau and l'infame. Religion, toleration, and fanaticism in the age of Enlightenment*, Amsterdam, 2009, 176-86
- M.S. Tlili, *Voltaire et l'Islam*, Tunis, 2009
- C. Weber, 'Voltaire's *Zaïre*. Fantasies of infidelity, ideologies of faith', *South Central Review* 21 (2004) 42-62
- M. Reeves, *Muhammad in Europe*, Reading, 2000, pp. 152-60
- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, Markfield, 1999, pp. 96-106

- M.A. Carlson, *Voltaire and the theatre of the eighteenth century*, Westport CT, 1998 (discusses all relevant plays)
- J. Hellegouarc'h, 'Une supercherie de Voltaire en 1741. Les vers à La Noue sur Mahomet', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 3 (1997) 461-3
- J. Jabbour, 'L'image de l'islam dans *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* de Voltaire', *Phares – Manarāt* 14 (1995) 145-59
- P.C. Almond, *Heretic and hero. Muhammad and the Victorians*, Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 33-5
- H. Gouhier, *Rousseau et Voltaire. Portraits dans deux miroirs*, Paris, 1983, pp. 120-6
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Edinburgh, 1960 (1980<sup>4</sup>), pp. 289-91
- A.O. Aldridge, *Voltaire and the century of light*, Princeton NJ, 1975, pp. 124-8
- E.J. Weinraub, 'Plays as pedagogical laboratories. Mahomet and Don Pèdre', in T. Besterman (ed.), *Miscellany/Mélanges*, Banbury, 1975, 45-61
- M.G. Badir, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974 (includes a bibliography of the writings of Voltaire's critics in the 18<sup>th</sup> century)
- D. Hadidi, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents VII, October 1739 – April 1741. Letters D 2048 – D 2470, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 91, Geneva, 1970, pp. 380-5 (Letter D 2386)
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents VIII May 1741 – October 1743. Letters D 2471 – D 2873, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 92, Geneva, 1970, pp. 243-4 (Letter D 2648)
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents IX November 1743 – April 1746. Letters D 2874 – D 3372, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 93, Geneva, 1970, pp. 307-8 (Letter D 3192)
- G.-H. Bousquet, 'Voltaire et l'islām', *Studia Islamica* 28 (1968) 109-26
- H.T. Mason, *Pierre Bayle and Voltaire*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 50-1
- R.W. Tobin, 'The sources of Voltaire's *Mahomet*', *The French Review* 34 (1961) 372-8
- P. Bondonio, 'Le procureur-général Joly de Fleury et le *Mahomet* de Voltaire', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 36 (1929), 246-59
- A.H. Krappe, 'The source of Voltaire's *Zaïre*', *The Modern Language Review* 20 (1925) 305-9

## Historical works

DATE 1745-63

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

In the two decades following the publication of *Mahomet*, Voltaire continued to publish about the life of the Prophet as well as the history of Islam, though in these publications he approached the subject from a primarily historical perspective. At the end of 1739, he began working on his most extensive historical text, namely *Essai sur les mœurs*, of which the first complete edition only appeared in 1756 and to which several short articles were added under the title *Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les mœurs* (1763). However, he had already discussed parts of the *Essai* in *Mercure de France* and in an article titled *De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet*.

### *Mercure de France* (1745)

In 1745, Voltaire started publishing articles in *Mercure de France*, vol. 45, about his *Essai sur les mœurs* under the title: 'Nouveau plan d'une histoire de l'esprit humain' (April 1745-June 1746) (See Gunny (ed.), *De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet*, p. 331). His article of April 1745 includes a part on Muḥammad and Islam in which he briefly discusses Muḥammad's aim to convert the star-worshipping Arabs, his aversion to the corrupt books of the Christians and Jews, his love for women, his fearlessness, the custom of polygamy, Muḥammad's definition of God and his uplifting morals. The article of June 1745 also praises the intellectual development of the Muslims. The wording of these passages is often identical to the phrasing in *Essai sur les mœurs*. Later, in 1750-1, Voltaire published in vol. 50 of *Mercure de France* his chapters on the crusades.

### *D'Alcoran*

In 1748, Voltaire wrote another short article on the Qur'an and Muḥammad, titled *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet* (1748). In the *Complete works of Voltaire* it takes up only ten pages. Between 1748 and 1757, this article always appeared as an addition to the tragedy *Mahomet*. Later, it became the second part of the entry 'Alcoran ou plutôt le Koran' in

*Questions sur l'encyclopédie*. In the Kehl edition of the *Complete works of Voltaire* (1785-9), it was integrated into *Dictionnaire philosophique*.

*D'Alcoran* was an attempt to describe the Prophet in a more historical way and to eliminate the worst misconceptions concerning Islam, but still suggesting that Muḥammad was an impostor. The language used in *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet* to describe the Prophet and Islam is more pejorative and sarcastic than in *Essai sur les mœurs*. Muḥammad is primarily presented as a charlatan and impostor, but a sublime and daring one. This seems to contrast with the more positive depiction of him in the 1745 article in *Mercure de France*. However, according to Gunny, the difference could be explained against the background of the association of *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet* with the play *Mahomet* (Gunny, *The Prophet Mohammed*, p. 124). The addition of this article to the play may have helped Voltaire to defend himself against the criticism that his play was anti-Christian, by insisting that Muḥammad was a fanatic and that his play was really about the Prophet rather than about Christ and Christians. Therefore, the more negative depiction of Muḥammad may be the result of Voltaire's desire to remain on friendly terms with the Church.

The short article begins with a statement from Sura 10 urging any reader who claims that Muḥammad forged the Qu'ran, to write something more perfect and sublime than this very chapter. Voltaire then dismisses the alleged miracles of Muḥammad, such as his night journey to Jerusalem and to the heavenly realm and his splitting of the moon, as pure fantasies. He also claims that Muḥammad's disciples deleted the verses on Muḥammad's journey to heaven when they compiled the Qur'an after Muḥammad's death, because they feared to be mocked for the improbability of the story. Voltaire seems to imply that the disciples knew that these miracles were made up by their prophet. Voltaire states that the Qur'an is devoid of order and art, but refers to the Arabs' view of it as an elegant and pure book. He also refers sarcastically to the discussion among Muslims about whether it was eternal or was created by God for the purpose of dictating it to Muḥammad. Furthermore, just as later in *Essai sur les mœurs*, Voltaire challenges the view that Muḥammad was illiterate.

Many of the themes touched upon in *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet* are discussed more elaborately in Voltaire's later *Essai sur les mœurs*, such as the positive aspects of Muḥammad's religion, which freed the Arabs from idolatry: the unity of God, the prohibition of usury, almsgiving and prayer. Voltaire also points to the many Arab customs that Muḥammad

integrated into his laws: circumcision, pilgrimage, fasting, ablutions and the necessary health prescriptions in a warm climate. He also lists the characteristics that were borrowed from Zoroastrianism: the Last Judgement, at which men and women are weighed, the narrow bridge that has to be passed after death, and paradise. Just as in the *Essai*, Voltaire denies that, according to Islam, women were not admitted into paradise, but here this observation is used to underline Muḥammad's calculating character, for of course this false prophet did not want to exclude half of his possible devotees.

Voltaire underlines the unoriginality of Muḥammad's ideas without the nuance that would later appear in *Essai sur les mœurs*, namely that all religions borrow from one another. Despite his unfavourable judgement of Muḥammad's character, Voltaire fairly pointed out that Muḥammad was humble enough to admit that he would go to paradise not because of his own merit but purely because of the will of God. But this rather positive remark is immediately followed by Voltaire's sarcastic observation that it was probably the will of the same God that Muḥammad would receive a fifth of all the spoils from raids and battles. Later in the article, Voltaire suggests that Muḥammad received part of his revelations at what was for him suspiciously convenient timing. In other words, Muḥammad was an ordinary man who cleverly took advantage of his contemporaries' ignorance and belief in the supernatural. But there was nothing wrong with Muḥammad's civil laws, or with those dogmas that were in accordance with Christian ideas, to which he refers as 'ours'. By contrast, Muḥammad's behaviour was horrible; he was an impostor and murderer, and was fond of women. Despite this, Voltaire admired the Prophet for having been able to change the face of the world, even though he had once been only a camel merchant.

*Essai sur les mœurs* (1756)

At the end of 1739, Voltaire began working on his most extensive historical text, *Essai sur les mœurs*. It took him nearly 16 years to publish the first complete edition, which appeared in 1756 under the full title *Essai sur l'histoire générale, et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours*. Revised editions were published in 1761, 1769, 1775 and 1785. With the edition of 1769, the title changed to *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, or simply *Essai sur les mœurs*. In English,

the work is known as *An essay on universal history, the manners and spirit of nations from the reign of Charlemaign to the age of Lewis XIV.*

Voltaire wrote *Essai sur les mœurs* in reaction to Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's *Discourse sur l'histoire universelle*, which limited universal history to biblical history, including only the peoples guided by divine providence. Voltaire claimed this did justice neither to the highly developed cultures in other parts of the world that had existed long before the rise of Judaism and Christianity, nor to the foreign cultures that arose after the birth of Christianity, especially the Islamic cultures, because Islam had changed the face of Europe.

The aim of *Essai sur les mœurs* is to show that the human spirit needs the right circumstances in order to grow. This progress becomes evident in the blossoming of the arts, sciences and commerce. To determine the optimal conditions that can nourish this progress, Voltaire studied the development of the spirit of various peoples over a long period of time, against the background of their rulers, economic welfare and the climate. This goal was very different from the aim of *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet*, which he was working on partly at the same time. This explains why some themes that were addressed in *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet* would be developed and nuanced in *Essai sur les mœurs*, while others would be completely left out, such as the passages on miracles.

*Essai sur les mœurs* comprises 197 chapters of which two (chapters 6 and 7) focus on the life of Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam. Several other chapters elaborate on later Muslim-Christian relations, predominantly the relationship between Muslims and Christians in medieval Spain (ch. 44), Saladin and the crusades (chs 56-7), and the rise of the Ottoman Empire (ch. 159). These chapters mainly discuss the background to the historical events in these situations, with emphasis on the driving forces behind the various struggles for power. For instance, Voltaire wanted to counter prejudices against the Ottoman governmental structure by arguing that it was essentially a military democracy.

The Muslim religion is an issue that he hardly addresses, though some of his observations are relevant. First, throughout *Essai sur les mœurs*, important Muslim rulers, such as the rulers of Spain, Saladin and Mehmed II, are praised for their toleration of non-Muslims, including Christians. This toleration contrasts sharply with the intolerant attitude of many contemporary Christian leaders. Second, Voltaire speaks highly of Muslims, especially the Spanish rulers, who had promoted the expansion of sciences and the arts.



In chs 6 and 7 Voltaire critically evaluates the stories about the life and character of the Prophet Muḥammad, his revelations as documented in the Qur'an, and his teachings. Ch. 6 particularly focuses on the life and motives of Muḥammad and the Islamic conquests, while ch. 7 questions the originality of the ideas expressed in the Qur'an. This part of the *Essai* is primarily a historical narrative, attempting to present the life of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam in a manner conformable to reason, devoid of all miracles and divine support. The focus is on how Islam came into being, how and why Muḥammad developed his laws, and which factors contributed to the success of Islam. Voltaire addresses numerous themes relating to Muḥammad and Islam, in predominantly positive terms. First, he discusses the customs of the Arabs before their conversion to Islam. This is followed by an overview of Muḥammad's biography, including his low birth (ridiculing the claim that he descended from Abraham), his profession as a camel merchant, his family and his first disciples. Voltaire describes when and why Muḥammad started to present himself as a prophet, what happened after his death, and how his successors conquered many areas, without the negative terms used earlier in *Mahomet* and in the *D'Alcoran et de Mahomet*. Muḥammad is described as a great man, who was as fearless and sober as Alexander the Great. He was not illiterate and was far from ignorant, he understood medicine, he was a poet and a good lawgiver. His eloquence and genius enabled him to convince others of his divine mission.

Voltaire shows admiration for Muḥammad's goal, doctrine and laws. He extols Muḥammad's aim to restore the simple religion of Abraham and to free his contemporaries from their ignorance. This simple religion was based on natural laws, but had become corrupted by Jews and Christians. Muḥammad's definition of God was sublime: He is the one who receives His being from Himself, and from whom others receive theirs, who does not engender and who was not engendered, and to whom nothing is equal in the entire extent of all that is. Muḥammad was a very wise legislator, whose laws were in accordance with reason, because they were adapted to the climatic circumstances of the Orient. For instance, according to Voltaire, the prohibition of wine was very sensible because drinking wine in a hot climate has a more deleterious impact on reason and health than in the colder Western climate. The same goes for the dietary laws: in a warm climate, eating pork or the meat of animals that have died of disease could severely affect one's health. Polygamy should also be understood against the background of the Oriental climate, in

which women lose their beauty and fertility relatively young compared with Western women. Therefore, Oriental men were not promiscuous but needed more than one woman to ensure their reproduction. Muḥammad only facilitated this and integrated customs that were already present amongst the Arabs, while limiting licentiousness by putting a check on the number of wives. Compared with the Hebrew kings David and Solomon, who each had a great number of wives, the religion of Muḥammad appeared very chaste.

Voltaire also discusses the spread of Islam after Muḥammad's death, and why it was more successful than Judaism. The first seeds of the schism between the followers of 'Umar and 'Alī were, in Voltaire's view, already planted immediately after Muḥammad's death when Abū Bakr and 'Alī both wanted to succeed Muḥammad. The early caliphs were despotic in religion and government, but the enthusiasm of their people attracted many converts. The further Islam spread, the more civilised it became. Although Muslims destroyed the library of Alexandria, they later began to encourage the development of science and literature.

Ch. 7 calls into question the originality of the ideas and customs of Islam, and shows that Islam borrowed its ideas from other religions. This was intended to demonstrate that all religions build on doctrines and customs from other religions and cultures. This holds true for the doctrine of the unity of God, the view of God as creator and keeper, the expectation of compensation for earthly efforts, absolute predestination, and the belief in Paradise and Hell. These doctrines can be found among the Chinese, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Jews and Christians. Other important customs introduced by Muḥammad were adopted from other peoples, including polygamy, prayers, ablutions, pilgrimage, fasting and almsgiving.

The Qur'an was, according to Voltaire, primarily a law book whose central teaching could be summarised in the following words: seek out those who expel you; give to whoever takes from you; forgive those who offend you; do good to all; do not dispute with the ignorant. It contained the rules of God and helped Muslims to resign themselves to the will of God, which is, as Voltaire noted, the true meaning of *islamisme*.

*Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les mœurs (1763)*

*In Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne*

*jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIII*, Voltaire further explains and nuances some of his views on Islam. The ninth remark, 'De Mahomet', is of interest here. Voltaire describes the rise of Islam as the result of the eternal and natural laws given by the Supreme being, and criticises Boulainvilliers' claim that God sent Muḥammad to punish the Christians. He also criticises the accuracy of Sale's opinion that the Prophet worked for the glory of God by destroying the Persians' worship of the sun and the Arabs' adoration of the stars. Voltaire explains that these people could hardly be described as idolatrous, because they believed in the unity of God and considered the stars as God's emblems rather than independent divinities. The advent of Islam among these peoples, such as the Zoroastrians, could not really be considered a step of progress by which God was increasingly glorified. Voltaire concludes this ninth remark by stressing that it is appropriate to admire Muḥammad, but that his greatness is only relative, and there were others greater than he. For Voltaire, Muḥammad ranked among other fanatics in the world, such as Cromwell, but was a greater conqueror and martyr. However, Confucius was greater, because he promoted an even purer morality to an older, a more numerous, and more polite nation.

In these works, Voltaire distinguishes between the life of Muḥammad, and Islam as a religion that was based on the laws and doctrines he presented. Although Muḥammad was an impostor, his religion was wise and tolerant and Muslims were more than adherents of a false prophet. This distinction between prophet and religion enabled Voltaire to underline the admirable characteristics of the Muslim rulers in Europe, such as tolerance and support of science and the arts, and to argue that tolerance leads to prosperity. By emphasising the prosperity that grew under the Muslim rulers, he tries to show that the cruelties committed by Christian leaders and their intolerant attitude, as evidenced in the crusades, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, or the papal Bull *Unigenitus* hampered the development of sciences and welfare. Underlining the positive aspects of Islam also functions to stress the lack of these aspects in other religions. Whenever Islam is compared with Judaism or Christianity, the comparison often reveals more about Voltaire's view of the latter than of Islam.

Voltaire wanted to show that there were good reasons for the rise and impact of Islam, which had nothing to do with miraculous events or providence, and to show that the doctrines, laws, morality and tolerance of Islam were uplifting. On the one hand, theoretically at least, the

principles of Islam were very similar to those of Judaism and Christianity in practice, but on the other, Islam turned out to be less exclusive than Judaism and often more tolerant and less divided than Christianity. In *Essai sur les mœurs*, Voltaire primarily used Muḥammad to denigrate Judaism rather than Christianity, although he also compared the enthusiasm of Islam to the aggression of Christianity. The comparison of Muḥammad with Moses and Jesus reveals more about Voltaire's opinion on the latter than on the first. Nevertheless, over the years, Voltaire's depiction of Islam and Muḥammad became increasingly positive and nuanced.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Voltaire's attempt to depict Muḥammad and early Islam in an objective manner followed 17<sup>th</sup>-century historical works, and his desire to embed the history of Islam in the history of the world was similar to that of his contemporaries such as Giannone or Montesquieu. His view of Muḥammad as a genius who took advantage of his superstitious contemporaries was far from original, as it is found in many other works, including Abbé de Vertot's *Sur l'auteur de l'Alcoran*, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, or Ockley's description of the rise of Islam.

The details of his analysis of Islam and depiction of the Prophet was based mainly on four works. He consulted the two works that he had used for writing *Mahomet*: George Sale's English translation of the Qur'an, and Henri de Boulainvilliers' *La vie de Mahomed*. Sale seems to have been Voltaire's main source for the central events in the life of the Prophet in his *Essai sur les mœurs* and *D'Alcoran*, in particular Muḥammad's motives and goals, his sensuality and love of women, the interpretation of dietary laws, pilgrimage, the view of Muḥammad's legislation on polygamy, the position of women and the description of paradise. Some details, however, were taken from Jean Gagnier's *Vie de Mahomet*, such as the date of Muḥammad's birth or the content of Muḥammad's marriage contract with Khadija, as well as the critical evaluation of the two central miracles, the night journey and the splitting of the moon (Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 124-5). He also copied and translated passages literally from Sale's *Koran*.

Voltaire also made extensive use of Boulainvilliers' biography of Muḥammad for both certain details about the Prophet's life and the characterisation of Muḥammad. Although he attacked Boulainvilliers in *D'Alcoran* for presenting Muḥammad as an advocate of natural religion and natural law, he later created a Muḥammad that was strongly

reminiscent of Boulainvilliers' conception of him as a proto-deist. Other details derived from Boulainvilliers were the number of Muḥammad's followers, the overview of Muḥammad's first military successes, and the comparison of Muḥammad to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. Voltaire also copied from Barthélemy d'Herbélot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, in particular the definition of God (from the article 'Allah'), while the summary of the Qur'an's ethical principles is a combination of d'Herbélot's articles 'Alcoran' and 'Afu and Afou' (forgiveness). Forgiveness and almsgiving were two imperatives that Islam had in common with Christianity (Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, pp. 87-8).

Voltaire was well informed about Islam and Islamic customs, and used first-hand travel accounts to study Islamic cultures in a more nuanced way. He was familiar with the works of Jean Antoine Guer, and it is known from his correspondence that he was looking for Chardin's *Voyages en Perse* and Tavernier's *Voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* (see letter D 2698, in Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents VIII*, pp. 310-11).

*Essai sur les mœurs* was a source of inspiration for other authors who wrote on Muḥammad and Islam. Jaucourt's *Encyclopédie* article 'Mahométisme' copied passages from it, thus ensuring the influence of Voltaire's account. Another example is Pastoret's *Zoroastre, Confucius et Mahomet* (1787), in which Voltairerie's comparison between these characters is further developed. *Essai sur les mœurs* was not only admired, but also criticised. Although Voltaire's approach influenced the works of many scholars, such as Gibbon and Robertson, they also criticised him for the way he dealt with his sources. However, one of the fiercest attacks came from Claude-Adrien Nonnotte in *Examen critique ou Réfutation du livre des mœurs* (1757, 1762), who argued that revelation was reasonable and that Voltaire's attempt to diminish the role of divine providence was a sign of impiety. This led to a polemical exchange between the two.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Only details of the earliest of the many editions and translations are given.

#### *D'Alcoran*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *De l'Alcoran*, see A. Gunny, 'De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet', in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Writings of 1739-1741 (II), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 20B, Oxford, 2002, pp. 331-2.

- Voltaire, 'D'Alcoran', in *Œuvres de Mr. de Voltaire*, Nouvelle edition. *Revue, corrigée et considerablement augmentée par l'auteur. Enrichie de figures en taille-douce*, Dresden: George Conrad Walther, 1748, vol. 4, pp. 449-54 (earliest edition); 809633 T.04 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon)
- A. Gunny, 'De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet', in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Writings of 1739-1741 (II)*, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 20B, Oxford, 2002, 327-42 (a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *De l'Alcoran*, on pp. 331-2)

*Essai sur les moeurs*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit de nations (II) Avant-propos. Chapters 1-37*, see B. Bernard et al. (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 22, Oxford, 2009, pp. xxix-xxxiv.

- Voltaire, *Collection complète des oeuvres de M. de Voltaire*. vols 11-14, *Essay sur l'histoire générale, et sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours*, (s.l.) [Genève: Cramer], 1756 (earliest complete edition; for earlier, incomplete, editions, see Bernard et al. [eds], *Essai sur les mœurs* (I), pp. xxx-xxxiii)
- Voltaire, *The general history and state of Europe, from the time of Charlemain to Charles V. with a preliminary view of the Oriental Empires*, London: J. Nourse, 1754 (English trans.; H.B. Evans, 'A provisional bibliography of English editions and translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 8, Geneva, 1959, 9-121, p. 64, no. 207)
- Voltaire, *The Universal history and state of all nations from the time of Charlemain to Lewis XIV in three volumes by M. de Voltaire*, Edinburgh: A. Donaldson, 1758 (English trans.; Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', pp. 64-5, no. 208); ESTC T140791 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Voltaire, *An Essay on universal history, the manners and spirit of nations, from the Reign of Charlemaign to the age of Lewis XIV*, trans. Mr. Nugent, London: J. Nourse, 1759 (English trans.; Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 65, no. 209 – see further pp. 64-6); ESTC T143531 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Voltaire, *Versuch einer allgemeinen Weltgeschichte, worin zugleich die Sitten und das Eigene der Völkerschaften von Carln dem Großen an bis auf unsere Zeiten beschrieben werden*, 4 vols, trans. [K.F. Romanus], Dresden, 1760-2 (German trans.; H. Fromm, *Bibliographie*

- Deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen, 1700-1948*, vol. 6, Baden-Baden, 1953, 261-86, p. 271, no. 26995); 21-dt-63211 (digitised version available through Universität Tübingen)
- Voltaire, *Ensayo sobre las costumbres y el espíritu de las naciones, y sobre los principales hechos de la historia*, 10 vols, Paris: David, 1827 (Spanish trans.; C. Todd, 'A provisional bibliography of published Spanish translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 161, Oxford, 1976, 43-136, pp. 98-9, no. 168 – see further pp. 98-100)
- Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, ed. René Pomeau, 2 vols, Paris, 1963
- Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit de nations (II) Avant-propos. Chapters 1-37*, in B. Bernard et al. (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 22, Oxford, 2009 (ch. 6, pp. 117-46, ch. 7, pp. 147-61)
- Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit de nations (III) Chapters 38-67*, in B. Bernard et al. (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 23, Oxford, 2010 (ch. 44, pp. 80-94, ch. 56, pp. 232-341, ch. 57, pp. 342-68)
- Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit de nations (VI). Chapters 130-162*, in B. Bernard et al. (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 26A, Oxford, 2013 (ch. 159, pp. 347-59)

*Remarques pour servir de supplément*

- For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations, see J. Renwick, *Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations', et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIII*, in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit de nations (IX), Textes annexes, fragments sur l'histoire générale, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 27, Oxford, 2016, pp. xxii-xxviii.
- Voltaire, *Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur l'histoire générale* (s.l.) [Geneva: Cramer], 1763 (earliest edition); MAGL.5.6.390 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)
- Voltaire, *A supplement to the Essay on general history, the manners and spirit of nations, from the reign of Charlemaign to the present time*, London: J. Nourse, 1764 (Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 66, no. 213)
- J. Renwick, 'Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations', et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIII', in N.

Cronk et al. (eds), *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit de nations (IX), Textes annexes, fragments sur l'histoire générale, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 27, Oxford, 2016, 15-87

## STUDIES

- A. Bevilacqua, *The republic of Arabic letters. Islam and the European Enlightenment*, Cambridge MA, 2018, pp. 177-87
- Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, London, 2014, pp. 137-98
- J.V. Tolan, 'Islam in the mirror of our phantasms', in N. Göle (ed.), *Islam and public controversy in Europe*, Farnham, 2013, 113-22, p. 117
- S. Pierse, 'Voltaire. Polemical possibilities of history', in S. Bourgault and R. Sparling (eds), *A companion to Enlightenment historiography*, Leiden, 2013, 153-87, pp. 162-4
- J.V. Tolan, G. Veinstein and H. Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic world. A history*, Princeton NJ, 2013, p. 248
- J.V. Tolan, 'European accounts of Muḥammad's life', in J.E. Brockopp (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Muhammad*, Cambridge, 2010, 226-50, pp. 241-42
- C. Volpillhac-Augier, 'Voltaire and history', in N. Cronk (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Voltaire*, Cambridge, 2009, 139-50
- J. Leigh, *Voltaire. A sense of history*, Oxford, 2004
- M. Reeves, *Muhammad in Europe*, Reading, 2000, pp. 148-63
- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, Markfield, 1999, pp. 124-38
- H. Djait, *Europe and Islam*, Berkeley CA, 1985, pp. 21-3
- M.G. Badir, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974
- D. Hadidi, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents VIII, May 1741 – October 1743. Letters D 2471– D 2873*, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 92, Geneva, 1970, pp. 244-5, 273-4, 310-1 (Letters D 2649, D 2698 and D 2671)
- G.-H. Bousquet, 'Voltaire et l'islâm', *Studia Islamica* 28 (1968) 109-26
- R.W. Tobin, 'The sources of Voltaire's *Mahomet*', *The French Review* 34 (1961) 372-8
- J.H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire historian*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 39, 83-4, 122
- F. Diaz, *Voltaire storico*, Turin, 1958



## Polemical works

DATE 1763-72

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

Voltaire's writing programme became more polemical from the end of the 1750s. His polemical works should all be understood against the background of his campaign against the Catholic Church, but his attack on fanaticism, injustice and irrationality, summed up in the slogan *Écrasez l'infâme* ('Crush the vile thing'), was extended to nearly all revealed religions, including for instance Judaism.

The most important works of this period that mention Muḥammad, Islam or Muslims are: *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763), *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* (1763), *L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke* (1766), *Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* (1767) and *Il faut prendre un parti* (1772).

### *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763)

*Traité sur la tolérance* was written in 1763 as a response to the execution of the Protestant Jean Calas, who was falsely accused in Toulouse of murdering his son to prevent him from converting to Catholicism, and condemned on the basis of rumours and false testimonies. Voltaire was horrified at such violence prompted by superstition, fanaticism and intolerance. Inspired by the works on toleration by John Locke and Pierre Bayle, he aimed to show that toleration contributed to the social and economic welfare of the state while intolerance only created chaos because of its irrationality. Religion had an important part to play in ensuring the social order, and should urge people to live in peace rather than to fight for religious dogmas. But, driven by their desire to be the only true religion, organised religions have forgotten the natural laws. In short, the treatise was an appeal to truth, peace and justice.

In 25 chapters that take the form of short dialogues, histories and essays, Voltaire mainly focuses on Christian examples of intolerance and tolerance, while non-Christian cultures and religions are used to show the universality and benefits of tolerance. The Turks are mentioned in two passages. In ch. 4, Voltaire supports his argument that tolerance leads to peace by referring to the peaceful relations between the various religious groups in the Ottoman Empire. The key to the sultan's

success is that he tolerates all the mainly Christian sects in his country and maintains good relations with their religious leaders. The essence of ch. 22 is that tolerance should be universal, without exception, which means that all religions should be accepted. Voltaire explicitly includes relations with the Turks, arguing that it would not only be a waste of time to persecute all other-minded people, but more importantly, it would influence diplomatic relations very negatively if rulers such as the sultan were condemned because of their religious convictions. So, for the sake of peace and social relations, the best policy is to love God and one's neighbour, because this is in accordance with natural law.

*Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* (1763)

*Catéchisme de l'honnête homme, ou dialogue entre un caloyer et un homme de bien* is the full title of a short work written in 1763. Voltaire claimed the work was by Durand (Letter D 11383, in Besterman [ed.], *Correspondence and related documents XXVI*, pp. 372-4) or Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Letter D 11433, in Besterman [ed.], *Correspondence*, pp. 419-20), whose initials also appeared in the first edition. However, it is undoubtedly by Voltaire. *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* takes the form of an extensive dialogue between a Greek Orthodox monk and a man of the world in favour of natural religion, the only commands of which are to worship God and to be righteous. In contrast to Christianity, natural religion is free from superstition, fanaticism and corrupt morality.

Voltaire mentions Muḥammad and the Turks to contrast them with Christianity and to underline the irrational, intolerant, contradictory and miraculous events associated with the Old and New Testaments, Jesus and Christianity. The man of the world stresses that all religions were created by men. He argues that Muḥammad was the most brilliant of all leaders who claimed support from God; he was the only one who seemed to have enjoyed divine protection, for his religion would not have existed without his victories. Muḥammad is then compared with Jesus. In the first place, the man of the world notes that after 1,200 years the religion of the Muslims has not changed, the writings of Muḥammad have continued to exist, the Qur'an is respected over a vast area, the laws of the Prophet are strictly observed, and there has been no division since the struggle for the succession between 'Alī and 'Umar. This positive account of Islam serves to discredit Christianity. Jesus, in contrast to Muḥammad, did not introduce new rites or a church hierarchy or the

dogmas of Christianity; these were all created by the first leaders of his sect. Jesus was an illiterate Jew, and the Jewish laws he observed were not adopted by the Christians. Christianity spread because the new leaders used deceit, miracles and seduction to make converts, and it became increasingly violent and intolerant.

Voltaire's description of the Islam and Muḥammad in *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* has several themes in common with his earlier and later works, such as *Traité sur la tolérance*, *Essai sur les mœurs* and *Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers*. The Turks are praised for their tolerance; the golden rule is stressed; religion is considered a necessary nourishment for the soul and should be confined to the simple truth of natural and universal laws. Voltaire underlines the lack of schisms, lack of dogmas and religious enthusiasm of early Islam.

*L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke* (1766)

In 1766, *L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke* appeared in *Recueil nécessaire*, a compilation of works collected and mostly written by Voltaire. He claimed that it was written by Bolingbroke in 1736, but the work fits perfectly into Voltaire's own writing programme of the 1750s and 1760s (Mortier, 'L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke', pp. 129-39). It was reprinted in 1768, and a separate revised edition appeared in 1767, which was revised again for the 1771 edition. This version became the basis of later editions of the complete works and another separate edition in 1775, which was the basis for Voltaire's own last revised edition in 1776.

Voltaire's aim was to write a work on deism and tolerance in the spirit of Bolingbroke, but improved and updated. As in *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme*, Voltaire stresses that all reasonable people acknowledge the existence of universal laws and natural religion, but that organised religions corrupt this simple universal religion. Muḥammad and Islam once again have a role to play as a counter-example to illustrate the irrationality of Christianity. This time, however, Muḥammad is not compared with Jesus, but with St Paul. Some chapters later, Muḥammad is also compared with the anti-Christian Roman Emperor Julian (r. 361-3), who also wanted to get rid of Christianity.

The work comprises 40 chapters, three of which are relevant for the discussion of Islam. In ch. 13, the Apostle Paul, the founder of Christianity, is presented as a religious leader who manipulated his contemporaries

with lies, threats and boasting about his hardships during his journeys. The Apostle and his travels are further disparaged by the comparison with Muḥammad, whose journey to the seven heavens was ridiculed by commentators. Voltaire counters this by pointing out that Muḥammad never boasted about this journey, although it was much longer than Paul's. In ch. 32, the anti-Christian policy of the Emperor Julian is described, and subsequently Julian's efforts to wipe out Christianity are compared with Muḥammad's success. Julian was a greater man than Muḥammad, but Muḥammad was more successful, mainly because he lived longer than the *philosophe*-emperor. However, at the end of the chapter, Voltaire suddenly changes his rhetorical approach and skilfully turns this discussion into an attack on the inconsistency of Christian reasoning. According to Christians, Julian's early death at 31 was the result of divine punishment. However, Voltaire argues, these Christians seem to have forgotten that Jesus also died at such a young age. In other words, if Christians are consistent they should either explain Christ's death as a divine punishment for his sins or conclude that Muḥammad, who lived longer, was superior.

The last relevant chapter is 37, in which Voltaire argues that the absurdly large number of Christian sects and the damage done by their disputes and persecutions goes against natural law and morality. The ideas presented in this chapter are mostly a repetition of previous arguments. Voltaire contends that the religion of the 'Mohammedans' is more rational than that of the Christians, emphasising the errors of Christianity rather than the virtues of Islam. Muslims do not make the same mistakes as Christians. For instance, Muslims do not worship a Jew while abhorring Jews in general, they do not refer to a Jewess as the Mother of God, they do not accept the Trinitarian thesis, they do not eat their God and they do not plan to restore their Creator to the saddle. The list is followed by the most positive characteristic of Islam, namely that its only dogma is to worship the one almighty God. Its only fault is its view of Muḥammad as a divine prophet; without this, their religion would have been as pure as the theism of the Chinese. However, Voltaire also notes that the Muslims do not elevate Muḥammad to the status of God, because they underline that there is only one God. In short, Islam is evidently less corrupt than Christianity, but still has irrational traits.

*Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* (1767)

*Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* appeared for the first time in Geneva in 1767, attributed to Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (1684-1746) who was said to have written it in 1728. It was republished several times separately as well as in collections. A version appeared in *Choses utiles et agréables* in 1769 and another in *Nouveaux mélanges*, part 11, in 1772. This was the last edition to which Voltaire contributed himself. In this work the title was changed to *Entretiens singuliers*.

*Le dîner* is situated in the 1720s, and describes a lively conversation on philosophy and religion between Count Boulainvilliers, the Countess, Abbé Couet and the deist Fréret. Although Voltaire used historical characters, the five dialogues are invented. In the second dialogue, Muḥammad is mentioned in a discussion on the fanaticism and deceit of the early Christian leaders. The Abbé asks how Christianity became so influential if it was only based on fanaticism and fraud, while the Count asks how Mohammedanism could have become even more influential. He argues that Islam is superior to Christianity and praises Muḥammad, because his lies were nobler and his fanaticism was more generous. Also, Muḥammad wrote and fought, whereas Jesus could not write and would not even defend himself. Muḥammad, according to the count, had the courage of Alexander the Great and the mind of Numa Pompilius, second of the kings of ancient Rome, but Jesus became frightened when he was condemned. In contrast to Christianity, 'Mohammedanism' has never changed, while Christians insulted Christ by making their own laws and traditions. In reply, the deist Fréret argues that deism is even superior to Islam. In the end, agreement is reached as all acknowledge the existence of a God and a universal morality.

The arguments are all repetitions of those that Voltaire had used in his previous writings, but expressed more directly and amusingly. The description of Muḥammad is similar to that in *Essai sur les mœurs*, where Voltaire also makes extensive use of Boulainvilliers' *La vie de Mahomed*; for instance, the comparison of Muḥammad with Alexander and Numa, made in *Le dîner* by the count, is taken from Boulainvilliers' work.

*Il faut prendre un parti* (1772)

*Il faut prendre un parti, ou le Principe d'action*, published in 1772, and known in English under the title the *Principle of action, or We must take*

sides, was yet another plea in favour of natural religion and toleration. The work is composed of 25 chapters, some of which present the arguments for different religions. Chapter 23 consists of a speech by a 'Turk', which contains a summary of Voltaire's previous arguments.

The Turk presents his religion as wise, severe, chaste and humane. He denounces the lies told by Christians about Muḥammad, such as the miraculous stories recounted by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) about a pigeon whispering in Muḥammad's ear, Muḥammad's conversation with a camel in the night, and Muḥammad having half the moon in his sleeve. The only miracles performed by Muḥammad were his successful conquests. The aspects of his religion mentioned by the Turk are the prohibition of gambling and drinking wine, the laws regarding polygamy, the obligation to pray, and almsgiving. He also emphasises the tolerance seen in Istanbul. In reply, the Theist reminds the Turks of the danger of losing their European territory to Catherine the Great of Russia, who is as capable as Muḥammad of performing miracles.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

At the time Voltaire wrote, Islam was frequently used to denigrate Christianity. This could be done in two ways: either Muḥammad and Islam were praised in order to demonstrate the inferiority of Christianity or Muḥammad and Islam were ridiculed in terms that were reminiscent of Christianity. In most of his polemical works, Voltaire did the first, praising Muḥammad at the expense of Christ and to a lesser extent Paul. Which characteristics of Islam and the Prophet were discussed in each work depended on the particular point that Voltaire wished to make, and the seemingly positive view of Islam is sometimes misleading, as is evidenced in *Le dîner*; the conclusion is reached that natural religion is the ultimate religion and every religion that deviates from it was founded by impostors, including Muḥammad.

The characteristics of Islam mentioned by Voltaire were mostly the same as those given in *Essai sur les mœurs* and *D'Alcoran*. However, the rhetoric was partly borrowed from Bayle, who also discusses the question of why Islam became more widespread than Christianity within a short period of time. In many of his polemical works, Voltaire simply rephrased arguments he had collected and reworked them in the form of a dialogue, which was an excellent means to explain his position with great clarity, to ask critical questions, to hold up the view of others to ridicule and to guide the reader's opinion.

The polemical works would not be polemical if they did not arouse criticism. Although many of his contemporaries admired Voltaire's work for his style, wit and humour, at least as many felt attacked or disagreed with his anti-Christian critique. In general, the criticism was confined to Voltaire's negative view of revealed religion, and particularly of the Church, rather addressing his presentation of Islam. *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* was particularly attacked by Jean-George Le Franc de Pompignan in his 1763 *Instruction pastorale*, and Laurent François criticised the work in his *Mémoires de Trévoux* in 1764. *L'examen important* was criticised by abbé Bergier in his *Apologie de la religion chrétienne*, 1769, while some Protestant responses were more cordial.

*Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* also met a mixed reception. On the one hand, it was admired for its wit, although it was generally accepted that it was a repetition of arguments in favour of natural religion, while on the other, it was also attacked fiercely in the early 1770s for its blasphemous character. The two most prominent opponents were Louis Verdet in *Le mauvais dîner, ou lettres sur le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* (1770), and François-Xavier de Feller, who published a long article (1772) on the errors in *Le dîner* in *Clef du cabinet des princes de l'Europe* (Kölv-ing, 'Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers' pp. 312-15).

#### PUBLICATIONS

In the main, only details of the earliest of the many editions and translations are given here.

#### *Traité sur la tolérance*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations, see *Traité sur la tolérance*, ed. J. Renwick, in *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 56C, Oxford, 2000, pp. 98-115.

Voltaire, *Traité sur la tolérance*, Geneva: Cramer, 1763 (earliest edition); Z BEUCHOT-862 (digitised version available through BNF)

Voltaire, *Verhandeling over de Verdraagzaamheit in het stuk der religie. Door den Heer de Voltaire*, Leeuwarden: Abraham Ferwerda, 1764 (Dutch trans.; J. Vercruysse, 'Bibliographie provisoire des traductions néerlandaises et flamandes de Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 116, Banbury, 1973, 19-64, p. 52, no. 142); KW 487 A 54 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Voltaire, *A treatise on religious toleration. Occasioned by the execution of the unfortunate John Calas*, trans. William Kenrick, London:

- T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt, 1764 (English trans.; H.B. Evans, 'A provisional bibliography of English editions and translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman [ed.], *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 8, Geneva, 1959, 9-121, p. 108, no. 516); ESTC T137894 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Voltaire, *Abhandlung über die Religionsduldung*, Leipzig: Fritsch, 1764 (German trans.; H. Fromm, *Bibliographie Deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen, 1700-1948*, vol. 6, Baden-Baden, 1953, 261-86, p. 282, no. 27173); J.can.p. 1107 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Voltaire, *A treatise upon toleration by Mr. de Voltaire*, Glasgow: Robert Urie, 1765 (English trans.; Evans, 'A provisional bibliography', p. 108, no. 517); ESTC T137891 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Voltaire, *Über die Toleranz. Den Bedürfnissen unserer Zeit gemäß neu übers.*, Berlin Akademische Buchhandlung, 1790 (German trans.; Fromm, *Bibliographie*, p. 282, no. 27174)
- Voltaire, *Voltaire, treatise on tolerance*, ed. S. Harvey, trans. B. Masters, Cambridge, 2000 (English trans.)
- Voltaire, *Traité sur la tolérance*, ed. J. Renwick in *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 56C, Oxford, 2000

#### *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme, ou dialogue entre un caloyer et un homme de bien*, see S. Davies et al. (eds), *Writings of 1763-1764, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 57A, Oxford, 2014, pp. 135-8.

- Voltaire, *Catechisme de l'honnête-homme, ou dialogue entre un caloyer et un homme de bien. Traduit du Grec vulgaire par D.J.J.R.C.D.C.D.G.*, Geneva: [Cramer], 1763 (earliest edition)
- Voltaire, *Catéchisme de l'honnête-homme, ou dialogue entre un caloyer et un homme de bien*, Brussels, 1764; D-21657 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Voltaire, 'Catéchisme de l'honnête homme, ou dialogue entre un caloyer et un homme de bien', see S. Davies et al. (eds), *Writings of 1763-1764, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 57A, Oxford, 2014, pp. 83-196

#### *L'examen important par Milord Bolingbroke*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations, see 'L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke', ed. R. Mortier in J.



Marchand, R. Mortier and J. Renwick (eds), *Writings of 1766-1767, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 62, Oxford, 1987, pp. 142-53.

Voltaire, 'L'examen important par Milord Bolingbroke', in Voltaire, *Recueil nécessaire*, Leipzig [Geneva, Cramer], 1765 [1766], as *L'examen important par Milord Bolingbroke*, pp. [153]-290 (earliest edition)

Voltaire, *The important examination of the holy scriptures, attributed to Lord Bolingbroke, but written by M. Voltaire, and first published in 1736. Now first translated from the French*, in (Richard) Carlile, *The Deist*, vol. 2, London: R. Carlile, 1820 (English trans.; Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 66, no. 215); 013472403 (digitised version available through Bodleian Library)

Voltaire, *Gewigtig onderzoek van lord Bolingbroke, of het graf der dweeperij*, trans. R. Charles, Amsterdam: R.C. Meijer, 1857 (Dutch trans.; Vercruyse, 'Bibliographie provisoire', p. 33, no. 54)

Voltaire, 'L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke', ed. R. Mortier in Marchand, Mortier and Renwick (eds), *Writings of 1766-1767, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 62, Oxford, 1987, 127-362

#### *Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers*, see U. Kölving in D. Beauvois, E. Rostworowski and J. Renwick (eds), *Writings of 1767 (I), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 63A, Oxford, 1990, pp. 322-34.

Voltaire, *Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers. Par Mr. St. Hiacinte*. 1728, Geneva: Grasset, 1767 (earliest edition); Z BEUCHOT-217 (digitised version available through BNF)

Voltaire, *Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers*, ed. U. Kölving in D. Beauvois, E. Rostworowski and J. Renwick (eds), *Writings of 1767 (I), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 63A, Oxford, 1990, 291-408

#### *Il faut prendre un parti*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *Il faut prendre un parti, ou le principe d'action*, see P. Casini in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Writings of 1772 (II), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 74B, Oxford, 2006, pp. 7-9.

Voltaire, 'Il faut prendre un parti', in Voltaire, *Nouveaux mélanges philosophiques, historiques, critiques, etc*, Geneva: Cramer, 1765-75, vol. 17, pp. 275-332 (earliest edition); BIB.AR.001181 v.17 (digitised version available through Universiteit Gent)

- Voltaire, 'Il faut prendre un parti, Es necesario tomar un partido, ó el principio del movimiento', in Voltaire, *Filosofía de Voltaire, traducida al Español*, Madrid: Censor, 1822, [51]-136 (Spanish trans.; Todd, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 55, no. 1)
- Voltaire, 'Il faut prendre un parti, ou le principe d'action', ed. P. Casini, in N. Cronk et al. (eds), *Writings of 1772 (II), Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 74B, Oxford, 2006, 1-65

## STUDIES

- D. Williams, 'Voltaire', in N.N. Trakakis and G.R. Oppy (eds), *Early modern philosophy of religion*, vol. 3, London, 2009, 197-210
- Voltaire, *Treatise on tolerance*, ed. S. Harvey, trans. B. Masters, Cambridge, 2000
- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, Markfield, 1999, pp. 136-9
- D. Hadidi, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents XXXIII January – July 1768. Letters D 14635 – D 15163, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 117, Banbury, 1974, pp. 45, 55-6 (Letters D 14674 and D 14688)
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents XXXII April – December 1767. Letters D 14078 – D 14634, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 116, Banbury, 1974, p. 514 (Letter D 14629)
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents XXVII October 1763 – July 1764. Letters D 11440 – D 11970, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 111, Geneva, 1973, pp. 19-21 (Letter D 11449)
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents XXVI February – September 1763. Letters D 10973 – D 11439, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 110, Geneva, 1973, pp. 372-3, 419-20, 328-30, 338-9 (Letters D 11383, D 11433, D 11333 and D 11344)
- T. Besterman (ed.), *Correspondence and related documents XIX April 1758 – February 1759. Letters D 7705 – D 8147, Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 103, Geneva, 1971, pp. 336, 354 (Letters D 8037 and D 8059)
- H.T. Mason, *Pierre Bayle and Voltaire*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 50-1

## Alphabetical works

DATE 1764-74

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

In the last two decades of his life, Voltaire wrote dictionaries and encyclopaedias. These works are collectively referred to as his alphabetical works, because the entries and articles follow the order of the alphabet. The dictionary was the most popular genre during the Enlightenment era to express philosophical and scientific ideas systematically and in a way that the information was easily accessible to a larger audience. Voltaire primarily wrote his dictionaries and encyclopaedias for the same reason as he wrote his other works, namely to improve the morality of his public. In his alphabetical works he tried to explain his points of view on various issues in a systematic way. This means that, although the entries sometimes appear to be separate articles, all these entries contributed to his pedagogical aim. Voltaire meant the articles to form a complete whole.

Two of his alphabetical works are especially noteworthy with regard to Voltaire's view on Islam: *Dictionnaire philosophique* and *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*. The latter contains two long articles on Islam, 'Alcoran, ou plutôt le Coran' and 'Arot & Marot'.

### *Dictionnaire philosophique*

*Dictionnaire philosophique* was originally called *La raison par alphabet*. The work was published for the first time in 1764 and was called *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif* ('Pocket philosophical dictionary'). In the several later editions (1764, 1765, 1767, 1769), the number of entries varies. In comparison with the original publication of 1764, the edition of 1769 contained 45 additional entries.

The entries in the *Dictionnaire philosophique* are often related to Voltaire's campaign against the Church, and particularly the violence of the Catholic Church against the Protestants. The entries refer to biblical figures, theological concepts and central themes such as tolerance, superstition and fanaticism. The dictionary does not contain entries completely dedicated to the Prophet Muḥammad, Muslims or Islam, but there are several entries in which they are mentioned and evaluated. Among them are: 'Cathéchisme du Jardinier', 'Circoncision', 'Dogmes', 'Esprit faux', 'Foi', 'Idole, idolâtre, idolâtrie', 'Inundation', 'Le ciel des anciens',

'Nécessaire', 'Préjugés', 'Secte', 'Sens commun', 'Théiste' and 'Tolérance'. The Kehl edition of 1784 contains also articles that were published posthumously, including an article entitled 'Mahometans'.

*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs*

*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* was published in nine volumes between 1770 and 1772, and some articles were added in a supplement in 1774. The first collection contained 423 articles, and in 1774 eight were added. The edition of 1774 is the most complete. On the one hand, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* is a compilation and rephrasing of Voltaire's previously expressed ideas on religion, philosophy, history and morality, while, on the other, the work also sheds light on many new themes. *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* explains Voltaire's ideas more precisely, as well as attacking the political, religious and philosophical ideas of others.

The work was meant to make his ideas easily accessible to all who were interested in religion and philosophy. It presents once more his ideas on tolerance, the Church, and natural religion in a systematic manner, and Muḥammad and Islam frequently appear. In many articles, Voltaire only mentions Muḥammad or Islam briefly, often as part of a comparison or enumeration that is not primarily on Islam or Muḥammad, but rather on related themes such as laws, miracles, fanaticism and dogmas. However, 'Alcoran, ou plutôt le Coran' and 'Arot & Marot' were detailed discussions in which Muḥammad and the Qur'an were the central themes.

In 'Alcoran, ou plutôt le Coran', Voltaire responds to the prejudices of his contemporaries regarding the Qur'an. He argues that it has often been treated unjustly and that these prejudices should be corrected. He focuses on nuancing the image of Muḥammad as someone who reduced women to the status of intelligent animals and develops a critical evaluation of Muḥammad's character and laws, including a discussion of his doctrines and especially his teachings on predestination. Voltaire claims that information about the content and rules of the Qur'an should be studied through those who know it best, namely Du Ryer, Marracci and Sale. Their works form the basis of Voltaire's analysis of the rights and obligations of women according to the Prophet. In order to show that the marital regulations given by Muḥammad were not as bad as many were inclined to believe, Voltaire discusses the rules concerning marriage, marital behaviour, divorce, mediation, polygamy, marrying slaves and breastfeeding. He repeats former statements made in his historical works

about the Prophet as an impostor but wise lawgiver, and that the Qur'an contains many incoherencies and vague predictions, but he says the laws of Muḥammad were good for his people. The last part of the article is dedicated to more theological questions, such as whether the Qur'an is eternal or created. In this part, Voltaire compares Muḥammad to the Jansenists. According to Voltaire, Muḥammad's teaching on predestination and free will, namely his absolute decree of free predestination, show that he was above all a Jansenist. Taking into account Voltaire's earlier criticism of the Jansenists, in works such as 'Du fanatisme', *Mahomet* and *Traité sur la tolérance*, this comparison was certainly not meant as a compliment. Voltaire had written more elaborately on free will in the oriental tale *Zadig* (1747).

In 'Arot & Marot', Voltaire continued to correct the prejudices of his contemporaries. The theme of the article is that scientific and enlightened analyses of Islam should not pay attention to miraculous and made up stories, because they are not in accordance with reason. If such stories are used to describe the Prophet and Islam, this would unmistakably lead to incorrect and false ideas.

The argumentation is very similar to Voltaire's *Il faut prendre un parti* (1772). He wrote the entry to correct the depiction of Muḥammad in the *Encyclopédie* article of the same name, which suggested that Muḥammad prohibited the drinking of wine because the angels Arot and Marot, who were sent by God to teach divine morality to humanity, became drunk and in their drunkenness revealed to a woman how she could ascend to heaven. According to Voltaire, this story was not derived from the Qur'an and misrepresented the laws of Islam. He noted that true enlightened thinkers should use proper sources to study Muslim laws. Using non-qur'anic material to explain Islamic laws is just as unreasonable as reconstructing the values of Christianity from non-biblical sources. If proper sources had been used, it would have been concluded that Muḥammad forbade the use of alcohol because of the warm climate, in which alcohol affects one's health and reason quickly.

Voltaire was not critical of all his predecessors, for he praised the contributions of Sale and Reland, although he had criticised Sale some years earlier in his *Remarques sur l'Essai* for being too positive about Muḥammad. However, his list of unenlightened thinkers was more extensive. It included Gagnier, who incorporated the alleged miracles of the Prophet into his work and accepted what in Voltaire's view were lies. Gagnier clearly criticised Islam in order to defend Christianity. Grotius is also critiqued by Voltaire for discussing ridiculous tales about

Muḥammad, but Grotius was at least right in admitting that Muslims were dreamers. Voltaire contends that spreading lies about Islam and Muḥammad was completely unnecessary and that it would be better to drive Muslims away than to spread lies about them. He is referring to the political debate on the Russian war against the Turks, which Voltaire supported because he admired the Russian Empress Catherine the Great (r. 1762-96). He made a similar connection in *Il faut prendre un parti* (1772).

In addition to these, there are many more articles in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* that discuss aspects of Islam and the Prophet, including: 'Abraham', 'Adam', 'Adorer', 'Amazones', 'Apostat', 'Apropos', 'Arabes', 'Athéisme', 'Charlatan', 'Climat', 'Croire', 'Contradiction', 'Cuissage', 'Esséniens', 'Fanatisme', 'Femme', 'Polygamie', 'Foi ou Foy', 'Hérésie', 'Idole idolâtre idolâtrie', 'Loix', 'Anthropomorphites', 'Raison'. There are also articles in which Muḥammad is only mentioned in comparison with other religions or as the object of a dispute, such as: 'Brachmanes', 'Bulle', 'De Caton et du suicide', 'Concile', 'Eloquence', 'Eucharistie', 'François Xavier', 'Ignace de Loyola', 'Christianisme'. Voltaire also expressed his views on contemporary Muslims in Europe and especially on Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-6, 1451-81); see: 'Critique', 'Église', 'Esclaves' and 'Tolérance'.

Voltaire did not add many new ideas to his view on Islam in these works, but he did develop his thoughts on Islam. For instance, he makes concrete suggestions for further reading on Islam, discusses in more detail the rights of women, and what in his opinion are the incorrect views of his contemporaries about the position of Abraham in the Abrahamic religions. Recurring themes in the alphabetical works are Muḥammad as an impostor, the unity of God, tolerance, the history of the Arabs, the rule of the caliphs, the influence of the climate on the laws given by Muḥammad, the closeness of Islam to natural religion, and morality.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In the last two decades of his life, Voltaire, deeply influenced by the Calas affair (Calas had been falsely accused of killing his son for wanting to convert to Catholicism), fiercely argued against the irrationality of the Church and its intolerant attitude. For the human spirit to develop, one had to turn to natural religion and morality, both based on reason alone, and promote toleration. As shown in the section on polemical works, this critical attitude towards the Church was characteristic of un-religious thinkers of Voltaire's time. In the alphabetical works, his reasons

for discussing Islam appear less polemical. However, he was still trying to hold up a mirror to the Catholics and to moralise against them. For instance, he suggested that Christian miracles were as unreasonable as Muḥammad's alleged miracles. His rational depiction of the laws of Islam and Muḥammad served to emphasise that, once stripped of all irrationality, the core of Islam is in accordance with reason. This rational view of Islam should be considered by every enlightened mind.

In his later works, such as the alphabetical works and his remarks on *Essai sur les mœurs*, Voltaire explained more explicitly whose views he was criticising and why. This fits into his campaign to educate his contemporaries and encourage them to reflect in a more enlightened way. In his alphabetical works, the evaluation of his contemporaries took the form of a summary of those he accepted as his worthy predecessors, namely Du Ryer, Marracci and Sale, and an attack on the views of those with whom he disagreed, at least in part: Gagnier and Grotius.

In his later works, Voltaire more frequently discussed Islam in relation to the Turks, and especially their attitude towards women. The war between Russia and the Ottomans coloured his presentation of the Turks. In his letters to Catherine the Great, he often pointed to the marginalised position of women, in order to contrast unenlightened women with Catherine's greatness. She was the ultimate example of how women could blossom, if they were not restricted by customs or laws. In *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, Voltaire also tried to correct the view that Muḥammad was obsessed with women, just as he had done in *Essai sur les mœurs* and *De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet*.

Voltaire's alphabetical works were accessibly written and reached a large audience. They became immensely popular and were translated into many languages. It is not surprising that the reception of the work as described by Christine Mervaud is extensive (*Complete works of Voltaire*, vols 36-43).

#### PUBLICATIONS

There are many editions and translations. Here, mainly details of the earliest are given.

#### *Dictionnaire philosophique*

For a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations of *Dictionnaire philosophique*, see C. Mervaud (ed.), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 36, Oxford, 1994, pp. 45-60.

Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique, portatif*, Geneva: Grasset, 1764; 8-T-10402 (digitised version available through BNF)

Voltaire, *The philosophical dictionary for the pocket. Written in French by a society of men of letters*, London: Thomas Brown, 1765 (English trans.; see H.B. Evans, 'A provisional bibliography of English editions and translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman (ed.), *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 8, Geneva, 1959, 9-121, p. 58, no. 167); ESTC No20652 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Voltaire, *The philosophical dictionary. From the French of M. de Voltaire. A new edition corrected*, Glasgow: Robert Urie, 1766 (English trans.; see Evans, 'Provisional bibliography', p. 58, no. 168, and further pp. 57-9); ESTC No20653 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Voltaire, *Diccionario filosofico de Voltaire traduction al Español, en la que se han refundido las cuestiones sobre la enciclopedia, la opinion en alfabeto, los articulos insertos en la encyclopedia y otros muchos*, trans. C. Lanuza, New York: C.S. van Winkle, 1825 (Spanish trans.; see C. Todd, 'A provisional bibliography of published Spanish translations of Voltaire', in T. Besterman (ed.), *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 161, Oxford, 1976, 43-136, p. 94, no. 146, and further pp. 94-7)

Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique I & II*, ed. C. Mervaud, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 36, Oxford, 1994 (based in the 1769 edition)

Voltaire, *A pocket philosophical dictionary*, ed. N. Cronk and trans. J. Fletcher, Oxford, 2011 (English trans.)

#### *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs*

For *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, a list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, editions and translations is given in *Oeuvres alphabétiques (II)*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 34, Oxford, 2016, pp. 92-9

Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs*, 9 vols [Geneva], 1770-2 (earliest edition); Z-24728 (digitised version available through BNF)

Voltaire, *Auserlesene Stücke aus den Fragen über die Encyklopädie*, Bern, 1776 (German trans.; see H. Fromm, *Bibliographie Deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen, 1700-1948*, vol. 6, Baden-Baden, 1953, 261-86, p. 281, no. 27145)



- Voltaire, *Oeuvres alphabétiques (I)*, ed. J. Vercruysse, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 33, Oxford, 1987
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (II) A–Aristée*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 38, Oxford, 2007 ('Alcoran, ou plutôt de Coran', pp. 127–35)
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (III) Aristote–Certain*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 39, Oxford, 2008
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (IV) César–Égalite*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 40, Oxford, 2009
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (V) Église–Fraude*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 41, Oxford, 2010
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (VI) Gargantua–Justice*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 42A, Oxford, 2011
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (VII) Langues–Prières*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 42B, Oxford, 2012
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (VIII) Privileges–Zoroastre*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud (eds), *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 43, Oxford, 2013
- Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs (I) Introduction*, in N. Cronk and C. Mervaud, *Complete works of Voltaire*, vol. 37, Oxford, 2018

## STUDIES

- Z. Soltani, *Orientalische Spiegelungen. Alteritätskonstruktionen in der deutschsprachigen Literatur am Beispiel des Orients vom Spätmittelalter bis zur klassischen Moderne*, Berlin, 2016, pp. 214–16
- S.R. Arjana, *Muslims in the Western imagination*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 88–9
- C. Klettke, 'Mythisierung und Modellierung des Fanatismus in *Voltaires Tragödie Mahomet*', in C. Klettke and C. Wöbbeking (eds), *Der maskierte Voltaire. Verdeckte Schreibarten und Textstrategien des Aufklärers*, Berlin, 2015, 31–48
- J.V. Tolan, G. Veinstein and H. Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic world. A history*, Princeton NJ, 2013, p. 248

- L.A. Hunt, M.C. Jacob and W. Mijnhardt (eds), *The book that changed Europe. Picart and Bernard's religious ceremonies of the world*, Cambridge MA, 2010, pp. 250-2
- E. Ousselin, *The invention of Europe in French literature and film*, New York, 2009, p. 28
- A. Gunny, *The Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present*, Markfield, 1999, pp. 138-40
- A. Gunny, *Images of Islam in 18th-century writings*, London, 1996, pp. 140-1
- I.R. Netton, *Seek knowledge. Thought and travel in the house of Islam*, London, 1996, pp. 12-16
- I.R. Netton, 'The mysteries of Islam', in G.S. Rousseau and R. Porters (eds), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Manchester, 1990, 23-45, pp. 33-6
- M.G. Badir, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974
- D. Hadidi, *Voltaire et l'islam*, Paris, 1974
- H.T. Mason, *Pierre Bayle and Voltaire*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 50-1

Susanna de Vries

# Claude-Étienne Savary

DATE OF BIRTH 1750  
PLACE OF BIRTH Vitré, Brittany  
DATE OF DEATH 1788  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Claude-Étienne Savary was born in Vitré, Brittany, in 1750. Little is known about his early years or his parents, Claude Savary and Belle Thérèse Muriel, who belonged to the local bourgeoisie. His younger brother, Jean-Julien-Marie, a lawyer, was to have a distinguished administrative career both before and during the Revolution and under Napoleon. Claude-Étienne received a sound classical education at the Jesuit college in Rennes, and, in view of the Jesuit commitment to the missionary movement, he may have developed there an interest in the East. He then moved to Paris, where he found a friend and a patron in Louis-Guillaume Le Monnier, one of the most distinguished scientists of his day. There is no doubt that Savary owed many of his ideas to Le Monnier, who remained his protector for the larger part of his short life. Le Monnier seems to have introduced Savary into a circle of enlightened scientists and also to the court of the Comte de Provence (the future Louis XVIII) at Versailles.

In 1777, Savary set sail for Egypt. He disembarked in Alexandria in July, visited Rosetta, and on 4 October arrived in Cairo. Some nine months later he set out to explore the Nile Delta and finally settled in Damietta, where he remained for several months before returning to Cairo. In Damietta he may have worked on what he hoped would be a grammar of Syrian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic based on conversations with Syrian immigrants. He left the country in September 1779.

Savary's objectives were those of the traveller of the Enlightenment, influenced by Voltaire and Montesquieu. He was determined to meet and live with different peoples, to study their customs, their religion and their government, and thereby to obtain a measure of comparison with which to judge the customs, religion and government of his own country and to shed the prejudices engendered by education and habit. 'Become a citizen of the world, he will rise superior to partiality and,

while describing cities and countries, will give to truth the guidance of his pen.'

Savary was eager to create an image of himself as a traveller in every way assimilated into the Egyptian world, and as such he emphasised the fluency of his Arabic. 'Speaking Arabic,' he claimed, 'I might pass for a Turk.' 'To avoid being insulted by the populace and to accomplish the purpose of my voyage,' he wrote, 'I have assumed the habit and manners of a Turk; my tanned skin is become Egyptian; a shawl, bound round my head, conceals my hair, and long whiskers shade my cheeks. Thanks to this metamorphosis and the ease with which I speak Arabic, I unmolested walk the streets of this city, and its environs; and live familiar with its strange inhabitants. Curiosity often leads me beyond the limits of prudence, but the voice of reason is feeble when an imperious passion rules.' When he was in Damietta, however, he dared to appear in European dress – and regretted it. 'I saw disgust in every face. The women looked at me with a curiosity mingled with terror, the children ran away screaming, and the men frowned and murmured between their teeth *la ila ella allah*, etc.' He emphasised his personal experiences in the Egyptian world – the pleasure of the Turkish baths, the joy of smoking the narguileh, the cool of the evening spent on the Nile, and the excellence of Egyptian cuisine.

Despite his appeals to objectivity, Savary was by no means immune to prejudice. He accepted the fashionable view that the Turks had destroyed the last vestiges of Arab civilisation in addition to the great heritage of the Ancients. Nor was he any less prejudiced about Islam. In Cairo, he wrote, 'that immense city where the Europeans crouch in the dust and where the name of Frank is opprobrious, there the fanatic laws of Mahomet reign triumphant, and the Mussulman, sunk in ignorance, imagines himself the most sublime of beings'. Nevertheless, Savary generally painted an idyllic picture of Egypt, particularly rural Egypt. Although the three volumes of his letters cover the entire country, he himself never went south of the pyramids of Giza.

From Egypt, Savary made his way to the Greek Archipelago. He set sail from Alexandria, bound for Crete, but, with his ship blown off course, he first stopped in Kastellorizo east of Rhodes, then in Rhodes itself, followed by the little islands of Simi, Kasos and Dia, before reaching Crete, where he remained for some 16 months. He hoped to travel on to Istanbul, but after visiting the islands of Kimolos and Milos he returned to France in 1781. In his first letters from Greece, he expressed his relief at being able to leave his turban, his long robe and his whiskers on the

shores of Egypt, which he would only wish to visit again after it had been liberated from Turkish rule. And no sooner was he in the Greek Archipelago than, in keeping with the fashionable philhellenism of his day, he started to register evidence of the destruction of classical Antiquity wrought by the Turks.

In France, where he arrived in 1781, Savary was received warmly by Le Monnier and his wife. Le Monnier provided him with accommodation near Versailles, and in Paris he lodged close to the Sorbonne, in the Rue des Maçons (now the Rue Champollion), with another eminent scientist, Edme-Claude Bourru, at the time professor of surgery at the Paris medical faculty (of which he would later be appointed dean). With access to the library of Le Monnier and possibly to the even larger one of the Comte de Provence, Savary wrote most of his works on the East at this time. In 1783, he published his translation of the Qur'an, followed in 1784 by his *Morale de Mahomet*, a collection of edifying extracts from the Qur'an. The only other of his writings that appeared in his lifetime was his *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, published in three volumes in 1785 and 1786. The letters were addressed to Le Monnier and the book was dedicated to the Comte de Provence. According to the zoologist Charles Sonnini de Manoncourt, who had met Savary on various occasions in Alexandria, Crete and France, Savary was so 'inebriated' by the success of the first volume that he decided to add two more about areas in which, as Sonnini put it, he had 'never set foot'.

For his description of most of Egypt and its antiquities Savary was entirely dependent on the works of others. He relied on the accounts of French travellers he met in Cairo. When describing the pyramids he quoted directly from the *Description de l'Égypte* by the former French consul Benoît de Maillet. He drew too on the reports of earlier travellers – above all, for an account of Upper Egypt, Claude Sicard and Richard Pococke. He exploited the work of the great cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourignon d'Anville. For his long accounts of the history of ancient Egypt, he quoted the standard classical texts, mainly Strabo and Herodotus, but also Homer, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny and others, while for his discussion of the ancient Egyptian deities, which takes up most of the third volume of his letters, he helped himself to Paul Ernst Jablonski's *Pantheon Aegyptiorum* of 1750.

In the first two volumes of his letters, Savary tried to impress his readers by mentioning a number of Arab geographers and historians and dazzling them with his command of Arabic. In all cases, however, a Latin or a French translation existed. Particularly in the first volume, Savary liked

to quote Abū l-Fidā' in Arabic transliterated into Roman characters. This gives the impression of an original source, possibly a manuscript. In fact, the Arabic is taken either from Johann David Michaelis's edition of Abū l-Fidā's description of Egypt, which appeared in 1776, or, in the case of the two quotations that are not in Michaelis's edition, from Albert Schulzens' life of Saladin with excerpts from Abū l-Fidā's universal history, published in 1732. In both editions, the Arabic is accompanied by a Latin translation. There is also a description of the Qazdughli amirs who ruled the country from 1760 to 1775, 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr and his brother-in-law and successor Muḥammad Bey Abū l-Dhahab. The whole report is taken entirely from Sauveur Lusignan's *History of the revolt of Ali Bey against the Ottoman Porte* published in London in 1783.

The *Lettres sur l'Égypte* was astonishingly successful and was translated into German, English, Dutch and Swedish, but it was also severely criticised. Savary, whose health was weak, was deeply wounded by the criticisms of Constantin-François de Volney in his *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, which first appeared in 1787, and was generally regarded as far superior to Savary's *Lettres*. Volney pointed out that Savary had either misunderstood or misinterpreted many of the classical sources he quoted: he was thus wrong about the extension of the Delta, wrong about the distance of the lighthouse of Alexandria from the mainland in Antiquity, and wrong about the early course of the Nile. Readers with any direct knowledge of Egypt were equally appalled. Indignant letters, which have remained in manuscript, were written by French residents who pointed out a number of factual errors as well as mistakes in the Arabic. One of the most savage critics was Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, an illustrious product of the interpreters' school in Paris and later professor of Turkish at the École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes. With a long experience of life in Egypt, he questioned nearly all Savary's statements about Alexandria, and, as he would also do in his judgement of Savary's translation of the Qur'an, expressed grave doubts about Savary's knowledge of Arabic.

Savary was also deeply offended by the venomous review by Johann David Michaelis that appeared in his *Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* in 1786. Incensed by Savary's use of his edition of Abū l-Fidā' without any acknowledgement, he demolished the *Lettres sur l'Égypte* with far greater malice than Volney. He would, he said, have cast the book away after reading the first letter, so full was it of commonplaces, but he felt bound to give an account of the entire work for the benefit of

his readers. What he found was a series of glaring errors in the dates. He also questioned Savary's knowledge of Arabic which, to judge from his transliterations, was poor. In Germany, he wrote, such an author would be dismissed as 'ein Unwissender', an ignoramus, and were he a school-boy he would be severely scolded.

Savary died in on 4 February 1788 at the age of 38. The rest of his writings appeared posthumously. His *Lettres sur la Grèce*, addressed to Le Monnier's wife, Marie Ursule Durant Demonville, was published in 1789. The so-called translation of one of the Arabian Nights, *Les amours d'Anas Eloujoud et de Ouardi*, came out in 1789. This was an addition to the tales collected by Galland, and the Arabic version, *Uns al-Wujūd ma'a l-ward fi l-akmām*, was included (as nights 371 to 381) in 1839 in the second volume of the edition of *The Aliflaila or Book of the thousand nights and one night*, edited by William Hay McNaghten and published in Calcutta. A glance at the Arabic text shows that Savary's version cannot in any way be considered a translation. Savary, who may have read a manuscript of the text but, more probably, may have heard somebody tell the story, simply retold it in his own words and with his habitual stylistic elegance.

Savary's *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire* finally appeared in 1813. It had originally been submitted to the printer in 1784, but the Typographie royale did not have the Arabic type faces necessary to produce it. Its publication was pre-empted by the appearance of Isaac Silvestre de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, which came out in 1810 and revolutionised the study of Arabic in Europe. With that Savary could not compete, although his was a relatively novel attempt to teach colloquial Arabic. In fact, as Langlès points out in his introduction, Savary had tended to confuse Egyptian Arabic with Syrian Arabic, and, as more recent scholars have shown, he failed to recognise the features of Middle Arabic, as opposed to classical Arabic. For all the defects and inconsistencies in his grammar, however, Savary must still be considered a precursor of scholars such as Franz von Dombey (whose grammar of Moroccan Arabic appeared in 1800) and Wilhelm Spitta, the author of a grammar of Egyptian Arabic published in 1880. Thanks to Langlès, Savary's grammar served, albeit in a thoroughly revised form, as a textbook in one of the best schools of Arabic in Europe.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- MS Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations – arabe 137 (1782; Claude-Étienne Savary, 'Le Coran')
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littérale* [1784], Paris, 1813
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, 3 vols, Paris, 1785-6
- Johann David Michaelis, 'Lettres sur l'Égypte par Mr Savary', *Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* 2 (1786) 198-220
- MS Paris, BNF – Nouvelle acquisition française 9135, fols 146r-161r (Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, 'Observations sur les lettres sur l'Égypte de Mr Savari')
- MS Paris, BNF – Nouvelle acquisition française 9135, fols 162r-176v (indignant letters about Savary's *Lettres sur l'Égypte*)
- Constantin-François de Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, 2 vols, Paris, 1787, vol. 1, pp. 19-50, 104-7
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, 2 vols, London, 1787
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, Paris, 1798
- Charles Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Égypte*, 2 vols, Paris 1799, vol. 1, pp. 12-13
- D. Destains, 'Notice sur les principaux ouvrages de Savary', *Mercure Etranger*, 1814, pp. 346-55
- P.-H. Audiffret, 'Savary (Claude-Etienne)', in L.-G. Michaud (ed.), *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, vol. 40, Paris, 1825, pp. 509-12

*Secondary*

- M. Dos, 'Une traduction didactique appliquée à l'arabe: Les dialogues Pétis de la Croix-Savary', in J. Den Heijer, P. La Spisa and L. Tuerlinckx (eds), *Autour de la langue arabe. Études présentées à Jacques Grand'Henry à l'occasion de son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2012, 189-206
- S. Larzul, art. 'Savary, Claude-Étienne', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 927-8
- R. Clément, *Les Français d'Égypte au XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Cairo, 1960, pp. 240-4
- J.-M. Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 79-90
- T. Spencer, *Fair Greece, sad relic. Literary philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron*, London, 1954, pp. 219-21



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe  
'The Qur'an, translated from the Arabic'

DATE 1783

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

Savary's translation of the Qur'an, the second published French rendering which claimed to have been made directly from the Arabic, was originally printed in Paris in 1783 by André-François Knapen and his son Achille-Maximin-Philogone (its full title is *Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, 'The Qur'an, translated from the Arabic, accompanied by notes and preceded by a summary of the life of Muḥammad'). Later editions were issued by the Libraries associés in Paris, Leiden and Amsterdam. It was in two volumes. The first opens with a preface of 12 pages followed by a 'summary' of the life of the Prophet, the 'Abrégé de la vie de Mahomet', of 248 pages. The translation itself, contained in the second part of the first and the whole of the second volume, is divided into the traditional suras. They are accompanied by a limited amount of annotations, and, in contrast to the earlier French translation by André Du Ryer (1647), the verses of each sura are divided but not numbered. This is also in contrast to the manuscript version of the text that was submitted in 1782 and which the censor, Denis-Dominique Cardonne, approved on 29 April. But there are also other differences between the published version and the manuscript. Although the verses are indeed numbered, the manuscript does not have any of the introductory material (the preface and the 'Abrégé de la vie de Mahomet') and has hardly any footnotes.

Savary's brief preface, in which he extols the poetic qualities of the Qur'an and condemns the earlier translations by Du Ryer and Ludovico Marracci for having failed to capture them, ends with Sura 50, now generally known as 'Qāf' but translated by Savary as 'The judgement', as an example of André Du Ryer's translation followed by Savary's own. The 'summary' of the life of the Prophet that follows is based all but entirely on Jean Gagnier's Arabic and Latin edition of Abū l-Fidā's *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis*, which had appeared in Oxford in 1723, and Gagnier's *Vie de Mahomet*, published in 1748. In his footnotes, however, Savary is critical of the anti-Islamic tone adopted not only by Humphrey Prideaux

in his *True nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* of 1697, but also by Jean Gagnier, and the 'summary' concludes with a eulogy of the Prophet that repeats a theme to be found ever since the dawn of the Enlightenment: the Prophet was above all a great legislator who had managed to unite the Arabs by providing them with a religious faith which combined all that was best and most appealing in Judaism and Christianity, and which was expressed in a work of infinite linguistic beauty.

Savary was aggressive towards his predecessors. He dismissed Du Ryer's version as 'a flat and boring rhapsody', but his criticism was directed far more against Du Ryer's style than against his competence as a translator. 'Reading his translation,' Savary continues, 'one would never imagine that the Qur'an is the masterpiece of the Arabic language so rich in great writers' (Savary, *Coran*, vol. 1, pp. viii-ix). Marracci too was criticised harshly, and largely for the same reasons. He translated the Qur'an, writes Savary, 'word by word. It is not the thoughts of the Qur'an that he has expressed, but words disguised in a barbarous Latin. And yet, although this translation obliterates the beauties of the original, it remains preferable to that of Du Ryer. Marracci had added learned notes and a large number of Arabic passages taken from the Muslim doctors; but since his main object is refutation, he selects with care those that offer him a greater scope. One can reproach him for abandoning himself too much to the ardour of his zeal, and, without respecting the title of writer, by sullyng his pen with the grossest insults' (Savary, *Coran*, vol. 1, pp. xi-xii). Savary goes on to say that the next translation of the Qur'an, by George Sale, 'must be excellent', but that his own English is not good enough to appreciate it.

It is clear that Savary's main goal is to offer a translation that excels in elegance and that captures the poetry of the Qur'an. Some contemporary translators tried to do so by translating the text, or part of it, into verse, but Savary keeps to prose. His prose is unquestionably graceful, and certainly more readable than that of Du Ryer, completed almost 150 years earlier and written according to the criteria of the newly founded Académie française. Where Marracci is concerned, moreover, there is one important difference. Not only does Marracci quote from a large number of Muslim commentaries in his abundant footnotes – to say, as Savary does, that they have all been chosen tendentiously is grossly unfair – but he actually introduces explanatory additions from the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, the most popular commentary by the Egyptian scholars Jalāl

al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, into the running text. The additions are printed in italics to show that they are not in the Qur'an itself, but their presence does not make for smooth reading. Savary, on the other hand, either omits them or introduces them surreptitiously, not in italics but as if they were part of the original text.

According to Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, 'It would be easy to prove that there has never been a more impudent author than this Savary' (BNF, MS arabe 1549, fol. 37v). He systematically demolished the 'Abrégé de la vie de Mahomet' that formed the introduction to Savary's Qur'an, drawing attention to such errors as maintaining that the Arabs once, before the advent of Islam, killed their children to avoid poverty. Venture denied that this had ever been true, but said that they had practised, and still did, a form of abortion. He pointed out mistakes in Savary's Arabic and questioned his knowledge of Islam. He also doubted Savary's claim to have translated the Qur'an in Egypt with the help of Egyptians. Had an Egyptian seen the translation, said Venture, and had he been able to understand it, he would probably have sent Savary to the stake. In fact, he goes on, Savary's translation was made entirely from Marracci's Latin.

This last accusation by Venture would be repeated by the next French translator of the Qur'an, Albin de Kazimirski Biberstein. In the preface to his own translation of 1841, Kazimirski says that his original intention was to revise Savary's version, but 'when I examined Savary's translation, I noticed that it had clearly been taken from Marracci's Latin version, and that, apart from numerous mistakes, it had the disadvantage of not catching sufficiently the physiognomy of the original and often of disguising the vagueness and obscurity of the Arabic text for the sake of an elegant turn of phrase. This largely prevented the reader from appreciating the character of the sacred text of the Mohammedans' (Kazimirski, *Le Koran*, p. 1).

Such judgements may seem excessively severe in view of Savary's claims to have performed his translation in Egypt, but they are also difficult to contradict. In contrast to Marracci, who was scrupulous in his translation, Savary was often far too free in rendering the original, always preferring, as Kazimirski put it, 'an elegant turn of phrase' (Kazimirski, *Le Koran*, p. 1). Never does he seem to have improved on, or indeed altered, Marracci on the basis of the Arabic. There are, rather, numerous cases in which he was clearly copying Marracci. In Q 12:8, for instance, on Joseph and his brothers, Marracci introduces the name of Benjamin whereas the Arabic only has 'Joseph and his brother'. Savary too inserts the name

Benjamin. In Q 18, 'The cave', containing the tale of the seven sleepers, Savary follows Marracci in v. 10 by saying that they had been plunged into 'a deep sleep', which is not in the original; in v. 44, like Marracci, he puts 'the day of judgement' while the Arabic only has 'at such time'; in v. 50, both Savary and Marracci refer to a book being held in a hand, but the Qur'an only mentions a book; in v. 91 Savary and Marracci have 'protection from the heat', but the Qur'an only 'protection'. In the same sura, moreover, Savary makes a mistake of his own where in v. 26 he writes that the sleepers slept for 307 years rather than 309 (in Marracci and the Arabic).

A further example of Savary's approach can be seen in Sura 37, sometimes translated as 'The ranks'. The first verses, 'By those who set the ranks, By those who drive away' are extremely concise, and Marracci's Latin, 'Per ordinantes ordinando, Et agitantes agitando', on this occasion, captures the concision. Savary translates: 'J'en jure par les ordres des Anges, Par ceux qui menacent.' The original text says nothing about angels, but Savary has taken the word from the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* quoted in Marracci's notes. The translation *menacer*, 'to threaten', for *zajara* is his own and is incorrect. Verse 53, which could be translated literally as 'Are you one of those who trust in the truth?', is translated by Marracci as 'those who trust in the resurrection', and Savary follows suit.

Savary is even more dependent on Marracci when it comes to his footnotes. He appears to have had no volume of *tafsīr* at his disposal, so every single note containing a reference to the great commentators – the two Jalāls (as they were commonly known), al-Zamakhsharī, and others – is derived from Marracci. Those few notes of Savary's own are based on his knowledge of Egyptian customs – of the veiling of Muslim women, the rules of polygamy, marriage and divorce, patriarchal authority, Arab dress, Arab hospitality, geography, the observance of fasting during Ramaḍān, and so on. Arguing as a rational son of the Enlightenment, moreover, Savary insists against Gagnier and Marracci that neither the Prophet's night journey nor the supposed miracle of the divided moon should be taken literally.

The year after the publication of his Qur'an, Savary published his *Morale de Mahomet*, a collection of 224 edifying extracts from the Qur'an, with a brief preface that sums up the Deist approach to Islam: 'In this summary I have only collected the purest morality of Muḥammad. I have removed anything that savours of error or fanaticism. One will only find thoughts liable to elevate the mind and to remind man of his

duties to the Divinity, to himself, and to his neighbours' (Savary, *Morale de Mahomet*, sig. a2r).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Savary's translation of the Qur'an was successful, albeit not as successful as that of Du Ryer. It went through eight editions in 57 years. Despite the superior translation by Albin de Kazimirski Biberstein published in 1840-1, it was reissued in 1891, 1926, 1951, 1960 and 1970, and it was employed for the Spanish translations of the Qur'an made by Joaquín García-Bravo in 1907 and Alfonso Hernández Catá in 1913, as well as for an anonymous Italian translation made in 1882.

Generations of readers in France were enchanted by the elegance of Savary's style. His proclaimed admiration for the Prophet and the Qur'an, in addition to fake printers' addresses in later editions of his *Le Coran*, which included 'Mecca' and 'Baghdad', implied that a truly sympathetic approach to Islam had at last come into its own. It would be ideally suited to the propaganda accompanying Napoleon's Egyptian campaign in 1798. Gone are the suggestions that a translation of the sacred text might be of use to Christian missionaries in the Muslim world, traces of which can still be found in George Sale's preface of 1734. But here too Savary was in fact less original than his admirers thought. In 1773, ten years before Savary's Qur'an first appeared, Friedrich Eberhard Boysen had published a German version which, although open to criticism and less elegant, had a preface that was in every way as favourable to Islam as Savary's and an introduction that was considerably better informed.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations – arabe 137 (1782; Claude-Étienne Savary, 'Le Coran')

Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols, Paris, 1783; 8-O2G-131 (1-2) (digitised version available through BNF)

Claude-Étienne Savary, *Morale de Mahomet: ou Recueil des plus pures maximes du Coran*, Paris, 1784; A.or. 591 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1786; KW 486 L 15 [-16] (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols, Mecca [Paris], 1787
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols, Paris, 1821; A.or. 572-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols, Paris, 1828<sup>2</sup>
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Koran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1883
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Koran / Mahomet; traduit de l'arabe, accompagné de notes, précédé d'un Abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1892
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Mahomet. Le Koran / traduit de l'arabe, accompagné de notes, précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1913
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Koran*, Paris, 1923
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Koran, traduit de l'arabe accompagné de notes et précédé d'un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1948
- Claude-Étienne Savary, *Le Koran: précédé d'un Abrégé de la vie de Mahomet tiré des écrivains orientaux les plus estimés*, Rungis, 2015

## STUDIES

- A. Hamilton, "To rescue the honour of the Germans". Qur'an translations by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German Protestants', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 77 (2014) 173-209
- Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 140-53
- A. Hamilton, *The forbidden fruit. The Koran in early modern Europe*, London, 2008, pp. 18-19
- J. Hadidi, 'La deuxième traduction française du Coran', *Luqman. Annales des Presses Universitaires d'Iran* 18 (2002) 21-32
- A. Gunny, *Images of Islam in eighteenth-century writings*, London, 1996, pp. 177-81
- A. Kazimirski, *Le Koran, traduction nouvelle faite sur le texte arabe*, Paris, 1841
- MS Paris, BNF – MS Arabe 1549, fols 37v-40r, Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, 'Observations sur l'abrégé de la vie de Mahommed par Mr Savari'

# François de Tott

Baron de Tott

|                |                                                     |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | 17 August 1733                                      |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Chamigny, near La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, France        |
| DATE OF DEATH  | 24 September 1793                                   |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Tarcsa, Hungary (now Bad Tatzmannsdorf,<br>Austria) |

## BIOGRAPHY

François de Tott was born in the village of Chamigny, near La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, France. His father, András Tóth, was a Hungarian nobleman who migrated into the Ottoman Empire and then moved on to France and served as a hussar officer in the Royal French Army.

In 1742, the young François joined his father's regiment and participated in the campaigns of the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1755, he was sent to Constantinople to learn Turkish and to gather information about the Ottoman Empire. This period had a great influence on his career. He returned to France in 1763, and three years later he was sent to Neuchâtel as a secret agent by the French government. In 1767, he was appointed French consul in Crimea with a secret mission to incite the Tatars to make war against Russia.

After completing his posting, he left Crimea and moved to Constantinople, where he was tasked by the Ottoman government to defend the Dardanelles against the Russian fleet. This he did, and then played a major role in the modernisation of the Ottoman army during the Russo-Turkish War (1768-74). He succeeded in having a new foundry built to make modern French-type canons, and was involved in the creation of a mobile artillery unit. He also built fortifications on the Bosphorus and founded a new mathematics and naval science school.

In 1775, he returned to France and was associated with the plans to colonise Ottoman territories, including Egypt. During his last eastern mission (1777-8), he visited coastal cities around the Mediterranean Sea and elaborated military plans for the occupation of Egypt.

After his return to France, Tott wrote his memoirs, which were first published in Amsterdam in 1784. In 1785, he was appointed military

governor of Douai in northern France. During the French Revolution, he moved to Switzerland, and then to Hungary before his death. He died on 24 September 1793 in the village of Tarcsa.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- J.-P. Bois (ed.), *Deux voyages au temps de Louis XVI, 1777-1780. La mission du baron de Tott en Égypte en 1777-1778 et le Journal de bord de l'Hermione en 1780*, Rennes, 2005
- F. Tóth (ed.), *Correspondance consulaire de Crimée du baron de Tott (1767-1770)*, Istanbul, 2014

#### *Secondary*

There are many studies on Baron de Tott. Among the most important are:

- F. Tóth, *Un diplomate militaire français en Europe orientale à la fin de l'ancien régime. François de Tott (1733-1793)*, Istanbul, 2011
- V. H. Aksan, 'Breaking the spell of the Baron de Tott. Reframing the question of military reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1760–1830', *International History Review* 24 (2002) 253-77
- F. Tóth, 'Égypte. La double mission du baron de Tott à la fin de l'ancien régime', *Africa* 57 (2002) 147-78
- F. Tóth, 'La mission du baron de Tott en Crimée', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 20 (2002) 131-65
- V.H. Aksan, 'Enlightening the Ottomans. Tott and Mustafa III', *Proceedings of the International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World*, Istanbul, 1999, 163-74
- A. de Font-Réaulx, 'Présence française dans l'Empire ottoman au XVIIIe siècle. Le baron de Tott (1733-1793)', Paris, 1969 (PhD Diss. École des Chartes)



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les  
Tartares'Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, on the Turks and  
the Tartars'

DATE 1784 (first edition)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

The *Mémoires* comprise five parts: an introduction and five books. In his introduction, de Tott presents his historical philosophy, refuting Montesquieu's climate theory that attributes the rise and fall of civilisations to geographical and climatic factors. Following this, Book 1 records his first stay in Turkey, including a general description of Constantinople and an account of the Ottoman political system, with remarks that show he was intentionally contributing to the current philosophical debate about despotism in the Ottoman Empire during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. His descriptions of Turkish society are based upon his personal experience (his anecdotes and the lightness of his style contributed much to the success of the *Mémoires*).

Book 2 contains an account of the Crimean Tatars' everyday life before the Russian occupation of their country. It is not only about de Tott's journey to Crimea in 1768-9, but also gives a wide geographical, natural and social description. The attitude he shows here is very similar to Montesquieu's socio-critical approach in his *Lettres persanes*.

Book 3 is about de Tott's work as military adviser during the Russo-Turkish war, 1769-74, with a detailed account of the progress of hostilities, while Book 4 details his last journey around the Mediterranean Sea, with a description of Egypt as the richest province of the Ottoman Empire.

## SIGNIFICANCE

From its first publication, Baron de Tott's *Mémoires* enjoyed great success. The first French edition was printed in 1784 in Amsterdam, and in the next two years there were a further four editions in French. Among its most important readers were the Orientalist le Comte de Volney, the Girondist Jacques Pierre Brissot and the young Napoleon Bonaparte. It was also translated into English, German, Dutch, Danish, Polish and Russian. These translations were also very successful, the English edition

being one of the most frequently borrowed books from the New York Society Library in 1789. It later became a work of reference for scholars in Oriental studies, history and ethnology. Its influence on fiction was also important: the German writer Gottfried August Bürger was influenced by it when he was creating the figure of Baron von Münchhausen.

The first review of the *Mémoires*, in the *Mercure de France* on 4 December 1784, written by the Swiss publisher Jacques Mallet du Pan, rejects the dark image of the Ottoman Empire painted by de Tott and also criticises the structure of the book. A more radical political and literary criticism was published in 1785 by Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel (1727-90) in his *Lettre de M. de Peyssonnel, contenant quelques observations relatives aux mémoires qui ont paru sous le nom de M. le baron de Tott*. He doubts even the identity of the author, though his principal criticisms concern what de Tott says about Oriental despotism, one of the most important philosophical and political debates of this period. Peyssonnel tries to defend the Turkish system of justice, which he thought more perfect than the European. De Tott asked the Orientalist Pierre Ruffin to write a reply to these two critics, which diplomatically pointed out that despotism existed *de facto* in the Ottoman Empire, as in de Tott's work, though it did not exist *de jure* because of the checking role of the ulemas in the Ottoman system of justice.

The *Mémoires* can be understood as literary work or as historical source. De Tott's aim was to criticise the Ottoman political and social system, which he considered a form of Oriental despotism. The work constitutes an ideological inspiration for the interventionist party at the Court of Versailles, which was planning for the colonisation of Egypt and the richest provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École Supérieure de Guerre – 54-55 (before 1774; from the library of King Louis XV)

There are many editions and translations of the *Mémoires*. Among the most important are:

François de Tott, *Mémoires du baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, 4 vols, Amsterdam, 1784 (first edition); Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam O 61-9885-9886 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

François de Tott, *Memoires of the Baron de Tott, on the Turks and the Tartars. Translated from French by an English gentleman at Paris*,

*under the immediate inspection of the Baron...*, 2 vols, London, 1785 (English trans.); ESTC T118411 (digitised version available through ECCO)

François de Tott, *Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, on the Turks and the Tartars. Translated from French by an English gentleman at Paris, under the immediate inspection of the Baron...*, 3 vols, Dublin, 1785 (English trans.); ESTC T131597 (digitised version available through ECCO)

François de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott. Containing the state of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea, during the war with Russia. With numerous anecdotes, facts, and observations, on the manners and customs of the Turks and Tartars... To which are subjoined the strictures of M. de Peyssonnel*, 2 vols, London, 1786 (English trans.); ESTC T110203 (digitised version available through ECCO)

François de Tott, *Herrn Baron von Tott's Nachrichten von den Türken und Tartaren mit Herrn Peyssonnel's Verbesserungen und Zusätzen*, Frankfurt, 1788 (German trans.); Res/It.coll. 19-10 (digitised version available through MDZ)

François de Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlara dair hatıralar*, [s.l.], 1960, repr. 1970 (Turkish trans.)

François de Tott, *Mémoires du baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, Maestricht, 1785 (?), ed. F. Tóth, Paris, 2004

François de Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlara dair hatıralar*, trans. Mehmet Reşat Uzman, ed. M. Fatih Topaloğlu Ankara, 2004 (Turkish trans.)

François de Tott, *François baron de Tott emlékiratai a törökökről és a tatárokról*, trans. F. Toth, Szombathely, 2008 (Hungarian trans.)

#### STUDIES

Tóth, *Un diplomate militaire français*

Ch. Paillard, 'Tott au pays de Toth. Égypte dans la pensée stratégique française à l'aube de la Révolution', *Orages. Littérature et Culture* 1760-1830 6 (2007) 127-39

F. Tóth, 'François de Tott (1733-1793) és műve. Egy felvilágosult diplomata emlékezései', *Vasi Szemle* 57 (2003) 713-31

F. Tóth, 'Un Hongrois qui a sauvé l'Empire ottoman', *Mediterrán Tanulmányok. Études sur la Région Méditerranéenne* 7 (1997) 51-68

F. Tóth, 'Voltaire et un diplomate d'origine hongroise en Orient', *Cahiers d'Études Hongroises* 7 (1995) 78-86

# Louis de Chénier

DATE OF BIRTH 3 June 1722  
PLACE OF BIRTH Montfort-sur-Boulzane, Languedoc  
DATE OF DEATH 15 May 1796  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Louis de Chénier was the son of an ironmaster. His education at a local school was paid for by an uncle after his father was ruined. He then went into business, first in Montpellier and then, in 1742, as the Constantinople representative of a textile exporting company, Lavalère & Dussol. In 1748, he became co-director of the business, and from 1753 was chosen by the French traders in Constantinople as their representative, working with the French ambassador, Comte des Alleurs. The latter was so impressed by Chénier that he obtained for him the position of commercial director for the French establishments in the Levant.

After the death of Alleurs in 1755, the new ambassador, the Comte de Vergennes, was less favourable towards Chénier and the latter eventually decided to return to France in 1765. In 1767, he was appointed French consul in Morocco, accompanying the ambassador Count Breugnon, who went to sign a peace treaty with the king of Morocco. His time in the country, where he lived mainly in Rabat without his wife and five children, who remained in France, was far from happy. He obtained permission to go home on leave from 1773 to 1775, after which he returned and lived in Meknès and Salé. In 1781, the Moroccan king called him to Marrakesh after the French court had refused to receive the Moroccan ambassador; he was publicly insulted and ordered to leave the country.

In 1782, Chénier finally left Morocco for France, where he was given a pension and published his work on Morocco, based on the dispatches he had regularly sent home. He also published a political work in 1789, *Révolutions de l'Empire ottoman*, in which he analysed the state of the Ottoman Empire and countered Volney's call to expel the Ottomans from Europe. At the beginning of the Revolution, he was active in the Girondin party, wrote a work presenting the grievances of the Paris Third Estate in 1789, and was part of the Paris 'comité de surveillance'; his son, the poet André-Marie Chénier was guillotined in 1794.



Illustration 13. Portrait of Charles Gravier, Count of Vergennes and French ambassador, in Turkish attire

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

MS Paris, Archives nationales – AE/B1/832-41; AE/BIII/8

*Secondary*

L. Vallensi, art. 'Chénier, Louis', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>3</sup>, 224

A. Mézin, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières (1715-1792)*, Paris, 1997, pp. 188-92

P. Grillon, *Un chargé d'affaires au Maroc. La correspondance du consul Louis Chénier 1762-1782*, 2 vols, Paris, 1970

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Recherches historiques sur les Maures et histoire  
de l'empire du Maroc

'Historical investigations concerning the Moors and  
history of the Moroccan Empire'

DATE 1787

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

This work consists of three volumes of 424, 476, and 564 pages respectively, all published in 1787. The first volume, after a Preliminary Discourse of 58 pages, contains three parts: on the ancient history of Numidia; on the Arabs, their wars and their expansion into Africa; and on their conquest of Spain. Vol. 2 is totally devoted to Arab rule in the Spanish Peninsula, and vol. 3 provides a description of the Moroccan Empire. The whole work is extremely detailed but shows limited sympathy for the North Africans; the Preliminary Discourse insists on their ignorance and superstition, which Chénier is careful to distinguish from the teachings of Islam.

The second chapter of vol. 3 begins with a brief discussion of Moroccan religion, which Chénier describes as deformed by superstitious customs probably taken over from their previous religion, and the result of the large number of reformers and fanatics who have appeared in Africa (pp. 145-6). He also describes the people's veneration for holy men and saints who exploit their credulity by performing supposed

'miracles', and also, compared with other Muslims, their greater number of feasts, lesser practice of almsgiving, and greater belief in predestination (pp. 147-55).

Chénier is thus careful to distinguish the Moroccans' practice of religion from the teachings of Islam, discussed in vol. 1, book 2, ch. 3, where he describes the influence of religion on the Arabs, emphasising their ignorance before the time of Muḥammad. The Prophet is described as superior to his fellow-countrymen by virtue of his sublime genius and natural gifts; he had 'solid judgement, quiet courage and constancy in all circumstances' (vol. 1, pp. 163-4). Chénier recounts the founding of Islam and the religion's main doctrines, with details taken mainly from d'Herbelot, insisting on its simplicity, charity, and respectful observation of austere rules; he claims Muḥammad tried to destroy superstition, but emphasises his ferocity and love of war. This passage ends with praise for him: 'Législateur éclairé, habile politique, général intrépide & fondateur d'un vaste empire, Mahomet a acquis à l'immortalité un droit aussi légitime que tant de grands hommes qui ont rempli la terre de leur nom' (p. 199) ('An enlightened legislator, skilful politician, intrepid general and founder of a vast empire, he acquired as legitimate a right to immortality as so many great men whose fame has filled the earth').

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In this work, Chénier, like many other Europeans, shows little sympathy for North Africa and its inhabitants, thus doubtless contributing to the general view of their ignorance and ferocity. However, unlike most of his contemporaries, he distinguishes their religious practice from the teachings of the tradition of Islam, which he describes on the basis of such authorities as Pococke, d'Herbelot, Sale and Cantemir. He also follows the philosophical tradition rather than the polemical literature by showing admiration for Muḥammad, and he ascribes the violence of the expansion of Islam and the despotism of rulers to national character. This should be compared with the Preliminary Discourse to his work on the Ottoman Empire, where he describes the fanaticism and superstition of the Turks and discusses the despotism of the Ottoman government, based on religion, as part of a purely political analysis.

His work on Morocco appears to have been read for information about the country; Abbé Raynal, for example, used the reports Chénier sent to the Ministry in *Histoire des deux Indes* and Chénier's printed book for the work he was preparing on North Africa at the end of his life.

## PUBLICATIONS

Louis de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et Histoire de l'empire du Maroc*, Paris, l'Auteur, Bailly, Royer, et à l'imprimerie Polytype, 3 vols, 1787; 8-O3j-45 (1-3) (digitised version available through BNF)

Louis de Chénier, *The present state of the Empire of Morocco. Its animals, products, climate, soil, cities, ports, provinces, coins, weights and measures. With the language, religion, laws, manners, customs, and character of the Moors... Translated from the French of M. Chénier*, London, 1788, repr. New York, 1967 (partial English trans.); ESTC To77389 (digitised version available through ECCO)

**Ann Thomson**



## Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier

DATE OF BIRTH 31 December 1718  
PLACE OF BIRTH Darney, Franche-Comté  
DATE OF DEATH 9 April 1790  
PLACE OF DEATH Versailles

### BIOGRAPHY

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier was born in 1718 in Darney in Franche-Comté, the son of a ploughman. His rise up the social hierarchy, from village priest in the Doubs to the court at Versailles, was spectacular. In 1739, he entered the Grand Seminary in Besançon, in 1743 he was ordained, and the next year became Doctor of Theology. From 1749 to 1765, while he was priest at Flangebouche, he wrote many works that earned him several prizes for history and eloquence from the Academy of Besançon. His first publications, on moral and linguistic subjects, were in 1763 and 1764. His first apologetic work, *Le Déisme réfuté par lui-même* ('Deism refuted by itself'), directed against the works of Rousseau, appeared in 1765.

He was appointed head of the college in Besançon, where he stayed until 1769, continuing to write apologetic works: in 1767 *L'origine des dieux du paganisme et le sens des fables découvert par une explication suivie de quelques poésies d'Hésiode* ('The origin of pagan gods and the meaning of fables uncovered by a study of some poems by Hesiod'), and *La certitude des preuves du christianisme* ('The certainty of the proofs of Christianity'); in 1769 *Apologie de la religion chrétienne* ('Apology for the Christian religion'), both of the latter directed against anonymous irreligious works. From 1769 to 1771, he was Canon of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris, during which time he was at first a regular visitor to d'Holbach's salon, where he hoped to convert the unbelievers. But he soon broke with them after the publication of his *Examen du matérialisme, ou Réfutation du Système de la nature* ('Examination of materialism, or Refutation of The System of Nature') in 1770.

The following year he became confessor to the Countess of Provence, then to the king's daughters, and he moved to Versailles, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1780, he completed a huge *Traité historique et dogmatique de la vraie religion, avec la réfutation des erreurs qui lui ont*

*été opposées dans les différents siècles* ('Historical and dogmatic treatise of the true religion, with a refutation of the errors directed against it throughout the centuries'), and in 1781 he agreed to take part in Panckoucke's new version of the *Encyclopédie*. His *Dictionnaire de théologie* (1788-90) was published in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* shortly before his death in 1790.

The *Treatise* and the *Dictionary* are based on sound theological learning, which, in the opinion of an enemy such as Grimm, distinguished Bergier from the mass of apologists, and he was less dogmatic on certain questions, such as the salvation of the heathen and unbaptised children or ecclesiastical toleration. But he was inflexible in his attitude towards Protestants, refusing them civil tolerance, and extremely hostile towards Jews and Muslims.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

MS Strasbourg, Archives of the Grand Séminaire – MS 440 Dom Gustave de Dartein, *Diarium de l'abbé Bergier*

### Secondary

S. Albertan-Coppola, *L'abbé Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier (1718-1790). Des Monts-Jura à Versailles, le parcours d'un apologiste du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2010

A.G. Hamman, 'Un théologien franc-comtois au siècle des Lumières, Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier (1718-1790)', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Besançon* 188 (1989) 369-403

A.J. Bingham, 'The abbé Bergier. An eighteenth-century Catholic apologist', *The Modern Language Review* 59 (1964) 31-9

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### 'Mahométisme'

DATE 1788-90

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

Having rejected Rousseau, d'Holbach, Voltaire and other Enlightenment philosophers, Abbé Bergier agreed to participate in Charles Joseph Panckoucke's *Encyclopédie méthodique*, a thematic edition adapted from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* of 1751-72, and composed of about 40 individual dictionaries. He was in charge of the *Dictionnaire de*

*théologie*, where he replaced the article 'Mahométisme', which the Chevalier de Jaucourt had written for the *Encyclopédie*, with his own article. Here he aimed to provide 'a notion of Mohammedanism' even though 'the knowledge of false religions is part of history, rather than theology'. These words set the tone: Islam, which, in the spirit of openness, the encyclopaedist had classed as one of the religions of the world, is from the outset considered a false religion.

Bergier understood that the main aim of the Church's detractors in defending Islam was to denigrate Christianity by attempting to show that the proofs of Islam were the same as those of Christianity. His article therefore examines whether 'Mohammedanism' contains 'some shades of truth', relying on the Qur'an to set out the personal character of Muḥammad, the doctrine he taught, the means he used to establish this doctrine, and the effects it produced.

Bergier offers a reductive vision of Muslim doctrine. Using Adriaan Reland's *La religion des Mahométans* (translated from the Latin in 1721), he summarises Muslim beliefs into 13 articles, as follows: The existence of one sole creator God; Muḥammad's mission and the divinity of the Qur'an; the providence of God and absolute predestination; the interrogation of the tomb, or individual judgement after death; the annihilation of everything even of angels and humans at the end of the world; the resurrection of angels and humans; universal judgement; the intercession of Muḥammad in this judgement and the exclusive salvation of Muslims; the punishment for the wrongs and insults committed by humans; purgatory for those whose good and bad actions balance each other; the passage over the narrow bridge that delivers the good to heaven and the bad to hell; the delights of heaven, which consist of sensual lustfulness; the eternal fire of hell.

Bergier concludes that the origin of this faith lies with the Jews and Arians (the oneness of God and the denial of the divinity of Jesus), the idolatrous Arabs of whom Muḥammad was one (absolute predestination), and earlier writers from whom Muḥammad took metaphors that he employed word for word (the narrow bridge, the balance of deeds, punishment for wrongs, the sensual pleasures of heaven). He thus makes Muḥammad a double impostor, who not only founded a religion without any divine mandate, but also borrowed its contents from other faiths.

Bergier goes on to identify some fundamental differences between Jews and Muslims (the limits to polygamy and divorce established by Moses, against Muḥammad's broader prescriptions; the Jews' limiting of

their laws to a single nation, while Muslims seek to extend theirs to all nations), and also between Christians and Muslims (the commandment in the Gospel to love even enemies contrasted with the complete rejection of infidels taught to Muslims; the emphasis placed by Muḥammad on observing rituals to attain purity against the priority given by Jesus to interior virtues).

The image he presents of Muḥammad is characterised by ignorance and the corruption of moral standards; the presentation of his doctrine portrays its dogma as a mess of 'foul ideas' and its moral teachings as an 'abominable [...] code'. Bergier shows that if, despite everything, Muḥammad was able to win over followers, it was through force of arms, unlike Jesus and his Apostles, and that wherever Islam has been established it has produced 'terrible effects', among them the subordination of women, the multiplication of slavery and the despotism of sovereigns.

The article ends with a rejection of the writings of Deists who claim that Islam rests upon the same proofs as Christianity: not only does Christianity contain other proofs of its credibility in addition to prophecies and miracles, but the miracles attributed to Muḥammad are absurd and disavowed by his more rational followers. With regard to the Deists' argument that for a proof to be valid it must be accessible to simple minds, Bergier insists that an uneducated person cannot provide as many proofs as a philosopher. He concludes that the fact 'modern non-believers' dare to compare Christianity with Islam should be enough to 'shame' them.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The image of Islam presented here is particularly derogatory. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Bergier does not recognise any quality in the religion, neither the elevated quality of its moral teachings nor the beauty of the literature it has inspired, and still less the tolerance claimed for it by the majority of its Christian adversaries. Its founder appears as the embodiment of lust, cunning and abusive of the credulity of peoples, a barbaric criminal who has forcefully imposed his religion. Bergier even suggests that the uncleanness of fatalistic Muslims made Egypt the breeding ground of the plague.

This partisan presentation is explained by the fact that the apology for Islam upheld by the *Philosophes*, notably Voltaire, represented a major danger for the Church. By placing the proofs of the Muslim religion on the same level as those of the Christian religion, the non-believers risked

ruining the very foundations of the Christian faith, which depended on the value of testimonies.

Through this article, Bergier contributed to the propagation of a black legend of Islam. Its impact was amplified because his *Dictionnaire* was frequently republished up to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He also included elements of a comparative history of religions, at a time when knowledge of Eastern religions, and of Islam in particular, remained limited in Europe to a small circle of scholars.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dictionnaire de théologie. Encyclopédie méthodique*, 3 vols, Paris: Panckoucke; Liège: Plomteux, 1788-90, vol. 2, pp. 525-32; 2027/nnc1.0035526874 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dictionnaire de théologie. Extrait de l'Encyclopédie méthodique*, 8 vols, Liège: Société typographique, 1789-92, vol. 5, 67-82; A 11682 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dizionario di teologia e di storia ecclesiastica*, 6 vols, Padua, 1793-4, vol. 4, 272-85 (Italian trans.); RM0267 (digitised version available through Biblioteca nazionale centrale – Rome)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dizionario di teologia e di storia ecclesiastica*, Naples, 1796-1802 (Italian trans.)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dizionario enciclopedico della teologia*, 17 vols, Florence, 1820-2 (Italian trans.)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dictionnaire de théologie. Extrait de l'Encyclopédie méthodique*, 8 vols, Toulouse, 1823, vol. 5, pp. 59-71; SJ TH 191/5 (digitised version available through Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dizionario di teologia e di storia ecclesiastica*, trans. and ed. C. Biagi, 12 vols, Venice, 1827-31 (Italian trans.)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Diccionario enciclopédico de teologia*, 10 vols, Madrid, Pinuela, 1831-5, vol. 6, 54-75 (Spanish trans.); 5323302243 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dizionario di teologia e di storia ecclesiastica*, 6 vols, Milan, 1840-5 (Italian trans.)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Diccionario enciclopédico de teologia*, 10 vols, Madrid: Fuentès, 1845 (Spanish trans.)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dictionnaire de théologie dogmatique, liturgique, canonique et disciplinaire*, ed. M. Pierrot, Paris, 1850-1, vol. 3, 475-89 (digitised version available through BNF)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dizionario di teologia dell'abate Nicola Silvestro Bergier tradotto e arricchito di tutte le migliori aggiunte che si trovano nelle diverse edizioni francesi e italiane e di altre affatto nuove per cura di alcuni sacerdoti milanesi*, 3 vols, Milan, 1853-7 (Italian trans.)

Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier, *Dictionnaire de théologie approprié au mouvement intellectuel de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle*, ed. Abbé Le Noir, 12 vols, Paris, 1873-82 (31<sup>st</sup> edition)

#### STUDIES

K. Hardesty Doig, *From Encyclopédie to Encyclopédie méthodique. Revision and expansion*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 133-40

Albertan-Coppola, *L'abbé Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier*, pp. 199-242

A. Thomson, art. 'Islam', in A.C. Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, Oxford, 2003, vol. 2, pp. 268-70

A. Thomson, art. 'Islam', in M. Delon (ed.), *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, Paris, 1997, 600-3

**Sylviane Albertan-Coppola**

# Guillaume-Thomas Raynal

Abbé Raynal

DATE OF BIRTH 12 April 1713  
PLACE OF BIRTH Lapanouse-de-Séverac, Aveyron  
DATE OF DEATH 6 March 1796  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Guillaume-Thomas Raynal became a novice with the Jesuits in Rodez in 1729, after which he studied philosophy in Tournon. He taught in several schools in 1733-40, then turned to the study of theology in Clermont-Ferrand and Toulouse, and was ordained priest in 1743. He left the Jesuit order the following year and went to Paris around 1746. After first earning a living as a priest, he soon turned to journalism. He was director of the *Mercure de France* 1750-5, and wrote works commissioned by the foreign ministry, beginning with *L'histoire du Stathoudérat* (1747) and *L'histoire du parlement d'Angleterre* (1748). Later, for César Gabriel de Choiseul, Duc de Praslin, he published *Anecdotes historiques* (1753) and *L'école militaire* (1762). He also contributed to the *Encyclopédie*.

Raynal was elected member of the Berlin Academy in 1750 and of the Royal Society in 1754. He really achieved international fame with the multivolume best-selling work usually known as *L'histoire des deux Indes*, also at least in part commissioned by the foreign ministry but which was later forbidden and put on the Index, despite which he published two new editions. After an arrest warrant was issued for him in 1781, he spent several years abroad at various European courts before obtaining permission to settle in the south of France in 1784, first in Toulon, then in Marseille. He returned to Paris in 1791 and was fêted as a champion of liberty, but his speech to the Assembly on 31 May 1791 aroused indignation and was considered a betrayal. He was nonetheless elected a member of the Institute in 1795. He died the following year.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- T. Le Breton, 'Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de G.T. Raynal', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, vol. 1, Paris, 1798
- A. Jay, *Précis historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'abbé Raynal*, Paris, 1821
- A. Feugère, *Un précurseur de la Révolution, l'abbé Raynal (1713-1796), documents inédits*, Angoulême, 1922
- M. Brot, 'La correspondance de Raynal', *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 28 (2000) 135-49

*Secondary*

- G. Bancarel, *Raynal ou le devoir de vérité*, Paris, 2004
- J. Sgard and M. Duchet, art. 'Guillaume-Thomas Raynal', *Dictionnaire des Journalistes*, Oxford, 1999, 821-4

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Histoire des deux Indes  
'History of the two Indies'

DATE 1770-80

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

The *Histoire des deux Indes* (in full, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 'A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies') was first published in six volumes in 1770 but, having been printed abroad, it only arrived in France in 1772. There followed another edition in 1774, composed of seven volumes, and then the most complete edition, comprising 19 books in ten volumes, in 1780. Each edition contained additions and important changes; it is the 1780 edition that is considered the definitive one (this exists in 2 versions: an expensive one in 4 quarto volumes and a cheaper one in 10 octavo volumes), even though Raynal was preparing a new edition before he died. The work, as the title indicates, gives the history of European expansion and commerce, with the most up-to-date figures concerning trade, beginning in the East and ending in the New World. Over the editions, thanks to contributions from several authors, in particular Denis Diderot, it included violent attacks on European misdeeds overseas and condemnations of slavery and the slave trade. Discussion of the Muslim



world is only incidental in the overall plan of the book; there is a description of Arabia and the Persian Gulf in Book 3 and a discussion of North Africa in Book 11, which considerably increases in size over the editions, indicating growing interest in the region; and the final book (Book 19), containing reflections on the effect of the New World on the Old, while it ignores Islam in the section on religion, includes the Ottoman Empire in its discussion of government.

Chapters 11-14 of Book 3 describe the geography, inhabitants, and above all the trade with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, in the context of a discussion of British trade. Although the emphasis is on trade, there are references to Islam, which is presented as a religion that is cruel and fanatical due to the region in which it originated (1780 octavo edition, vol. 2, pp. 56-7). The inhabitants of Arabia are presented as originally peaceful and independent, but transformed by Muḥammad into conquerors; now, however, they are indolent and devoted to pleasure. Muḥammad is described, in the account of Mecca, as a clever politician and great conqueror who dedicated its temple to the 'sublime' idea of the unity of God, taken from philosophy (vol. 2, p. 87). The chapters on Egypt and the Maghreb (Book 11, chs 3-9) provide descriptions of the geography and towns, the various inhabitants and governments, the Arab conquest, and above all trade. The overall picture is one of decline and desolation, which is attributed to the fact that the main occupation is piracy. This is explained by the Spanish expulsion of the Muslims, who settled in North Africa and became corsairs in order to take revenge on the Christians. Raynal proposes a European expedition to expel the Turks, end piracy and civilise the inhabitants, who would then take to peaceable occupations and abandon 'fanaticism' (vol. 6, pp. 54-9).

In Book 19, the long second chapter, devoted to government, includes a passage on the Ottomans' expansion and government (vol. 10, pp. 30-9), emphasising their despotism and cruelty, which are said to be supported by religion.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Raynal's work concerns European expansion and trade, using a large number of published and unpublished sources in a variety of languages. References to Christian-Muslim relations are only incidental; when the subject is trade, these relations may be presented as harmonious, but elsewhere the emphasis is on Muslim expansionism and violence.

In general, the work adopts the common clichés of the period concerning Muḥammad and Turkish despotism, and is characterised by

hostility not towards Islam in particular, but towards all forms of fanaticism, including Catholic intolerance. The work was a best-seller, with a huge number of pirated editions in addition to the three editions prepared by Raynal. Readers in France and elsewhere learned about many parts of the world from this work, and it certainly reinforced the negative opinion of North Africa and calls for action to stop Muslim piracy in the Mediterranean.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols, Amsterdam, 1770; G-28077 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols, Amsterdam, 1772
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols, Amsterdam, 1773
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 6 vols, Amsterdam, 1774
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, The Hague, 1774 (2nd ed.); G-28126 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 7 vols, Maastricht, 1774
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Philosophische und politische Geschichte der europäischen Handlung und Pflanzörter in beiden Indien*, 7 vols, Kopenhagen, 1774-8 (German trans.); Res/H.e.e. 94 d-1-7 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Philosophische und politische Geschichte der europäischen Handlung und Pflanzörter in beiden Indien*, 7 vols, Hannover, 1774-8 (German trans.); H.e.e. 220 d-6/1-7 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Wysgeerige en staatkundige geschiedenis van de bezittingen en den koophandel der Europeaanen, in de beide Indiën*, 10 vols, Amsterdam, 1774-83 (Dutch trans.);

- Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden / M l 4 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 3 vols, Geneva, 1775
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Philosophische und Politische Geschichte der Besitzungen und des Handels der Europäer in beiden Indien*, 7 vols, Hannover, 1775-7
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 7 vols, The Hague, 1776
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 4 vols, London, 1776 (English trans.); MARC ocm24839183 (digitised version available through ECCO; volume 1 only)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 5 vols, London, 1776 (English trans.); MARC ocm23856512 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 4 vols, Dublin, 1776 (English trans.); ESTC To65482 (digitised version available through ECCO)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Storia filosofica e politica degli stabilimenti, e del commercio degli Europei nelle due Indie*, trans. R. Pupares, Sienna, 1776 (Italian trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Historya Indyi Wschodnich Skrocona*, Vilnius, 1776 (Polish trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 7 vols, Maastricht, 1777
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 7 vols, The Hague, 1777
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 5 vols, London, 1777 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 7 vols, Paris, 1778

- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 4 vols, Dublin, 1779 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 4 vols, Geneva, 1780 (3rd ed. in 4°); G-6555 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Geneva, 1780 (3rd ed. in 8°)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Geneva, 1781
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Geneva, 1782
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, Edinburgh, 1782 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Geneva, 1783
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 8 vols, London, 1783 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Philosophische und politische Geschichte der Besitzungen und Handlung der Europäer in beyden Indien*, 10 vols, Kempten, 1783-8 (German trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Geneva, 1784
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, Dublin, 1784 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Historia politica de los establecimientos ultramarinos de las naciones Europeas*, 5 vols, Madrid, 1784-90 (Spanish trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Geneva, 1786

- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 8 vols, London, 1788 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 17 vols, 'Londres', 1792
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, London, 1794 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Paris, 1795
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 22 vols, Geneva, 1795
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, London, 1798 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, Edinburgh, 1804 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Philosophiske og pokitisker historie om Europæernes Handel og besiddelser i Ost-og Vest-Indien*, 3 vols, Copenhagen, 1804-8 (Danish trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, Glasgow, 1811 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, Glasgow, 1812 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, London, 1813 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Paris, 1820-1 (4th edition)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, London, 1822 (English trans.)

- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 10 vols, Paris, 1843
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, Paris, 1951 (extracts, ed. G. Esquer)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des deux Indes*, Paris, 1981 (extracts, ed. Y. Benot)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Die Geschichte beider Indien*, Nördlingen, 1988 (German trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 6 vols, London and New York, 2007 (English trans.)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, critical edition directed by A. Strugnell, vol. 1, Ferney-Voltaire, 2010
- P. Jimack (ed.), *A history of the two Indies. A translated selection of writings from Raynal's Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes*, Abingdon, 2017 (English trans., selections)
- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, critical edition directed by A. Strugnell, vol. 2, Ferney-Voltaire, 2018

## STUDIES

- K. Ohji, 'Malaise dans l'Europe moderne. Aux origines de l'*Histoire des deux Indes* de Guillaume-Thomas Raynal', Paris, 2012 (PhD Diss. Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre)
- G. Bancarel and G. Goggi (eds), *Raynal, de la polémique à l'histoire*, Oxford, 2000
- A. Thomson, 'La Barbarie de l'*Histoire des Deux Indes* aux "Mémoires" de Raynal', in H.J. Lüsebrink and A. Strugnell (eds), *L'Histoire des deux-Indes. Réécriture et polygraphie*, Oxford, 1996, 133-48
- M. Duchet, *Diderot et l'Histoire des deux Indes ou, l'écriture fragmentaire*, Paris, 1978
- Y. Benot, *Diderot de l'athéisme à l'anticolonialisme*, Paris, 1970
- H. Wolpe, *Raynal et sa machine de guerre. L'Histoire des deux Indes et ses perfectionnements*, Stanford, 1957

## Papiers de l'abbé Raynal

DATE 1790s (exact date unknown)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

### DESCRIPTION

These papers contain drafts and fair copies of writings on many different subjects, mainly about geography, history and trade, together with comments and corrections (for some of them) by Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis. Some of these memoirs are developments of chapters of the *Histoire des deux Indes*, but Raynal seems to have been preparing a new work (never published) on the countries of North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. There are descriptions of trade with Constantinople, Aleppo and elsewhere, together with detailed tables. Four of the five texts on North Africa in MS 6429 were published in 1826 by Jacques Peuchet under the title *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans l'Afrique*, presented as a companion to the fourth edition of the *Histoire des deux Indes* published in 1820. Claiming that he had not found a text on Tunis, Peuchet replaced Raynal's with his own, and also added many passages to bring the work up to date. Raynal's paper on Tunis was published in Tunisia in 1948.

The chapter on Barbary in general (MS 6430, fols 78-154; vol. 1, pp. 1-106 in Peuchet's edition) describes the history, geography, products and population of the region, of which the general impression is one of misery, ignorance and despotism. In his account of the Arab conquest of North Africa (pp. 28ff.), Raynal states that the North Africans welcomed Islam because the conquerors' way of life corresponded to their own and that those who had pretended to convert to Christianity abandoned it rapidly. There is also a description of mosques and religious ceremonies (pp. 58-61), though a large part of the population, in particular the nomadic Arabs, are said to have lost the spirit of Islam, to believe in magic and superstitions, and to be under the influence of marabouts. The chapter ends with the condemnation of piracy already found in the *Histoire des deux Indes*.

The 'Mémoire sur la Syrie' (MS 6430, fols 175-92v), composed of 32 numbered pages, is mainly on geography and economics and describes each city, its commerce, inhabitants and so on. However, pp. 15-17 discuss religions in Syria, particularly those of the Maronites and Druze, and their relations with each other and with the Muslims. Raynal attributes the prosperity and trade in the cities to tolerance, which attracted

people of all religions, but claims this came to an end with Ottoman domination. In general, he emphasises the negative economic effects of fanaticism on all sides, and the destruction of agriculture. He writes that Palestine has been for too long the theatre of fanaticism and European aggression (p. 28).

MS 6433, fols 1-109, 'Histoire des Turcs contre les Chrétiens', composed of 92 numbered pages, is a chronicle of the wars between the Turks and various Christian countries since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Raynal repeats the clichés about Muḥammad as impostor and the fanaticism of the Muslims, though he does praise certain rulers for their humanity. The descriptions of wars and sieges are generally balanced, without particular prejudice, and distribute praise and blame equally; however, Raynal also repeats the stereotypes about Turkish despotism and cruelty, writing, for example, that in the Sublime Porte humanity hardly existed, as ardent and lustful slaves are rarely men (p. 34).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Raynal, as was his usual way, compiled these mainly factual accounts from a variety of sources, including those written by the most reliable authors. He thus reproduces the most up-to-date contemporary knowledge, together with current views of the Muslims and their religion: the Turks are in general presented as cruel fanatics, slaves of a despotic government incapable of remaining for long at peace with the Christians, but at the same time showing tolerance towards their Christian subjects. These memoirs and chronicles are thus useful as reflections of contemporary attitudes.

The publication of the texts on North Africa by Peuchet, shortly before the French expedition to Algiers, may have influenced French expectations and views of the region they had conquered.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – fr. 6429 (1780s; 'Mémoire sur Tunis', 'Mémoire sur Tripoli de Barbarie', 'Mémoire sur Alger', 'Mémoire sur l'Empire du Maroc')

MS Paris, BNF – fr. 6430 (1780s; 'Mémoire sur la Barbarie en général', 'Mémoire sur la Syrie')

MS Paris, BNF – fr. 6433 (1780s; 'Histoire des Turcs contre les Chrétiens')



- Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans l'Afrique, ouvrage posthume de l'abbé Raynal, augmenté d'un aperçu de l'état actuel de ces établissements et du commerce qu'y font les Européens, notamment avec les puissances barbaresques et la Grèce moderne*, ed. M. Peuchet, 2 vols, Paris: Amable Coste, 1826 (partial publication); 8-O3-301 (1-2) (digitised evrsion available through BNF)
- M. Emerit, 'Un mémoire inédit de l'abbé Raynal sur la Tunisie (XVIIIe siècle)', *Revue Tunisienne* 3 (1948) 131-83

## STUDIES

- A. Thomson, 'L'abbé Raynal et la Barbarie', in G. Goggi and G. Bancarel (eds), *Raynal, de la polémique à l'histoire*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000, 355-68
- Thomson, 'La Barbarie de l'*Histoire des Deux Indes* aux "Mémoires" de Raynal'
- A. Thomson, 'Raynal, Venture de Paradis et la Barbarie', *Dix-huitième Siècle* 15 (1983) 329-33

**Ann Thomson**

## Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis

DATE OF BIRTH 8 May 1739  
PLACE OF BIRTH Marseille  
DATE OF DEATH 14 or 15 May 1799  
PLACE OF DEATH Between Acca and Jaffa

### BIOGRAPHY

Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis was one of the leading French Orientalists of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. He was born in Marseille into a family of interpreters; his father had served in several consulates in the Levant and his mother was Greek. He went to Paris at the age of 13 with a scholarship to study at Louis-le-Grand, the college that trained interpreters in Eastern languages (called 'enfants de langue'), and in 1757 was sent to work with the Count Vergennes, the French ambassador in Constantinople. Six years later, he was sent to Saida, and from 1767 he was an interpreter and translator in Cairo. He returned to France in 1776 with such a good reputation that, in 1777-8, he accompanied Baron Tott in his inspection tour of French factories in the Levant.

After a short period in Morocco working on a trade agreement between France and Morocco, he was appointed chancellor-interpreter at the French consulate in Tunis (1780-6). He was secretary-interpreter at the Royal Library, he mixed in literary circles and provided information and corrected the writings of both the abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal and Constantin-François de Volney. He served in Algiers (1788-90), during which time he drew up a Berber grammar and dictionary. He was in Paris in the early years of the French Revolution; he drew up a plan to reorganise the teaching of Oriental languages at the college he had attended, and translated several Arabic manuscripts held at the Bibliothèque nationale, often with annotations.

From 1793 to 1797, he was the French consul in Smyrna, and on his return to Paris he taught at the School of Oriental Languages. In 1798, he was asked to accompany Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt as first interpreter. During the retreat from Acre he died of dysentery, though the precise date is unclear; his death is referred to in a letter from Napoleon Bonaparte dated 16 May 1799.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

MS Paris, BNF – NAF 9137, fols 36-39r (Venture de Paradis, 'Projet d'un plan d'éducation pour les enfants de langue que l'Etat fait élever à Paris')

J.-M. Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Joseph Cuoq, Paris, 1983, pp. 13-21

*Secondary*

L. Valensi, art. 'Venture de Paradis, Jean-Michel', in F. Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, 2012<sup>2</sup>, 1010-12

S. Jauffret-Derville, 'Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis. Drogman et orientaliste 1739-1799', Marseille, 2011 (PhD Diss. Aix-Marseille Université 1)

Khalil ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī, *La Zubda kachf al-mamālik de Khalil az-Zāhīrī, traduction inédite de Venture de Paradis*, ed. J. Gaulmier, Beirut, 1950 (includes the life of Venture)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Papiers Venture de Paradis

DATE Late 18th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

## DESCRIPTION

Venture left several manuscripts about North Africa, as well as translations of mainly historical Arabic works and some poetry and fables. Some of these were published later, but many remain unpublished. The notes contain mainly linguistic or factual details, with occasional remarks concerning religious practices or popular superstitions.

In MS NAF 9137, fols 63-82, there is a discussion of Arabic medicine, based on a manuscript described by Pétis de la Croix as admirable, on which Venture comments that reading the manuscript had confirmed his opinion that Pétis knew neither Arabic, Turkish or Persian. The extracts translated by Venture concern various remedies and in particular amulets and prayers, not only for diverse maladies but also to ward off evil spirits, prevent a woman from being unfaithful, or win the favour of an important person one is petitioning.

Venture's manuscripts on Tunis and Algiers, based on his time there, provide much information about the government, trade and customs of the inhabitants, with a few remarks on religious practices, such as details about the veneration of saints in Algiers. Information is also provided in

his replies to abbé Raynal's questionnaire in preparation for a work on North Africa, as well as his corrections to Raynal's draft of several chapters of this work. In general, he is dismissive of the people, with passing remarks concerning Muslims' fatalism and the Islamic obligation to conduct war against the infidels.

The most detailed discussion of religion is in his posthumously published *'Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire des Druses, peuple du Liban'*. The manuscript, written by a copyist, consists of 75 pages, followed by translated extracts from the holy book of the Druze by their prophet Hamzeh. After descriptions of the people, the region they live in and their political and military organisation, he discusses the history of this sect and their religious beliefs, based on a partly burnt manuscript found 20 years earlier in the ruins of a destroyed village. He details the seven principles they must observe; the Muslim doctrines they have preserved and those they have rejected; their belief in metempsychosis; their aim to abrogate Islam; and their rejection of religious wars. The *'Mémoire'* ends with a translation of the Druze's profession of faith (pp. 72-5). It was published in 1808.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Venture had a detailed knowledge of the language, culture and politics of several parts of the Ottoman Empire in both the Near East and North Africa, where he spent most of his life. His description of Tunis is much more favourable than that of Algiers, but all of his writings, including his annotated translations, betray a certain overall lack of sympathy for the Muslim world, which he probably communicated to those who consulted him. He enjoyed a considerable reputation and reached an important position in diplomatic circles as a result of his detailed knowledge of the Levant and North Africa thanks to the years spent there and his knowledge of their languages. His writings therefore provided French governmental and diplomatic circles with a wealth of information, and he was also consulted by both scholars and intellectuals, who respected his opinion.

As a consequence, Venture considerably influenced French attitudes to the Muslim world both during his lifetime and afterwards, either through his input in works such as Raynal's book on North Africa (published after Raynal's death in 1826), or through his own writings, such as his work on the Druze, published in 1808, or his Berber dictionary, which was published several times in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The writings and



Illustration 14. Engraving of a cloaked Moroccan

translations that remained in manuscript were known to French Orientalists who followed him.

#### PUBLICATIONS

For a complete list of MSS of Venture's works, see J.-M. Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. J. Cuoq, Paris, 1983.

J.-M. Venture de Paradis, 'Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire des Druses, peuple du Liban', *Annales des Voyages* 4 (1808) 325-70

J.-M. Venture de Paradis, *Alger au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. E. Fagnan, Algiers, 1898; Collections numérisées, 2009-69196 (digitised version available through BNF)

Khalil ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, *La Zubda kachf al-mamālik*

- Al-Ḥarīrī Al-Ḥarīrī Kāsim ibn ‘Alī, *Les séances de Ḥarīrī*, trans. J.-M. Venture de Paradis, ed. A. Attia, Stockholm, 1964  
 J.-M. Venture de Paradis, *Tunis et Alger au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. J. Cuoq, Paris, 1983 (contains a complete list of Venture’s MSS)

## STUDIES

- M. Meouak, ‘Langues, société et histoire d’Alger au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d’après les données de Venture de Paradis (1739-1799)’, in J. Dakhliā (ed.), *Trames de langues*, Tunis, 2004, 303-29  
 A. Thomson, ‘Raynal, Venture de Paradis et la Barbarie’, *Dix-huitième Siècle* 15 (1983) 329-33  
 A. Guellouz, ‘Analyse idéologique d’un projet d’expédition d’Egypte. Le projet de Venture de Paradis, orientaliste philosophe (1780)’, *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 31 (1973) 123-51

**Ann Thomson**

Iberia





# Manuel Godinho

DATE OF BIRTH 1633  
PLACE OF BIRTH Montalvão, Portugal  
DATE OF DEATH 1712  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Manuel Godinho was born in Montalvão, Alentejo, in 1633, and started his novitiate with the Jesuits in Coimbra in 1645 (or 1649, as opinions differ). He later departed for India, where he remained until he was sent back to Portugal in 1662 in charge of letters addressed to the court by the Viceroy António de Melo e Castro. After his return to Portugal, he left the Society of Jesus and, as well as being nominated protonotary apostolic and commissioner of the Inquisition (*comissário do Santo Ofício*), he received the priorate of parishes in Santarém, Lisbon and Loures, which he held until his death in 1712.

In addition to several books of religious interest, he has also been attributed the authorship of a news pamphlet about the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the siege of Vienna, published anonymously in 1684 (*Noticias singulares de algumas cousas succedidas em a cidade de Constantinopla, depois da rota do seu exercito sobre Vienna o anno passado de 1683...*).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

D.B. Machado, *Bibliotheca lusitana, historica, critica, e cronologica*, Lisbon, 1752, vol. 3, p. 274

### *Secondary*

J. Correia-Afonso, 'Postscript to an odyssey. More light on Manuel Godinho', *Modern Asian Studies* 22 (1988) 491-502 (also published in *Studia* 49 [1989] 181-93)

A.M. Guerreiro, 'Introdução', in M. Godinho, *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar vindo da índia para Portugal no ano de 1663*, ed. A.M. Guerreiro, Lisbon, 1974, xi-xxxii

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar,  
vindo da Índia para Portugal  
'Account of the new route by land and sea from  
India to Portugal'

DATE 1665

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

## DESCRIPTION

Manuel Godinho's *Relação* belongs to the subgenre of Portuguese travel literature that comprises accounts of overland journeys from the Portuguese outposts of South Asia to Europe, usually for the purpose of conveying messages faster than the ships of the *Carreira da Índia*. Godinho departed from Bassein in December 1662 and arrived in Cascais in October the following year, and his account was published only two years after his return. Though his narrative hints vaguely at the mission with which he was entrusted by the viceroy – the transmission of sensitive information to the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon – we now know that he carried letters concerning the cession of Bombay to the British as part of the dowry of Princess Catherine of Braganza on the occasion of her marriage to King Charles II of England (Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1661). The text covers 234 pages in the 1842 second edition.

Godinho's itinerary comprises stays at Daman, Surat, Hormuz, Kong (Persian Gulf), Basra, Baghdad, 'Ana, Aleppo and Iskenderun, where he embarked for Marseilles. Although most of his observations stem from his own experience as a traveller, the *Relação* contains a large number of unacknowledged quotations from other sources, including the *Itinerário* by Gaspar de São Bernardino published in 1611, a book that is mentioned by name only once in the text. He also refers to other Portuguese writers such as the chroniclers João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, and quotes from a vast array of classical authors, though mostly borrowed from Gaspar de São Bernardino.

Like other Portuguese travel writers of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Godinho devotes entire chapters to descriptions of the towns and countries he visited and of the populations he encountered, inserting many details of an ethnological character. The chapters in which he deals with the Mughals and Persians are especially elaborate, even though they

concern regions he did not visit, as is the one in which he describes the geographical extent of the Ottoman Empire. Godinho often refers to historical figures and events, but one feature for which the *Relação* has been especially noted by historians is the book's first chapter, which tackles the state of the Estado da Índia in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The chapter in which he deals with the different overland routes to join Europe from India is also noteworthy.

As a Jesuit, Manuel Godinho was interested in eastern religions, and devotes several paragraphs of his work to issues relating to Islam. He gives an account of the geographical situation of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, describes the Ka'ba, and dismisses medieval Christian traditions about Muḥammad's tomb being suspended in the air. He is acutely aware of the differences between Sunnī and Shī'ī Muslims, how the former accuse the latter of heresy, and that their antagonism is at the source of many conflicts. In fact, his long chapter on Persia comprises an excursus on the history of Shī'a Islam and how it differs from mainstream Islam. His remarks on the various Sufi orders reveal a particular interest in what he must have considered his counterparts in Islam. Towards the end of the chapter about Aleppo, there is a detailed account of daily life during Ramaḍān, which he compares to the Christian Lent and Easter, and of the preparations for the annual *hajj* caravan. However, his understanding of Islam has limits and does not withstand deeper inquiry. For instance, he considers the first four caliphs to be the principal interpreters of qur'anic law, each one of them having started his own school, thus revealing an evident lack of knowledge about the history and evolution of the *madhhabs*. His acquaintance with Islamic geography is equally tenuous, and while he does not hesitate to rebut two of his predecessors – António Tenreiro and Gaspar de São Bernardino – for failing to identify correctly the location of 'Alī's tomb, it is in fact he who displays ignorance of eastern geography, mistaking Kufa for Najaf, and placing Isfahan in 'the province of Irak'.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In his account, Godinho sneers at the proselytising spirit displayed by some Muslims, a common feature of Portuguese travelogues of the time, particularly mentioning the efforts of a Shī'ī mullah to make him renounce his Christian faith, first through theological arguments and then by promising him wealth as a reward for his conversion. Interestingly, Godinho compares the eschatological doctrine concerning the figure of the Mahdi (the hidden Imam) to the so-called 'Bandarra's prophecies',

a collection of popular messianic verses predicting the return of King Sebastian, the Portuguese ruler killed by North African armies at the Battle of the Three Kings in 1578.

Godinho does not appear to have tried to convert any Muslim he encountered in the course of his trip, although he recounts his attempt to convince a Hindu Brahman of the error of his beliefs. The Prophet Muḥammad is typically referred to in a disparaging way, and Muslims are overall considered unfavourably, but Godinho is not so bigoted as to refuse to travel in their company or partake of their meals. His criticism is aimed mainly at the Islamic religion, not necessarily at the people who profess it; and unlike some other Portuguese travellers, he generally abstains from moralistic considerations in the portrait he provides of Muslims and their religious practice. In fact, Godinho declares the inhabitants of Lower Iraq to be partial to the Portuguese, and praises them for allowing the presence of Discalced Carmelites in the area. He mentions the establishments of the various religious orders in the regions he crosses and further describes the Christians of St John (Mandaeans), their customs and rites.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Manuel Godinho, *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra, e mar vindo da Índia para Portugal no anno de 1663 o Padre Manoel Godinho da Companhia de Iesu*, Lisbon, 1665; Res/4 It.sing. 105 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Manuel Godinho, *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar, vindo da Índia para Portugal no anno de 1663 o Padre Manuel Godinho da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisbon, 1842

Manuel Godinho, *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar vindo da Índia para Portugal, no ano de 1663*, ed. A.R. Machado, Lisbon, 1944

Manuel Godinho, *Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar vindo da Índia para Portugal no ano de 1663*, ed. A.M. Guerreiro, Lisbon, 1974

Manuel Godinho, *Intrepid itinerant. Manuel Godinho and his journey from India to Portugal in 1663*, ed. and intro. J. Correia-Afonso, trans. V. Lobo and J. Correia-Afonso, Bombay, 1990 (English trans.)

## STUDIES

- B. Ooghe, 'Facing travels, shaping worlds. Three 17<sup>th</sup>-century Mesopotamian travel accounts', in D. Fortenberry and D. Manley (eds), *Saddling the dogs. Journeys through Egypt and the Near East*, Oxford, 2009, 25-40
- B. Ooghe, 'The rediscovery of Babylonia. European travellers and the development of knowledge on Lower Mesopotamia, sixteenth to early nineteenth century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17 (2007) 231-52
- A. Disney, 'The Gulf route from India to Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Couriers, traders and image makers', in A.T. de Matos and L.F. Thomaz (eds), *A carreira da Índia e as rotas dos estreitos*, Angra do Heroísmo, 1998, 527-50
- J.N. Carreira, *Outra face do Oriente. O Próximo Oriente em relatos de viagem*, Mem Martins, 1997
- J.N. Carreira, *Do Preste João às ruínas da Babilónia. Viajantes portugueses na rota das civilizações orientais*, Lisbon, 1990
- R.M. Loureiro, 'Para uma nova leitura da *Relação do novo caminho* do Padre Manuel Godinho', *Ler História* 15 (1989) 3-27
- Correia-Afonso, 'Postscript to an odyssey'
- J. Correia-Afonso, 'Manuel Godinho's alternatives to the Carreira da Índia', in T.R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese history. Old issues, new questions*, New Delhi, 1985, 84-9
- L. Graça, *A visão do Oriente na literatura portuguesa de viagens. Os viajantes portugueses e os itinerários terrestres (1560-1670)*, Lisbon, 1983
- L. Graça, 'Um documento inédito para a biografia do Padre Manuel Godinho', *Portugaliae Historica* 2 (1974) 325-30
- J.V. Serrão, *A historiografia portuguesa. Doutrina e crítica*, vol. 2, Lisbon, 1972, pp. 401-5
- H. Cidade, *A literatura portuguesa e a expansão ultramarina. As ideias, os factos, as formas de arte*, vol. 2, Coimbra, 1964, pp. 362-76
- J. Correia-Afonso, 'Tales of travel, and the journey of Fr Manuel Godinho', *Indica. The Indian Historical Research Institute silver jubilee commemoration volume*, Bombay, 1953, 68-76
- J.P. Coelho, 'A perigosa viagem do Padre Godinho', *Atlântico* 3 (1947) 40-6
- W.J. Entwistle, 'Overland from India in 1663', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 4 (1927) 156-70

# Tirso González de Santalla

DATE OF BIRTH 18 January 1624  
PLACE OF BIRTH Arganza, Spain  
DATE OF DEATH 27 October 1705  
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

## BIOGRAPHY

Born in Arganza in 1624, Tirso González de Santalla studied literature and philosophy in Villafranca del Bierzo and Oviedo. In 1642, he joined the Jesuit novitiate in Oviedo. He studied philosophy in the college of San Ambrosio in Valladolid (1645-7) and theology in Salamanca (1647-51). In 1652, González wrote to the Jesuit Superior-General Gosvin Nickel, expressing his desire to dedicate his whole life to the overseas missions in China or the Philippines, but Nickel asked him to continue his studies.

González started his career as a professor of philosophy at the college in Santiago (1653-5) and then taught theology in San Ambrosio in Valladolid (1655-6) and Salamanca (1656-65). While on leave from teaching in Salamanca, he accompanied Jerónimo López, one of the most famous Spanish Jesuit missionaries, on his missions to Madrid, Avila and Alcalá de Henares. Their friendship was also strengthened by their correspondence, in which López inflamed the young Jesuit's passion for mission.

González later asked to be relieved from teaching duties, and became a full-time and successful missionary for 11 years (1665-76), travelling tirelessly to Extremadura, Navarra, Castilla la Vieja, Galicia and Andalucía. His reputation quickly grew, and in January 1674 members of the aristocracy insisted that he come to Madrid, where he preached in the Royal Palace in the presence of the young Charles II (r. 1665-1700), then 13 years old.

During his journeys throughout the Iberian Peninsula, González met many Muslims, mostly slaves on the galleys or servants in noble Spanish families, especially in Madrid and Andalucía. Inspired by Juan Andrés's famous book, *Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515), González began an apostolate for Muslims, but without any special training and with no knowledge of Arabic; he tried to adapt the model of the popular missions to Muslim audiences. The missions took place in squares, theatres or the courtyards of Jesuit houses. One of the

most successful was in 1672 in Seville, where local priests advertised the event in the parishes, asking the parishioners to bring their slaves to the mission. González asked for the cooperation of lay people and confraternities. The well-known nobleman Miguel de Mañara collaborated with him, and members of the *Santa Hermandad* (a form of local peace-keeping militia) made every effort to bring Muslims to listen to the sermons, even reimbursing the wages they lost by missing a day's work; a detailed account of this mission was published in 1672 (*Relación de los maravillosos efectos*). Later, when González held the prestigious chair of theology at the University of Salamanca (1676-86), he was obliged to abandon his full-time work as a missionary, but he continued to preach at rural missions during Lent and in his free time.

Through his pastoral experience, González became an ardent opponent of probabilism, a theological doctrine that maintained that, in difficult matters of conscience, one may safely follow a 'probable opinion', that is, an opinion approved by theologians and supported by reasonable arguments. At the time, this doctrine was widely subscribed to among Jesuits, but was not the only official doctrine of the Society. It was criticised by a few Jesuit theologians, who advocated various forms of probabiliorism, a doctrine that required choosing a 'more probable opinion'. Debates over moral theology had become particularly intense during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and opponents of the Jesuits, often misinterpreting the real meaning of probabilism, identified it as a source of moral relaxation and accused the Society of supporting laxism. González developed a form of probabiliorism that emphasised one's subjective estimation of the degree of probability, in a certain way undermining the value of external authorities. His view created turmoil within the Society during his second period of teaching in Salamanca, and the reviewers of the Society refused to approve the publication of his *Fundamentum theologiae moralis*, in which he explained his theological views. In 1680, however, the Holy Office, on the pope's order, issued a decree ordering the superiors of the Society to allow their subjects to defend probabiliorism. González received encouragement from Pope Innocent XI (r. 1676-89), a strenuous opponent of moral laxism, to study and teach this doctrine.

In 1686, González was invited as a delegate to the 13<sup>th</sup> General Congregation in Rome after the death of Superior-General Charles de Noyelle, and was unexpectedly elected the 13<sup>th</sup> superior-general of the Society (6 July 1687). The appointment may have been the result of support from Innocent XI, but the precise role played by the pope is not clear. During

González's generalate, issues of moral theology were among the most important problems he faced. He attempted in various ways to spread his own doctrine and limit the consequences of probabilism. In 1691, he arranged for a short version of the *Fundamentum theologiae moralis* to be printed secretly in Dillingen without approval (*Tractatus succinctus de recto usu opinionum probabilium*), which caused bewilderment within the Society and revived internal disputes. Tensions between González and his assistants grew to such a point that Charles II intervened to support him, fearing that he might be replaced by a non-Spaniard. González was unable to obtain official approval for the publication of the *Fundamentum theologiae moralis* until 1694, and then only after heated debates. In the following years, until his death, he campaigned vigorously against probabilism and tried unsuccessfully to publish other works.

During his generalate, González also faced a serious crisis that pitched the Jesuit Roman Curia against the French Court and the French Jesuits. King Louis XIV of France (r. 1643-1715), who was in dispute with Innocent XI over the 1682 *Declaration of the clergy of France*, forbade French Jesuits from communicating with the Jesuit Curia in Rome, which he considered to be the pope's stronghold. In fact, González was a strenuous advocate of papal authority and published a book in support of papal infallibility (*De infallibilitate Romani Pontificis*, 1689). Moreover, during this period, González was forced to address the first signs of the Chinese and Malabar rite controversies. On a positive note, he was successful in developing the Society's missions both in Europe and overseas, in particular in the Ottoman Empire and China.

González's reputation in the Society after his death was mixed, reflecting the internal debates that developed during his lifetime. The tensions that began during his leadership led to an internal fracture in the Society that would last for decades.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Anon., *Relación de los maravillosos efectos que en la ciudad de Sevilla ha obrado una misión de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, este año de 1672*, Sevilla, 1672

Tirso González de Santalla, *Selectarum disputationum ex Universa Theologia Scholastica*, Salamanca, 1680-6

Tirso González de Santalla, *De infallibilitate Romani Pontificis in definiendis fidei et morum controversiis extra Concilium generale, et non expectato Ecclesiae consensu, contra recentes huius infallibilitatis impugnatores Tractatus*



*theologicus auctore P. Thyrso Gonzalez de Santalla Praeposito Generali Societatis Iesu, olim in Salmaticensi Academia primario Sacrae Theologiae professore, Rome, 1689*

- Tirso González de Santalla, *Tractatus succinctus de recto usu opinionum probabilium, in quo ostenditur, ut quis possit licite sequi opinionem faventem libertati, contra praeceptum, seu affirmantem, aliquem actum esse licitum, necessarium omnino esse, sufficere, ut post diligentem veritatis inquisitionem ex sincero affectu non offendendi Deum susceptam, opinio illa citra passionem et culpam repraesentetur ipsi vel unice verisimilis: vel ut clare verisimilior opposita; et idcirco directe ab ipso iudicetur vera, iudicio determinato absoluto non fluctuante. Auctore Adm. R. P. Thyrso Gonzalez de Santalla, e Soc. Iesu, in Salmaticensi Academia SS. theologiae primario antecessore emerito, nunc universae Societatis Iesu Praeposito Generali, Dillingen, 1691*
- Tirso González de Santalla, *Fundamentum theologiae moralis, id est tractatus theologicus de recto usu opinionum probabilium, in quo ostenditur ut quis licite possit sequi opinionem probabilem faventem libertati adversus legem, omnino necessarium esse, et sufficere, quod post diligentem veritatis inquisitionem, ex sincero desiderio non offendendi Deum susceptam, opinio illa ipsi appareat, attenta ratione et auctoritate, vel unice verisimilis vel manifeste verisimilior quam opposita stans pro lege adversus libertatem; ac idcirco ab ipso iudicetur vera iudicio absoluto, firmo, et non fluctuante. Auctore P. Thyrso Gonzalez, theologiae professore salmaticensi, nunc Praeposito Generali Societatis Iesu, Rome, 1694 (many editions followed: Dillingen, 1694; Antwerp, 1694 and 1695; Bologna, 1694; Venice, 1694; Naples, 1694)*

#### Secondary

- J.-P. Gay, *Jesuit civil wars. Theology, politics, and government under Tirso González (1687-1705)*, Farnham, 2012
- E. Colombo, 'In virtù dell'obbedienza. Tirso González de Santalla (1624-1705) missionario, teologo, generale', in C. Ferlan and F. Alfieri (eds), *Avventure dell'obbedienza nella Compagnia di Gesù. Teorie e prassi fra XVI e XIX secolo*, Bologna, 2012, 97-137
- S.K. Knebel (ed.), *Suarezismus. Erkenntnistheoretisches aus dem Nachlass des Jesuitengenerals Tirso González de Santalla (1624-1705). Abhandlung und Edition*, Amsterdam, 2011
- A. Serrai, 'La Prefazione "scomparsa" del *Tractatus de recto usu Opinionum Probabilium* di Tirso Gonzalez de Santalla', *Bibliotheca. Rivista di Studi Bibliografici* 2 (2003) 239-58
- J.M.M. Hoàng Manh Hiên, *Thyrse Gonzalez et le probabilisme*, Cho-Lon, Vietnam, 1959
- E. Reyero, *Misiones del Padre Tirso González de Santalla, XIII prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús (1665-1686)*, Santiago de Compostela, 1913

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum  
 'Handbook for the conversion of Muḥammadans'

DATE 1687

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

*Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum* (in full *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa. In prima veritas Religionis Christianae [sic] Catholicae Romanae manifestis notis demonstratur. In secunda falsitas Mahumetanae Sectae convincitur*) is divided into two volumes. The first, covering 364 pages in the 1687 first edition, is dedicated to demonstrating the divinity of Christ and the truth of the Catholic Church (*pars prima, in quo sensibilibus argumentis Divinitas Christi Domini evidenter demonstratur et evidens credibilitas Religionis Christianae proponitur*), and the second, covering 602 pages in the same edition, demonstrates 'the falsity of the Mohammedan sect and the truth of the Christian religion' (*pars secunda, in qua falsitas Mahumetanae sectae conuincitur pariterque ueritas Religionis Christianae, quae prima parte demonstrata est a nobis, iterum argumentis stabilitur*). The first part, a classic treatise of apologetics and controversies, is divided into three sections: first, a demonstration of the divinity of Jesus; second, a refutation of the arguments of heretics, Jews and Muslims who deny the divinity of Jesus; and third, a demonstration of the truth of the Catholic Church against the arguments of Luther, Calvin and the Protestant churches. This third section was republished in 1691 as a separate edition (*Veritas religionis catholicae*).

The second part, devoted entirely to Islam, is divided into six books. The first presents the life of Muḥammad and his moral conduct, the mistakes in the Qur'an, and the 'strategies' used by Muslims to spread the 'Mohammedan sect'. The second book argues for the falsity of Islam by relating extraordinary conversion stories of prominent Muslims and, further, contends that the Qur'an is in error because it equates happiness with earthly pleasures. The third book – following a standard theme of anti-Muslim polemics – attempts to demonstrate 'the falsity of the Qur'an through the Qur'an', focusing on the internal contradictions of the Qur'an, and attempts to demolish the idea (widespread among Muslims)

that the 'Law of Mohammed' superseded the 'Law of Christ' in the same way as the latter superseded the 'Law of Moses'. The fourth book takes on the idea that the Old and New Testaments are corrupted, and reaffirms the truth, denied by Islam, of Jesus' death and resurrection. The fifth book lists the errors of the Qur'an concerning history, mathematics and philosophy, and highlights Muḥammad's immoral conduct, another supposed proof of the falsity of his law. Finally, the sixth book describes the missionary methodology for the conversion of Muslims inspired by the author's personal experience.

The first edition (Madrid, 1687) was edited by Juan de Goyeneche y Gastón (1656-1735) because during the time González was working on the book he was called to participate in the Jesuit General Congregation in Rome, where he was elected the 13<sup>th</sup> superior-general of the Society of Jesus. Thanks to González's popularity and prominence, the book enjoyed considerable success, including the publication of several editions and translations into Polish and Arabic, and became an important reference work within the Society.

As the title suggests, this work is a handbook intended for use by Catholic missionaries to facilitate the conversion of Muslims. For this reason, it is both a theological treatise against Islam and a collection of practical advice for preachers wanting to dedicate themselves to the apostolate of Muslims. The *Manuductio* appeared in 1687, only a few years after the victory of the Holy League over the Ottoman Empire in Vienna (1683), and coinciding with the publication of many books celebrating the military success and expected imminent spiritual triumph of Catholicism over Islam.

The work uses a great variety of sources, making it a summary of Western medieval and early modern anti-Muslim polemics. Thus, the book's theoretical approach is not particularly original: it contains all the traditional Catholic arguments against Islam, slightly updated and adapted to the author's contemporary situation. Like the medieval authors he uses as sources, González writes from a Western perspective; and like most of the early modern Spanish treatises about Islam, the arguments serve primarily to reinforce a pre-existing judgement rather than to introduce any new knowledge. González draws abundantly from, among other sources, works by Juan Andrés (*Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán*, 1515) and Lope Obregón (*Confutación del Alcorán y secta mahometana*, 1555), both published in Spain during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.



Illustration 15. Frontispiece of *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 'I will make the nations your heritage' (Psalm 2.8)

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Manuductio* exhibits a greater curiosity about Islam than many other contemporary works, and attempts, not always successfully, to gain a deeper understanding of the religion. González could not read Arabic, but he tried to make critical use of Western sources. For instance, the first section of the second volume is a detailed narrative of the life of Muḥammad, written with great precision by comparing 12 different Western sources. González also collected and used information from his personal contact with Muslims, sometimes employing the help of translators. Ludovico Marracci (1612-1700), one of the most famous translators of the Qur'an in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, considered González's *Manuductio* to be 'an excellent work, as dignified as its author' (*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, Rome, 1691, p. 7).

Probably the most important aspect of the work is its consistent emphasis on González's experience. He repeatedly mentions that he gained substantial information about Islam 'from the street', speaking directly with Muslims or trying to convert them, and he describes in detail Muslim habits, rites and traditions. Book 6 abandons theological disputation, and instead gives an account of his experiences and provides methodological suggestions for missions; by doing so, González breaks the usual monotony of many of the previous Western treatises on Islam. This section reveals a less monolithic attitude towards Islam than is shown in the theoretical arguments against it, and offers a colourful picture of the apostolate to Muslims in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Spain. Although the typically triumphalist emphasis of missionary literature of the time should provide reasons to be cautious in evaluating this account, there are more than a few elements that confirm its essential reliability. The author is not silent about the failures and difficulties faced by some of the missions – some produced no results, many of the Muslims González met openly opposed the missionaries and never converted, and sometimes the Muslim authorities used their influence to work against the Jesuits.

González frequently recounts his personal discussions with Muslims. In Book 3, for instance, he reports a long dialogue he had in 1669 in Málaga with a Muslim named Hamid Sulayman. Dialogue is a classic instrument used by missionaries to present complicated theological arguments by means of a simple conversation; the usual form is an imaginary conversation between a Christian and a Muslim, during which the Christian gradually answers all the objections and doubts raised by the Muslim, who, by the end, admits his errors and requests baptism. Here, Gonzalez frankly admits that his reasoning did not ultimately convince his Muslim interlocutor, who decided to remain faithful to his religion. This unconventional conclusion to the dialogue suggests that it probably actually occurred.

The *Manuductio* is witness to the coexistence of a theoretical view of Islam faithful to the medieval and early modern Western tradition and a practical, more open and benevolent, attitude towards Muslims. This two-sided approach was not unusual in 17<sup>th</sup>-century missionary literature: in the context of mission, it was usually more important to highlight commonalities rather than to emphasise differences.

## PUBLICATIONS

Tirso González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa. In prima veritas Religionis Chiristianae Catholicae Romanae manifestis notis demonstratur. In secunda falsitas Mahumetanae Sectae convincitur*, Madrid: Villa Diego, 1687; 239 G59 t (digitised version available through Complutense University Library, Madrid)

Tirso González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa. In prima veritas Religionis Chiristianae Catholicae Romanae manifestis notis demonstratur. In secunda falsitas Mahumetanae Sectae convincitur*, Dillingen: Johannes Caspar Bencard, 1688-9; 4 Polem. 1372-1/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Tirso González de Santalla, *Veritas Religionis Catholicae adversus haereticos demonstrata sive manuductio ad conversionem haereticorum. In qua suppositis Scripturis, et supposita Fide in Christum, evidenter demonstratur, inter Religiones Christianas solam Catholicam Romanam esse veram Christi Religionem, atque Ecclesiam, et in illa sola posse homines salutem aeternam obtinere*, Dillingen: Johannes Caspar Bencard, 1691 (contains the third section of the first part); Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek – 999/Theol.syst.384 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Theofil Rutka (trans.), *Rękoprowadzenie do nawr ó cenia Mahometan ó w w manudukcyi Przewiel[ebnego] X. Thyrsa Gonzaleza, Genera ł a Societatis Iesu, łacińskim językiem wydane y, Innocencjuszowi XI, Najwyższemu Biskupowi rzymskiemu przypisaney*, Lviv: w Drukarni Kollegium Societatis Iesv, 1694 (Polish trans.)

Tirso González de Santalla, *Veritas religionis catholicae, suppositis scripturis et fide in Christum, evidenter demonstrate. Editio tertia*, Insulis [Lille]: Fiévet, 1696 (contains the third section of the first part)

Tirso González de Santalla, *Veritas religionis Christianae manifeste demonstrata adversus omnes infideles negantes divinitatem Christi et Trinitatem Divinarum Personarum*, Naples: Michele Luigi Mutio, 1702 (a selection of five books from both parts of the first edition)

MS Vat – Codex 505, *Liber Thyrsi Gonzalez e Societate Jesu contra impiam sectam alcorani legemque Mohometis e latino idiomate arabicis juris facti, a Jacobo Arutin alepino praesbytero et monacho maronita S. Antoni Magni an. 1724, ut in fronte legitur. Codex in 8º fol. 505. Scriptus fuit Romae manu diaconi Eliae Ben-Tadh maronitae,*

*ex oppido Bedcebab, Maronitarum collegii alumni, anno Domini 1725*  
(Arabic trans. of the second part)

- J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w. Wybór tekstów i komentarze*, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 41-125  
(a modern selection from the Polish trans.)

#### STUDIES

- D. Vázquez Ruiz, 'La construcción polémica en el texto *Manuductio ad conuersionem Mahumetanorum* a partir de fuentes medievales', in N. Olaya Montero et al. (eds), *Actas de las II Jornadas Predoctorales en Estudios de la Antigüedad y la Edad Media. Ktēma es aiei: el texto como herramienta común para estudiar el pasado*, Oxford, 2015, 197-201
- D. Vázquez Ruiz, 'Una aproximación al *Manuductio ad conuersionem Mahumetanorum* de Tirso González de Santalla', *Myrtia* 30 (2015) 215-27
- E. Colombo, "'Even among Turks". Tirso González de Santalla (1624-1705) and Islam', *Studies on Jesuit Spirituality* 44 (2012) 1-41
- E. Colombo, 'Jesuits and Islam in seventeenth-century Europe. War, preaching and conversions', in B. Heyberger et al. (eds), *L'Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, Milan, 2009, 315-40
- E. Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani. L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento*, Milan, 2007
- T. Michel, 'Jesuit writings on Islam in the seventeenth century', *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989) 57-85 (also in I.A. Omar (ed.), *A Christian view of Islam. Essays on dialogue by Thomas F. Michel, S.J.*, Maryknoll NY, 2010, 123-48)
- F. Santos Neila, *La moral islámica y Tirso González de Santalla*, Badajoz, 1975
- F. Santos Neila, 'La masturbación en la moral islámica. Crítica de Tirso González de Santalla', *Pentecostés. Revista de Teología y Práctica Pastoral* 26 (1971) 194-222
- F. Santos Neila, 'La limitación do nacimiento en la moral islámica. Crítica de la visión de Tirso González de Santalla', *Pentecostés. Revista de Teología y Práctica Pastoral* 22 (1970) 18-64

Emanuele Colombo

# Manuel Sanz

DATE OF BIRTH 8 August 1646  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH 23 February 1719  
PLACE OF DEATH Malta

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the life of Manuel Sanz. He was of Spanish origin and joined the Society of Jesus in 1672. He held several roles: Apostolic missionary, counsel to the Holy Office of Malta, synodal examiner, and four-times rector of the College of Malta, 8 May-7 November 1686; 7 January-21 June 1693; 16 April-17 December 1696, and 17 March-8 July 1796.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- A. de Backer and A. de Backer (eds), *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou Notices bibliographiques*, Liege, 1861, pp. 603-4
- Art. 'Sanz, Emmanuel', in A. de Backer, A. de Backer and C. Sommervogel (eds), *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou Notices bibliographiques, Nouvelle édition refondue et considérablement augmentée*, vol. 3, R-Z, Supplément, Louvain, 1876, col. 557
- P. Pecchiai, 'Il collegio dei gesuiti in Malta', Apéndice VI, 'Catalogo de padri rettori e vicerettore che subentrarono a governare finito il rettorato de rettori del collegio della Compagnia di Gesù', in *Archivio Storico di Malta*, Anno IX, 1938, fasc. 2, pp. 324-5
- J. Féjer, *Defuncti secundi saeculi Societatis Jesu (1641-1740)*, vol. 5, S-Z, Rome, 1990, p. 31

### *Secondary*

- T.F. Michel, 'Jesuit writings on Islam in the seventeenth century', in I.A. Omar (ed.), *A Christian view of Islam*, Maryknoll NY, 2010, 123-48, pp. 134-7
- E. Colombo, 'Jesuits and Islam in seventeenth-century Europe. War, preaching and conversions', in B. Heyberger et al. (eds), *L'Islam visto da Occidente cultura e religione del seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, Milan, 2009, 315-40



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana

## 'A brief treatise against the Muḥammadan sect'

DATE 1693

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

## DESCRIPTION

This work, which is in fact a Spanish version of a book previously written in Italian, is divided into three dialogues, a prologue 'for the Christian reader who inhabits the island of Malta', and an appendix (its full title is *Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana en el qual por razones demostrativas se les convence manifestamente à los Turcos, sin que lo puedan negar en manera alguna, ser falsa la ley de Mahometo, y verdadera la de los Christianos*, 'A brief treatise against the Muḥammadan sect, within which, for reasons that can be demonstrated, the Turks are effectively convinced of the falsity of the law of Muḥammad, and the veracity of Christian laws. They are convinced to such a point that they are unable to offer any protest or denial'). The work is 265 pages long. Its purpose is to 'instruct those who own them [Muslim slaves] in their home, or those who regularly come into contact with them, so that they know how to speak to them about the veracity of our holy faith, and how to convince them with a few reasons for their errors so that they are unable to offer any response or protest' (Prologue). Although Sanz writes for 'the salvation of the souls' of Muslim slaves in Malta, 'whose souls are worth as much as any other man's' (Prologue), it is a work with broader ambitions, since it also aims to provide means to refute the doctrines of Jews, heretics and schismatics.

In line with the principles of Ignacio de las Casas, who advocated a good knowledge of the Qur'an and of Arabic in order properly to refute Islam (although it appears that Sanz himself had little knowledge of the language), Sanz considers that 'there are no accounts of the foundations, or of the common and ridiculous errors in Islamic teachings, which allow one to convince easily, and to denounce Islam' (Prologue). So he suggests a detailed study of the Qur'an, 'this assortment of nonsense' (fol. 62), in order to confront all that 'is founded on the text of the Qur'an itself and on other writings by Muḥammad' (Prologue) with the truth of the Gospel.

The first dialogue, entitled 'Breve tratado contra el Alcorán y razones demonstrativas, para convencer los Turcos de que van errados en su secta' ('A brief treatise against the Qur'an and demonstrative reasons to convince the Turks that they are misguided in the sect they follow', fols 1-80) is primarily a monologue by the author. It is directed at a Turkish slave, and reflects a certain benevolence, aiming to denounce Islam and convince the slave that the only true religion is Christianity. The whole dialogue is 'founded on the text of the Qur'an itself, and other writings by Muḥammad', basing itself on the works of the *faqīh* Juan Andrés (fol. 3) and Phelipo Guañolo [*sic* Felipe Guadagnolo, author of *Apologia pro Christiana religione*, Rome, 1631], and relying on a multitude of qur'anic quotations to support its arguments.

The second dialogue, entitled *En el qual se pone en práctica un exemplo de cómo se les ha de tratar a los Turcos para convencerles* ('Within which an example is offered of how one should treat the Turks in order to convince them', fols 81-94) is written as a dialogue between a Christian and a Turk named Mustafa. Here, the author puts into practice what is said in the first dialogue, in order to give Christian masters tools to facilitate the conversion of their slaves.

The third dialogue, entitled *En que para una total vitoria y glorioso triunfo de nuestra Santa Religión contra todo género de infidelidad se les instruye, y se le assegura al Turco Catecúmeno en dos puntos de summa importancia, qué son la Divinidad de Christo, y la verdad de nuestra Santa Iglesia Católica Romana* ('Within which in order to ensure a total victory and glorious triumph of our Holy Religion against all types of infidelity, emphasis is placed on teaching and versing the Turkish catechumen in two aspects of upmost importance: the Divinity of Christ and the veracity of our Holy Roman Catholic Church', fols 95-256). Here, the Turk is already in the catechumenate and is starting to call himself Joseph. This third dialogue is devoted above all to denouncing Jewish (fols 104-2), heretical (fols 143-99) and schismatic (fols 200-13) doctrines. In ch. 6 of this dialogue (fols 213-23), the arguments presented are synthesised with respect to Islam. The last chapter concerns theological virtues (fols 223-56). The catechumen is at this point almost ready to be baptised.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Although the title suggests that this is a controversialist work, an anti-Muslim polemic, Sanz stipulates that it is not about personal attacks, 'but only about which is the true religion – and it is certain that this is the Catholic alone' (Prologue). Nonetheless, it gives important indications

of changes in attitude towards controversy among Jesuits as they recognised the need to refute Muslim doctrine because 'the true law must always challenge the false, and this is what must be done by those who follow the true law, who (as has been proved) are Christians' (fol. 38). This change in direction is clear when Sanz declares that 'for us, and for me in particular, it is a pleasure if all the Turks come forward with their objections on this matter of the truth of the law' (fol. 96).

However, despite its occasional use of the rhetoric typical of controversialist writings, Sanz's work is original in its avoidance of aggressiveness and insulting attacks against Islam and above all Muḥammad. In place of these, it denounces what he refers to as the 'futilities and rigmarole' of the Qur'an, 'which contains more lies and nonsense than letters' (fol. 51), and makes it clear that people who are currently Muslim need not regard this as a faith from which there is no escape. Addressing the catechumen, he points out: 'Although God has raised you from Muḥammadan parents, God did not make you Muḥammadan but made you a man, and gave you understanding, so that as you realise that Muḥammadan law is not the true law, you can abandon it and save yourself, avoiding damnation' (fol. 44).

The work is a highly original anti-Muslim polemic, both in content and in form. It indicates a change in direction both for the Society of Jesus, which ends up accepting controversy as a tool for evangelisation, and for the genre of polemic itself, replacing the aggressiveness typical of a crusader with a preference for dialogue more typical of a missionary.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Emmanuele Sanz, *Breve Trattato nel quale con ragioni dimostrative si convincono manifestamente i Turchi, senza che in guisa verunna possano negarlo, esser falsa la legge di Maometto e vera solamente quella di Cristo*, Catania: nella stamparia di Paolo Bisagni, 1691 (Italian text; on Islam, see fols 1-87); BH FLL 8073 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Complutense)

Manuel Sanz, *Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana en el qual por razones demostrativas se les convence manifestamente à los Turcos, sin que lo puedan negar en manera alguna, ser falsa la ley de Mahometo, y verdadera la de los Christianos*, Seville: por Lucas Martín, 1693 (on Islam, see fols 1-104); BH FLL 10417 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Complutense)

Emmanuele Sanz, *Scholastes armatus contra omnes fidei inimicos. Tractatus theologicus de fide, in tres partes divisus*, Venice: apud

Joannem Manfrè, 1715 (on Islam, see fols 233-57); BH FLL 8064  
(digitised version available through Biblioteca Complutense)

STUDIES

Michel, 'Jesuit writings on Islam in the seventeenth century', pp. 134-7  
Colombo, 'Jesuits and Islam in seventeenth-century Europe'

T.F. Michel, 'Jesuit writings on Islam in the seventeenth century', *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989) 57-85

**Youssef El Alaoui**

# Félix de Alamín

Félix de los Molinos

|                |                                          |
|----------------|------------------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Approximately 1637                       |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Possibly Los Molinos, Province of Madrid |
| DATE OF DEATH  | Approximately 1727                       |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Madrid                                   |

## BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about the life of Félix de Alamín, though Fray Manuel de Santo Thomas de Aquino gives an indication of his origins: *Félix de Molina seu de los Molinos ò Alamin, in provincia Castellae* ('Félix de Molina or de los Molinos or Alamín, in the province of Castile') (*Verdadero carácter de Mahoma*, 1793, p. 39; see Wickart, *Bullarium*, p. 366). Félix de Alamín was a 'Capuchin apostolic missionary' or 'Capuchin apostolic preacher', as he calls himself. We know from the dates of his published works, between the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and 1727, that he lived during the increasing decadence of the Baroque in Spain. The date of his ordination is not known, and the lack of documentation of the Capuchin order in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century does not allow us to follow his life, though he presumably lived in monasteries in Madrid. One lone fact is that, on 16 July 1726, he was in the Convent of the Santo Cristo de la Paciencia in Madrid, where he was granted a special licence to confess and absolve special cases when he was 90 years old. But nothing else is known about him.

As well as being a preacher, Félix de Alamín wrote about a dozen extensive works, among them the *Espejo de la verdadera y falsa contemplación* (1695), which was banned by the Inquisition. He was also brought before the Inquisition for his work *Impugnación contra el Talmud de los judios, Alcorán de Mahoma y contra los hereges*, a defence of Catholicism against the Talmud and Qur'an, although no verdict was brought.

His writings are part of the current of the mysticism of seclusion and the return to the Gospel within the Franciscan tradition, but without falling into the quietism of Miguel de Molinos. They were intended to instruct the faithful in the way of perfection. He wrote many works on moral, ascetic and mystical subjects and was widely read as far as Portugal, Mexico and Peru.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

M. Wickart, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Minorum S. P. Francisci Capucinatorum: SEU Collectio Bullarum, Brevium, Decretorum, Rescriptorum & Oraculorum &c. quae a S. Sede Apostolica pro Ordine Capucino emanarunt*, Vienna, 1748, p. 366

Fray Manuel de Santo Thomas de Aquino, *Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religion: justa idea de este falso profeta sin alabarle con exceso, ni depri-mirle con odio*, Valencia, 1793, pp. 38-9

*Secondary*

F. Gómez del Val, art. 'Félix de Alamín', in Real Academia de la Historia (ed.), *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*; <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/19127/felix-de-alamin> (gives a full list of his works)

A. Hernández Sotelo, 'La transición barroco-ilustrada del demonio español desde la mirada capuchina. El caso de Fray Félix de Alamín', *Memoria y Sociedad* 11/23 (2007) 27-41 (republished as 'La persecución demoniaca en el siglo XVIII español. Un estudio a partir de la transición barroco-ilustrada en el discurso de Fray Félix de Alamín', *Takwá* 11-12 (2007) 53-72)

B. de Carroceria, *La provincia de los frailes menores capuchinos de Castilla*, vol. 2. 1701-1836, Madrid, 1973, pp. 635-40

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Impugnación contra el Talmud de los Judíos,  
Alcorán de Mahoma y contra los hereges  
'Objection against the Talmud of the Jews, the  
Qur'an of Muhammad and against the heretics'

DATE 1727

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

## DESCRIPTION

*Impugnación contra el Talmud de los judíos, Alcorán de Mahoma y contra los hereges y segunda parte de la religión christiana, apostólica, y romana* ('Objection against the Talmud of the Jews, the Qur'an of Muḥammad and against heretics, and a second part on the Apostolic, Roman Christian religion') was published in Madrid in 1727. The book is 26 + 396 pages long and is divided into five treatises: 1. against the Talmud; 2. against the Law of Muḥammad and the Qur'an; 3. against heretics who

maintain that God revealed their doctrine; 4. against the Gentiles and the adoration of their false gods; and 5. on the excellence of the Catholic faith in the face of unbelievers.

The second treatise, *Que propone grandes errores de la ley de Mahoma, muchas mentiras, fábulas, y blasfemias* ('Proposing great errors in the law of Muḥammad, many lies, fables and blasphemies'), comprising 18 chapters (pp. 183-237), employs arguments that are familiar from earlier anti-Muslim polemical works against the Qur'an and the person of Muḥammad. In ch. 1, Félix explains his purposes as to provide facts about the falsehoods in the Qur'an for Christians who seek to convert Muslims held captive in seaports, to strengthen the faith of Christian captives in Muslim territories, and to set out the errors of Islam for all Christians who wish to strengthen their faith. Following this, he argues in ch. 2 (pp. 187-92), that the law of Muḥammad is inauthentic because Muḥammad did not perform miracles; in ch. 3 (pp. 192-6), that the story of Muḥammad's ascent to heaven is full of falsehoods; in ch. 4 (pp. 196-9), that Muḥammad's life was full of viciousness and therefore the Qur'an could not have been given by God; in ch. 5 (pp. 199-202), that Muḥammad's claim to be a prophet is false; in ch. 6 (pp. 202-7), that the falseness of the law of Muḥammad is proved by the ridiculous stories in his book; in ch. 7 (pp. 207-11), that this is also proved by the ridiculous fables inserted into the stories from the Old Testament that appear in the Qur'an; in ch. 8 (pp. 211-13), that Muḥammad was blasphemous towards God, because he either denied God's perfections or added imperfections to him; in ch. 9 (pp. 213-15) that the law of Muḥammad must be false because it was introduced by violent means; in ch. 10 (pp. 215-18), the law must be false because of what it says about women; in ch. 11 (pp. 219-20), that it contains errors about gluttony; in ch. 12 (pp. 220-2), that it is self-contradictory throughout; in ch. 13 (pp. 222-4), that it contains lies; in ch. 14 (pp. 224-6), that it has altered and corrupted material found in the Bible, introducing confusion or adding stories; in ch. 15 (pp. 226-8), that it has corrupted biblical stories about the angels; in ch. 16 (pp. 228-30), that it has corrupted the teachings of the Bible about the works of the devil; in ch. 17 (pp. 230-4), that the promise of paradise offered by Muḥammad is false; in ch. 18 (pp. 234-7), that situations the Qur'an says are continuing have been resolved.

While the main aim of the *Impugnación* might appear to be to disprove the integrity of Muḥammad and the Qur'an, in fact it is to bolster the status of the Catholic Church at a time when the power of absolute regimes in Europe was declining and there was danger that the authority

of the Church might decline with them. Its true aim was not so much a criticism of Islam as an affirmation of the religion of established regimes.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Spain, when there was no longer the problem of the presence of Moors among Christians, works of a 'spiritual and pious' character were published that promoted a positive perception of Islam. Félix de Alamín's work was intended to resist this trend by providing priests with arguments against Muḥammad and the Qur'an. In this respect, it followed the instructions of the Council of Trent to reform the priesthood by providing a resource for preaching.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, another similar work appeared, Fray Manuel de Santo Thomas de Aquino's *Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religion: justa idea de este falso profeta sin alabarle con exceso, ni deprimirle con odio*, Valencia, 1793. Here, Fray Manuel outlines the life of Muḥammad and summarises the Qur'an, and then 'fights against the mania of the philosophers who defend the Mohammedans and the rapid spread of Islam'. Like Félix's *Impugnación*, this was intended for priests and their work of evangelisation.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Félix de Alamín, *Impugnación contra el Talmud de los judíos, Alcorán de Mahoma y contra los hereges y segunda parte de la religión cristiana, apostólica, y romana*, Madrid, 1727; 2/27952 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)

José F. Cutillas



# Francisco Ximénez de Santa Catalina

Francisco Jiménez de Santa Catalina

DATE OF BIRTH    2 December 1685  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Esquivias, Toledo  
DATE OF DEATH    Uncertain; probably between 1757 and 1760  
PLACE OF DEATH    Dos Barrios, Toledo

## BIOGRAPHY

Francisco Ximénez joined the *Trinitario Calzado* order (Discalced Trinitarians) in the convent of Dos Barrios, Toledo, in 1700. He studied logic and philosophy, and completed his education by studying theology at the University of Salamanca in 1704. He was ordained priest in 1709, and from Toledo he was made major preacher and vicar of the convent of Cuellar, Segovia. In 1717, along with other members of his order, he was assigned to North Africa to found a hospital in Oran, at a time when the Algerians had taken the city from the Spanish. He arrived there on 4 May 1718 but, being unable to accomplish his objective, he moved to Algiers on 21 May 1718. In Algiers, he cared for Christian captives as senior preacher of the Trinitarians' hospital.

He began to write a diary (later called *Diario de Argel*) in which he related his experiences in the city, the religious practices of the Muslims, and so on. In May 1720, he moved to Tunis with the intention of founding a hospital for Christian captives. He met resistance from the Tunisian authorities and also from the Capuchins, who were supported by the French consul in the city, but in 1722 he founded the Hospital of San Juan de Mata, which remained active until 1817. He stayed in Tunis until 1735, travelling through the country to visit groups of Christian captives and accompanying the doctor and French epigraphist, Jean-André Peyssonnel. These travels allowed him to explore archaeological sites and tomb inscriptions. He collected all the information he gathered in four manuscript volumes of his *Diario de Túnez* and in the eight volumes of his *Historia del Reyno de Túnez*.

During the 15 years he lived in Tunis, he had frequent meetings with descendants of Moriscos (expelled from Spain in 1609), who preserved Spanish as a second language. This was the case of Mohammed el

Tahaxen de Urrea, who helped him to translate Arabic texts from Guacir and Budinaz, and served as copyist for old Morisco texts in Spanish (*Historia de Moyssés en prosa y de Mahoma en castellano...*). He returned to Castile in 1735, where he carried out the office of retired *predicador general* and minister in the convent of Tejada in the town of Garaballa (Cuenca). He died in the convent of Dos Barrios probably between 1757 and 1760.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

MS Toledo, Biblioteca del Convento Trinitario – *Anales de la Orden Trinitaria* (20 vols)

Francisco Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Túnez*, ed. I. Bauer y Landauer, Tetuán, 1934

### Secondary

C.I. Álvarez Dopico, 'Algunos aspectos del Islam en el Túnez otomano a los ojos del trinitario Francisco Ximénez', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 51 (2015) 491-512

C.I. Álvarez Dopico, 'La religiosité au quotidien. La captivité à Tunis à travers les écrits de fray Francisco Ximénez (1720-1735)', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 87 (2013) 319-34

C.I. Álvarez Dopico, 'La *Colonia Trinitaria* de Francisco Ximénez. Une source pour la *Relation* du médecin marseillais J.-A. Peyssonnel', in S. Boubaker and C.I. Álvarez Dopico (eds), *Empreintes espagnoles dans l'histoire tunisienne*, Gijón, 2011, 105-68

M.A. Bunes Ibarra, 'Una descripción de Túnez en el siglo XVIII. El diario de Francisco Ximénez', *Hesperia. Culturas del Mediterráneo* 10 (2008) 85-96

L.O. Montebourg, 'Alger, une cité turque au temps de l'esclavage, à travers le *Journal d'Alger* du père Ximénez (1718-1720)', Montpellier, 2006 (PhD diss. Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier III)

B. Porres Alonso, *Libertad a los cautivos. Actividad redentora de la Orden Trinitaria*, Córdoba, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 182-3, 416

B. Porres Alonso, 'Los hospitales trinitarios de Argel y Túnez', *Hispania Sacra* 48 (1996) 639-717

H. Oueslati, 'Argel según el diario inédito de Francisco Ximénez', *Sharq al-Andalus* 3 (1986) 169-81

M. García-Arenal, 'Nota a las traducciones manuscritas de F. Ximénez', *Al-Qanṭara. Revista de Estudios Árabes* 6 (1985) 525-34

N. Duval, 'La solution d'une énigme. Les voyageurs Peyssonnel et Gimenez a Sbeitla en 1724', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires* (1965) 94-135

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Viaje (Diario) de Argel y de Túnez, 1718-1735

'Diary of Algiers and Tunis, 1718-35'

Historia del Reyno de Túnez

'History of the Kingdom of Tunis'

Colonia Trinitaria de Túnez

'The Trinitarian colony of Tunis'

DATE 1718-35

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

## DESCRIPTION

Francisco Ximénez de Santa Catalina included a chapter on the beliefs and customs of Muslims in both his works on Tunis and Algiers. While his opinions conform to Spanish attitudes of the time towards Islam, his works give basic information about this part of the Maghreb in the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

His account of Islam follows the classical model. He describes Muḥammad's life, the beginning of his preaching, the ways in which he attained power and his death. Then he explains the principal precepts of Islamic law and the obligations placed upon Muslims, describes the various religious offices, and outlines the main annual festivals. He tends to mix the main teachings of Islamic law with the popular traditions of *Berbería*, describing the religion of the two cities he lived in. He also offers an account of the two weeks he spent in Oran to establish a hospital after the city had been conquered by Algiers. During his time in Algiers, he made only one trip outside the town, so the information he offers is focused on the capital alone, but when he was in Tunisia he travelled through much of the country and gives information on the social and religious customs of all the parts he visited.

## SIGNIFICANCE

These two diaries offer some of the most informative insights into the social, cultural, religious, archaeological and human features of Algiers and Tunis and their areas of influence. Following the trends of his day, Ximénez regarded Islam as a false religion that was unable to separate political power from religion, and believed that Muslim rulers were closer to madness than to true religion. But this typical attitude aside, the most interesting aspect of his works is his description of the customs and traditions of the cities in which he lived. In both Tunis and Algiers,

he describes a mix of Christians and Muslims, Ottomans, local inhabitants and renegades.

The two works have been studied more for their archaeological and epigraphical information than for their religious content, and as a result Ximénez has not been fully appreciated. He was not a polemicist or a theologian intent on attacking north African Islam, but rather a student of Algerian and Tunisian culture. The ties he maintained with the Moriscos and renegades mean that his works are important for understanding the culture of the Moriscos a century after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula and the religious customs that these Muslims preserved from their European past.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia – 9/6008-9/6014 (before 1735; *Viaje (Diario) de Argel y de Túnez, 1718-1735*; 7 vols)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia – 9/6017-9/6024 (before 1735; *Historia del Reyno de Túnez*; 8 vols)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia – 9/6025 (before 1735; trans. of al-Wazīr al-Sarray, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya*)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia – 9/6015 (before 1735; trans. of Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Al-muʿnis fī akhbār Ifrīqiya*)

Francisco Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Túnez*, ed. I. Bauer y Landauer, Tetuán, 1934

#### STUDIES

- Álvarez Dopico, 'Algunos aspectos del Islam en el Túnez otomano'
- C.I. Álvarez Dopico, 'Fernando Muñoz de la Presa, alias Sīdī 'Alī. Un renegado palentino en el Túnez otomano', *Revista de Filología Asturiana* 14 (2014) 363-97
- C.I. Álvarez Dopico, 'Semblanza de los doctores Mendoza y Carrillo. A propósito de las afinidades intelectuales y de acogida de criptojudíos en el Túnez dieciochista', in *Miscelanea hispano-tunecina*, Oviedo, 2014
- M. de Epalza, 'Nuevos documentos sobre descendientes de moriscos en Túnez en el siglo XVIII', in *Studia Historica et Philologica in Honorem M. Batllori*, Rome, 1984, 195-228
- R. Ricard, 'Dos puntos de la "Colonia Trinitaria", de Fray Francisco Ximénez', *Al-Andalus. Revista de la Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada* 23 (1958) 445-50

Italy and Malta



# Girolamo Bascapè

Hieronymus a Basilica Petri; Geronimo Basilica Petri;  
Geronimo Bascapè

DATE OF BIRTH    Between 1619 and 1622  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH    27 March 1703  
PLACE OF DEATH    Naples

## BIOGRAPHY

Girolamo Bascapè was originally from the Milan area, as is testified by his family name, which associates him with the village of Bascapè in present-day northern Italy. The name Bascapè originates from a contraction of the Latin form of 'Basilica Petri', which is recorded through the Middle Ages. Only in later centuries did dialectal forms such as 'Bar-segapè' and then 'Bascapè' become widespread.

His parents were Ippolito Bascapè and Marsilia Porra, but scholars disagree about his date of birth. According to Mazzucchelli (*Gli scrittori d'Italia*, p. 514), he was born around 1622, became first a priest and then, at the age of 60, entered the Congregation of the Oratory of St Philip Neri in Naples. According to De Rosa (*Memorie degli scrittori filippini*, p. 50), however, he entered the Congregation at the age of 44, and died at the age of 84 in 1703, making it plausible that he was born in 1619-20. Of these two scholars, De Rosa appears to be the better informed, as the catalogues of Bascapè's oratory library compiled and signed by him are dated 1668 and 1669 (Mandarini, *I codici manoscritti*, p. XVIII). In either case, it is evident that Bascapè opted to be a religious in the later stages of his life. Chiericato (*Le spighe raccolte*, p. 2), who gives the earliest biographical information, notes that before entering the oratory Bascapè served Cardinal Barbarigo, Bishop of Padua, for some time. He would accompany the bishop on his pastoral visits and hear the confessions of poor peasants.

Considering his family's wealth, it is not surprising that he was very well educated in both the sacred and human sciences (Argelati, *Bibliotheca scriptorum*, vol. 1/2, col. 128). His economic circumstances and high level of education meant that, while in Naples, he was able both to enrich

his congregation's library, as is demonstrated by the existence of two oratorios that are 'ex dono rev.mi Hieronimi a Basilica Petri' (Morelli, 'La circolazione dell'oratorio', p. 113), as well as subsidise the building and decoration of parts of the St Michael's Church in his family's home village, Bascapè (Erba, 'La chiesa di San Michele', p. 138), where the two statues of St Girolamo and a painting of St Philip Neri (Bascapè, *Storia della borgata*, pp. 87, 94) were probably added in his honour.

Bascapè offered his services in his oratory as a librarian, and often features in the list of librarians of his congregation. Among his books, apart from his three main works, *Effemeridi sacre*, *Sacre metamorfosi* and *Funeste metamorfosi*, which are all concerned with exemplary stories of people who either welcomed God's grace into their lives or refused it, there are also the two signed catalogues of the library of his congregation in Naples, as well as an unsigned one (Mandarini, *I codici manoscritti*, p. XVIII). He went blind in old age (De Rosa, *Memorie degli scrittori filippini*, p. 50), and died in Naples on 27 March 1703.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- G.M. Chiericato, *Le spighe raccolte cioè annotazioni erudite, et erudizioni notate nella lettura delle sacre, e profane historie; delle vite de' Santi e Sante; e di molti altri libri de dottissimi huomini in qualsisia scienza*, Padua, 1716, vol. 1, p. 2
- G.M. Mazzucchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè notizie storiche, e critiche intorno alle vite, e agli scritti dei letterati italiani*, Brescia, 1758, vol. 2/1, p. 514
- F. Argelati, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium seu acta, et elogio virorum omnigena eruditione illustrium, qui in metropoli Insubriae, oppidisque circumjacentibus orti sunt*, Milan, 1745, vol. 1/2, col. 128
- F. Argelati, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium seu acta, et elogio virorum omnigena eruditione illustrium, qui in metropoli Insubriae, oppidisque circumjacentibus orti sunt*, Milan, 1745, vol. 2/2, cols 1947-8
- C.A. De Rosa (Marchese di Villarosa), *Memorie degli scrittori filippini o siano della congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri raccolte dal Marchese di Villarosa*, vol. 1, Naples, 1837, pp. 49-50
- E. Mandarini, *I codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli*, Naples, 1897, pp. XVII-XVIII

### Secondary

- A. Morelli, 'La circolazione dell'Oratorio italiano nel Seicento', *Studi Musicali Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia* 1 (1997) 105-86, p. 113



- L. Erba, 'La chiesa di San Michele a Bascapè. Lettura del monumento', in L. Maffi et al. (eds), *Bascapè. Storia del paese e del territorio. La chiesa di San Michele*, Rastignano, 2004, 137-209, pp. 137-8
- G.C. Bascapè, *Storia della Borgata di Bascapè e dei suoi rapporti con Milano*, Pavia, 1983, pp. 81, 87, 94, 109
- M. Santoro, *La Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli detta anche dei Girolamini*, Naples, 1979, pp. 15, 22

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sacre metamorfosi, ouero conuersioni segnalate  
d'idolatri, turchi, ebrei, & eretici, conuertiti alla  
fede cattolica

'Sacred metamorphoses, or already known  
conversions of idolaters, Turks, Jews, and heretics  
who converted to the Catholic faith'

DATE 1684

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

#### DESCRIPTION

Girolamo Bascapè compiled four volumes of *Sacre metamorfosi* between 1680 and 1684. They all received authorisation for publication from his ecclesiastical superiors and were printed at the archbishop's printing press. His work could thus be considered an example of an expression of the official approach of the Catholic authorities in the Italian peninsula at the time. The work's full title is *Sacre metamorfosi, ouero conuersioni segnalate d'idolatri, turchi, ebrei, & eretici, conuertiti alla fede cattolica, e d'altri passati da' peccati, e dal secolo, alla penitenza, & alla religione. Cauate da diuersi scrittori antichi, e moderni per Girolamo Bascapè milanese prete della Congregatione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, della citta di Napoli. Centuria quarta* ('Sacred metamorphoses, or already known conversions of idolaters, Turks, Jews, and heretics who converted to the Catholic faith, and others who passed from sins and profane life to penitence and religion. Based on various ancient and modern writers and authored by Girolamo Bascapè, from Milan, priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of St Philip Neri, in the city of Naples. Fourth volume of one hundred stories').

The fourth volume of *Sacre metamorfosi* covers 478 pages of text plus 25 additional pages, including indexes, and contains in total 100 conversion narratives, as is suggested by the title 'centuria'. Of these, seven deal with conversions from Islam to Catholicism. These do not appear grouped as a unit. However, the table of contents is helpful in listing the accounts according to the original faith or spiritual state of the people who converted, dividing them into five categories: conversions of idolaters, Turks, Jews and heretics, and conversions from a life of sin and profanity. The last category occupies the most substantial part of the work.

This volume of *Sacre metamorfosi* is dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, by reason of her 'wonderful' conversion, with Bascapè calling on her to inspire a desire for conversion in those who read his pages. The work is written in Italian, but with quotations from the Bible and certain well-known Christian authors (e.g. St Basil and St Bernard) in Latin (pp. 61, 80).

The conversion narratives cover a substantial space and time: from places close to the author in Italy to China, and from the times of St John in Ephesus (1<sup>st</sup> century) up to events almost contemporary with the author. Historical and geographical details are not very relevant: what matters for Bascapè is the quality of the conversion. As he clearly states, the criterion for including a story in his book was not whether it was original or had never been told before, but rather the extent to which divine goodness was present in it (p. 127). All the stories had in fact already been told by other authors, with Bascapè meticulously noting his source at the end of each. The seven stories involving conversions of Muslims to Catholicism took place in Toledo, Granada, Sicily, Constantinople, a place defined as 'above Calabria', an unclear location in Africa, and Ormuz.

Themes associated with Christian-Muslim relations are not discussed in any formal or organised way. However, the stories make reference to some topics common in Christian literature at the time concerning encounters with Muslims: declaring unequivocally that it is Mary who gave birth to the Son of God (p. 3); defining as blasphemy the belief that Jesus is not God (p. 30); describing the contents of the Qur'an as 'bestial', unreasonable and permitting animal passions (p. 33); the concept of Jesus as the bread of life, and the importance of the Eucharist (p. 33); and the doctrine of the Trinity (p. 446). Concerning this last point, the author recounts how a priest had a public discussion with a Muslim aimed at demonstrating the truth of the Gospel and the falsehood of

the 'Moresque sect' (p. 445). The arguments used by the priest are not described in detail but the strategy is clear: first the priest defends his Catholic faith by providing reasons that lead his Muslim interlocutor to agree that the Trinity could be possible; then the priest proceeds to a negative analysis of his counterpart's 'law'. Under discussion here is not 'religion', or 'faith', or 'theology', but 'law'.

Most of the accounts of the conversion of Muslims emphasise the importance of receiving 'instruction in the law' before being baptised. Thus, belief or faith are not the only elements required to enter the community of Christians: training is important as well.

A good proportion of the 100 stories end with the convert choosing to enter the religious life, like Bascapè himself. The perception given to the reader is that embarking on a monastic life is the best way to profess faith deeply.

Bascapè also tackled the issue of conversion, or refusing conversion, and the lives of saints in his other works. He was not appreciated by later scholars for his originality in treating these topics as he relies mainly on works written by a variety of earlier authors, at times adding detail. The three other volumes of *Sacre Metamorfosi* contain a few further accounts of the conversions of Muslims to Catholicism.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This fourth and final volume of *Sacre metamorfosi* does not appear to include any significant features that greatly influenced later works. Moreover, given that it contains only a few pages that could be relevant to the study of Christian-Muslim relations, it is unlikely that many later authors interested in this field were aware of it. Bascapè does not seem to be an expert in Islam: while he displays a basic understanding, which could easily have been copied from earlier sources, he mentions wine being offered to a Muslim without any reference to the fact that Muslims would generally abstain from alcohol. More importantly, in one conversion story, which Bascapè situates in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when the Vandals were plundering the Italian peninsula, the convert in the story is said to be a 'Mahomettan', with the title of the story defining him as a Turk whom God 'subtracted from the Alcoran and gave to the Gospel' (p. 380). This demonstrates what would appear to be the author's ignorance of basic facts in the history of Islam.

A further interesting detail relates to its year of publication, 1684. This was the year after the Siege of Vienna and the defeat of the Ottomans by the Austrians, celebrated by many as an important victory of Christianity

over Islam. This event is briefly mentioned in the work (p. 67). Other contemporary works appear to have been more profoundly influenced by the Austrian victory in their discussion of Christian-Muslim relations, with a more optimistic tone being adopted among Christian authors hoping for Christian supremacy. However, this does not appear to be the case with Bascapè, probably because of his location and arguable lack of direct contact with Muslims.

The significance of Bascapè's work can be found more in the author's choice of terminology. There seems to be no clear regional, historical or political rationale for the choice of terms used to refer to the Muslim believer. As mentioned, the umbrella term used in the table of contents, as well as in the title of the work, is 'Turk', a fairly common choice among contemporary works. The same applies to the variety of other terms used, such as 'Mahomettan', 'Moor' and 'Saracen'. The Qur'an is called the 'Alcorano', with the Arabic article inserted before the noun, which was, again, common usage at the time. Bascapè also makes clear that Islam cannot be considered a religion: he often uses the term 'Mahomet's sect', while interestingly avoiding defining it as a 'heresy', as earlier authors had done; Bascapè's work does contain a separate group describing the conversions of heretics, which do not include Muslims. Finally, the author also inherited the tendency to contrast the law of Muḥammad with that of Christ (pp. 22, 30-1). He clearly considers Muḥammad alone to be responsible for the birth of this 'sect', the creation of its 'law', and the production of the highly criticised Qur'an.

Some elements, however, are noteworthy. In one instance, in a discussion between a Muslim and an enslaved Christian the latter refers to God as 'Dio Alà' (God Alà), presumably in an effort to make his argument more easily understandable to his Muslim counterpart (p. 20). This choice of words may support the argument that, for the author, the 'Catholic God' and 'Muslim God' were the same. Furthermore, in stories where a priest was involved in the conversion, it is interesting to observe the strategy employed: he first approaches the Muslim charitably and gently, with no initial mention of religion. Only when this affectionate relationship had grown deeper does the priest try to bring him to the Gospel (p. 27).

Very few later works mention Bascapè's four volumes of *Sacre metamorfosi*, and they make scant reference to any Christian-Muslim features contained in them.

## PUBLICATIONS

Girolamo Bascapè, *Sacre metamorfosi, ouero conuersioni segnalate d'idolatri, turchi, ebrei, & eretici, conuertiti alla fede cattolica, e d'altri passati da' peccati, e dal secolo, alla penitenza, & alla religione. Cauate da diuersi scrittori antichi, e moderni per Girolamo Bascapè milanese prete della Congregatione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, della citta di Napoli. Centuria quarta*, Napoli: Per Nouello de Bonis stampatore arcieuescouale, 1684; IT\ICCU\BVEE\047278 (digitised copy available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

## STUDIES

- P. Mazur and A. Shinn, 'Introduction: conversion narratives in the early modern world', *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013) 427-36, pp. 428-9
- M. Formica, *Lo specchio turco. Immagini dell'altro e riflessi del sé nella cultura italiana d'età moderna*, Rome, 2012, p. 105

Elena Dini

# Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri

|                |                                   |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| DATE OF BIRTH  | Between 15 and 17 October 1648    |
| PLACE OF BIRTH | Radicena (present-day Taurianova) |
| DATE OF DEATH  | 25 July 1724                      |
| PLACE OF DEATH | Naples                            |

## BIOGRAPHY

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri was born in Radicena (near Reggio Calabria) in 1648. In the first part of his career, and for many years afterwards, he held public office in the Kingdom of Naples, and began to travel only later. He was the first person to travel round the world by land, and thus he is regarded as the first globetrotter.

Gemelli Careri completed his studies with the Jesuits and graduated in April 1670 *in utroque iure* in Naples, where, from 1671 to 1685, he worked for the Viceroyalty. Following serious disagreements, he left his job and set off on his first journey outside the borders of the Kingdom. Between 1685 and 1687, he travelled through Italy, France, England, the Netherlands and Germany. After his return to Naples, he held the office of *auditore*, first in Lecce and then in L'Aquila.

In *Relazione delle campagne d'Ungheria* (Naples, 1689), Gemelli Careri left an account of the war against the Turks and of his own participation in battles in Hungary between 1686 and 1687. In *Viaggi per l'Europa* (Naples, 1693), he drew up a report on his European travels, with the help of the Neapolitan archaeologist Matteo Egizio (1674-1745).

In 1693, he resumed his travelling, determined to undertake a long journey, which turned out to be the first circuit of the world by land. From 1693 to 1698, Gemelli Careri visited the main cities of the continents known at that time, starting from Malta and then moving to Egypt, the Holy Land, Constantinople, Armenia, Georgia, Persia, India, China and the Philippines. From there, he crossed the Pacific and visited Mexico and Havana. Subsequently, he moved to Cadiz, and from there, via southern France, he returned to Naples on 4 December 1698.

During his journey, Gemelli Careri visited all the most important monuments of the countries he passed through and met rulers, priests and friars. These meetings were later used as evidence that he did actually stay in the places he described in his account.

The publication of *Giro del mondo* immediately made Gemelli Careri very famous throughout Europe. It was quickly translated into many languages and used as a source for the regions it describes.

Gemelli Careri spent the last years of his life in Naples, where he died in 1724. He never obtained the long-awaited promotion to which he aspired after his journey.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio Francesco Gemelli Careri*, Naples, 1699-1700
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaggi per Europa del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri, divisati in varie lettere familiari scritte al sig. Amato Danio*, Naples, 1701
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaggi per Europa del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri. 2, Parte seconda contenente insieme la relazione di due campagne, fatte dall'autore in Ungheria, per mezzo di varie lettere a varie persone indirizzate*, Naples, 1704
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, Felice Mosca, *Aggiunta a' Viaggi di Europa di d. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri ... Ove si contiene specialmente il viaggio della maestà di Carlo 3 da Vienna a Barcellona, e quanto e accaduto di più notevole in guerra dalla morte del serenissimo Carlo 2 fino al presente*, Naples, 1711
- J.-F. Du Halde, 'Aux Jésuites de France', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, vol. 15, Paris, 1722, xiv-xviii

### Secondary

- A. Negro Spina, *Un viaggiatore del Seicento in giro per il mondo. Giovan Francesco Gemelli Careri*, Naples, 2001
- A. Amuso Maccarrone, *Gianfrancesco Gemelli Careri. L'Ulisse del XVII secolo. Biografia scientifica di un grande di Calabria*, Rome, 2000
- F. Nunnari, *Un viaggiatore calabrese della fine del sec. XVII*, Messina, 1901
- A. Magnaghi, *Il viaggiatore Gemelli Careri (secolo 17) e il suo Giro del mondo*, Bergamo, 1900
- P. Amat di San Filippo, *Biografia dei viaggiatori italiani colla bibliografia delle loro opere*, Rome, 1882, 467-70
- A. De Gubernatis, *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie orientali*, Livorno, 1875, pp. 57-8, 250-71
- I. Ciampi, *Il Gemelli. Discorso*, Rome, 1859

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Giro del mondo

## 'A voyage round the world'

DATE 1699

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

*Giro del mondo* is the report of Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri's journey around the world. His initial purpose was to visit only the Holy Land, but after going to Malta, Egypt, Jerusalem and Constantinople, where he was arrested and charged with espionage, he decided to travel on. He set out for Trebizond, crossed Armenia and Georgia, and in 1694 arrived in Isfahan. During his stay in Persia, he witnessed the accession of the Safavid Shah Sultan Husayn (1668-1726) and visited Persepolis.

In 1695, Gemelli Careri sailed via the Persian Gulf to India. He met the Great Moghul, who invited him to remain in his service, but he refused. He left for Goa, where he met the Portuguese viceroy, then moved to Macau in China, and finally arrived in Canton. He went on to Beijing, where he was introduced into the presence of the emperor, and he also managed to visit the Great Wall.

In China, Gemelli Careri came across various religious orders. In Macau, he was hosted by the Spanish Augustinians, and in Canton and Beijing by the Spanish Franciscans and Portuguese Jesuits. Despite receiving a warm reception, he was suspected of being a spy sent by the pope to gather information about the problems of episcopal jurisdiction.

Back in Canton, Gemelli Careri decided to continue his journey to the Philippines, where he was also suspected of being a papal spy. Nevertheless, he visited the interior of the country and enjoyed frequent exchanges with the governor. From the Philippines, he sailed for Mexico and then on to Cuba, where he decided to return to Europe. Arriving in Cadiz in June 1698, he crossed Spain, Italy and France, and arrived in Naples on 4 December 1698.

Gemelli Careri immediately started writing his travel report, and in less than a year he had completed the first edition. *Giro del mondo* consists of six volumes, each describing a region he had visited: Turkey, Persia, Hindustan, China, the Philippines and New Spain. It was republished in a succession of Italian editions between 1699 and 1728, and was translated into French (*Voyage du tour de monde*) and English (*A voyage*



*round the world*). Excerpts were also published in major travel series, in English, French, German and Russian.

As soon as *Giro del mondo* appeared, some believed that Gemelli Careri had been helped by his friend Egizio to write it, and some even questioned whether he had made the journey at all. He was also accused of plagiarising earlier works by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Pietro Della Valle, Jean Leclerc and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in his descriptions of places and situations that he had never actually visited in person. Such accusations are no longer credited.

As a travel report, *Giro del mondo* describes and comments on Christian-Muslim relations as part of the accounts it gives of the regions and populations that Gemelli Careri visited. His practice was to describe the political system of each region, along with the religions and customs, and to list additional sources to which the reader could refer.

Two chapters of the first volume are entirely devoted to the religions of Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. The chapter on Egypt focuses on the Copts, their history and the causes of their decrease over the centuries, which were mainly persecutions. Alongside the Copts, Gemelli Careri also mentions Moors, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews and other minorities (which he calls 'nations'). When he comes to the Arabs, he uses derogatory language, calling them *barbari, incivili, fieri, pigri, bugiardi, traditori, eccellentissimi ladri, ed avari in estremo* ('barbarians, uncivilised, proud, lazy, liars, traitors, excellent thieves, and miserly in the extreme', vol. 1, p. 181).

Gemelli Careri explains Islam in the chapter on the Ottoman Empire, treating Arabs and Turks together. In particular, he refers to Sunnī beliefs about the oneness of God, the Prophet Muḥammad, Muslim religious holidays, circumcision, pilgrimage, marriage and divorce (vol. 1, pp. 381-5). Significantly, he also speaks about Dervishes, who, he says, lead an exemplary life, live on alms, wander about, and dress 'like crazy', and are therefore considered saints (vol. 1, p. 385). He makes a comparison between Muslim and Christian beliefs in Jesus, Purgatory and the Trinity (vol. 1, pp. 385-6). In this section he speaks scornfully about Turkish Muslims, whom he considers *barbari affatto, incivili, superbi sopra ogn'altra nazione, bugiardi, molto dediti all'ozio, avidi di danaro, ignoranti, e nemici del nome Cristiano* ('barbarians, uncivilized, prouder than any other nation, liars, very devoted to idleness, greedy for money, ignorant, and enemies of the Christian name', vol. 1, pp. 386-7).

As a man of law, he devotes considerable space to Muslim personal law (vol. 1, pp. 387-9), observing that Muslims do not distinguish

between religious and secular cases, or between ecclesiastical and political offices.

In the second volume, on Persia, Gemelli Careri focuses on Shī'ism. Here again, he discusses Muslims alongside other religious communities: pagans, Gori, Jews, Christians, Nestorians, Melchites, Manichaeans, Franks and Armenian Catholics. He explains that the main differences between Shī'is and Sunnīs concern certain religious teachings, opinions on the Qur'an, and prayers, offering corrections to what Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-89) had written in *Voyages* (1675) based on his own observations (vol. 2, p. 156). He also discusses the differences between Christians and Muslims in their procedures for marriages, conversions and burials.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

While Gemelli Careri's comments on relations between Christians and Muslims are largely based on direct observations, they nevertheless show the influence of his own bias as a Catholic; he may have been attentive to religious diversity but certainly looked on it with preformed views about Islam. The Jesuits, Franciscans, Discalced Carmelites and other Christians who put him in contact with local religious communities would presumably only have confirmed and intensified his views.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*, 6 vols, Naples, 1699-1700; X 10.1-6 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*, 6 vols, Venice, 1700
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, 'A voyage round the world', in A. Churchill and J. Churchill (eds), *A collection of voyages and travels*, vol. 4, London, 1704, 1-606 (English trans.); ocm20889123 (digitised version available through *Making of the Modern World*)
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*, 6 vols, Naples, 1708
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Voyage du tour de monde*, trans. L.M.N. [Eustache le Noble], 6 vols, Paris, 1719 (French trans.); 8-H-563 (1-6) (digitised version available through BNF)
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*, 9 vols, Venice, 1719; 999/Hist.pol.814(5/7) (digitised version available through MDZ)

- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*, 9 vols, Naples, 1721
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Voyage du tour de monde*, trans. L.M.N. [Eustache le Noble], 6 vols, Paris, 1727 (French trans); 8-H-565 (1-6) (digitised version available through BNF)
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*, 9 vols, Venice, 1728; It.sing. 1482 f-1-9 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, 'A voyage round the world', in A. Churchill (ed.), *A collection of voyages and travels*, vol. 4, London, 1744 (English trans.)
- Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, 'A voyage round the world', in A. Churchill (ed.), *A collection of voyages and travels*, vol. 4, London, 1752 (English trans.)

## STUDIES

- E. Colburn, 'Gemelli Careri's description of Persepolis', *Getty Research Journal* 9 (2017) 181-90
- N. Hester, *Literature and identity in Italian Baroque travel writing*, London, 2016
- R.M. Loureiro, 'Traveling experiences vs. intertextuality. The description of the Philippines in Gemelli Careri's *Giro del mondo* (1699-1700)', *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 15 (2014) 101-36
- M. Formica, *Lo specchio turco. Immagini dell'altro e riflessi del sé nella cultura italiana dell'età moderna*, Rome, 2012, pp. 157-62
- A. Negro Spina, *Un viaggiatore del Seicento in giro per il mondo. Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri*, Naples, 2001
- G. Rota, 'Three little-known Persian sources of the seventeenth century', *Iranian Studies* 31 (1998) 159-76
- M. Fatica, 'L'itinerario sinico di Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri. Saggio di decrittazione degli antroponimi europei e dei toponimi cinesi nel Giro del mondo', in S. F. Senoto Rivai, *Persembahan. Studi in onore di Luigi Santa Maria*, Naples, 1998, 45-67
- S. Buccini, 'Coerenza metodologica nel Giro del mondo di Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri', *Annali d'Italianistica* 14 (1996) 246-56
- M. Guglielminetti, *Viaggiatori del Seicento*, Turin, 1976
- J.P. Berthe, *Le Mexique à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Vu par un voyageur italien*, Paris, 1968
- Ph. de Vargas, *Le Giro del Mondo de Gemelli Careri, en particulier le récit du séjour en Chine. Roman ou vérité?*, Zürich, 1955

- S.N. Sen, *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri, being the third part of the travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the third part of a voyage round the world by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri*, New Delhi, 1949
- A. Zeri, 'Il primo giro del mondo compiuto da un viaggiatore italiano (G. F. G. C.)', *Rivista Marittima* 37 (1904) 253-79
- F.A. Nunnari, *Un viaggiatore calabrese della fine del secolo XVII*, Messina, 1901
- A. Magnaghi, *Il viaggiatore Gemelli Careri (secolo XVII) e il suo Giro del mondo*, Bergamo, 1900
- G. Ghirlanda, *Gianfrancesco Gemelli Careri e il suo viaggio intorno al mondo (1693-1698)*, Verona, 1899

Francesca Bellino

# Angelo Legrenzi

DATE OF BIRTH 1 October 1643  
PLACE OF BIRTH Monselice, Italy  
DATE OF DEATH 12 August 1708  
PLACE OF DEATH Lublin

## BIOGRAPHY

Angelo Legrenzi was born on 1 October in Monselice in the Republic of Venice, where his family owned a villa. His father, Sebastiano, was a lawyer while his mother, Orsetta Butta, was an aristocrat from Belluno. Legrenzi did not follow in his father's footsteps as his brothers had done, but instead moved to Venice in 1660 in order to study medicine at the medical school. He graduated on 5 April 1664 and remained in Venice, where he worked as a doctor. However, moved by his own curiosity, a desire to visit the Holy Land and perhaps by the illusion of rich pickings working as a merchant, on 15 August 1671 Legrenzi decided to accompany Marco Bembo (1619-97), Consul of the Venetian Republic in Aleppo, to Syria following the cessation of hostilities between the Republic of Venice and the Ottomans over the control of Crete in 1699, which ceded the island to the Ottomans.

Legrenzi would only return to Venice in 1694, living in Asia for almost 23 years and travelling as far as Delhi, where he stayed from 1679 until 1680. What we know about his life during this period comes from his own account in his book on Asia. He worked as a doctor for members of the Ottoman and Safavid administrations, as well as for travellers and merchants whom he encountered. During Lent 1674, he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the sacred sites of Palestine in the retinue of the French ambassador to Constantinople, Charles François Olier.

After staying in Beirut with the Venetian merchant Andrea Visinoni, Legrenzi returned to Aleppo in June but left only four days later, on 8 April 1678, joining the party of an Armenian merchant by the name of Pedros and undertaking a long journey as far as Kurdistan, Mesopotamia and the Safavid Empire, where he met the family of Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652) in Shiraz. He then set sail from Bandar Abbas, landing first at Surat, then Goa and in 1679 at Aurangabad, where he crossed paths with the Italian Nicolò Manucci, with whom he vied for the title of medical

expert to the house of Shāh ‘Ālam, son of the Mughal Sultan Aurangzeb. In later years Manucci, who even helped Legrenzi, would go on to speak badly of him in his *Storia do Mogor* ('History of the Mughals'), while Legrenzi on the other hand would describe Manucci as lacking in medical knowledge and far too comfortable among the 'infidels', in his own account of the journey.

In 1680, Legrenzi left India on a French ship and arrived in Aleppo a few months later, travelling via the Persian Gulf and the northern Arabian Peninsula. However, following the outbreak of the Morean War between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, he was forced to recognise that the political climate had changed. The Consulate at Aleppo was heading for demolition, and the Vice-consul Giovanni Andrea Negri, with whom Legrenzi had business interests, was in danger. Legrenzi aided Negri's escape in 1684 and ensured the safety of the consulate papers, but, despite the increasing danger, he himself remained in Syria. He continued to work as a doctor, providing medical assistance during a major pandemic in 1692, relying upon groups of French and English merchants and living in a Franciscan convent. Only later did he decide to return home, on a French ship which left from Alexandretta, sailing via Malta and, two months later, docking at Livorno on 18 September 1694. On his way back to Venice, Legrenzi passed through Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara and Rovigo, arriving on 26 October 1694 at the family villa in Monselice, home to one of his brothers, Francesco the lawyer. Legrenzi only stayed there briefly, returning to Venice where he once again took up his work as a doctor, establishing a professional relationship with the Polish aristocratic Zamoyski family. Legrenzi wrote his will on 10 October 1707 before setting off once again; he died a short time later in Lublin on 12 August 1708, having published a two-volume account of his travels in Asia (1705, with just a single subsequent edition in 1707), a work which he had begun about two years earlier.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Venice, Archivio di Stato – Senato, Dispacci consoli, Aleppo, 5 (1671-8)

MS Venice, Biblioteca del Civico Museo Correr – Gradenigo-Dolfin, 83, vol. 1, c. 358r (1707; his will)

MS Venice, Biblioteca del Civico Museo Correr – Mss. Cicogna, 2011 (=502): E.A. Cicogna, *Iscrizioni nella chiesa de' Ss. Giovanni e Paolo detta S. Zanipolo e cappella detta della Pace*, c. 15v

Angelo Legrenzi, *Il pellegrino nell'Asia. Cioè viaggi del dottor Angelo Legrenzi fisico e chirurgo, cittadino veneto [...]*, Venice: Domenico Valvasense, 1705  
 Nicolò Manucci, *Mogul India, 1653-1708: or Storia do Mogor*, 4 vols, ed. W. Irvine, New Delhi, 1989

#### Secondary

- M. Moneta, *Un veneziano alla corte Moghul. Vita e avventure di Nicolò Manucci nell'India del Seicento*, Turin, 2018  
 S. Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be alien. Travails and encounters in the early modern world*, Waltham MA, 2011  
 V. Mandelli, art. 'Legrenzi, Angelo', in Istituto dell'enciclopedia italiana (eds), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 2005, vol. 64, pp. 308-10  
 G. Soranzo, *Bibliografia veneziana in aggiunta e continuazione del saggio di Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna*, Venice, 1885  
 P. Amat di Sanfilippo, *Biografia dei viaggiatori italiani con la bibliografia delle relazioni di viaggio dai medesimi dettate*, Rome, 1881

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Il pellegrino nell'Asia 'The pilgrim in Asia'

DATE 1705

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

#### DESCRIPTION

*Il pellegrino nell'Asia* is dedicated to Tomasz Józef Zamoyski (1678-1725), fifth count (*ordynat*) of Zamość, *starost* of Gródek Knyszyń and Płoskirów, and imperial colonel. Legrenzi writes that his love of the Christian faith grew as a result of his pilgrimage to the holy places and his visits to what he calls inhuman places governed by 'monstrous' and 'tyrannical' laws (in reference to the Ottoman Empire in particular). *Il pellegrino* is divided into two parts: in the first, made up of 32 'pilgrimages', Legrenzi tells of his journey from Venice to Aleppo and his visit to the Holy Land (1674); in the second, made up of four books, there is more of a focus on life under Islam, and Legrenzi discusses his experiences from 1678 and 1680 while in Mughal India and on his return to Syria.

The narrative begins on 15 August 1671, when Legrenzi leaves Venice with the Consul of the Republic Marco Bembo, heading for Aleppo. They reached Syria on 22 September. In that part of the Ottoman Empire, he immediately noted the presence of merchants, Christians and the wealth

of Asian trade and commerce, while Aleppo itself was inhabited by around 30,000 Christians – Maronites, Armenians, Orthodox, Catholics, Jacobites – who were forced to pay a heavy tax to the sultan and his administration (as much as four gold coins for every fit, adult man who was not a priest). Legrenzi was struck by the beauty of the mosques in the city, the custom of taking purifying baths, with men and women allocated different times to attend, the widespread presence of domestic slaves, the differences in clothing (the supposed descendants of Muḥammad wore green woollen belts), and the ruins of ancient monuments that had been destroyed centuries earlier by Tamerlane.

Legrenzi carried out his duties as a doctor with Christians of various confessions, as well as with Muslims, even claiming to have had access to the city castle, which was forbidden to non-Muslims. After more than two years, he decided to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, travelling not via Damascus but through Tripoli. Here he met the Venetian diplomat Andrea Benedetti, the French ambassador, with whom he travelled for part of the journey, and a number of Catholics, whose faith he thought weak.

Four Franciscan friars took him by boat to Acre, from where he made for Nazareth and Mount Carmel. He travelled through Jaffa and Rama, where the ancient churches had been turned into mosques, and finally reached Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by Father Claudio Gavazzi of Lodi, guardian of the Holy Land, at the Franciscan convent. The friars enjoyed relative freedom and were able to perform services undisturbed, though they paid a heavy tax in money and goods, not to mention that some sacred places (such as the House of St Anne) had been turned into mosques, and some relics, among them the footprint left by Christ as he ascended to heaven from the Mount of Olives, had been moved into mosques.

Legrenzi was captivated by the Holy City and, tapping into what he read in some of the many guides for pilgrims available in Europe, he quotes curious apocryphal stories, such as that of Malchus, the slave of Caiaphas, who struck Christ on the cheek, incurring the wrath of Peter, who cut off his ear. Malchus was supposed to be still living in a cave, which had been discovered by a Venetian traveller.

Although Legrenzi condemns Islamic control of Jerusalem, he admits that the Ottomans had not erased the memory of the sacred places, thanks in part to the appeals of the Venetian Girolamo Capello to Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603; vol. 1, p. 152), and he found the Mosque



of al-Aqṣā, which Christians were forbidden to enter, quite magnificent. In order to reach some banned sites, such as Mount Zion, he cured a Muslim *qāḍī*, who responded with gratitude. He also visited the surrounding area: Bethany, Emmaus, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem, the River Jordan, often complaining of the insolence of the Orthodox leaders, who never failed to cast Catholics in a bad light to the Ottoman authorities in order to get them expelled from holy sites (vol. 1, p. 145). Throughout this section Legrenzi mixes devotional legends with actual observations: prejudices and anti-Islamic tales with their origins in the crusader tradition sit alongside heartfelt praise for the protection guaranteed to Catholic missionaries by the 'Turks', who feared the Arabs. Moreover, as he reports his return to Aleppo, he notes that the Catholic descendants of the crusaders in the city of Sidon are so strong that they inspire fear in the Ottoman authorities (vol. 1, p. 227).

The second volume is richer in content. In the first book, Legrenzi sets out on another journey on 6 April 1678, to India and other lands beyond the limits reached by Europeans in ancient times. Thanks to his friendship with a man named Pedros, he crosses lands that seem to him utterly desolate, beyond any political control and dangerous, but without expressing surprise that his travelling companions carry a clearly visible standard identifying themselves as Muslims (a *khamsa*, which he describes as like 'a hand on a red background with twelve dots'). Given the size of the caravan with which he travels, none of the bands of raiders they meet on their journey to the Euphrates dares to attack, and they reach Upper Mesopotamia, an area inhabited by Jews. Legrenzi is particularly struck by Edessa, a city populated by Nestorians, Jacobites and Armenians, forced continually to pay taxes by the Muslims but free to practise their heretical 'cults'. The next leg of the journey is to Diyarbakir, where Legrenzi is delighted to meet a number of Catholic missionaries, who underline the hatred that separates the Arab population from their Ottoman overlords. The situation in Kurdistan appears even more complex, where Kurds and Turks live alongside Armenian Christians, who have a church dedicated to John the Baptist at which the Muslims also worship on the saint's day (vol. 2, p. 56). Legrenzi is fascinated by the customs of the Kurdish Muslims, who are intent on pillaging. He is also fascinated by the Yazīdīs, who are deemed heretics by the Muslims, and by the variety of the ethnic groups that live on the fringes of the Ottoman Empire, where there is little religious or political control. In cities such as the ruined Bitlis, Christians do not pay taxes because the Ottomans fear

they might revolt and become allies of the Safavids. Their churches are well maintained and they are free to practise their religion (vol. 2, p. 62).

The caravan reaches Mosul (ancient Nineveh), a city flourishing on its production of muslin cloth. There, as in Kirkuk (a city destroyed by the on-going wars between the Ottomans and Safavids), Catholic missionaries had not found it easy since hostility from the Nestorians had prevented them from settling. The situation is different in Baghdad, a trading city that had been recaptured by the Ottomans in 1640 after a bloody siege. Here Muslims live alongside Armenians, Nestorians and Catholics, as well as Capuchin friars who act as guides to Legrenzi on his visit to the ruins of Ctesiphon.

The second book starts with the caravan's journey through Persia, a stable land but one in which the route through to Isfahan is nevertheless plagued by bands of raiders who, only a short time earlier, had kidnapped and held to ransom two French merchants. Tabriz, a city of commercial trade and ancient learning, was the former Safavid capital, breathtakingly beautiful with red stone mosques that had replaced the temples of the idolaters (the Zoroastrians). At Ardabil are the tombs of the Safavid ancestors, Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn and Shah Ismā'īl I (r. 1501-24). The other Shī'ī holy cities Legrenzi visits are Qazvin (briefly the Safavid capital) and Qom, site of the tomb of Shah 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66; the only sepulchre mentioned in the text). Legrenzi draws particular attention to the constant stream of pilgrims and to the fact that many merchants ask to be buried there.

In order to reach Isfahan, Legrenzi passes through Kashan and joins up with a group of Dutch merchants who are carrying money from Armenians living in Ottoman lands. Legrenzi finds the capital very beautiful, and recounting this visit gives him the opportunity to discuss the imperial palace and square. He speaks, too, of the Jewish presence in the city, of the jewellery and watches made there by the finest French craftsmen, and of the somewhat precarious successes of the Catholic missionaries sent from the Propaganda Fide. But most of all he discusses the origins of the Shī'ī religion and the power of the Safavids, the reign of 'Abbās I (1588-1629), and New Julfa, the Armenian quarter, where they are free to practise their form of Christianity. Legrenzi writes of them with a mixture of admiration for their ability as merchants and contempt for a 'separatist' people without a homeland, who have dedicated themselves to slave trafficking and, like the Jews, practise deception and deceit (vol. 2, pp. 140-7).

Legrenzi's view of the Safavid Empire compared to that of the Ottomans is positive; Europeans could live there unharmed. However, he views the ruling Shah Šafī II (r. 1629-42) as weak, surrounded by a court in which power is in the hands of the ministers, the head of the army, the vizier and the mufti. He remarks that the nation has been showing signs of decline for some time, and the shah does not have a naval fleet, even if he does have an army of 80,000 men – a choice that has weakened the Safavids. 'Abbās I had got rid of the Portuguese at Hormuz, but he had allowed the English to remain. Like the Armenians, they control the markets without paying particularly high fees.

After his visit to the ruins at Persepolis, Legrenzi leaves the capital, and in Fars is struck by the glass furnaces, which rival those of Venice, and the production of woollen clothes, which certainly measure up to those produced in England. There are both French and Dutch settlers in Shiraz, and some Carmelites had also settled there, seeking to convert the Armenians. In the city, he meets the family of Pietro Della Valle and his Georgian wife. In Bandar-e Kong, he finds Augustinian priests who had been sent from Goa after the loss of Hormuz and, despite the fact that the war with the Portuguese is about to start again, they are free to worship according to their own rites. Finally, he reaches Bandar Abbas where, as well as Carmelite priests, English, French and Dutch trading companies are active. On 17 November 1678, together with two Dutchmen, Legrenzi boards an Arab ship and sails along the desolate coastline of Hormuz and Musqat (which had also been lost by the Portuguese), reaching first Sindh and then Surat (vol. 2, p. 192). There he finds European merchants, missionaries, Capuchins friars, Arabs and Armenians, among others.

The third book in the second part is devoted to Legrenzi's journey through the Mughal Empire. It opens with a digression in which he recounts the development of Portuguese colonialism from the arrival of Vasco da Gama (d. 1524) and underlines the dominance achieved by the Dutch East India Company which it has its headquarters at Batavia (now Jakarta) but has not broken into China. The French have also expanded their influence as a result of some astute moves.

Legrenzi is struck by the wide range of languages spoken, including Italian, and the density of the population in the city. He also notes the almost entirely meat-free diet, the sacred respect for animals and the variety of cults and ethnicities in India (vol. 2, p. 202). Islamic forces dominate the north, most prominent among them the Mughals, while the south is ruled by 'idolatrous' principalities, with the English controlling

Bombay and Madras. Crossing the Deccan Plateau, Legrenzi arrives in Aurangabad, where he meets one of the few Italians and Venetians in India, Nicolò Manucci (vol. 2, p. 223). Despite his disapproval of the contacts Manucci maintains with the infidels and the 'degenerate' son of the sultan who rules the city, Legrenzi decides to follow him on his journey to the court, where the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) is rumoured to be imminent. Perhaps there was the prospect of a career as a doctor, although Legrenzi writes that, unlike Manucci, he has never wanted this.

The caravan departs on 25 July 1679 and the group of Christians raises a standard bearing the red symbol of the cross. Agra, with a few hundred Christians among the population, strikes Legrenzi by the magnificence of its mausoleums as well as by the fact that the Hindus are not subject to any tax by the Muslim rulers. After a digression on the rise of the Mughals, the descendants of Tamerlane, up until the rule of Aurangzeb (the text praises the 'sweetness' of their rule over non-Muslims, which is far greater than that of the Ottomans), he describes the capital, Delhi, and attempts to analyse the 'customs', cults and beliefs of the Hindus. He thinks the Brahminic cults are absurd and superstitious, built on the cunning and deception of the clergy. He does not possess the profound curiosity that was the hallmark of other travellers of the period, and he declares himself tired of so much barbarity and decides to return to Syria on a French ship departing from Surat on 4 February 1680.

The fourth book narrates the return journey to Aleppo and has a more reflective tone, with many observations on medicine, the climate, plants (such as the date palm), and a great number of digressions explaining the origins of Islam and the present state of the Ottoman Empire: in Legrenzi's view, it exercises little power in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions. Passing by the Bahrain Peninsula, where the primary activity is fishing, Legrenzi can only imagine what the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula contains – at one time it was the Kingdom of Saba. It was in those arid lands, he writes, that Muḥammad was born, and Medina and Mecca are to be found, cities visited by enormous crowds of pilgrims. The most interesting stop on his journey is in Basra, with its red bricks, inhabited only from September to January and populated by Arabs, Indians, Dutch and Portuguese, and also Catholic friars.

Legrenzi makes an extended stay in order to tend to a pasha, and he notes the presence of the Mandaean sect, followers of John the Baptist and tolerated by the Ottomans, who practise baptism, immersing

themselves several times a year. For Legrenzi, this has nothing to do with Christianity, since they believe neither in creation nor in the Trinity or the Eucharist, and they follow 'superstitious' norms that forbid them from cutting their beards, eating pork or wearing blue clothes. Legrenzi bases these observations on the work of a Carmelite missionary, Ignazio di Gesù (whose original name was Carlo Leonelli), who in 1652 had published the *Narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum s. Joannis*, after calling the Mandaeanes to convert on behalf of the Propaganda Fide. The Mandaeanes had kept to their faith and were now being targeted by Portuguese missionaries in Goa (vol. 2, pp. 329-30). Going back up the Tigris, Legrenzi notes once again the state of desolation of the lands taken by the Ottomans, easy pickings for bands of thieves. Returning back through Baghdad and Mosul, he joins a group of Armenian merchants, attempts to cross the desert and in the end opts for the longer route back to Aleppo. In Aleppo, during a diplomatic crisis between Venice and the Ottoman Porte, he strives to secure the escape of the vice-consul, Giovanni Andrea Negri, and to save the papers from the Venetian consulate, seeking refuge with the governor Mehmed Agà, a Jew who had converted to Islam.

During his last years in Syria, which he recounts briefly and rather reluctantly, Legrenzi lives in the Franciscan convent, works as a doctor, helps the people of the city through several pandemics and organises the flight of some renegade slaves to Europe (vol. 2, p. 386). On 13 July 1694, he returned to Italy aboard a French ship.

Legrenzi was certainly not the first Venetian to describe Muslim Asia after the foundation of the Portuguese Empire, and indeed his account draws on earlier works, including Philipp Clüver's *Introductio in universam geographiam* (1624-9, vol. 2, p. 32), Cesare Federici's *Viaggio nell'India orientale, et oltra l'India* ('Travels in eastern India and beyond', 1587) and Gaspare Balbi's *Viaggio dell'Indie orientali* ('Travels around eastern India', 1590). However, *Il pellegrino* very rarely shows the reach or the curiosity of these works, or that of Manucci. Neither does Legrenzi mention the fact that he travelled with Ambrogio Bembo (grandson of Marco), or that Bembo too reached Persia and India, returning to Aleppo before Legrenzi's departure and leaving an unpublished diary of his travels. This work was recently rediscovered, though it was well-known in Venice from the end of the 1600s.

The only work explicitly cited in the text is the *Viaggi* of the Roman traveller Pietro Della Valle, who worked on behalf of the Propaganda

Fide. Like Della Valle's, Legrenzi's work presents itself as a description of the land of the infidels by a pious Catholic, and shares the same positive judgement of the Safavids, with whom Rome had long dreamt of an alliance against the Ottomans. If the lands of the Porte are described as a kingdom of disorder and extortion (Legrenzi's pages often mention the taxes paid by Christians and Jews under the Ottomans), the Persian world appears more tolerant, albeit one heading for decline and open to Protestant merchants in the wake of the severing of relations between Shah 'Abbās I and the Portuguese. In Legrenzi, more than in other Italian authors, there are medical, pharmacological, botanical and zoological observations, but what predominates is the lens of classical culture. This is clearly seen in the description of the Middle East and Persia: with every city, the account of his visit is preceded by a historical, economic and demographic profile.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Il pellegrino* shows clear signs of prejudice against any form of religion that differs from Catholicism. This is true for the Mandaean, the Orthodox communities (which Legrenzi accuses of impeding the Roman missions), the Jacobites, the Nestorians and the Armenians, described as cunning men without a homeland who employ every possible spiritual threat to prevent conversions to Catholicism, and even re-baptise apostates, while Armenian mothers do not hesitate to sell their own children into slavery (vol. 2, p. 143). Legrenzi's prejudice is even more marked against Yazīdis (whom even the Muslims believe are demon worshippers – vol. 1, p. 59), Zoroastrians and Hindus. No comment at all is made about Protestants.

Legrenzi invokes Holy War against the infidels, who dare to disrespect the veneration of images (vol. 1, pp. 152, 161) and who do not abide by the word of God. When he recounts the birth of Islam (vol. 2, pp. 335-7), he employs all the stereotypes of a Christian controversialist: Muḥammad is an impostor; he fakes his meeting with the archangel Gabriel in order to deceive his people and stir them up; he is instructed in religion and the art of politics by the apostate monk Sergio; he makes up his journey to the afterlife, as well as a series of miracles; he is greedy and sensual; he allows divorce and polygamy; he forges his cult from a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. Thus, for the wickedness that he showed towards his own bloodline he is punished by God with the yoke of the Ottomans, who are less moderate and cruder than the Arabs. As Legrenzi tells it,

Islam under Istanbul is run by the grand mufti, who performs the same role as the pope (vol. 2, p. 357), but whose power hangs in the balance.

With regard to the Ottomans, Legrenzi takes up a conviction that developed from around the end of the 1500s in works such as those of Lazaro Soranzo, that the Ottoman Empire has lost its military power and is destined to fall to the Habsburgs; its power, Legrenzi believes, is felt more in Europe than in the Middle East (vol. 2, p. 365). However, he is forced to admit that Jews and Christians, albeit at a cost of heavy taxation, enjoy relative 'freedom of conscience' under the Ottomans, and that Catholic missionaries can operate not only in the Holy Land but also elsewhere. Moreover, Islam demonstrates an openness that surprises him: in Jericho, he recalls, some women were intrigued by the presence of a devout Spanish pilgrim who was trying to converse with them (vol. 1, p. 166). What is more, all Muslims venerate the mother of Christ.

Like a plan from the Propaganda Fide, the work carefully notes the presence of churches, as well as Carmelites, Jesuits, Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans and Capuchins, on the Aegean islands, in Aleppo, Tripoli, Diyarbakir and Baghdad (where Catholics even practise medicine on infidels in order to try to win their souls). Christians, Legrenzi has to admit, live almost everywhere without having to change their customs, deprive themselves of wine or give up their books. It is true that in the Ottoman world efforts by Catholic missionaries to convert people are only directed at other Christian communities and heretics, but elsewhere it is less limited. The Safavid Empire was clearly a more fruitful place in which to convert souls. In Isfahan, Legrenzi admits, the Catholic missionaries had a number of failures with the Armenians, but secretly baptised children at risk of dying because Persian women were convinced that it might help in some way (vol 2, p. 123).

Legrenzi's account of the birth of Shī'ism, which was hated by the Ottomans and considered on a par with heresy, is rather confused and moves quickly from the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the rise of the cult of Ṣafī al-Dīn (referred to as the *cheselbassi* or Qizilbāsh; vol. 2, p. 137), which had elevated Ismā'īl to the position of Shah but were now marginalised by the Safavid rulers. Legrenzi sees the Persians as the most refined people of the East, with rich traditions of art and poetry, and an interest in astronomy, even though they may be less interested in the translation of European texts than in the recent past. (Legrenzi had been told this by a Capuchin friar named Raffaele; vol. 2, p. 129.)

Donations and the giving of alms to religious sanctuaries were ways in which the Shah guaranteed the favour of the faithful, but this glowing generosity in the Shī'a world had to be balanced against the superstition and darkness of shocking rituals such as 'Āshūrā'. When Legrenzi witnessed this at Bandar Abbas, he realised that he had laughed and cried without knowing what to think (vol. 2, pp. 133-4).

On the coast of the Persian Gulf, he notes that missionaries were able to erect beautiful churches with visible Christian symbols (vol. 2, pp. 178, 326). In India, on the other hand, the successes of the missionaries in Malabar and Sri Lanka (more than 200,000 baptisms; vol. 2, p. 212) were mixed with failures, not to speak of Christians trading arms with infidels and working as gunners for them, in defiance of the papal ban on such activity (vol. 2, p. 219). Moreover, in Delhi the Jesuits enjoyed fewer freedoms than in Agra (vol. 2, p. 243).

Legrenzi traces the history of the rise of the Mughals, who declare themselves Sunnī despite their contacts with the Shī'a, and finds their descendants to be less observant than other Muslims, less inclined to perform ablutions and more permissive about the freedom of women. He also recalls their love for religious disputes, which are almost entirely absent in the Ottoman world (vol. 2, pp. 282-3). It is possible that Legrenzi draws this observation from his reading of Jesuit histories about the Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605), or perhaps it comes from his own observation of Islamic India. What is certain is that he praises the Indians' expertise with textiles and evokes the figure of Aurangzeb as an astute ruler who was ruthless and more devout than his predecessors (vol. 2, p. 248). Upon his return to Aleppo, he was informed (by Manucci perhaps) of a 1681 edict that reintroduced taxation of the 'gentiles', Christians, and all fit non-Muslim men resident in the Mughal Empire, an act which, in Legrenzi's eyes, risked stirring up a revolt against the power of the Mughals, who ruled over a land in which Muslims were not even in the majority (vol. 2, p. 263).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Angelo Legrenzi, *Il pellegrino nell'Asia. Cioè viaggi del dottor Angelo Legrenzi fisico e chirurgo, cittadino veneto* [...], vol. 1. *Con li ragguagli dello stato della santa città di Gierusalemme, Betlemme, Nazareth & altri luoghi santi e città maritime. Opera diuisa in 32 pellegrinaggi*; vol. 2. *Con li ragguagli dello stato dell'imperio ottomano, il re di Persia, de Mogori, e Gentili loro legge, vita e costumi. Opera diuisa in libri quattro*, Venice: Domenico Valvasense, 1705; It.sing. 567-1/2 (digitised version available through MDZ)



- Angelo Legrenzi, *Il pellegrino nell'Asia. Cioè viaggi del dottor Angelo Legrenzi fisico e chirurgo, cittadino veneto* [...], Venice: Domenico Valvasense, 1707 (single volume, retaining pagination of the original volume); AC10059373 (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)
- L. Clerici (ed.), *Scrittori italiani di viaggio*, vol. 1. 1700-1861, Milan, 2008 (an anthology that includes a section from *Il pellegrino*)

## STUDIES

- E. Ianiro, 'La versatilità dei manoscritti veneziani per una lettura del Caucaso del XVIII secolo. Evoluzione commerciale e viaggi statichi', in E. Ianiro and A. Ferrari (eds), *Dal paleolitico al genocidio Armeno. Ricerche su Caucaso e Asia Centrale*, Venice, 2015, 61-84; <https://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/media/pdf/books/978-88-6969-027-3/978-88-6969-027-3-ch-05.pdf>
- E. Sabadini, 'Safavid Persia through Italian eyes. From reign of freedom to land of oppression', in A.M. Ansari (ed.), *Perceptions of Iran. History, myths and nationalism from medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic*, London, 2014, 163-81
- A. Welch, 'Safavi Iran seen through Venetian eyes', in A.J. Newman (ed.), *Society and culture in the early modern Middle East. Studies on Iran in the Safavid period*, Leiden, 2013, 97-121
- P. Preto, *Venezia e i turchi*, Rome, 2013<sup>2</sup>
- G. Rota, *Under two lions. On the knowledge of Persia in the Republic of Venice (ca. 1450-1797)*, Vienna, 2009
- M. Galletti, 'Curdi e Kurdistan in opere italiane dal XIII al XX secolo', *Quaderni di Oriente Moderno* 3 (2001) 1-108
- A. Grossato, *Navigatori e viaggiatori veneti sulla rotta per l'India. Da Marco Polo ad Angelo Legrenzi*, Florence, 1994
- G. Lucchetta, 'Viaggiatori, geografi e racconti di viaggio dell'età barocca', in G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi (eds), *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4/2. *Il seicento*, Vicenza, 1984, 201-50

Vincenzo Lavenia

# Niccolò Manuzzi

Niccolò Manucci

DATE OF BIRTH 19 April 1638  
PLACE OF BIRTH Venice  
DATE OF DEATH 1720  
PLACE OF DEATH Big Mount, Pondicherry, India

## BIOGRAPHY

Niccolò Manuzzi was born in Venice into a modest family, one of five children. His father was a pepper miller and it is likely that his first nickname 'speziale' originated from his visiting his father's place of work. At around the age of 14, he left Venice for Corfu and shortly afterwards embarked on a merchant ship leaving for Smyrna. During the voyage, he said he met Henry Bard, viscount of Bellomont, ambassador of the exiled King Charles II of England (r. 1660-85), who took him under his protection and with whom he visited Persia. This meeting has been questioned by both Subrahmanyam and Falchetta, though Moneta is convinced that the meeting happened.

Manuzzi and Bellomont left for the port of Surat, but when they had disembarked in 1656, and started for Delhi, Bellomont suddenly died, and the 18-year old Manuzzi found himself in a precarious position. He was robbed of his belongings by two English swindlers, but he did not give up. Indeed, he succeeded in reaching the court of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān (r. 1628-58), where he pleaded his case so convincingly that he managed to have the two swindlers arrested and regained his belongings. This was probably aided by his great ability at learning languages, which enabled him to speak Persian in the court (he had probably also learned Turkish and English during his journey), and also at showing great agility in responding to court ceremonial. Very soon, he was recruited as an artilleryman in the army of Prince Dārā Shikōh, the emperor's son.

He remained faithful to Dārā, even when the latter was defeated by his younger brothers Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh at the battle of Sāmugarh (29 May 1658), and escaped to Lahore. Dārā Shikōh was unable to escape the death sentence, whereas Manuzzi managed to save

himself, although he refused to enter Aurangzēb's service. He was without work in Delhi between 1659 and 1662, then in 1663 he went to Bengal, where he was in contact with a number of European and some Jesuit missionaries.

We can date the beginning of his profession as a doctor to 1663, when, settled in Agra, he was able to heal the governor and reap the success of this. Historians who focus on Manuzzi show strong scepticism about his medical skills. Some travellers whom he met in India, including the Venetian doctor Angelo Legrenzi, considered him to be almost a charlatan, but Moneta has recently rightly pointed out that, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the profession of physician still had a rather ambiguous status, relying on Galenic medicine, and so it is not unlikely that Manuzzi could have gained experience in the field.

In any case, in 1664, he returned to serve in the Mughal army, which was engaged in the Deccan in the service of Jai Singh and was involved in the first war against the Hindu leader of the Marāthā, Śīvājī Bhonsle, conducted by Aurangzēb with the intention of taking possession of southern India. Rahim Razā claims that Manuzzi played a fundamental role in the success of the company due to his knowledge of Persian and Indian languages, which made it possible for him to persuade Śīvājī's allies to go over to the emperor's side.

Between 1666 and 1676, Manuzzi often moved from one city to another (Goa, Delhi, Lahore ...), and he returned to the profession of doctor, also succeeding in building up capital with which he hoped to return to the West (a recurring desire which was never realised). During these years, many attempts were made to persuade him to marry a Muslim woman, but Manuzzi always claimed that his Christian identity was fundamental and this kept him away from possible conversion to Islam. In 1677, he held an authoritative position as a physician paid by the emperor's second son, Shāh 'Ālam.

This period of relative tranquility ended in 1679 when, in the service of Shāh 'Ālam, Manuzzi was again involved in the Deccan wars, especially when in 1680 Aurangzēb's sights were once again set on the two sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda. Despite these being Muslim entities, the expansionist aims of the Mughal ruler were justified by the fact that the two kingdoms were Shī'a, and therefore heretics. In this phase, Manuzzi played an important role as a mediator, despite being less and less convinced of wanting to live among the Mughals.

In 1684, he went again to Goa, but was soon forced to return to the service of the court until 1686, when he moved to English Madras, where

he married a Catholic widow, Elisabeth Hartley, and until 1706 worked as a mediator for the East India Company. It was during this period that he began to write his memoirs. The facts we have about Manuzzi are so detailed because they are contained within his impressive *Storia do Mogor* ('History of the Mughal Empire'), in which he interweaves the history of his adopted homeland with his personal history. After the death of his wife (1706), he moved to Big Mountain, near the French colony of Pondicherry, where he joined the Capuchin friars and intervened to support them in a clash over Malabar rites that had been stirred up by the Jesuits. Here he remained until his death, most likely in 1720 (Rahzà erroneously reports 1717, but a second testament drawn up on 8 January 1719 makes that date impossible).

Manuzzi's biography was considered so fascinating that in 1948 Blaise Cendrars (Frédéric-Louis Sauser), identifying with the traveller, made him a protagonist of his novel *Bourlinguer*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Nicolò Manuzzi, *Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa fondation. Sur les memoires Portugais de M. Manouchi, Venitien*, ed. F. Catrou, Paris: Jean de Nully, 1705-15; B-H-17509 (1-4) (digitised version available through BNF)

### *Secondary*

M. Moneta, *Un veneziano alla corte Moghul. Vita e avventure di Nicolò Manucci nell'India del Seicento*, Milan, 2018

S. Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be alien. Travails and encounters in the early modern world*, Waltham MA, 2011, pp. 136-72

R. Rahzà, art. 'Nicolò Manucci', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 2007, vol. 69

P. Falchetta, 'Per la biografia di Nicolò Manuzzi (con postilla casanoviana)', *Quaderni Veneti* 3 (1986) 85-112

P. Falchetta, 'Autobiografia e autobiografismo indiretto nella "Storia del Mogol" di Nicolò Manuzzi', *Annali d'Italianistica* 4 (1986) 130-9

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Storia do Mogor

## 'History of the Mughal Empire'

DATE 1698-c. 1712

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese, French and Italian

## DESCRIPTION

*Storia do Mogor* ('History of the Mughal Empire') is a very complex text from the point of view of the manuscript tradition, because in the last years of his life Manuzzi sent three different versions to Europe. Moreover, apart from brief passages, he did not write the work in his own hand but dictated it to a number of copyists, probably missionaries he met in Madras and Pondicherry. Manuzzi began the work around 1698 and hoped to see it published in France; so he entrusted the first manuscript – consisting of three volumes plus a miniature book known as *Libro rosso* ('Red Book') – to an agent of the French East India Company. This first manuscript came into the hands of the Jesuit François Catrou, who in 1705 published it under the title *Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa foundation, sur les mémoires portugais de M. Manouchi, vénitien*. The publication caused disappointment to Manuzzi because it included his text together with other sources on travel in India. Then, in 1706, he sent another manuscript to Venice through the ambassador to Paris, Lorenzo Tiepolo, which was delivered to the Capuchin Eusebius of Bourges. At this point, in fact, Manuzzi no longer had any confidence in the Jesuits, who are portrayed in the last two volumes of the work in a dim light. This second manuscript was composed of four volumes (of which one was made up of miniatures 'on the false heathen gods', *Libro nero*) divided into three parts, in Italian, Portuguese and French, respectively. Manuzzi entrusted one last volume, the fifth, to Girolamo Buzzacarino, a priest of the Propaganda Fide in 1712, and this also arrived in Venice. In the same year, the Venetian Senate entrusted the complete manuscript to Stefano Neves Cardeiras to translate the parts in Portuguese and French into Italian (the manuscript of this – two thousand pages – is also preserved in Venice), but the Jesuits, as well as the costs involved, succeeded in blocking its publication. The manuscript used by Catrou remained in the possession of the Jesuits until 1763, and it finally landed in the National Library of Berlin, where it was found by William Irvine in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Manuzzi's work is divided into five parts, of which the first three have a higher coherence than the last two, which follow a far more anecdotal style. It is presented as a history of the Mughal Empire, though Manuzzi himself is undoubtedly at the centre.

The first part focuses on his journey to India via Izmir and Persia. Manuzzi describes Isfahan where the court resided in a very positive manner and he praises the good government of Shah 'Abbas. He also recounts a visit to Julfa, where the Armenian community lived, before travelling on to Hormuz, Surat (described as a very rich merchant port), Agra and Delhi. After this first part, the story again intertwines closely with Manuzzi's autobiography. He summarises the history of the Mughal Empire from Bābur to Shah Jahān, the ruler when Manuzzi arrived in India. He narrates how he was employed as an artilleryman following Prince Dara, who is described as a lover of Europeans and religiously tolerant, following the model of his ancestor Akbar. In fact, Manuzzi writes that Dara 'held no religion. When with Mahomedans, he praised the tenets of Muḥammad; when with Jews, the Jewish religion; in the same way, when with Hindus, he praised Hinduism' (ed. Irvine, part 1, p. 223). For this reason, Aurangzēb called his brother a *cafar* (unbeliever). To Manuzzi's mind, if Dara had beaten Aurangzēb, the history of the empire would have taken a course very different from the fanaticism and intolerance that was imposed. The battle of Sāmugarh on 29 May 1658 was the turning point in the life of the empire because it was then that Aurangzēb defeated Dara and began to conceive his project to gain ascendancy on the Indian subcontinent.

The second part of the work has at its centre the figure of Aurangzēb and the wars in the Deccan against the Hindu Maratha Śivājī. These were the years when Manuzzi moved between the Mughal world and some European settlements such as Portuguese Goa (1683-4). He increasingly refined his role as mediator in diplomatic negotiations involving the Mughals, the Portuguese and the various local potentates such as the sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda. He does not neglect to underline the policy of oppression promoted by the Mughal ruler against Hindus through the imposition of the *jizya* (historically levied by the Islamic state on communities that are named in the Qur'an, which do not include Hindus), a tax that was used as an instrument to encourage conversion to Islam (ed. Irvine, part 2, p. 219).

What undoubtedly emerges in these pages is Manuzzi's ability to change identity depending on context. The second part – in which the Portuguese are presented in a bad light – concludes with a rather negative

opinion of the Mughals: they are not trustworthy people and, above all, it is very difficult for a European to adapt to living among them: 'They have nothing that can delight or win the people from Europe, or make them desire to live there. The country is not good for the body, much less for the soul', because of 'the absence of Catholic observances' (ed. Irvine, part II, p. 304). Manuzzi makes clear that he is a faithful Catholic, and this allegiance conditions his judgements against both the Muslims and the so-called Gentiles.

In the third part, Manuzzi focuses on the government and customs of the Mughal court, where he finds dissimulation is a habitual approach in dealings. The harem women, he points out, cannot be seen by outsiders, and even when the doctor visits them he must communicate through a curtain.

A point such as this is a rare comment on practices that are essentially religious in nature. Considering that Manuzzi moved among the elite of the Muslim Mughal state, and his own different beliefs as a Catholic Christian were noted among them, the almost total absence of any reference to Islam in the *Storia* is striking, and not immediately easy to explain. It could be that he thought Islam was sufficiently well-known among his intended readership in Europe for an account of its basics to be unnecessary.

The fourth part begins with the state of Aurangzēb's reign in the 1700s, and continues with the history of the Maratha. A substantial part concerns the issue of the Malabar rites, in which the French Capuchins complained about the approach adopted by the Jesuits, who allowed converts to retain practices from their former faith. Manuzzi strongly supports the Capuchins.

Subrahmanyam writes that *Storia do Mogor* places Manuzzi himself at the centre as the hero and makes the zealous Muslim Sultan Aurangzēb the antagonist (*Three ways to be alien*, p. 144). But Manuzzi also aimed to respond to François Bernier's *Histoire de la dernière révolution des états du grand Mogol* (1670), which he considered superficial and not based on real knowledge of the events described. Subrahmanyam, however, emphasises that Manuzzi's grasp of Persian was not that of court but that of the encampments, which would not have allowed him directly to access and read the chronicles of the Mughal Empire and the sultanates of Deccan. Conversely, Giuseppe Tucci gives a positive evaluation of the work, distinguishing it from the works of other travellers like Pietro Della Valle, who visited the country for a short period without having

the opportunity to learn from within how local institutions functioned (Tucci, 'Introduction').

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The distinctive nature of the work undoubtedly lies in the fact that Manuzzi participated personally – sometimes in a leading role – in many of the events narrated. His long experience of India, as well as his facility in a number of languages, make the *Storia do Mogor* more reliable than other works composed by Europeans.

Although Manuzzi continued to wish to return home until the very last years of his life, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century he realised that this would never happen, and so his *Storia do Mogor* became a way to perpetuate his name and make manifest his role as mediator not only within the Mughal court but also between the various colonial powers active in India at the time. As is underlined by Subrahmanyam (*Three ways to be alien*, p. 137), and Moneta (*Un veneziano alla corte Moghul*, pp. 155-7), his Italian identity was important in allowing Manuzzi to move easily between Muslim and Christian territories. This was because there were no Italian empires in India, and thus he could inspire more confidence as a mediator than would someone from a great colonial power. What remains in part to explain is why Manuzzi describes in detail the religious practices of Hindus but does not dwell much on Islam, even when his work deals with relations between Christian colonialists and the Muslim Mughal Empire.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- MS Paris, BNF – Cabinet des estampes, RESERVE Od-45 (A, 1-3) – BOITE ECU (miniatures, *Libro rosso*) (1678-86)
- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Phillipps 1945, *Storia do Mogor* (first three parts in French and Portuguese) (18<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Marc. It. VI 134 (= 8299) (first four parts of new draft, in French, Portuguese and Italian) (18<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Marc. It. VI 135 (= 5772) (fifth part in French and Portuguese) (18<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Marc. Z XLV (=4803-4804) ((18<sup>th</sup> century) Italian trans. of Marc. It VI 134 and Marc. It VI 135 by Stefano e Diego Cardeira)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Marc. It. VI, 136 (=8300) (miniatures, *Libro nero*) (18<sup>th</sup> century)



- Nicolò Manuzzi, *Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa fondation. Sur les memoires Portugais de M. Manouchi, Venitien*, ed. F. Catrou, Paris: Jean de Nully, 1705-15; B-H-17509 (1-4) (digitised version available through BNF)
- Nicolò Manuzzi, *Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa fondation. Sur les memoires Portugais de M. Manouchi, Venitien*, ed. F. Catrou, The Hague, 1735; 24614 f.3 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- Nicolò Manuzzi, *Storia generale dell'Impero del Mogol dopo la sua fondazione. Opera del p. Francesco Catrou [...] scritta secondo le memorie storiche del signor Niccolò Manuzio veneziano*, Venice: Domenico Occhi, 1731 (Italian trans.); 8° SIGMA 208 (digitised version available through the Bodleian Library)
- Nicolò Manuzzi, *Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa fondation. Sur les memoires Portugais de M. Manouchi, Venitien*, ed. F. Catrou, The Hague, 1735
- Nicolò Manuzzi, *Storia do Mogor, or, Mogul India, 1653-1708*, trans. with introduction and notes by W. Irvine, London: John Murray, 1907 (repr. 1967, 1981; English trans.)
- Nicolò Manucci, *Usi e costumi dell'India dalla 'Storia del Mogol'*, ed. T. Gasparrini Leporace, intro. G. Tucci, Milan, 1963 (repr. 2018 without the miniatures from the *Libro nero*)
- Niccolao Manucci, *Dāstān-i mughaliyah. Nikolā'o Mānūchī kī sarguzasht ištōriā dī [sic] moghor se intakhāb*, trans. Sajjād Bāqir Rizvī, Lahore, 1968 (Urdu trans.)
- Niccolao Manucci, *Ase hote Mogala. Sāraūśa anuvāda*, trans. Ja. Sa. Caubaḷa, Mumbai, 1974 (Marathi trans.)
- Nicolò Manuzzi, *Storia del Mogol*, ed. P. Falchetta and M. Bussagli, Milan, 1986
- Niccolò Manucci, *Un Vénitien chez les Moghols*, ed. F. de Valence and R. Sctrick, Paris, 1995
- Niccolao Manucci, *Fasana e Saltanat e Moghlia*, trans. Syed Muzaffar Ali Khan, Lahore, 2006 (Urdu trans.)
- Niccolao Manucci, *Mokalāya Intiyāvil enatu payanak kurippukaḷ (1653-1708)*, trans. Ca. Caravaṇan, Chennai, 2012 (Tamil trans.)

## STUDIES

- Moneta, *Un veneziano alla corte Moghul*
- M. Becherini, 'Staging the foreign. Niccolò Manucci (1638-ca. 1720) and early modern European collections of Indian paintings', New York, 2016 (PhD Diss., Columbia University)

Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be alien*

P. Banerjee, 'Postcards from the harem. The cultural translation of Nicolao Manucci's Book of travels', in P. Brummett (ed.), *The 'Book' of travels. Genre, ethnology, and pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, Leiden, 2009, 241-81

Niccolò Manucci, *Un Vénitien chez les Moghols*, ed. de Valence and Sctrick

D. Bredi, 'L'immagine di un grande impero musulmano secondo un testimone italiano. La "Storia do Mogor" di Nicolò Manuzzi', in U. Marazzi (ed.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, vol. 1/1, Naples, 1984, 373-95

G. Tucci, 'Introduction', in Nicolò Manucci, *Usi e costumi dell'India dalla 'Storia del Mogol'*, ed. T. Gasparrini Leporace, Milan, 1963, pp. 11-27

G. Ponti, *N.M. veneziano e la 'Storia del Mogol'. Aspetti di vita indiana nel volume delle figure*, Venice, 1929

G. Coggiola, *Sulla nuova integrale pubblicazione della 'Storia del Mogol' del veneziano N.M.*, Venice, 1908

Sabina Pavone

## *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte*

DATE 1721-2

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

### DESCRIPTION

*Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte* (in full, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte. Tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 'Arab novellas divided into a thousand and one nights. Translated from the French language into popular Italian'), published in 12 volumes, is the first Italian translation of *Les mille et une nuit* by the French Orientalist Antoine Galland (1646-1715). The original French text, published in Paris between 1704 and 1717, is a translation of the *Kitāb alflayla wa-layla* ('The book of a thousand and one nights'), the famous collection of stories from the medieval Arab world. Galland used a manuscript in his own possession (BNF – Arabic 3609-11), which he heavily reworked to adapt it to the tastes of the contemporary public, integrating additional stories not originally included in the collection.

The great success of Galland's work, arguably more a creation than a translation, confirmed *Les mille et une nuit* as a fundamental text in European culture in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Within a few years it was translated into the main European languages (Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, pp. 46-7, 'Translations') and, in France as elsewhere, it played a central role in the creation of Orientalist imagery and in the spread of the genre of the *conte oriental* which it inspired (Perrin, *L'Orientale allégorie*).

The literary phenomenon of *Les mille et une nuit* also included Italy. In 1721, the publisher Sebastiano Coleti published in Venice an anonymous translation of Galland's work. The place of publication was not accidental: in fact, it testifies, on the one hand, to Venice's constant interest in the Islamic East (Pedani Fabris, *Venezia porta d'Oriente*) and, on the other, it reaffirms its particular attention to the French publishing market, which remained the constant reference point for translated literature for the entire 18<sup>th</sup> century. These years were a particularly prosperous period for Venetian publishers, and Sebastiano Coleti is an example of this, being the son of a wealthy family who right at the beginning of the century had invested their resources in the sector (Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana*, p. 37). *Novelle arabe*, which bears the date 1722 (with the exception of

volume 2, dated 1721) therefore made its appearance into a particularly lively editorial scene, in which commercial literature assumed increasingly greater importance.

The choice of poor quality paper, the use of exclusively black ink, the absence of illustrations, the small and manageable format, as well as the price reported in a later catalogue, which is indicative of the price ranges of published books (*Catalogo de' libri del Chiapparone*, in the 1783 edition of the *Novelle*, vol. 6, p. 408), are all clues that indicate that *Novelle arabe* was intended for a potentially wide audience. This was one of the publisher's most important titles, but not the only one, within a careful editorial strategy focused on commercial literature, ready to cater to the growing interest in the Oriental world. French authors, once again, feature prominently in Coletti's catalogue: he published in 1721, *Viaggio nell'Arabia felice* ('A journey to Arabia Felix'; a translation of *Voyage* by Jean de La Roque, published in 1716 in Paris), and, in 1722, *I mille ed uno quarti d'ora: Novelle Tartare* ('The thousand and one quarters of an hour: Tartar tales'), another collection of short stories, whose title echoed the *Thousand and one nights* and a translation of *Les mille et une quart d'heure, contes tartares* by Thomas-Simon Gueullette, published in 1715.

The anonymous translator of *Novelle arabe* does not make any changes to the structure of the original text: he faithfully replicates both the subdivision into 12 volumes and the subdivision of the stories within each volume. Overall, the translation stays very close to the French original, except for some minor adjustments such as the replacement of 'Sesame, ouvre-toi' in the story of Ali Baba (*Mille et une nuit*, vol. 11, p. 75) with 'Ceserchia appriti' (*Novelle*, vol. 11, p. 45; see al Itbaui, 'La fortuna delle Mille e una notte', p. 157) and that of 'françois' in the original (*Mille et une nuit*, vol. 1, *Avvertissement*) with 'italiani' in the introduction (*Novelle*, vol. 1, *Avvertimento*). The paratextual elements are simplified: there is no preface explaining the criteria of translation, and the dedication to the Marquise of O is not translated (*Mille et une nuit*, vol. 1, *Épître*). The tables at the beginning of each volume do not record the night corresponding to each narrative, or the relevant pagination, according to a choice that Galland adopted only from vol. 7, starting from which the division of stories into nights is omitted.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

For nearly two centuries, *Novelle* was the only form in which the *Arabian nights* circulated in Italy. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this work, along with travel literature, contributed to attracting attention towards the Islamic East

(Formica, *Lo specchio turco*, pp. 164-71) and inspired book writers as well as playwrights, such as Carlo Gozzi (Emmi, 'Aspetti della "Zobeida"'). The text's fundamental role is confirmed by the fact that other 18<sup>th</sup>-century translations of the *Arabian Nights* (such as those published in 1741 and 1754 in Venice, 1783 in Naples, and 1784 in Venice) up to the Orlandelli edition in 1791, depended on it, being not more than slightly modified versions of the Coleti edition, with minimal orthographic variations.

*Novelle* was the main vehicle for the circulation of the *Nights* in Italian culture through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and via Venice also influenced Modern Greek literature, which had access to the work only in the Italian translation (Carpinato, 'I vicoli di Alibabà', pp. 30, 34).

The history of the Italian reception of the *Arabian nights* is characterised by the hegemony of Galland's work in Italian translation, which circulated first via Coleti's edition and its various new editions, and later in the translation by Armando Dominicis in 1893. There were a few exceptions of little importance in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: a partial translation of Edward Lane's *One thousand and one nights* (*Novelle arabe*, translated by E. Arbib and G. Pardo in 1888), and the translation of the much-discussed *Livre des mille nuits et une nuit* by Joseph Mardrus (*Le mille e una notte, prima traduzione italiana completa*, trans. A. Franchi, Milan, 1921), published well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This situation is peculiar to Italian culture, where the *Arabian nights* exercised far less influence than in English and French culture (Paino, *L'ombra di Sheherazade*, pp. 5-17), and this predominantly through the French translation. In fact, there is currently no evidence of an Italian translation made directly from the Arabic text until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, when Francesco Gabrieli published a translation of the *Kitāb alf layla wa-layla* (*Le mille e una notte*, Turin, 1948) based mainly on the Būlāq edition. This opened in Italy a new phase of studies and translations of the *Arabian nights*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- A. Galland, *Les mille & une nuit. Contes arabes. Traduits en François par M. Galland*, 12 vols, Paris: Veuve de Claude Barbin, 1704-17; Y2-2891 – Y2-8932 (digitised version available through BNF)
- Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte. Tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 12 vols, Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1721-2; CF00585846-57 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

- Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte. Tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 2 vols, Venice: Domenico Occhi, 1741
- Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte. Tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 6 vols, Venice: Domenico Occhi, 1754
- Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille ed una notte tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 6 vols, Naples: a spese del Chiapparone, 1783
- Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 6 vols, Venice: Giuseppe Orlandelli, 1791
- Anonymous, *Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte tradotte dall'idioma francese nel volgare italiano*, 14 vols, Venice: Antonio Curti, 1816 (corrected edition)

## STUDIES

- J.-F. Perrin, *L'Orientale allégorie. Le conte oriental au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France (1704-1774)*, Paris, 2015
- Q.M.A. al-Itbaui, 'La fortuna delle Mille e una notte nella letteratura italiana', Florence, 2015 (PhD Diss. University of Florence)
- M. Formica, *Lo specchio turco. Immagini dell'Altro e riflessi del Sé nella cultura italiana d'età moderna*, Rome, 2012
- M.P. Pedani Fabris, *Venezia porta d'Oriente*, Bologna, 2010
- S. Emmi, 'Aspetti della "Zobeida" nella traduzione veneziana del 1798', in M. Cassarino (ed.), *Sulle orme di Shahrazàd. Le 'Mille e una notte' fra Oriente e Occidente*, Soveria Mannelli, 2009, 81-9
- C. Carpinato, 'I vicoli di Alibabà. Fortuna delle "Mille e una notte" in Grecia', in M. Cassarino (ed.), *Sulle orme di Shahrazàd. Le 'Mille e una notte' fra Oriente e Occidente*, Soveria Mannelli, 2009, 29-41
- 'Translations', in U. Marzolph and R. van Leeuwen (eds), *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, Santa Barbara CA, 2004, 724-7
- M. Paino, *L'ombra di Sheherazade. Suggestioni dalle Mille e una notte nel novecento italiano*, Avagliano, 2004
- M. Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana nel '700*, Milan, 1999<sup>2</sup>
- V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes. Les mille et une nuits*, vol. 4, Liège, 1900

## Antonio Maria Lucchini

DATE OF BIRTH    Around 1690  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Venice  
DATE OF DEATH    After 1730  
PLACE OF DEATH    Unknown

### BIOGRAPHY

Antonio Maria Lucchini, or Luchini, was born in Venice around 1690. Though not considered a particularly talented or original poet, in the course of a 20-year career he authored at least 13 libretti for some of the most renowned Italian composers of the time, such as Antonio Lotti, Antonio Vivaldi, Antonio Caldara and Tomaso Albinoni.

He wrote his first libretto, *Foca superbo*, with music by Lotti, in Venice in 1716. In 1717, he composed the texts for the opera *Tieteburga* set to music by Vivaldi. In that same year, he moved to Dresden, recruited along with Lotti and other Venetian musicians for the Saxon court. During his short stay there, he continued to collaborate with Lotti for the operas *Giove in Argo* (1717) and *Ascanio, ovvero gli odi delusi dal sangue* (1718). In 1718, Lucchini eloped from Dresden with a woman and, after some detours, he eventually returned to Venice.

There, between 1723 and 1730, he spent the most productive period of his operatic activity. In 1723, he produced the libretto for *L'Ermengarda*, with music by Albinoni, and he also resumed his collaboration with his friend Antonio Vivaldi, composing the texts for his *Dorilla in Tempe* (1726) and *Farnace* (1727), his most famous libretto. He probably also adapted the texts for the Roman editions of Vivaldi's *Ercole sul Termodonte* (1723) and *Giustino* (1724). His main success, however, was an extra-operatic work, the literary description of the newly launched *bucintoro*, the Doge of Venice's ceremonial galley. This was entitled *La nuova regia su l'acque nel bucintoro nuovamente erretto* (1729). This book enjoyed some popularity in Venice and was reprinted several times in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The last phase of Lucchini's career is poorly documented. Around 1730, he left Venice again for the Habsburg court. His last known work is the libretto for the oratorio *Sant'Elena al Calvario* (1736).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary**Secondary*

M. Talbot, *The Vivaldi compendium*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2013, p. 110

R. Strohm, *The operas of Antonio Vivaldi*, Florence, 2008, pp. 204-6, 327, 364-9, 393-6

M. Talbot, art. 'Antonio Maria Lucchini', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of opera*, Oxford, 1992, vol. 3, pp. 68-9

F. Tammaro, 'Il "Farnace" di Vivaldi. Problemi di ricostruzione', *Studi Musicali* 12 (1986) 213-56

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Selin, gran signore dei Turchi

'Selim, grand sultan of the Turks'

DATE 1730

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

*Selin gran signore de' Turchi* is a music drama in three acts composed in 1730 and dedicated to the Venetian patrician Giorgio Querini. Although the author is not named, the work is to be ascribed to Lucchini. The plot appears to be a confused abridgement of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century tragedy *La fortuna invidiata nelle prosperità di Osimano, con la pazzia politica di Selim*, by Giacomo Morri (Bologna, 1669, reprinted in 1701).

The drama revolves around the love between the Turkish general Osmينو (Osman) and Cleanta, which is threatened by the cruel and lustful Sultan Solimano (Süleyman). Solimano has captured Asteria, the wife of Argonte, the king of Armenia, and has forced her to marry him. Selino (Selim), Solimano's brother, is pretending to be insane in order to escape fratricide. He bears the scorn of people and nobility, but beneath his dissimulation, he is a shrewd and clever man.

When Osmينو returns from victories over the sultan's enemies, Solimano honours him with the seal of command, though in truth the sultan, who is infatuated with Cleanta, is scheming against him. When a letter appears that seems to prove Osmينو's treason, Solimano orders his execution and pursues Cleanta. While two slaves are putting Osmينو to death, the *deus ex machina* comes: turmoil is stirred up by some



insurgents, Selino enters the palace at their head and frees Osmino, and news spreads that Solimano has been killed by Argonte, who has secretly arrived in Constantinople to take revenge for the abduction of Asteria. Selino is acclaimed sultan by the people, and the opera closes with him joining Osmino and Cleanta in marriage.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Selin, gran signore de' Turchi* is a typical drama in the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Venetian style, based on the jealousy-and-betrayal scheme common in many of Lucchini's most successful works. Unlike other 18<sup>th</sup>-century turqueries, it appears to be completely detached from historical reference. Lucchini offers an ahistorical and fictional representation of an Islamic setting, where manifold elements of Classical Antiquity merge with the operatic exoticism. Based on a semi-obscure 17<sup>th</sup>-century tragedy, *La fortuna invidiata* by Giacomo Morri, it is actually a transposition into an imaginary Oriental setting of a legendary episode from Roman history, the rape of Lucretia by Tarquinius Superbus and the expulsion of the Tarquinius family from Rome; Solimano parallels Tarquinius, the despotic and lubricious villain of classical tradition. In his adaptation of the story to an Islamic setting, Lucchini uses a series of stereotypical features – mostly derogatory – of the Ottoman Empire, such as the cruel and lustful Oriental tyrant, fratricide, the insanity of the royal princes and palace rebellion. These were clichés well established in the European imaginary of the time.

As a probable consequence of its poor literary quality and contrived plot, the drama remained virtually unnoticed.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Antonio Maria Lucchini (librettist), *Selin gran signore de' Turchi. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Nuovo Teatro di S. Margherita il Carnovale dell'anno 1730. Dedicato a S.E. il Signor Giorgio Querini patrizio veneto*, Venice, 1730; ML48 [S11361] (digitised version available through the Library of Congress)

Luca Berardi

# Giuseppe Assemani

Yūsuf al-Sim'ānī

DATE OF BIRTH 27 August 1687  
PLACE OF BIRTH Ḥaṣrūn, Lebanon  
DATE OF DEATH 13 January 1768  
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

## BIOGRAPHY

Giuseppe Assemani, Yūsuf al-Sim'ānī, was one of the best-known members of the Maronite Assemani family, and, along with some of his relatives, he contributed greatly to the spread of Middle Eastern studies in the West.

At the beginning of 1696, the bishop (*muṭrān*) of Tripoli, his maternal uncle, sent him to Rome to study at the Maronite College. Assemani lived in Rome for the rest of his life and distinguished himself through his tireless work, especially at the Vatican Library, where in 1710, immediately following his priestly ordination, he was named *Scriptor* for Syriac and Arabic. Later, in 1730, he was made *Secondo Custode* of the library and eventually, in 1739, *Primo Custode*, an office that had never before been given to an Eastern Christian and never would be again, with the sole exception of his nephew and immediate successor, Stefano Evodio Assemani. He also received other prestigious appointments, culminating in his being named titular bishop of Tyre in 1766, two years before his death. Among Maronites today, he still enjoys fame for his great erudition and is considered a national treasure.

The importance of Giuseppe Assemani is linked to his unrelenting activity at the Vatican Library, interrupted only by two trips to the Middle East. The first took place from 1715 to 1717. Sent by Pope Clement XI (r. 1700-21) to furnish the library with ancient manuscripts, he brought about 150 back to Rome (according to Georg Graf). These were acquired in various monasteries in Egypt and Syria, and the most valuable were in Syriac. The second trip took place between 1736 and 1738. Sent as the papal legate of Pope Clement XII (r. 1730-40) to preside over a National Synod of the Lebanese Maronite Church (30 September – 2 October 1736), he prepared himself diligently for the task. Although his

leadership did not result in complete success due to strong tensions that emerged during the synod, his scholarly reputation was not affected and he returned to Rome, again bringing a large number of manuscripts and coins for the Vatican collections.

Thanks to his extraordinary workload and his personal and scholarly relationships, in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century he was considered one of the most important Orientalists on the international scene. In particular, his fame was linked to the planning of vast projects destined to make known Christian literature composed in Arabic and Syriac. Most of these remain unfinished, and Assemani's working methods were not always impeccable. Among them, the most important are: *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices Syriacos, Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos, Hebraicos, Samaritanos, Armenicos, Aethiopicos, Graecos, Aegyptiacos, Ibericos, & Malabaricos, jussu et munificentia Clementis XI, Pontificis Maximi, ex Oriente conquisitos, comparatos, avectos et Bibliothecae Vaticanae addictos, recensuit, digessit, & genuina scripta a spuriis secevit, addita singulorum auctorum vita*, 4 vols, Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719, 1721, 1725, 1728 (in reality, 1730); *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine in sex tomos distributa*, Rome: Ex Typographia Pontificia Vaticana, 1732-46 (only the first three volumes are by Assemani); and *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, Rome, 1758 (1759) (with assistance from his nephew, as only the first part had been edited by Assemani himself).

The *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* offers some hints of Assemani's attitude towards Islam and relations between Muslims and Christians within the Islamic world. Each of the four volumes begins with a dedicatory epistle, and the first three of these refer to Islam in rather dismissive terms. In the first volume, he calls the Islamic world a place of superstition, folly and barbarism, in which Syrian Christianity was a lone source of true learning (he compares it to the River Nile flowing through the desert); in the second, he recalls past popes who had called for crusades and had acted to try to liberate the Holy Land; and in the third, he singles out Pope Gregory X (r. 1271-6), who at the Council of Lyon in 1257 commissioned the Franciscan Fidenzio of Padua to write *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* ('The book of the recovery of the Holy Land') and welcomed ambassadors of the Tatars, with whom an anti-Islamic alliance was forged.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2. *Die Schriftsteller von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts: Melchiten, Maroniten*, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 444-55 (with ample bibliography)

*Secondary*

- G. Alteri, 'Giuseppe Simonio Assemani tra manoscritti e monete orientali', in *The 3<sup>rd</sup> Assemani symposium on Islamic coins*, Trieste, 2012, 341-57
- A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in B. Grevin (ed.), *Maghreb-Italie: des passeurs médiévaux à l'orientalisme moderne (XIII<sup>e</sup>-milieu XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Rome, 2010, 209-34
- G. Levi Della Vida, art. 'Assemani, Giuseppe Simonio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 4, Rome, 1962, 437-40
- P. Raphael, *Le rôle du collège maronite romain dans l'orientalisme aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Beirut, 1950, 123-36
- G. Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, 1939
- E. Tisserant, 'I cataloghi stampati dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana dal '700 ad oggi', *Orientalia*, n.s. 5 (1936) 102-8

Valentino Cottini and Arianna D'ottone Rambach

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rudimenta linguae Arabicae cum catechesi  
 Christiana (Uṣūl al-lughā l-ʿarabiyya wa-qawāʿid  
 al-imāna l-masīḥiyya)  
 'The rudiments of the Arabic language together  
 with Christian catechesis'

DATE 1732

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

## DESCRIPTION

The structure of this little book, 28 pages long in quarto, with Latin and Arabic in facing columns, is very simple. The first 16 pages are dedicated to the primary elements of the Arabic language, and the following 12 to catechesis. The elements of the Arabic language are restricted to phonetics, and the Catholic catechesis is reduced to a few fundamental

formulas for memorisation. It assumes that users will possess at least a basic knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, in addition to Latin.

Assemani begins with a table of the Arabic alphabet, continuing with a classification of the letters into gutturals, labials, palatals, dentals and linguals, and their division into solar and lunar letters (p. 4). Pages 5-7 set out the relationship between the Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac alphabets, with mnemonic groupings as a memory aid, and the *notae numerorum*, in which the numbers from 1 to 3,000 are indicated by characters of the alphabet according to Arab usage. Pages 8-10 deal with the vowels and vowel markers, pp. 11-14 (*Nexus literarum*) with the different ways in which the letters combine in their written form, and pp. 14-16 with the corresponding pronunciation of the Latin alphabet in Arabic. This first part is introductory, to facilitate reading and comprehension of the second part.

The *Cathechesis Christiana* consists of a highly simplified set of prayers, statements of faith and moral precepts, without any comment. It opens with the sign of the cross, typical of Christians in Muslim-majority lands, and an affirmation of the unity of God (*al-ilāh al-wāḥid*), followed by the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the doxology *Gloria Patri*, the *Trisagion*, a condensed version of the Decalogue according to Christian doctrine, the double precept of charity, the seven sacraments of the Church, the six precepts of the Church, the three theological virtues, the four cardinal virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven corporal and spiritual works of mercy, the three evangelical counsels, the four types of sin, the seven deadly sins and their corresponding virtues, the six sins against the Holy Spirit, the four sins that cry to God for vengeance, the five bodily senses, the four last things, the 15 mysteries of the rosary, and finally, a prayer of thanksgiving. It concludes with the doxology *Laus Deo*, *al-ḥamdu li-llāh*.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Rudimenta linguae Arabicae* is not overtly polemical and seems to have been explicitly created for Catholics in the Islamic world who were immersed in an environment of Muslims and Christian 'heretics', Nestorians and Monophysites. Similar manuals were commonly requested by missionaries, and the Congregatio de propaganda fide produced such works to help them. It thus reflects some of the guidelines that the Propaganda fide had been given at its foundation: to confirm Catholics in the testimony of their faith, and to stimulate mission among Muslims in a way that was attractive and not violent and accompanied by prayer, almsgiving and fasting.

Compared to the previous century, the motivation for a book such as this reflects changes in the attitudes of Catholic missionaries towards Muslims, changes that are also found in the Roman colleges of formation that were supported by the Propaganda fide. These were a renunciation of the prospect of converting Muslims through polemics, a sober but rigidly orthodox presentation of Catholic doctrine and morals for Muslims who were able to read the manual, and an essential and easily memorised description of piety, dogma and Catholic moral teachings for the use of missionaries and the Arabic-speaking faithful.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- [Giuseppe Assemani], *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae cum catechesi christiana* (*Uṣūl al-lughā l-ʿarabiyya wa-qawāʿid al-imāna l-masīḥiyya*), Rome, 1732; 4 L.as. 59 s (digitised version available through MDZ)
- [Giuseppe Assemani], *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae cum catechesi christiana* (*Uṣūl al-lughā l-ʿarabiyya wa-qawāʿid al-imāna l-masīḥiyya*), Rome, 1782

#### STUDIES

- A. Girard, 'Nihil esse innovandum'? Maintien des rites orientaux et négociation de l'union des églises orientales avec Rome (fin XVIe-mi-XVIIIe s.)', in M.-H. Blanchet, and Fr. Gabriel (eds), *Réduire le schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'union entre Orient et Occident (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Paris, 2013, 337-52
- A. Girard, 'Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant. Rome et l'union des chrétiens syriens (première moitié du XVIIe siècle)', in M.A. Visceglia (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, Rome, 2013, 419-37
- G. Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione. La Congregazione *De Propaganda Fide* e le scuole di lingua araba nel XVII secolo', in A. Romano (ed.), *Rome et la science moderne, entre Renaissance et Lumières*, Rome, 2009, 121-52
- B. Heyberger, 'Chrétiens orientaux dans l'Europe catholique (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)', in B. Heyberger and Ch. Verdeil (eds), *Hommes de l'entre-deux. Parcours individuels et portraits de groupes sur la frontière de la Méditerranée*, Paris, 2009, 61-93
- N. Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de ʿAyn Warqa (1789)*, Beirut, 1984

- Z.R. Andollu, 'La Sagrada Congregación y el Islam de los países de lengua árabe durante el siglo XVIII', in J. Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, vol. 2, Rome, 1973, 535-52
- Z.R. Andollu, 'La Sagrada Congregación frente al Islam. Apostolado de la Prensa en lengua árabe', in J. Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, vol. 1/1, Rome, 1971, 707-31

**Valentino Cottini**

# Luigi Ferdinando Marsili

DATE OF BIRTH 10 July 1658  
PLACE OF BIRTH Bologna  
DATE OF DEATH 1 November 1730  
PLACE OF DEATH Bologna

## BIOGRAPHY

Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili was born in Bologna to an illustrious but poor family. Educated by the Jesuits, he did not complete his university studies despite demonstrating a precocious ability in science and mathematics. From a young age, Marsili travelled around Italy and, in 1679, he went with the Venetian *bailo* Pietro Civran to Istanbul, where he spent almost a year exploring his interests in geography, marine biology and mathematics. One of the fruits of his stay was *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo* ('Observations around the Bosphorus', 1681), which he dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-89, r. 1632-54). Marsili also met scholars and officials who helped him to understand Ottoman institutions, and to purchase manuscripts.

When Civran returned to Venice, Marsili decided to visit other countries, travelling through Bulgaria, Serbia and the Dalmatian coast, and returning to Italy in 1680. He undertook some brief diplomatic missions for the Roman Curia and then, struck by restlessness, he enlisted in the imperial army. He was sent to the Győr fortress, which was attacked by the Hungarians, and then, when the Ottomans stormed Vienna in 1683, he was captured by Tartar soldiers and sold as a slave to the pasha of Temesvár, who appointed Marsili as his coffee maker. As a result of having this duty, as well as reading a study of coffee in Turkish, Marsili was inspired to write a brief treatise on coffee, *La bevanda asiatica* ('The Asiatic beverage', 1685). Being with the Ottoman army at the siege of Vienna, Marsili tried to escape but was caught and sold to three Bosnians, who demanded a ransom for his release.

After this unpleasant experience, which he would go on to recount in an autobiographical work (some suspect that he renounced baptism), Marsili returned to Bologna and immediately re-entered the imperial army. His gift as an engineer, his experiments with gunpowder, and his study of enemy fortifications made him instrumental in the fall of Buda (1686), a victory that saw fate begin to smile on Vienna in the war. During



military operations that took him first to Transylvania and then to Belgrade, Marsili immersed himself in geography and the observation of the natural world, collecting more manuscripts and rare printed texts, which further enriched his collection of hundreds of books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew and Greek.

Between 1689 and 1690, Marsili explored the course of the Danube, describing it in *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus* (1726). In 1691, he returned to Istanbul in order secretly to negotiate a peace treaty with the Ottomans. Despite this, the war continued and Marsili gained recognition as an engineer, becoming one of Leopold I's (r. 1658-1705) most trusted generals, but being treated with hostility by some members of the court. Count Franz U. Kinsky employed him to negotiate a peace treaty in Karlowitz (1699), and appointed him to direct the task of drawing up the border between the Habsburg Empire and Ottoman lands. Marsili was engaged in this task, in which he drew on his geographical knowledge, preparing guidance for the good governance of the new subjects (Christians and 'infidels'), until 1701. During this time, he was in contact with Ottoman officials with whom he exchanged letters, while his fame grew thanks to the publication of new works.

Marsili fell from favour during the War of the Spanish Succession, when some ministers blamed him for the surrender of Breisach (1704). Having been put on trial and disgraced, he responded to the charges in a series of writings but failed to clear his name. Disillusioned and in need of work, he sought sanctuary in Switzerland and France, where he began to draft his memoirs. He would often stay in Cassis, where he wrote works on marine flora, which he later published as a member of the Academy of Sciences in Paris.

Marsili returned to Italy in 1708 and was put in command of the papal army, which was attempting to defend Comacchio from an invasion by imperial troops. Immediately after this, he returned to Bologna where he dedicated himself to writing. Marsili promoted the Accademia degli Inquieti, meeting a number of European scholars and scientists and turning his family home into a hot-bed of debate. Later, as an engineer, he studied the coastline and improved defences on the Adriatic and, wanting to revitalise the academic life of the University of Bologna, secured papal backing to found a museum and an Institute of Sciences dedicated to experimental methods.

In 1722, Marsili went back to France, and then to London (where he met Isaac Newton and became a member of the Royal Society), and finally to the Netherlands, where he struck a deal with important publishers for

the publication of some of his works, including the *Histoire physique de la mer* ('A physical history of the sea') in 1725. Having come under attack in his home city over his management of the Institute of Sciences, Marsili lived for a few months in Maderno, where he studied the north Italian lakes. He then returned to Cassis having put a letter / will into circulation. Before his death in 1730, he donated his drawings and manuscripts to the Institute of Sciences, including those he had acquired in Istanbul and Hungary.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria – *Fondo Marsili*, 146 manuscript codices
- M. Talman, *Elenchus librorum Orientalium manuscriptorum [...] a domino comite Aloysio Ferdinando Marsigli [...] partim in ultimo bello Turcico et partim in itinere Constantinopolim suscepto collectorum*, Vienna, 1702
- V. Rosen, *Remarques sur les manuscrits orientaux de la collection Marsigli à Bologne, suivies de la liste complète des manuscrits arabes de la même collection*, Rome, 1885 (repr. Miami FL, 2013)
- L. Frati, *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili conservati nella Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna*, Florence, 1928
- Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Scritti inediti*, Bologna, 1930
- Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Autobiografia*, ed. E. Lovarini, Bologna, 1930
- Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Relazioni dei confini della Croazia e della Transilvania a Sua Maestà Cesarea (1699-1701)*, ed. R. Gherardi, Modena, 1986
- Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Ragguaglio della schiavitù*, ed. B. Basile, Rome, 1996
- Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Bevanda asiatica. Trattatello sul caffè*, ed. C. Mazzotta, Rome, 1998

#### Secondary

- I. Bortolotti, 'La "sceltissima biblioteca" di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili. Profilo di una raccolta libraria tra sei e settecento', in *Nel segno di Lazzaro. Saggi di storia della scienza e delle istituzioni scientifiche tra il XVII e il XVIII secolo*, Bologna, 2014, 77-107
- Museo di Palazzo Poggi (ed.), *La scienza delle Armi. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili 1658-1730*, Bologna, 2012
- R. Gherardi and F. Martelli, *La pace degli eserciti e dell'economia. Montecuccoli e Marsili alla corte di Vienna*, Bologna, 2009
- G. Gullino and C. Preti, art. 'Marsili, Luigi Ferdinando', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 2008, vol. 70, pp. 771-81
- M. Pistoso, 'I manoscritti islamici della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna', in B. Antonino (ed.), *I tesori della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Codici libri rari e altre meraviglie*, Bologna, 2004, 199-229

- R. Sarti, 'Bolognesi schiavi dei "turchi" e schiavi "turchi" a Bologna tra cinque e settecento. Alterità etnico-religiosa e riduzione in schiavitù', *Quaderni Storici* 107 (2001) 437-73
- J. Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680-1730. The life and times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, soldier and virtuoso*, New Haven CT, 1994
- A.M. Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d'Italia*, Rome, 1989, pp. 3-35
- C.S. Maffioli and L.C. Palm (eds), *Italian scientists in the Low Countries in the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIII<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 165-207

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno, L'Etat  
militaire de l'Empire ottoman, ses progrès et sa  
décadence  
'The military status of the Ottoman Empire'

DATE 1732

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian and French

#### DESCRIPTION

This work, published posthumously in the Netherlands with facing Italian and French texts and beautiful illustrations, is, according to the contract that Marsili signed with the publishers in 1728, the fruit of his visit to Istanbul and his personal contacts there, and also of his knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, which he had developed during the wars at the end of the 1600s. The original version, which Marsili edited only a few years before his death, was drafted after his first return to Italy and – as he explains in a letter of 1721, which would go on to serve as the introduction to a catalogue of his Oriental codices (now available in *Scritti inediti* ['Unpublished works'], pp. 167-86, esp. p. 178) – was presented to Pope Innocent XI (r. 1676-89) in 1681. The Roman Curia was interested to know what had happened in the Ottoman capital and to get a measure of the true strength of their enemy, while the Congregatio de propaganda fide was keen to get up-to-date news on the situation of Catholic missionaries in Muslim lands.

Marsili lived in Istanbul for 11 months in 1679-80, with the Venetian *bailo*. With the help of a Jewish interpreter and through his own natural curiosity, he quickly managed to learn the basics of Turkish, which helped to dispel a few prejudices he had held against the Ottomans,

namely that they were 'barbarians', though he always considered them a military threat, albeit weakened. Marsili took full advantage of the relative freedom enjoyed by non-Muslim faiths in the Ottoman Empire, and gained a more nuanced impression of the reality of Ottoman life. Moreover, he threw himself into studying the geography and nature of the region and mixed with Muslims, Jews, Armenians, Greeks and Protestants. He also developed friendships with English and French diplomats, with the doctor to the Grand Vizier Fazıl Mustafa Köprülü, and also with the Jesuit missionary Pierre Besnier, a scientist and linguist, who engaged in attempting to free Christian slaves (as did Marsili himself). He also formed friendships with Iakovos, the Orthodox Patriarch, with Alexandros Mavrokordatos, a Greek diplomat, with Hüseyin Ağa, the customs officer in Istanbul, with the well-connected Venetian renegade 'Abd Allāh, with the circle of students in the court of Vāni Efendi, and with the astrologer and historian Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh. He also knew the geographer Abū Bakr ibn Bahrām al-Dimashqī (who translated Joan Bleau's *Atlas maior* into Turkish) and perhaps even Mustafa Agha, the head of the African eunuchs who was much favoured by Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87). However, of all his friendships, the most important was that with the renowned historian Hüseyin ibn Ga'fer Hezārfer.

Marsili would go on to recount in his *Autobiografia* the detailed conversations the two had on topics as wide-ranging as geography, history, literature, politics, morality and religion. Indeed, it was Hezārferenn who allowed Marsili to read one of his works, *Telhīs ūl-bayān fī kavānīn-i Āl-i Osmān* (1669), a compendium of Ottoman legal, fiscal and military institutions, which Marsili would call *Canon name* or *Amet*. It provided the Italian with a far greater understanding of the structures of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, Marsili recounts the information almost to the letter in the first half of *Stato militare*. Later on, the count published *Breve storia in cui si narrano le cagioni della passate guerre fra lo imperadore e la Casa ottomana, e cioche nell'assedio di Vienna [...]* avvenne, composta da un turco ('A brief history recounting the causes of the past wars between the emperor and the House of Osman and what [...] happened at the Siege of Vienna, composed by a Turk', Bologna, 1709). It is possible that the Turkish language text on which the translation was based was a chronicle of the war written by Hezārferenn.

During his second stay in Istanbul in 1691, Marsili made the acquaintance of the Grand Vizier (Fazıl Mustafa Köprülü and then Arabacı Ali Pasha), the scholar and chancellor Abū Bakr ibn Rustam al-Shirwānī

(with whom he arranged an exchange of books), the learned Ismail Efendi (possibly Ismail Hakkî Bursevî) and a number of officers and Ottoman soldiers. In that period Marsili bought a number of Turkish, Persian and Arabic items and codices; he had illustrated catalogues of clothes, arms and military insignia drawn up; he produced a geographical dictionary; he came to possess an illustrated genealogy of the Ottoman sultans (which he subsequently lost) and, thanks to the probable thefts of the renegade son of Livorno Mustafa, who was well-connected within the court, he bought precious manuscripts stolen from the palace collections.

Marsili's catalogue of the Oriental codices which are now held by the Bologna University Library was entrusted to the erudite Giuseppe Simonio Assemani during the years in which Marsili, having founded the Institute of Sciences, decided to set up some Oriental language courses and establish a print works equipped with Arabic typefaces in the convent of the Dominican friars in Bologna. It should also be noted that two of Marsili's codices (now in the 'Fondo Marsili', 51-2, in the University of Bologna Library) contain not only the manuscript of *Stato militare* but also a collection of letters and notes made during his stay in Istanbul. Many of the observations Marsili made were addressed to scientists and scholars such as Marcello Malpighi, Geminiano Montanari, Silvestro Bonfiglioli and Alberto Fabbri. The observations touch on reflections on the customs of the Turks, their attitudes to sexual practices, their dietary and hygiene habits, and the diseases and geography of the region. They also include brief accounts of the state of the Catholic missions and the Orthodox presence in the Ottoman Empire (but Marsili does not mention the missionary Michele Benvenga, who was in Istanbul at the same time as Marsili and went on to publish a diary of his journey). Marsili also relates conversations, such as the one he had with the learned Hezârfen and his pupil on the thorniest theological questions of Christianity (the Holy Trinity, the Afterlife and the Last Judgement). As far as we know, a treatise on the religions of the Ottoman Empire which Marsili refers to in ch. 6 of the first half of *Stato militare* has not survived. What is certain, however, is that the text published in 1732 should be analysed, bearing in mind these pages of the two Bolognese codices (partly unpublished) as well as the letter *Sopra la letteratura de' Turchi* ('On Turkish literature'), which Marsili sent from Vienna to the ambassador Giovanni Battista Donà on 14 May 1688, praising the culture of the Ottoman world (Bologna, 'Fondo Marsili', 81, fols 83r-89r).

*Stato militare* is divided into two parts (which were originally published as two separate volumes) and written in two columns, one in French and the other in Italian, supported by tables and illustrations based on designs that he collected during his travels. It is dedicated predominantly to describing the military forces of the Ottoman Empire on land and sea. Moreover, as described above, the first half draws upon administrative, fiscal and monetary information contained within Hezârfen's *Telhisü'l-beyân fi kavânin-i Âl-i Osman*, which is mentioned in the prologue. After recalling in a rather general way the works he had read as a youth and his interest in the Turkish world, as well as the harsh experience of slavery and his military feats, Marsili states that the aim of the work is to assess the Ottomans' supposed military decline by evaluating their military strength. The first half, the longer of the two, is made up of 84 chapters. The second half, which ends with an epilogue, is 27 chapters long, all of which are dedicated to the enemy army's weapons and personnel.

Aside from brief observations on religion scattered throughout the text (for example, ch. 23 in the first half describes the Janissaries' way of performing prayers on the field of battle, p. 74), the first seven chapters of the first half are mostly dedicated to political, social and cultural relations in the Empire, whose rise Marsili recounts. Convinced that the Ottomans were of Mongol (or Tartar) origin, he praises the military valour of their early leaders, the absence of a noble bloodline in the Ottoman ranks, and their simple and non-barbaric nature. The beautiful mosques of Bursa demonstrate the honour that was still paid to the first sultans, who were capable of subjugating entire Christian principalities. However, centuries after Osman's (r. 1299-1323/4) first undertakings, the Turks had mixed with Armenians, Greeks, Jews and various different Christian ethnic groups in the Balkans and had lost their power, at least in part. The myth of their invincibility was a distant memory, and the Christian vassal principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania had become unstable. Marsili did not believe the sultans' power could be described as despotism, and he underlines the fact that their control of the imperial ministries, the court and indeed of large areas of the Empire was weak.

Regarding religions (ch. 6), Islam is the official religion, and is in principle the dire enemy of Christians. The Grand Mufti is the head of the *ulama*, who operate across the Empire, but Christians make up a large part of the army and its hierarchy. The Sephardic Jews enjoy protection dating back to the edict of their expulsion from Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup>

century and the refuge offered to them in the empire. The Orthodox Church is protected by the sultan and enjoys certain privileges, while among the Muslims there are 48 different types of 'heresy'. On the edges of the Safavid Empire, for example, Marsili recounts that there are a significant number of Shī'a Muslims, and across the Ottoman Empire there are 17 different communities of dervishes. Catholic bishops *in partibus infidelium* and missionaries of the Congregatio de propaganda fide (Friars Minor, Dominicans, Capuchins, Jesuits) operate freely, most of all in Pera, across the Golden Horn from Istanbul, where Europeans mostly lived, and in the Holy Land. The Church of Antioch in Syria is closely linked to that in Rome.

Marsili observes that in Syria, there were even Druzes and 'Nazarenes', who were more infidel than Christian. Meanwhile, in Bulgaria, there are still communities of Paulicians. Perhaps alluding to the continued presence of groups of Bogomils, Marsili claims that he observed sacrificial rites performed around a tree, and refers to the Patriarchate of Constantinople's campaign to eradicate what, just as in Rome, it regarded as heresy. Then there was the church of the industrious Armenian population, which also existed in Persia, with its patriarch, five archbishops and new bishoprics in Europe, under the protection of the Grand Vizier, as well as the Jacobite and Nestorian churches, which had partially converted to Catholicism. In fact, since 1681, as Marsili recounts, the Chaldean Church had had a Patriarch, Yosep I, who had been recognised by Rome and was resident in Diyarbakir.

Marsili is particularly struck by two aspects of religious relations in the Ottoman Empire. The first was the state of the Orthodox Church, whose patriarchal and metropolitan structure he describes in minute detail. In only a few decades, he recounts, more than one patriarch had been deposed, with the title being disputed between Iakovos and Dionysius IV. The Grand Viziers were able to take advantage of the divisions within the Greek Church (just as with every other non-Islamic faith) to subjugate them and themselves appoint the patriarchs and metropolitan bishops, who should theoretically have been elected by their followers. The second was the Jews, who were particularly numerous in Thessaloniki. Even though they were verbally abused by the Ottomans, Marsili believed they were right to praise the rule of the sultans under which, upon payment of modest taxes, they were able to live with a freedom that was entirely absent in Christian lands.

Marsili concludes that the enjoinder to slaughter the Christians in the Qur'an is purely rhetorical. Not only had the hateful practice of the

*devşirme* to recruit Christian children as Janissaries been abolished, but taxes raised among non-Muslims were limited and the sultans did not get involved in the life of non-Muslim communities, except for political reasons. Even non-Muslim women were respected, and Christian churches were only converted into mosques if they had caught fire.

The Sunnī form of Islam was encouraged through the founding of religious schools, and was practised in more than four hundred mosques throughout the capital, seven of which were imperial mosques built on the model of the Church of St Sophia and financially well-supported. Services and worship took place on Fridays. In the provinces, meanwhile, there were thousands of smaller mosques in villages where Ottomans were in the majority, without counting the hundreds of charitable institutions for the poor.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Marsili's text was published just once. It circulated for a period of time but it did not have much success, except in Russia where it was translated during the conflict between Moscow and Istanbul in 1731. The Turkish and Hungarian versions are more recent. The text's fate was sealed by the production of works about the Ottoman Empire in French, German and English during a time in which Italian culture was being marginalised and did not profit from the colonial expansion enjoyed by northern European countries. Moreover, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Marsili was not appreciated even in Italy due to the fact that he had fought under the banner of the much-hated Austrians. His scientific (and especially military) output was only rediscovered in the Fascist era, when his autobiographical works were published and some of the unpublished documents held in Bologna were published to mark the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death.

Marsili's views on the Ottoman world were not widely held in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, and indeed have only really been appreciated after the later rediscovery of him, albeit with an entire work on his interpretation of the Islamic world missing. Even as a young man, he had read a number of works about the Turks (possibly Paolo Giovio and Lazzaro Soranzo, who was the first to discuss the Ottomans' military decline). He was also aware of more recent works, such as those of Pietro Della Valle (which he cites a number of times). It is also possible (but less certain) that he was aware of the work of Paul Rycaut (published in Venice, in Italian, in 1660), Sier Du Loir (a translation of his travels in the Levant appeared in Bologna in 1670), Jacob Spon and John Covell. The best-documented



connection was that with Giovanni Battista Donà who took over from Civran as *bailo* in Istanbul and wrote an important treatise entitled *Letteratura dei Turchi* ('The literature of the Turks'), which came out in 1688. Marsili, as we have seen, corresponded with Donà during his years in Vienna and shared with him the idea that the Ottoman world was far from crude. It is certainly true that in the manuscripts that date from his stay in Istanbul, as well as in *Stato militare*, Marsili expresses a number of prejudices about the Islamic and Ottoman worlds. He criticises Muslims' lust (and predilection for sodomy), their excessive bathing, their relationship with food, their alleged unreliability, and the political climate in which their subjects were in fact little more than slaves. Marsili was a loyal Catholic who took the opportunity to carry out missions for the Roman Curia and kept the Propaganda fide informed about the progress of Catholicism in the East. However, this did not stop him from commenting favourably on the freedom that non-Muslims enjoyed under the Ottoman sultans or from denying that the Turks should be considered barbarians. If their savagery was a sign of barbarism, he writes in ch. 1, could not the same be said of the ancient Romans? Furthermore, in ch. 7, as well as elsewhere, Marsili underlines the fact that the word 'despotism' is not appropriate for the power of the sultans. Rather, it should be considered a monarchy or, better, an aristocracy, although one without a noble bloodline and one in which the sultan had lost real control. Instead it was the court, the Grand Vizier and the pashas who controlled the fate of the empire, which tended towards egalitarianism and openness in trade but which was weakened, no longer in control of the extremes in Asia and North Africa, and beginning to lose control of its Christian vassals in Europe. Finally, in ch. 7 Marsili denies that the absence of a printing press was a sign of lack of culture. The Ottomans wanted to protect calligraphy, and culture was both exalted and appreciated, which Marsili had been able to see for himself during his stay in Istanbul and through his encounters with scholars who worked in Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Greek. It was pure curiosity that drove Marsili, who knew none of these languages apart from a few words of Turkish, to collect manuscripts, and it was his open-mindedness alone that caused him to write in ch. 7 that it was the responsibility of Christians in Europe to become better acquainted with a culture that was so refined in the fields of medicine, astronomy, literature and philosophy.

For his own part, despite having experienced slavery at first hand and having fought the Muslim enemy as an able soldier and engineer, Marsili

tried slowly to free himself from his own initial prejudices, becoming a collector of manuscripts, a smoker and an enthusiastic consumer of the drink to which he would dedicate a treatise: coffee.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno, incremento e decremento del medesimo [...]. Opera ornata di tavole tagliate in rame / L'Etat militaire de l'Empire ottoman, ses progrès et sa décadence [...]. Ouvrage enrichi de planches en taille douce*, 2 vols, The Hague, 1732; 370 A 18 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno, incremento e decremento del medesimo [...]. Opera ornata di tavole tagliate in rame / L'Etat militaire de l'Empire ottoman, ses progrès et sa décadence [...]. Ouvrage enrichi de planches en taille douce*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1732; KW 2151 B 12 (digitised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Voennoe sostojanie Ottomanskija imperii: s eja priraščeniem i upadkom*, Sankt Petersburg, 1737 (Russian trans.)

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Zuhur Ve Terakkisinden Inhitatı Zamanına Kadar Askerî Vaziyeti*, trans. M. Kaymakam Nazmi, Ankara: Büyük Erkânıharbiye Matbaası, 1934 (Turkish trans.)

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno*, ed. M. Kramer and R.F. Kreutel, Graz, 1972

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Az Oszmán Birodalom katonai állapotáról, felemelkedéséről és hanyatlásáról*, trans. M.F. Molnár, Budapest, 2007 (Hungarian trans.)

Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*, ed. R. Gherardi, Soveria Mannelli, Calabria, 2012 (selections from the work)

#### STUDIES

M.F. Molnár, 'An Italian information agent in the Hungarian theatre of war. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli between Vienna and Constantinople', in G. Almási et al. (eds), *A divided Hungary in Europe. Exchanges, networks and representations, 1541-1699*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014, vol. 2, pp. 85-105

R. Lupi, 'Schiavi e missionari. Note da alcuni scritti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili', *Mediterranea. Ricerche Storiche* 10 (2013) 161-70

- L. Nagy, 'Mohammed et l'harmonie mondiale. La conception de Luigi Ferdinando Marsili sur le système religieux de l'Empire Ottoman', *Revue des Etudes Sud-est Européennes* 50 (2012) 251-65
- A. Gardi, 'Osservando il nemico. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e il mondo turco', in M. Donattini, G. Marcocci and S. Pastore (eds), *Per Adriano Prosperi*, vol. 2. *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi*, Pisa, 2011, 93-103
- R. Gherardi (ed.), *La politica, la scienza, le armi. Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e la costruzione della frontiera dell'impero e dell'Europa*, Bologna, 2010
- G. Ricci, *Ossessione turca. In una retrovia cristiana dell'Europa moderna*, Bologna, 2002 (see index)
- Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-beyân fi kavânin-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. S. İlgürel, Ankara, 1998
- H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer, genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Bresgau, 1971

Vincenzo Lavenia

## *Racconto della prodigiosa conversione di un maomettano alla santa fede cattolica*

'The account of the miraculous conversion of a Muslim to the  
holy Catholic faith'

DATE 1734

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

### DESCRIPTION

This work is contained in a printed text kept in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome. It is eight pages long. There is no indication of publisher or date, apart from the year 1734 handwritten on the first page. To our knowledge this is the only copy. There is also a short version in manuscript form, dated 10 August 1734, held at the Archivio Storico del Patriarcato in Venice, and also a version printed in Rome in 1763 which differs significantly from the work to be discussed.

The anonymous author of this short printed text tells the story of the conversion of Ishmail Pasha Serdar Ağa's (Ismail Bascià Serdar) from Islam to Catholicism. Ishmail was a wealthy and powerful Ottoman official in Corinth. To underscore the exceptional nature of his conversion, the narrator emphasises his illustrious origins. He was son of Abdollà Ciavise (Abdullah Çavuş), an Ottoman official, and Ruché, a Christian slave from the island of Chios, who had converted to Islam. Ishmail was born in Constantinople, but he grew up on the island of Chios and then, aged 20, after his mother's death, he moved with his father to Nafplio in the Peloponnese. He then travelled to Corinth, where he became governor of the city and head of its military forces.

On the night of 3 May 1733, Ishmail had a stroke that left him almost completely paralysed. After months of suffering, on the night of 21 September he had a vision: standing there beside his sick-bed stood a handsome bearded man clothed as a Christian bishop. When Ishmail asked who he was, the being replied that he was St Spyridon. He offered the sick man a pact: if he converted to Christianity, he would be cured – instantly and completely. If, on the other hand, he refused, he would die in atrocious suffering and would end up in hell.

Ishmail's reaction conforms in some ways to the norms that had taken root in accounts of conversion to Christianity. At first, he categorically refused to give up his faith: 'I don't want to change to another law. I was born a Turk and I intend to die a Turk.' Terrified of the apparition, he then called his wife, his two children and the servants, but the only person who could see Spyridon was Ishmail himself. He could not shake off the presence of the ghost, not even by closing his eyes and praying to the 'false prophet' Muhammad. Again, in keeping with the template for the literary genre of conversion tales, four days later Ishmail eventually 'surrendered'. He agreed to become a Christian on condition of a full return to health and the saint's help in avoiding any scandal and persecution that the apostasy of an official of the Ottoman Empire might entail.

When he did indeed suddenly recover, he promised Spyridon that he would go to Corfu as the saint had ordered. However, Ishmail kept his conversion secret for several months and continued his daily Muslim observance unchanged, asking the saint to grant him 'a little more time'. So he went to the mosque regularly, he prayed, 'but as a pretence, to hide from the eyes of the public'. At last he decided to leave for Corinth on the pretext of visiting a 'holy man' who lived near Patras. The anonymous narrator goes on to describe how Ishmail's internal 'split religious personality' continued during his journey: 'He pretended to be a true Turkish Muslim, but inside he was a Christian.'

Ishmail obeyed and first sailed to Zakynthos, which at that time was ruled by the Republic of Venice. His arrival was celebrated by the local dignitaries, who had met him in the Peloponnese and could attest to his illustrious origins. And then Ishmail at last arrived on the island of Corfu, of which Spyridon was the patron saint. He was welcomed with great ceremony by the quartermaster general, Antonio Erizzo. Ishmail told his story and was granted the privilege of opening the casket containing the saint's relics, which were an object of great devotion for the local community. One month later, Ishmail again set sail, this time for the Casa dei Catecumeni (House of the Catechumens) in Venice, bearing letters of recommendation from Antonio Erizzo and 'authentic testimonials' to his identity issued by the British consul at Zakynthos and the dragoman of Corfu.

While staying in Lazzaretto Nuovo for the customary quarantine period, Ishmail experienced other apparitions. One day, at the end of Mass, he stayed behind in church to admire the paintings of saints and the Madonna, when a young and extraordinarily beautiful young woman

appeared at his side. She reassured him about his future and pointed to St Spyridon, his protector, who was sitting at the other end of the pew. On 10 August 1734, Ishmail entered the House of the Catechumens where, after just two months of religious education – compared with the eight months envisaged by the regulations – he passed the test by answering theological questions brilliantly in both Turkish and Greek. He was thus allowed to receive the sacrament of baptism on 10 October. For his Christian names, Ishmail chose Antony Spyridon, in honour of Antonio Erizzo, the quartermaster general in Corfu who had helped him on his journey, and the saint who had saved him.

Adding confirmation to this is the handwritten deposition of Ishmail's conversion in the *Registro dei Neofiti* (register of new converts), kept in the Historic Archive of the Patriarchate of Venice. Issued on his arrival at the Casa dei Catecumeni and translated into Italian, it is dated 10 August 1734. It gives Ishmail's age at conversion as 40 years, and since it contains expressions identical to those in the printed account, it supports the authenticity of the first printed version. From this, we can plausibly deduce that the anonymous author of Ishmail's story was connected with the Casa dei Catecumeni in Venice and that he had heard the story more or less directly from Ishmail himself.

The third version of the story was published in Rome much later, in 1763, by the Salvioni printing house, which was linked to the Vatican. There appears to be only one copy, preserved in the Marciana Library, Venice. The first section of this text is identical to the version discussed above, but then the section on Venice has been omitted: the story ends with a description of Ishmail's baptism, which it says took place in the cathedral on Corfu on 24 April 1763. So there is a considerable difference between the two versions, in terms both of dates and of places.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In Venice, conversions from Islam to Catholicism mainly involved prisoners of war and slaves from Mediterranean regions that were disputed with the Ottomans.

After the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718, which ended the conflict between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, the number of Muslims in the Casa dei Catecumeni in Venice fell dramatically. In addition, as we know, voluntary conversions from Islam by high-ranking individuals had always been rare, and nearly always celebrated with spectacular baptism services and stories emphasising the miraculous, supernatural and sudden nature of the events. It is easy to understand,

therefore, how the story of Ishmail Pasha Serdar Ağā (Ismail Bascià Serdar Ağā), official of the Ottoman Empire and military officer in Corinth (which returned to Turkish rule in 1715 after a period of Venetian dominion), might cause a sensation.

Like most conversion tales, this short printed account is highly codified and follows the standards and clichés of the genre. We have the sudden supernatural intervention that brings about a religious crisis, the protagonist's initial resistance to the idea of conversion, and his sudden and complete understanding of the principles of Christian theology. This last concerns, in particular, the two points traditionally viewed as difficult for Muslims to accept: the veneration of the saints and the adoration of holy images.

However, certain interesting aspects emerge from between the lines of the narrative, conventional as it may be. Firstly, the long period – months – during which the protagonist remained in his community observing the rituals of Islam, to avoid being exposed to the risks that apostasy brought with it. He ended this split between his internal beliefs and the religion he practised after repeated interventions by the character acting here as the agent of conversion, St Spyridon.

Second, the narrative also provides information on the way that Islam and Christian communities lived side by side in parts of the Mediterranean, and on the degree of syncretism that existed. On Corfu, the island of which St Spyridon was the patron saint and where his relics are kept, the saint was venerated in both the Orthodox and Catholic communities. But his cult (and the belief in his miraculous powers) had spread widely and had evidently reached Corinth, the city where Ishmail was living at the time of his conversion. The description of the saint is vague but seems to fit the iconographic model. St Spyridon was recognised as a holy man not just by Christians but by the followers of the Muslim Bektashi order, and Muslim pilgrimages to Corfu were not infrequent.

Ishmail travelled to Venice in three stages, visiting three places that can be described as 'contact zones' between Islam and Christianity (both Eastern and Latin): Corinth, Zante and Corfu. In the latter two, he met people who said they knew him well, not in his guise as a new convert but in that of a wealthy and powerful Ottoman official. In short, we are given a glimpse of a fairly close network of inter-faith links and communication, through which knowledge of the different faiths could filter.

A last aspect of this tale is the possibility of comparing different types of source. We have both the manuscript deposition issued by the new

convert in the Casa dei Catecumeni, and also the printed version of the story, which was probably the work of one of the clerics there. From some notes to the account, we can deduce that the author had a vague knowledge of Islamic rituals and prayer practices. The vision of Islam that emerges from them is, however, entirely in line with the typical stereotypes of this type of literature.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Venice, Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia – Registro dei Neofiti, 1734-1911, Sezione antica, Catecumeni, fol. 3r (1734) *Racconto della prodigiosa conversione di un maomettano alla santa fede cattolica*

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Sal. Borr. Q.V.226 (44), *Racconto della prodigiosa conversione d'un maomettano alla santa fede cattolica*, s.d [1733], s.l., s.e.

*Racconto della prodigiosa conversione alla santa fede cattolica d'un maomettano per nome Ismail bascià Serdar agà per una visione avuta del glorioso s. Spiridione protettore di Corfù battezzato nel duomo della città medesima da monsignor arcivescovo il giorno 24. aprile 1763*, Rome: Stamperia Salvioni, 1763

#### STUDIES

D. Lappa, 'Variations on a religious theme. Jews and Muslims from the eastern Mediterranean converting to Christianity, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries', Florence, 2015 (PhD Diss., European University Institute), p. 154

**Chiara Petrolini**



## Ildefonso da Palermo

DATE OF BIRTH    Unknown; perhaps the 1690s  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Palermo  
DATE OF DEATH    28 August 1742  
PLACE OF DEATH    Farshūt, Egypt

### BIOGRAPHY

Ildefonso da Palermo was a medical doctor and missionary. Born in Palermo, perhaps in the last decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, he studied in the theological faculty in Palermo, and at some point entered the Franciscan Order. He then went to the College of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome, where he studied Arabic with a view to working in North Africa (Giamberardini, 'Introduction', p. 4). In December 1719, he left Rome for Egypt, arriving in Alexandria on 31 March 1720 and moving on to Cairo, where he first lodged with a Coptic family in order to improve his Arabic. Later, he also learnt Turkish, all the time practising as a medical doctor and thus finding ways of getting to know local people and gaining their friendship and trust.

Ildefonso remained in Egypt for the rest of his life. During what can be regarded as his first period (1719-28), he was active in the Nile valley, combining medical and evangelistic work, and in his second period (1728-35), he headed the Franciscan mission as vice-prefect. In his last period (1735-42), he continued his medical and missionary activities, 'applying medicines and preaching the holy truth', in both familiar and new parts of the country (Giamberardini, 'Introduction', p. XVII). In these last years, he collected and organised the letters he had written earlier into his *Epistolario* (which is kept in the Cairo and Giza Franciscan Archives). He also produced two works that exist in manuscript form, *Breve relazione dell'introduzione e fondazione della Missione della terra di Farsciut nel Superiore Egitto e fabbrica della casa*, and *Copie delle lettere scritte di P. Ildefonso da Palermo, 1728-1734* (Giza, Franciscan Archive – MSS 4 and 5).

Through the 20 or so years of his ministry in Egypt, Ildefonso encountered many difficulties: he was tried in court, he was imprisoned several times, and in 1728 he was condemned to death, to be reprieved only when he was at the gallows itself (*Cronaca*, pp. 128-30).

In the summer of 1742, Ildefonso contracted the plague which was spreading through Egypt, and died in Farshūt on 28 August.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

*Lettere dei Prefetti Apostolici dell'Alto Egitto nel secolo XVIII*, ed. G. Giamberardini, Cairo, 1960

#### *Secondary*

G. Giamberardini, 'Introduction', in *Ildefonso da Palermo, Cronaca della Missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto: 1719-1739*, ed. G. Giamberardini, Cairo, 1962

G. Basetti-Sani, 'Documenti per la storia del cristianesimo in Egitto. Una creduta riunione della Chiesa copta monofisita con la chiesa Romana nel sec. XVIII', *Studi Francescani* 3/25 (1953) 65-95, 244-57

*Bibliographia Franciscana, tomus X, principaliora complectens opera annis 1951-3 edita*, vol. 10, Rome, 1957-8, pp. 722-3

A. Kleinhans, *Historia studii linguae arabicae et Collegii Missionum S. Petri in Urbe*, [Florence:] Quaracchi, 1930

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cronaca della missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto,  
1719-39

'Chronicle of the Franciscan mission in Upper  
Egypt, 1719-39'

DATE 1719-39

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

#### DESCRIPTION

This work is Ildefonso's account of his ministry in Egypt in the years 1719-39. The original manuscript, which he entitled *Una piccola relatione delle missioni del Superiore Egitto* ('A short report on the missions in Upper Egypt'), is 303 pages long. It was published in Cairo in 1962 under the title *Cronaca della missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto* (218 pages long). It starts in the year that Ildefonso left Rome and concludes in the year he moved to Farshūt. In the original there is almost no dating, and the only subdivision is on p. 155, though this is remedied in the printed edition, which is divided into 12 chapters.

The Franciscan mission in Egypt was first established in 1698 in the town of Akhmīm, between Asyut and Luxor. It met with little success, and moves were made in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to terminate it. But at the beginning of 1719, the *aghā* of Akhmīm sent two letters to Rome (they were translated by Ildefonso when he was still a student) requesting the return of the missionaries, and a few months later five new missionaries, among them Ildefonso, were sent (*Cronaca*, p. 8). The *Cronaca* records Ildefonso's movements throughout the next 20 years in great detail, describing how he employed his medical knowledge to gain access to Muslim communities, thus reaching places that were otherwise inaccessible, and how he mediated in disputes, sometimes preventing the persecution of Christians. On several occasions, he received attestations of esteem and affection from Muslims, as when the *aghā* of Akhmīm admitted to him that he would have accepted baptism from him if his religion did not prevent it (*Tu mi tanto conviene, che se la mia religione non mi lo proibisse, doverei bacciarti le tue mani per farmi battezzare*) (Franciscan Archive of Giza – MS 6, *Relazione di Giacomo Rzimarz*, 13 June 1743, fol. 77, cited in Giamberardini, 'Introduction', p. XIII).

Ildefonso's life as a missionary was not by any means easy, particularly when Egyptian Christians threatened and attacked them. Among other *prove di dolore* ('trials of pain'), as he describes them, in 1726 a group in Sidfa led by the Christian scribe Fām al-Barri set a trap to catch him *in flagrante delicto* with a prostitute (*Cronaca*, pp. 87-8), and again in Sidfa, when Ildefonso succeeded in converting a Muslim who was at the point of death, the Coptic bishop would not allow his body to be buried (*Cronaca*, pp. 79-80). On another occasion, he was called into the house of a Copt purportedly to tend one of his relatives who was sick, and was offered coffee he thought was poisoned (*Cronaca*, pp. 66-7). There was an uprising among the Copts in Akhmīm in 1724 against the Catholics, led by two brothers Pilate and Macario, and there were also splits within the Catholic community itself, as in 1731 when a new convert persuaded other Catholics to follow him in a protest against the practice of only receiving communion in one kind (Giamberardini, 'Introduction', pp. XV-XVI).

Muslims in Egypt were normally well disposed towards the missionaries, but in some instances they acted against them, usually when an individual Muslim was prompted by Coptic or Orthodox Christians. Thus, in November 1728, at the instigation of the Copt Jusef al-Fatīahī (as Ildefonso calls him) they were imprisoned and their house sacked (*Cronaca*,

pp. 124-7). In 1723, an anti-Catholic revolt broke out in Girgā and quickly spread to the surrounding towns, forcing the missionaries to abandon their house, and the majority of Catholics to take refuge in surrounding places. However, Ildefonso sees this persecution as the cause of a 'greater propagation of the holy faith, and of an expansion of the mission', since all Christians in the area were temporarily gathered in Akhmīm and the missionaries could preach to them, which led to the conversion of a great number of Copts (*Cronaca*, p. 31).

The work is full of references to the numerous theological discussions Ildefonso held with Greek patriarchs and Coptic bishops about doctrine. Most of these were about the two natures of Christ, as in the conversation with the Coptic bishop of Sidfa, who tells Ildefonso that on the day when the Copts are finally free from 'the Mohammedan yoke' they will confess the two natures of Christ (*Cronaca*, pp. 82-3).

The *Cronica* shows that Ildefonso normally behaves less harshly and insistently towards Muslims than he does towards Copts and Greek Orthodox. Of course, there were exceptions and among the Muslims (whom he calls 'Arabs', 'Turks' or 'Mohammedans') there were both good and malicious or treacherous people. On some occasions, he reveals all the distrust of the Christian world towards the 'infidels', and also shows his reluctance to deal with Muslims, and perhaps a slight contempt for them.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

It is important to bear in mind that the Franciscan mission in Egypt was sent by the Propaganda fide at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the aim to 'reduce the Coptic Christians of Egypt to the unity of the Catholic Church' (*haec missio Aegypti Superioris ab anno 1687 ad Coptos ad unitatem ecclesiae reducendos iam diu instituta, et iterum restaurata, sodalibus reformatis concredita fuit*) (Da Villapadierna, 'Review', p. 351), so it is only to be expected that Ildefonso's references to these relationships should be more conflictual than relationships with Muslims.

The Muslims who are referred to in the *Cronaca* appear to look on the Franciscan missionaries with some indifference, and on several occasions they treat them favourably and defend them from accusations made by other Christians. In other words, the conflicts that emerge from this work of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century are more between Christians themselves than between Christians and Muslims. Whatever rivalry existed between Christians and Muslims at this time consisted more of issues to do with living together than of armed conflict.

## PUBLICATIONS

MS Giza, Franciscan Archive – 3, *Una piccola relatione delle missioni del Superiore Egitto* (1719-39)

Ildefonso da Palermo, *Cronaca della Missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto: 1719-1739*, ed. G. Giamberardini, Cairo, 1962

## STUDIES

G. Pizzorusso, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo. La Congregazione pontificia de Propaganda Fide*, Viterbo, 2018

B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens au Proche-Orient. De la compassion à la compréhension*, Paris, 2013

I. da Villapadierna, Review of *Ildefonso da Palermo, Cronaca della missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto (1719-1739)*, *Collectanea Franciscana* 33 (1963) 350-1

B. Fedele, *Missionari francescani. Sintesi storica*, Lanciano, 1961

G. Manfredi, *La figura del 'Praefectus Missionum' nelle Prefetture d'Egitto-Etiopia e dell'Alto Egitto-Etiopia affidate ai Frati Minori. 1630-1792*, Cairo, 1958, p. 156

**Michele Bosco**

# Stefano Evodio Assemani

Iṣṭifān ‘Awwād al-Sim‘ānī

DATE OF BIRTH 15 April 1711  
PLACE OF BIRTH Tripoli, Syria  
DATE OF DEATH 24 November 1782  
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

## BIOGRAPHY

The maternal nephew of Giuseppe Assemani, Stefano Evodio adopted his uncle's surname, using his own original surname ‘Awwād as a middle name which he Italianised to Evodio / Avodio. He went to Rome as a young boy in 1720 to study at the Maronite College, and finished his training there in 1730. After ordination, he took up work at the Vatican Library as a *scriptor orientalis* of Syriac and Arabic. He was invited to Lebanon, where he stayed from 1734 to 1738, helping at his uncle's mission for the last two years of his stay. At the end of this period he was made bishop of Apamea.

When he returned to Rome, Assemani resumed his role as *scriptor* in the Vatican Library. In 1741, he was sent to Florence by Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740-58) in order to verify the miracles attributed to Giuseppe Calasanzio. Once in the city, he quickly produced a catalogue of the Oriental codices in the Laurentian Library, which was published in 1742. After the death of his uncle Giuseppe on 13 January 1768, he was appointed first custodian of the Vatican Library, a position he held for 14 years until his death on 24 November 1782.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

- K. Rizk, art. ‘Assémani, Étienne-Évode’, in L. Hage (ed.), *Encyclopédie maronite*, Kaslik, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 437-9
- G. Roper, ‘Arabic printing in Malta 1825-1845. Its history and its place in the development of print culture in the Arab Middle East’, Durham, 1988 (PhD Diss. University of Durham)
- G. Levi Della Vida, art. ‘Assemani, Stefano Evodio’, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 441-2

- G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2. *Die Schriftsteller von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Melchiten, Maroniten*, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 455-7
- E. Tisserant, 'Notes pour servir à la biographie d'Étienne Évode Assémani', *Oriens Christianus* 7 (1932) 264-76
- T. Watts, art. 'Assemani, Stefano Evodio', in *The biographical dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, London, 1844, vol. 3/2, pp. 816-17
- Ch.-L. Richard and J.-J. Giraud, art. 'Assemani (Stefano Evodio)', in *Biblioteca sacra ovvero Dizionario universale delle scienze ecclesiastiche*, Milan, 1830, vol. 2, pp. 340-1

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Bibliothecæ Mediceæ Laurentianæ et Palatinæ codicum MMS Orientalium catalogus 'Catalogue of the codices of Oriental manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Medicaea Laurentiana and Palatina'

DATE 1742

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

Assemani's catalogue starts with descriptions of the 47 manuscripts in the Laurentian Library. Following this are descriptions of the 537 Oriental manuscripts in Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish (pp. 49-486) in the Medici Palatine Library. The catalogue is thematically divided, and includes 34 MSS on Islamic Law (nos CXL-CLXXIV, pp. 250-322), and 63 MSS on the Qur'an and Islamic religious texts (nos CCCXL-DV, pp. 442-76).

Comments on some of the Qur'an manuscripts and Islamic religious texts unmistakably reveal Assemani's anti-Islamic attitude. For example, his description of the first Qur'an (no. CCCXL, pp. 442-61) states that Muḥammad was a pseudo-prophet, the Muslim religion a 'superstition', and the style of the work is such as to cause 'an itch in the ear, and produce distraction as it flaunts a prophetic way of speaking and mimicking phrases of sacred texts' (*Est sane in Alcorano fluxus quidam verborum ad aurium pruritus, ac lenocinium adcommodatus; praesertim ubi modum loquendi propheticum adfectat, et sacrarum literarum phrasim imitatur*). His comment on a codex containing the account of Muḥammad's

ascension into heaven (no. CCCCLXXII, p. 468) is even more explicit, calling Muḥammad a charlatan (*versipellus propheta*) and the story imaginary (*historia fabulosa*), a kind of Apocalypse for the dishonest Muslims (*estque veluti Apocalypsis illius fraudulentis*), in which the pleasures and delights (*volupates and delicias*) of the afterlife are described.

Assemani's condemnation of Islam is evident enough at times to acquire an almost physical reality: on a manuscript in Turkish containing Islamic prayers to God and Muḥammad, he comments that it smells of superstition (no. CCCCLXXXVII, p. 472).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The catalogue circulated in many parts of Europe, so Assemani's comments about Islam would have been widely known. They conform to the condemnation of Islam that was common in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and add their own accurate criticisms by one who knew Islam first-hand.

#### PUBLICATIONS

- S.E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum MMS. Orientalium catalogus*, Florence, 1742; BLL01001256320 (digitised version available through Early Arabic Printed Books from the British Library)
- S.E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum MMS. Orientalium catalogus*, Florence, 1743

#### STUDIES

- M.S. Elshaikh, 'I manoscritti del Corano conservati nelle Biblioteche pubbliche di Firenze', *La Bibliofilia* 115 (2013) 553-16
- M.A. Visceglia, 'The pope's household and court in the early modern age', in J. Duindam, T. Artan and M. Kunt (eds), *Royal courts in dynastic states and empires*, Leiden, 2011, 239-64
- P. Borbone, 'Il codice di Rabbula e i suoi compagni. Su alcuni manoscritti siriaci della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Mss Pluteo 1.12; Pluteo 1.40; Pluteo 1.56; Pluteo 1.58)', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 32 (2009) 245-53
- E. Braida, 'Duae lineas olearum prope oppidum besciara. Le localizzazioni del codice siriano Pluteo 1.58 (ca. IX sec.) della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 32 (2009) 255-69
- M. Paoli, *Gli Assemani tra specializzazione e servizi culturali nell'Italia del '700*, in M.C. Misiti (ed.), *Le mille e una cultura. Scrittura e libri fra Oriente e Occidente*, Bari, 2007, 87-100



- E. Chapron, 'Voyageurs et bibliothèques dans l'Italie du XVIIIe siècle. Des "mirabilia" au débat sur l'utilité publique', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 162 (2004) 455-82
- D.H. Wright, 'The date and arrangement of the illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973) 197-208
- E. Tisserant, 'I cataloghi stampati dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana dal '700 ad oggi', *Orientalia* 5 (1939) 102-8
- F. Lasinio, 'Ricordi presi da codici orientali della Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 26 (1872) 805-8
- J. von Hammer, 'Lettere sui manoscritti orientali e particolarmente arabi che si trovano nelle diverse Biblioteche d'Italia [...]. VI. Laurenziana e Magliabecchiana di Firenze', *Biblioteca Italiana* 54 (1829) 24-8

Arianna D'Ottone Rambach

## *Rezazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta*

'Historical account of the conspiracy of the Turkish slaves in Malta'

DATE 1749

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

### DESCRIPTION

The anonymous *Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta* is a brief, contemporary account of the failed Muslim slave revolt that was planned in Malta by Mustafà, Ottoman governor of Rhodes and its surrounding islands, with the aim of assassinating the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta and seizing control of the island. It was published in 1749, and in the same year two further versions appeared in Bologna and Naples.

This seven-page document (its title in full is *Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta scoperta li 6 Giugno dell'anno corrente 1749, e tutti li fatti posteriormente seguiti fino al giorno 25 Luglio*, 'Historical account of the conspiracy of the Turkish slaves in Malta, discovered on 6 June of the year 1749, and all subsequent events up until the day of 25 July') opens with a brief reference to the uprising on Bassà (Pasha) Mustafà's ship – a man 'whose main vices were pride and cruelty' (p. II). This was led by his own Christian slaves, who then sailed the ship with him on it to Malta, arriving on 2 February 1748. It goes on to describe the welcome and unrestricted freedoms given to Bassà (as the work calls him) by the Grand Master, even though he was an enemy. After a period of quarantine, he was housed in the Floriane quarter, where he received many noblemen and Knights of the Grand Cross, and was allowed to host Turkish slaves, despite the fact that 'this type of person' was barred from entering this area. Thanks to the intervention of the king of France (who had taken the governor under his protection) with the Great Master, Mustafà quickly regained his freedom and, fearing the hostile reaction of the Sublime Porte, he 'began to get ideas above his station' (p. II), planning an exploit that would win him favour with the sultan and write him into the history books.

As a result of the change in his behaviour, the Knights of the Order, who were unable to accept the hatred he brought upon the Christian name, distanced themselves from him, and so Bassà was free to organise a general revolt. Through the Muslim prison 'priests' and a few trusted friends, he circulated a message saying that 'it would be shameful to the Muslim name not to try to free themselves from slavery, and that if they were people of valour, they must commit a noble act in rising up, and that they should be able to take control of the city, and then of the entire island' (p. III).

The central part of the *Relazione* reconstructs the various phases of the revolt. It was due to take place on 29 June, during the festival of St Peter and St Paul, but the conspirators had not taken into account that, on that day, the anniversary of an earlier Turkish slave conspiracy in 1531, they would be locked in the baths and the city of Valetta would be fortified with troops. The first part of the action was due to take place in the palace of the Grand Master. Here, the slave Imselletti, together with the Moor who had led the galley revolt and who had already converted to Christianity, was supposed to kill the Grand Master and thereby trigger a rebellion among the other slaves. Organised into various groups, they were set to seize control of the palace, taking the Christians by surprise and freeing all the other Turks from the prisons and bakeries where they worked, culminating in an assault on the fortress of St Elmo and St Angelo.

The *Relazione* then focuses on the conspiracy's external allies. Given that there were only about 1,400-1,500 Turkish slaves in Malta, reinforcements were necessary, so the plan was communicated through Turkish and Greek merchants to the ports of Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis and Susa, from where troops were due to come in two separate groups so as not to arouse suspicion 'with the appearance of a large fleet of ships' (p. V). It was also communicated to the Ottoman governor of Morea and the Grand Vizier (p. V).

The last part focuses on the discovery of the conspiracy. On 6 June 1749, in the shop of a Jew who had converted to Christianity, three leaders of the revolt met an Armenian soldier to try to involve him in the plot. When the soldier refused, an argument broke out and the Armenian then divulged the details of the plot to the shopkeeper, and each informed the Grand Master. The ringleaders were immediately arrested and put on trial, and it became clear after interrogating about 38 individuals that Bassà Mustafà was behind the planning. The Grand Master,

knowing that Bassà was under the protection of the king of France, decided that it would be best to delay a judgement until he heard what the French advised. In order to avoid a possible riot against Mustafà, he was entrusted into the keeping of the French minister in Malta, and was transferred to the Fortress of St Elmo. Some of the Turkish slaves were sentenced to 'a most exemplary death' and 'died in their false religion', while others 'embraced with zeal our Holy Faith' (p. VIII).

The *Relazione* ends with the note that the public tortures and executions were followed by festivities in thanksgiving that the Island of Malta, the Grand Master, the Christian faith and all of Christendom had been kept safe from harm.

The *Relazione* is not the only account of this attempted uprising. Other works add details that give a fuller picture and help explain what happened. Two works published in Lisbon in particular, the *Sucinta relação do ultimo naufragio* by Tomás da Silva (1749) and the *Relação exacta e verdadeira da conjuração, que Mostafà Baxà de Rhodes intentou fazer* (1750), appear to have originated from the serious concern among Portuguese Knights about the plot against the Grand Master, their fellow-countryman Emanuele Pinto de Fonseca. A further account is attributed to the French minister in Malta, Balì de Bocage, included in the *Storia generale delle congiure, cospirazioni, e sollevazioni celebri, antiche e moderne* by F.J. Duport-Dutertre and A. Graziosi, vol. 3 (Venice, 1778, pp. 42-62). The work that more than any other expresses ambivalence about the significance of the events associated with the conspiracy is the short book by Michele Acciard, *Mustafà Bassà di Rodi Schiavo in Malta, o sia La di lui congiura all'occupazione di Malta* (Naples, 1751). On publication, it was immediately the cause of controversy because Giovanni Francesco Agius de Soldanis, a scholar from the Maltese island of Gozo, claimed that the book was his and that he gave Acciard the manuscript in 1750 while he was in Naples, for him to review the text and get it published.

A few pages before the end of this disputed work, Acciard or de Soldanis gives his own interpretation of the attempted uprising and its failure. He sees divine intervention behind it, prompted by the belief that 'communicated to Christendom the mistake – which is particularly widespread today – of believing that the ancient grudge which the Turks have against the Christians is no more', and 'the friendship which they pledge is firm and true'. This had grown to such a degree that 'this phalanx of generous Knights had become almost idle against the enemies of religion because of the friendship which Christians have cultivated with Turks'. Hence, God wanted to put Malta and the Order in grave danger in order

to 'make them reflect on the consequences that can befall Christianity if Malta does not hold back the infidel'.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, changes in day-to-day relations between European states and the Ottoman Empire led to fewer armed clashes, with the result that calls for the Christian world to fight against the infidel became little more than rhetorical exercises. Diplomatic agreements between the two sides, together with protests against military action by merchants, traders and ship-owners all around the Mediterranean in favour of establishing good commercial and political relations, were symptoms of a changed reality in which it was tacitly agreed that continuing confrontations were bad for business. Even the role of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which had been established in Malta in 1530 after the conquest of Rhodes (its former headquarters) by the Ottomans, as a frontier of Christianity, began to diminish.

This was increasingly the case from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, and it provides the context in which the *Relazione istorica* should be read. In many minds, Malta was still 'the terror of the Berbers and the safe haven of the Christian princes', and consequently any attack on the life of the Grand Master, the Order, or on Malta was an attack on Catholicism itself, and every victory won there, military or religious, was seen as a victory for Christianity as a whole. It follows that the *Relazione* is an account of a confrontation that symbolised the enmity between the Christian European and Muslim Ottoman worlds that still persisted in many minds and hearts, despite a reality that was changing fundamentally.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta, scoperta li 6 Giugno dell'anno corrente 1749, e tutti li fatti posteriormente seguiti fino al presente giorno 25 Luglio*, Rome, 1749; MAG002042697 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Roma)

*Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta, scoperta li 6 Giugno dell'anno corrente 1749, e tutti li fatti posteriormente seguiti fino al presente giorno 25 Luglio*, Naples, 1749

*Relazione storica della congiura degli schiavi turchi di Malta, scoperta li 6 Giugno 1749, e dei fatti posteriormente seguiti fino al giorno 25 Luglio*, Bologna (Venice), 1749; 65.E.39 (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

## STUDIES

- M. Pezzi, 'La "congiura" maltese del 1749 nei documenti diplomatici ragusei', *Studi Melitensi* 25 (2017) 53-76
- G.S. Carabelli, 'La congiura degli schiavi a Malta nel 1749', *Studi Melitensi* 25 (2016) 121-31
- R. Thake, *Patriotism, deception and censorship. De Soldanis and the 1751 account of the uprising of the slaves*, Malta, 2013
- C. Testa, *The life and times of Grand Master Pinto 1741-1773*, Malta, 1989, pp. 119-27
- G.F. Agius de Soldanis, 'Ragguaglio dell'unione di più schiavi in Malta contro la persona del Ser. mo Principe e Popolo della città Valletta, manifestata con favor Divino e Santi Gio Batta e Paolo Apostolo, protettori dell'Isola, il 7 Giugno 1749', *Malta Letteraria* 6 (1931) 295-311

Rita Foti

## Carlo Camucio

DATE OF BIRTH 20 June 1706  
PLACE OF BIRTH Tolmezzo, Italy  
DATE OF DEATH 6 October 1788  
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

### BIOGRAPHY

Carlo Camucio was born in Tolmezzo in 1706 into an aristocratic family. He began his studies in Capodistria and completed them in Rome. In Rome, he was also made deacon by Pope Benedict XIII (r. 1724-30) in 1728 and then presbyter in 1729. In 1745, he came back to his hometown as rector of the *pieve* (rural parish church) of Tolmezzo and archdeacon of Carnia. He retained this office until 1756, when he was named bishop of Capodistria.

In 1750, for the jubilee, Camucio embarked on a pilgrimage to Rome and Loreto, travelling on foot as a sign of penitence, with the company of a priest and a servant. The journey started on 5 February 1750 and ended on 24 May; it followed the classic itinerary of pilgrims going to Rome, partly along the ancient road and pilgrim route 'via Francigena'. The group arrived in Venice on 15 February and in Florence on 1 March. Finally, on 14 March, they arrived in Rome, where they stayed a couple of months. On the way back, they followed a different route, passing through Assisi and then Loreto. The latter was a hill town to the south of Ancona and was one of the most important pilgrimage and worship sites in Italy. In Ancona, they might have decided to continue the journey by sea, as the city is the last stop mentioned in Camucio's travel notes.

Two years after his visit to Rome and Loreto, Camucio started a second pilgrimage, this time to Jerusalem. Having left Tolmezzo on 11 July, he embarked for the Levant from Livorno on 19 August. Initially, he probably intended to go from Venice, from where pilgrim ships used to sail for the East during the Middle Ages. However, he must have been forced to change his plans and go to Livorno, from where most of the ships heading for the Levant departed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After 20 days, he arrived in Alexandria, from where he went to Cyprus and then took a ship for the Palestinian harbour of Jaffa.

From Jaffa, he went to Jerusalem, where he finally arrived on 12 November 1752. He spent about three months there, visiting the Holy Places before moving to Galilee. His return trip started from the harbour of Haifa, in the north of Palestine, stopping in Cyprus, Sicily and Marseille and arriving in Genoa on 21 June 1753.

Both of Camucio's pilgrimages can be reconstructed through the travel notes gathered in a manuscript (Joppi 540). This provides much information on practical aspects of the trip, such as prices, accommodation, transport and on the many stops.

Three years after his return from Jerusalem, on 28 October 1756, Camucio was made a bishop by Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740-58), and he kept the office for 20 years, until he resigned because of his great age. While he was bishop, he spent time in the family house in Soleschiano and in his hometown of Tolmezzo. After his resignation, in 1778, he was appointed titular archbishop of Tarso (now in Turkey) and a few years later, in 1781, titular patriarch of Antiochia. He probably spent his last years in Rome, where he held many positions such as assistant at the pontifical throne.

He died on 6 October 1788 and was buried in the basilica of St John Lateran.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Information about Camucio's life can be found in archives in the Vatican City (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), Rome (Archivio del Vicariato), Tolmezzo (Archivio parrocchiale), Trieste (Archivio del seminario vescovile) and Udine (ACAU, Archivio Storico della Curia Archivescovile di Udine; ASU, Archivio di Stato di Udine; BSAU-Biblioteca del Seminario Archivescovile di Udine; and BCY-Biblioteca Civica di Udine).

### *Secondary*

- A. Cedarmas, *Per la cruna del mondo. Carlo Camucio e Moisé Vita Cafsuto, due pellegrini nella Terra Santa del Settecento*, Milan, 2006
- G. Nazzi (ed.), *Dizionario biografico friulano*, Udine, 1997
- K. Eubel et al. (eds), *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 6, *Messaggero di Sant'Antonio*, Padua, 1958
- G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni. Specialmente intorno ai principali santi, beati, martiri*, Venice, 1840-61 (on Camuzio, see vol. 16, p. 311; vol. 67, p. 18; vol. 80, p. 269; vol. 95, pp. 313, 326)



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

MS Udine, Biblioteca Civica V. Joppi di Udine –  
Joppi 540

DATE 1750-3

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

This work is a short manuscript booklet containing 62 unnumbered pages, some of which are left blank. Folios 2r-16r and 42r-43v contain notes on Camucio's pilgrimage to Rome in 1750, and folios 17r-61r contain notes on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The 18<sup>th</sup>-century binding is made from cardboard, and to the front cover a tag has been attached with the caption: *Monsignor Carlo Camucio archidiacono di Tolmesso, Memorie del suo pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme. 1752.*

The work is not a travelogue, but rather a collection of notes made during the two pilgrimages. It comprises lists of expenses, personal observations, accounts of events that occurred, details on accommodation and meals, and names of places where the archdeacon celebrated mass and where he stopped during the journey. Its interest lies mostly in the way it unfolds practical aspects of 18<sup>th</sup>-century travel, such as means of transport, equipment and costs. Unlike diaries of pilgrimages, it does not contain many descriptions of the Holy Places or places of archaeological interest.

The part on the pilgrimage to Rome is the shorter of the two (fols 2r-16r, 42r-43v), and does not contain much information. Most of the notes record expenses, the masses celebrated and the names of the places where Camucio stopped on his way to Rome and back.

The part on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land is much longer (fols 17r-61r). It contains detailed information about practical matters: means of transport, accommodation, duration and costs. Like many other clergy and religious going to the Holy Land, Camucio relied heavily on the Franciscans, both during the journey and in Palestine. On both his way to Jerusalem and back, he received advice and a letter of recommendation from the friars and stayed in their houses and convents. On his way back, for example, he spent a couple of weeks in the Franciscan convent of the Custody of the Holy Land in Cyprus. In Jerusalem, like all the other Catholic pilgrims, he stayed in the St Saviour Convent, and the friars also accompanied him to visit the Holy Places. Unsurprisingly, the climax of

the pilgrimage was the visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and attendance at the Christmas Eve mass in Bethlehem.

Like most pilgrims to the Holy Land, Camucio had remarkably few contacts with Muslims and Jews. This is reflected in the scarcity of references to the local population in his notes. The main exception is that, as he records in his notes, 'Arabs' often accompanied and escorted him in Palestine. He expressed his gratitude for this, acknowledging the advantages of travelling with local escorts to reduce the inevitable dangers. Here and there he also mentions other 'Turks' who might have represented a threat or under whose protection he travelled.

Camucio's lack of interest in the local population is mirrored by the scant observations about his surroundings, which are clearly drawn from his previous knowledge rather than any first-hand experiences.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Camucio's observations reflect the prejudices that were widespread among Europeans, and are well represented in diaries of pilgrimage from this period. Such is the case with typical attributes he applies to the Turks, as 'barbaric', 'insolent' and 'greedy'.

#### PUBLICATIONS

MS Udine, Biblioteca Civica V. Joppi di Udine – Joppi 540 (1750-3)

#### STUDIES

Cedarmas, *Per la cruna del mondo*

**Felicita Tramontana**

# Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca

DATE OF BIRTH    Around 1718  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Milan  
DATE OF DEATH    Possibly 1795  
PLACE OF DEATH    Dresden

## BIOGRAPHY

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca was one of the most renowned European librettists of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He was born around 1718 in Milan but nothing is known about his youth until 1736, when he published his first work, a collection of poems entitled *Applausi poetici* dedicated to the Duke de Noailles. The book launched him into the intellectual life of his town. From this early stage of his life, Migliavacca combined artistic activity with a diplomatic career, becoming imperial secretary to the Vicariate of Italy. With the death of his patron, the Emperor Charles VII, in 1745, his civil career came to a temporary halt.

In 1748, Migliavacca moved to Vienna, where he entered the service of the poet and librettist Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) as secretary and copyist, also collaborating on some of his works. In 1750, he made his debut as a librettist under Metastasio's supervision with the *Armida placata*. The opera, set to music by Giovanni Battista Mele, was premiered in Madrid for the marriage of the *infanta* of Spain, Maria Antonia Fernanda. Thanks to the intercession of Metastasio, in 1752 Migliavacca was appointed court poet and legation counsellor at the court of the Saxon elector in Dresden. There the *Solimano*, his most successful opera, was staged for the first time with music by Johann Adolf Hasse in 1753. The following year, he wrote the libretto for another opera by Hasse, *Artemisia*.

With the Prussian conquest of Dresden in 1756, Migliavacca moved again to Vienna. The following Viennese years were his most productive artistic period. In fact, he was not a particularly prolific author but, thanks to the success achieved by the Metastasian style of his libretti, he had the opportunity to work with the most influential musicians of the time. In the early 1760s, he produced the libretti for the serenata *Tetide* by Christoph W. Gluck (1760), the opera *Armida* by Tommaso Traetta (1761), the *fiesta teatrale Acide e Galatea* with music by Franz Joseph

Haydn (1762), and the serenata *Prometeo assoluto* by Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1762). These works gained him fame as the best epigone and successor to Metastasio.

After Vienna, he returned to Milan around 1765, retaining his offices of poet and diplomat for the court of Dresden. However, in these final years, Migliavacca was almost entirely devoted to his duties as political functionary and, consequently, his literary production considerably thinned out. His last known work is the libretto for *La reggia di Imeneo*, set to music by Johann Gottlieb Naumann, which was staged in Dresden in 1787 on the occasion of the marriage of the Saxon prince Anton. The date of his death is unknown, but it probably did not occur before 1795.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- P. Napoli-Signorelli, *Storia critica de' teatri antichi e moderni*, vol. 6, Naples, 1790, p. 286  
 C.S. Favart, *Mémoires et correspondance littéraires, dramatiques et anecdotiques*, vol. 1, Paris, 1808, pp. 151-2  
 P. Metastasio, *Tutte le opere*, vol. 3. *Le lettere*, ed. B. Brunelli, Milan, 1951

#### *Secondary*

- L. Grasso Caprioli, art. 'Migliavacca, Giovanni Ambrogio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 74, Rome, 2010  
 S. Hansell, art. 'Migliavacca, Giovanni Ambrogio', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of opera*, Oxford, 1992, vol. 3, pp. 381-2

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Solimano

DATE 1753

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

#### DESCRIPTION

*Solimano* (in full, *Solimano. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel teatro della regia elettorale Corte di Dresda, nel Carnevale dell'anno MDC-CLIII*) was the most successful of Migliavacca's libretti. It was staged for the first time by Johann Adolph Hasse in Dresden in 1753. In the following 50 years, it was reset to music by 19 different composers and restaged in 32 different productions in the main theatres of Europe.

The story is inspired by the 17<sup>th</sup>-century tragedy *Il Solimano* by Prospero Bonarelli (1619), which was in turn loosely based on the historical event of the supposed betrayal by the Ottoman prince Mustafa and his execution on the orders of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66) in 1553. But Migliavacca introduced a number of innovations to this 17<sup>th</sup>-century model. He changed the names of some of the historical figures and, above all, he completely refashioned the character of Süleyman, adding a happy ending to the story. It is set in Baghdad, where the Ottoman prince Selim and his half-brother Osmينو, the historical Mustafa and Cihangir, have conducted a victorious campaign against the Persians. They have fallen in love with two Persian princesses, Narsea and Emira, and are willing to sign a peace treaty with the princesses' father, King Tacmante (Tahmasp). Sultan Solimano (Süleyman) unexpectedly appears in Baghdad and, prompted by his wife Rosselane (Roxelana, or Hürrem Sultan), he suspects Selim of infidelity. In fact, Rosselane (a popular character in 18<sup>th</sup>-century operas) does not appear on the stage, though she is repeatedly mentioned.

When Solimano reads a letter forged by the *gran visir* Rusteno (Rüstem Pasha), which appears to prove Selim's treachery, he decides to put his son to death. But the *aga* of the Janissaries, Acomate, who has been ordered to carry out the execution, spares the prince, killing a willing slave in his place. At length, the plot is discovered. Solimano recovers his generosity, forgiving the villain Rusteno, and is reconciled with his sons. He consents to their marriage with Narsea and Emira, which seals the peace between Turks and Persians. The opera closes with a chorus of Janissaries singing *Viva il magnanimo figlio fedel* ('Long live the magnanimous, loyal son').

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This *opera seria* represented an influential model for later 18<sup>th</sup>-century turqueries, and reminiscences can repeatedly be found up to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* by Mozart (1782). In particular, Migliavacca's libretto was significant in reshaping the figure of the Islamic ruler epitomised by Süleyman the Magnificent, thus paving the way for the new treatment of the theme in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The Süleyman of Migliavacca is not the fearsome and awe-inspiring Turkish despot of earlier literature. He has lost a large part of his magnificence, appearing more like an insecure old ruler who has become jealous and suspicious with age, but is ultimately committed to the virtues of clemency and magnanimity. In Migliavacca's libretto, the traditional

Islamic despot evolves into a sort of benevolent monarch, compatible with European Enlightenment absolutism. The transformation is encapsulated in the verses 'even a sultan can rule without being a tyrant' (*anche un Sultano sa senz'esser tiranno, esser Sovrano*).

Migliavacca's libretto was conceived for grand stagings and impressive large-scale scenes. The production of the premiere in Dresden in 1753 was particularly sumptuous, including 800 performers as well as horses, camels and elephants. Metastasio himself, who criticised the libretto, nevertheless praised the magnificence of the spectacle.

An unusual and innovative element was the use of castrati in the roles of the young Turkish princes. Thanks to such features, the libretto enjoyed a lasting popularity. A number of copies were derived from it, and two other versions, credited to Migliavacca himself, were also performed. Both retained the broad lines of the original plot and a large part of the dialogues, though in the second version (set to music first by Davide Perez in 1757) Selim's half-brother is called Zanghire (Cihangir) and has a love affair with a Turkish lady, while the character of Rusteno is omitted. The third version, with music by Giuseppe M. Curci (1782), is closer to the 1753 libretto.

From a strictly operatic point of view, *Solimano* greatly contributed to the European interest in Ottoman music. The Hasse version was one of the first operas to introduce elements of Janissary music, which was to become popular in 18<sup>th</sup>-century musical productions.

#### PUBLICATIONS

##### First version

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca (librettist), *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel teatro della regia elettoral Corte di Dresda, nel Carnevale dell'anno MDCCLIV* / *Soliman, ein Singespiel, welches auf dem Königl. Pohln. und Churfürl. Sächß. Hof-Theater in Dresden, zur Carnevals-Zeit ist aufgeführt worden. Im Jahr 1754*, Dresden: Stössel, 1754 – music by J.A. Hasse (with parallel German trans.); Slg.Her 1638 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Giustinian di S. Moisé nel Carnevale 1755*, Venice: Modesto Fenzo, 1755 – music by D. Fischietti; ML48 [S3240] (digitised version available through the Library of Congress)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Torino nel Carnevale del 1756 alla presenza di S.S.R.M.*, Turin: Zappata ed Avondo, 1756 – music by

M.A. Valentini; ML48 [S10587] (digitised version available through the Library of Congress)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro dell'illustrissimo pubblico di Reggio per la Fiera dell'anno 1756. All'Altezza Serenissima di Francesco III Duca di Modena, Reggio, Mirandola*, Reggio: Giuseppe Davolio, 1756 – music by G.B. Pescetti; L.eleg.m. 3886 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano dramma per musica, da rappresentarsi nel Real Teatro di San Carlo à di 4 novembre 1756 giorno in cui si festeggia l'augusto nome di Carlo nostro invitto regnante*, Naples: Domenico Lanciano, 1756 – music by M.A. Valentini

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano dramma per musica, da rappresentarsi in Roma nel Teatro di Torre Argentina il carnevale dell'anno 1757. Dedicato a sua eccellenza [...] la contessa di Stainville ambasciadrice di Francia alla corte di Roma*, Rome: Ottavio Puccinelli, 1757 – music by P. Enrichelli

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano dramma per musica, da rappresentarsi nel nuovo Teatro dell'illustrissima Accademia Filarmonica nel presente Carnevale 1757. Dedicato alle nobilissime Dame di Verona*, Verona: Dionigio Ramanzini, 1757 – music by G.B. Pescetti

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano dramma per musica, da rappresentarsi nel Theatro di Praga l'anno 1761. Dedicato a [...] Carlo Egone landgravio de Fürstenberg*, [Prague(?), 1761] – music by J.A. Hasse (with parallel German trans.)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel gran ducal teatro di Bronsvigo... il primo d'Agosto MDCCCLXII*, Brunswick, 1762 – music by J.G. Schwanenberger (with parallel German trans.)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel real Teatro di S. Cecilia dell'Unione de' Musici nell'autunno di quest'anno 1763*, Palermo: Antonino Toscano, 1763 – music by G.B. Lampugnani

## Second version

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze nel Nuovo Teatro di Via della Pergola nel carnevale dell'anno 1757. Sotto la protezione della Sac. Ces. Real Maestà di Francesco I. Imperadore de' Romani*, Florence: Stamperia

dirimpetto all'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, 1757 – music by A. Fer-radini; BVEE099994 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio-Ducal teatro di Parma nel carnevale dell'anno 1759*, Parma: Stamperia Monti, 1759 – music by T. Traetta

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Nuovo Teatro in Padova per la solita fiera di giugno 1760*, Padua: Stamperia Conzatti, 1760 – music by B. Galuppi

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel nobilissimo teatro Tron di S. Cassano l'autunno dell'anno 1766*, Venice: Modesto Fenzo, 1766 – music by G. Sciroli

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Real Teatro dell'Ajuda in occasione di festeggiarsi il felicissimo giorno natalizio di sua reale maestà l'augustissima signora d. Marianna Vittoria regina fedelissima nella primavera dell'anno 1768*, Lisbon: Michele Manescal da Costa impressore del Sant'Offizio, 1768 – music by D. Perez

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano, dramma per musica, da rappresentarsi nel nuovo Teatro di Padova in occasione della fiera dell'anno 1768. Dedicato a S.E. la N.D. Maria Dolfin Cavalli degnissima proveditora*, Venice: Stamperia Fenzo, 1768 – music by B. Galuppi

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro della molto Illustre Città di Barcellona, l'anno 1769*, Barcelona: Francesco Generes, 1769 – music by T. Traetta

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Il Solimano. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Verona nel Teatro Nuovo dell'Accademia Filarmonica il carnovale dell'anno 1769. Dedicato alle nobilissime dame di Verona*, Venice: Modesto Fenzo, 1769 – music by B. Galuppi

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano drama (sic) per musica da rappresentarsi nel nobilissimo Teatro di S. Benedetto il Carnevale dell'Anno MDCCXXIII*, Venice: Modesto Fenzo, 1773 – music by J.G. Naumann

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Corte per comando di S.A.R. l'arcivescovo e principe di Salisburgo*, [Salzburg:] Stamperia di Corte, 1774 – music by J.G. Naumann



## Third version

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano, dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Torino nel Carnovale del 1782 alla presenza delle Maestà Loro*, Turin: Onorato Derossi, 1782 – music by G.M. Curci; ML48 [S 2301] (digitised version available through the Library of Congress)

## Pastiches

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano, dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S.M.B.*, London: G. Woodfall, 1758 (with English trans.); ESTC To68806 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca, *Solimano, dramma per musica da rappresentarsi sopra il Teatro di S.M.B. La musica delle arie è di varj autori*, London: G. Woodfall, 1765 (with English trans.)

## STUDIES

- L. Wolff, *The singing Turk. Ottoman power and operatic emotions on the European stage from the siege of Vienna to the age of Napoleon*, Stanford CA, 2016
- J. Griesbach, art. 'Solimano ("Süleyman")', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of opera*, Oxford, 1992, vol. 4, p. 147
- S.C. Fisher and P.J. Jackson, art. 'Solimano ("Süleyman")', in S. Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of opera*, Oxford, 1992, vol. 4, p. 447
- C. Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, Cuneo, 1990, vol. 5, pp. 244-7
- R. Angermüller, 'Johann Adolf Hasse Türkenoper "Solimano II"', *Analecta Musicologica* 25 (1987) 233-66
- E.R. Meyer, 'Turquerie and eighteenth-century music', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (1974) 478-88

Luca Berardi

# Leandro di Santa Cecilia

Giovanni Augusto Cottalorda

DATE OF BIRTH    2 February 1702  
PLACE OF BIRTH   Breglio (today Breil, France)  
DATE OF DEATH    6 July 1784  
PLACE OF DEATH   Rome

## BIOGRAPHY

The Carmelite Leandro di Santa Cecilia (Giovanni Augusto Cottalorda), missionary in countries of the Muslim Orient from 1732 to 1751, was born in Breglio (Breil, diocese of Ventimiglia), a small town now in France, in 1702. He had at least two brothers, one of whom entered the Carmelite Order with the name of Giovanni Andrea di S. Agostino (he died in November 1746, during one of Leandro's brief stays in Italy back from the East; see *Persia*, p. 2; *Mesopotamia*, pp. 2-3), and the other is briefly mentioned in one of Leandro's letters, dated Rome, 9 June 1757 (*Scritture non riferite*, vol. 6, p. 323). He professed in Rome on 21 November 1725 (Ambrosius, *Bio-bibliographia*, p. 194; Ambrosius, *Nomenclator*, pp. 244-5). Apart from short periods back in Italy, he spent about 20 years in the East: Palestine (1732-4), Persia (1736-8), and Mesopotamia (1738-46 and, after a short return to Italy, 1747-51). Leandro describes his stays in his three books *Palestina* (Rome, 1753), *Persia* (Rome, 1757), and *Mesopotamia* (Rome, 1757), though the arrangement of the matter in the books is not strictly chronological.

The main sources for his biography are – apart from the Carmelite repertories – a series of letters kept in the Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide in Rome (a list of Leandro's extant letters is given in *Chronicle*, vol. 2, p. 955), and the three books of travels he composed and published after his return to Rome. At the time of writing these books, however, Leandro may have forgotten or confused some dates: for example, he gives 27 June 1730 as the date of his departure for the East from the Seminary of S. Pancrazio in Rome (*Palestina*, p. 1), and gives the beginning of the following year (1731) as the date of his arrival at the Convent of Mount Carmel, whereas the Carmelite repertories give the year 1732 for

his arrival there. Indeed, it has been noticed that Leandro's dates are often one year back (*Chronicle*, vol. 2, p. 952).

We know almost nothing about the period he spent in Rome before his departure. In a passage from his first book, he says that he had practised as a nurse for his brethren for seven or eight years, and had assisted in the making up of drugs in the apothecary's room of the Vittoria in Rome, and that, given his experience, he was granted a *Breve Apostolico* which enabled him to practise as a physician, should the necessity arise, across the Levant (*Persia*, p. 194). This helped him in his stay in Islamic countries, because he was much appreciated among the people and governors, and thus had the opportunity to obtain favours and aid for Christians living in the territories of mission.

Leandro left Rome for his first journey in June 1731. He went by ship to Ventimiglia, where he took leave of his family in Breglio. He continued by land to Marseille, where he embarked again, and at the end of the year he arrived in Beirut. During the following few years, he travelled throughout Lebanon, Syria and the Holy Land, though it is difficult to trace his exact movements because he followed the method of grouping together his different visits to a place and the journeys he made in the same region. Around Easter 1734, he was ordered by the Propaganda Fide to return to Italy.

At the end of 1734, he was ordered to join Emanuele of S. Alberto in Baghdad (*Annales Baghdad*, pp. 17-18). He arrived on 18 December 1735, and left there for Hamadan in Persia in January 1736, according to a letter by Fr Emanuele, dated Baghdad 8 March 1736 (*Scritture non riferite*, vol. 4, p. 375). In the summer of 1737, he left Hamadan for a brief visit to the Carmelite brothers in Isfahan. Back in Hamadan, he began a correspondence with Jean Otter (1707-48), traveller in Turkey and Persia from 1736 to 1744 and author of an important travel report, published in Paris in 1748. Leandro remained in Hamadan from January 1736 until the spring of 1738, when he returned to Baghdad and remained there until spring 1746, apart from a brief stay in Basra between December 1739 and January 1740 (*Chronica Bassorensis*, p. 15). Thanks to his skill as a physician, in Baghdad he entered the service of Ahmad Pasha (the Turkish governor), and was able to represent to him the interests of local Christians.

Leandro returned to Italy in 1746, and stayed there until Easter 1747, when he returned to Baghdad. Before his departure, he was received in Turin by Carlo Emanuele III, King of Sardinia (r. 1730-73), who gave him a substantial sum of money for the purchase of a pair of Arabian horses.

In the spring of 1748, Leandro arrived in Baghdad and stayed there until 1751. He was charged by the Propaganda Fide with a number of assignments (see the letter to Leandro dated Rome 10 July 1747, in *Scritture non riferite*, vol. 5, p. 186): to open a number of Catholic missions in Mesopotamia; to help two Dominican fathers to settle into the mission in Mosul; and to assure the happy conclusion of the conversion of the Chaldean Nestorian Patriarch Elias, who intended to become a Catholic (though this did not happen). Leandro established missions in Diyarbakir, Mardin and Mosul.

From the 12 or so letters Leandro wrote in the years 1747-51, it is possible to get an idea of the difficulties he encountered in Mesopotamia. He also refers to problems in relations with the French Capuchin Fathers (see the letters dated Diyarbakir 20 September 1748, in *Scritture non riferite*, vol. 5, p. 314, and Vienna 8 January 1752, vol. 6, p. 62; see further the Dominican friar Domenico Lanza, in the report of his mission in Mosul, 1753-70, *Narrazione Mussol*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4, who refers to a rivalry between the French Capuchins and the Dominicans and Carmelites).

On the way back from his third journey, Leandro passed through Constantinople, Bucharest and Vienna. In Vienna, he was received at court and encouraged to write his travels (his books were, in fact, dedicated to the three imperial princes of Austria). In April 1752, Leandro was in Rome, and submitted the report on his mission to the Propaganda Fide (*Scritture non riferite*, vol. 6, p. 150). The first volume was published in 1753, and the other two in 1757.

Leandro died in Rome in 1784.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Jean Antoine du Cerceau [Judas Tadeusz Krusinski], *Histoire de la dernière Révolution de Perse*, 2 vols, The Hague, 1728

MS Rome, Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide – *Scritture non riferite* (collection of letters not presented to the general sessions of the Propaganda Fide because they were not judged relevant): vol. 4. *Scritture non riferite dall'anno 1728 a tutto il 1740 e senza tempo di Mesopotamia e Persia*; vol. 5. *Scritture non riferite, Mesopotamia e Persia, Caldei e Latini, dal 1741 al 1750*; vol. 6. *Scritture non riferite, Mesopotamia e Persia, Caldei e Latini, dal 1751 al 1760*

J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse. Avec une relation des expéditions de Tamas Kouli-Khan*, Paris, 1748

- Leandro di S. Cecilia, *Palestina, ovvero primo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente*, Rome, 1753
- Leandro di S. Cecilia, *Persia, ovvero secondo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente*, Rome, 1757
- Leandro di S. Cecilia, *Mesopotamia, ovvero terzo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente*, Rome, 1757
- MS Rome, Archivio Generale dei Carmelitani Scalzi – 184 c (*Annales de la mission de Baghdad depuis sa fondation (1721) jusqu'à nos jours, rédigées par le R.P. Pierre de la Mère de Dieu*, Baghdad, 1895)
- Chronica Bassorensis Missionis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum annis 1733-1778, ab auctoribus anonymis conscripta, in lucem edita et notis illustrata a P. Ambrosio a S. Teresia*, Rome, 1934
- H. Chick (ed. and trans.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, and the papal mission of the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIII<sup>th</sup> centuries*, 2 vols, London, 1939 (repr. London, 2012)
- Ambrosius à S. Teresia O.C.D., *Bio-bibliographia missionaria Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum (1584-1940)*, Rome, 1940
- Ambrosius à S. Teresia O.C.D., *Nomenclator missionariorum Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Rome, 1944
- MS Rome, Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide – S.C. Mesopotamia/ Miscellanea 1 (D. Lanza, *Narrazione istorica della Fondazione, e progressi della nostra missione di Mussol, e di quanto in particolare avvenne al. P. Dom.co Lanza in tempo del suo impiego nella sud.ta missione dall'anno 1753 fino a tutto l'anno 1770*, 2 vols)

#### Secondary

- R. Conte, 'Alcune considerazioni sulle origini dei Yazidi o Yezidi', *Rivista di Studi Indo-Mediterranei* 5 (2015) 1-20
- P. Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano Leandro di S. Cecilia viaggiatore in Oriente', in A. Gallotta and U. Marazzi (eds), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Naples, 1985, vol. 2/2, pp. 509-31
- B. Genito, 'Un Carmelitano Scalzo del XVIII secolo. Tra ideologia medievale e coscienza moderna del reale in alcune interpretazioni e disegni di resti archeologici', in U. Marazzi (ed.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Naples, 1984, vol. 1/1, pp. 489-501
- R. Gulbenkian, *The translation of the four Gospels into Persian*, Immensee, 1981

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Palestina

DATE 1753

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

This book (with the full title *Palestina, ovvero primo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente, scritto dal medesimo e dedicato al merito impareggiabile dell'Altezza Serenissima del Principe reale Giuseppe d'Austria*) is divided into two parts: the first (pp. 1-122) contains the account of the first of Leandro's journeys, from the Seminario of S. Pancrazio in Rome to the Carmelite Convent of Mount Carmel, and back to Rome (1731-4), and descriptions of the places he visited in Palestine. In the second part (pp. 123-200), he collects together the observations he made during his 20 years in the Levant concerning the territories that were under Ottoman and Persian rule. This part is divided into four chapters: on the religions of the Ottoman and Persian Empires (pp. 124-48), on the character, types and customs of the Turks and Persians (pp. 149-55), on the forms of civil government in their empires (pp. 156-89), and on their military organisation (pp. 190-200).

The first part gives descriptions and observations of many places Leandro visited, particularly Mount Lebanon. He displays a historico-antiquarian attitude in what he writes, mainly interested in identifying the places mentioned in the Bible and in reporting traditions about their origins and history.

The second part of the book is very important as a source of information on aspects of the culture, characteristics, and religions and civil and military organisation of the two great powers in the Middle East. Leandro gives first-hand material for a practical knowledge of Islam and the customs and culture of the Muslim East. For example, in the section on the Five Pillars of Islam he describes the Muslim way of praying in great detail (pp. 133-6). When he talks about the Pillar of almsgiving, he declares that he is impressed by the many instances of charity towards followers of other religions, and also towards animals (p. 136).

Despite this, Leandro's judgment about Islam is sharp: *La religione de Maomettani, ò sempre giudicato essere un miscuglio di leggi Ebreja, e Cristiana, sparso, e sostenuto a forza d'inganno, e d'impostura colla falza speranza della vita eterna* ('I have always thought the religion of the

Mahometans is a mixture of the Jewish and Christian laws, spread and supported by the force of deception and imposture, with the false hope of eternal life'; p. 143).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In the dedication to Joseph of Austria (unnumbered pages), Leandro says he considers it a necessary goal *distruggere la superstiziosa, empia venerazione dello scelerato Maometto* ('to destroy the superstitious, unholy veneration of the evil Mahomet'). The purpose of the work clearly emerges from this and many other passages as being to enjoin Christian rulers to unite in order to free the holy places from Ottoman domination. In accord with this, in the description of the holy places (pp. 68-77, 82-98), he emphasises the sufferings of Christians under the unjust government, and Turkish guards' irreverence for the places under their responsibility (see especially p. 90). Chs 3 and 4 of the second part, on the civil and military organisation in the Ottoman and Persian Empires, appear to be aimed at offering all possible information that would help a military conquest of the lands subjected to Ottoman and Persian rule.

Leandro pays close attention to the cultural and religious richness of the Islamic East, providing information about people of different religions, languages and cultures. But though he possessed good knowledge of the places and people, his remarks are not always dispassionate. For example, he denies that the number of Muslims is as high as is assumed in Europe, and goes so far as to claim that the Muslims are in fact a minority (p. 125), a judgement that seems to be dictated by his purpose of encouraging Christian rulers to conquer the regions that were subject to Muslim domination.

As an author of travel books, Leandro places himself in the literary tradition of the travelogues to the Levant, quoting Pietro Della Valle (pp. 168, 169, 171, 172), Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (p. 168), and Giovanni Gemelli (p. 168; see Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano', p. 16). His religious bias, however, emerges when he identifies places mentioned in the Bible.

Bruno Genito gives a severe judgment of the book, speaking of a *habitus mentale di superiorità* ('mental disposition of superiority') and a *sensibilità culturale distorta e ancora lontana da una moderna e distaccata valutazione dei dati reali* ('distorted cultural sensitivity and still far from a modern and detached evaluation of real data'); he concludes: *Leandro mostra una sorta di attardamento culturale di stampo ancora medievale* ('Leandro shows a sort of cultural lingering of a still medieval stamp'; see 'Un Carmelitano Scalzo', pp. 491-2). This is certainly true and strongly

contrasts with Leandro's own experience in the lands of mission. Indeed, if Leandro judges Islam with the utmost harshness, constantly calling it hypocritical, false and full of superstition, his experience of almost 20 years in Islamic countries is an example of pacific and respectful living together.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Leandro di S. Cecilia, *Palestina, ovvero primo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente*, Rome, 1753; CF0056409 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

#### STUDIES

Conte, 'Alcune considerazioni'  
Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano'  
Genito, 'Un Carmelitano Scalzo'

## Persia

DATE 1757

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

#### DESCRIPTION

This book (its full title is *Persia, ovvero secondo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente, scritto dal medesimo e dedicato a Sua Altezza Serenissima il Principe Carlo Arciduca d'Austria*) describes Leandro's second visit to the East, from 1735 to 1746.

Although he spent only a relatively short period in Persia, in Hamadan, from January 1736 to September 1737 (with a couple of months in Isfahan), and a few months in Hamadan again at the beginning of 1738, he entitled his second book of travels *Persia*. Indeed, a great part of the book (pp. 29-172) is occupied by an account of the recent history of Persia in the turbulent period covering the last years of the Safavid dynasty, the Afghan conquest of Persia (1722), and the reign of Nadir Shah (1736-47). In the second part of the first of his three books (*Palestina*, pp. 167-89), in the chapter on the civil and political organisation of the Turks and Persians, Leandro had given a summary of the history of Persia from the reign of Shah 'Abbas I (1581-1629) to the succession of Shah Ḥusayn (1694-1722), the last Safavid ruler before the Afghan invasion of Persia. In his second book, Leandro continues the account of the vicissitudes of the Persian empire, starting from Shah Ḥusayn's reign down to the year



1736, when Leandro arrived in Hamadan. From this year on, the history of Persia is interwoven with the account of Leandro's mission in Hamadan and Baghdad.

Leandro's history of Persia is mainly based on the memoirs of the Polish Jesuit Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski (missionary in Persia from 1707 and 1725), which had been translated from Latin into French, arranged chronologically and continued to the year 1728 by the French Jesuit Jean Antoine du Cerceau (on Leandro's sources for the history of Persia, see Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano', pp. 525-30).

In this book, Leandro offers an important description of the translation of the sacred books of the Jews, the Qur'an and the Gospels into Persian between May 1740 and June 1741, on the orders of Nadir Shah (pp. 217, 219-21). Indeed, he quotes the report by Urbano di S. Eliseo, one of the translators of the Gospels (see Gulbenkian, *Translation of the four Gospels*, pp. 70-5).

Leandro also gives interesting descriptions of some archaeological sites in Persia, such as the Sasanian site of Taq-i Bustan near Kerman-shah (pp. 19-20 and one table) and the reliefs of Bisutun (pp. 20-1), which he visited during his journey from Baghdad to Hamadan at the beginning of 1736, and again in January 1738, on his way from Baghdad to Hamadan. Leandro's descriptions are among the first European descriptions of these archaeological sites (see Genito, 'Un Carmelitano Scalzo', pp. 496-500; Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano', pp. 517-18, and n. 34).

Leandro recalls an episode that is illuminating about the relationship between the various religions in the region at this time. This occurred in September 1737, and it forced him to leave the Hamadan mission and go back to Baghdad: 'the schismatic Armenians' had urged the local governor to close the Catholic church in Baghdad, to imprison the Carmelite friar of the mission and the bishop (no names are given), and to subject Catholics to heavy taxation (p. 90; for this episode see Chick, *Chronicle*, vol. 1, pp. 631-42).

Leandro had to defend himself before the Propaganda Fide for wearing Turkish clothes (see the letter by Leandro dated Diyarbakir 26 October 1748, in MS Rome, Archivio storico di Propaganda Fide – *Scritture non riferite*, vol. 5, p. 316). We know from Leandro's second book that, after his first successes as a physician in Baghdad, he was given a brown *abba* (mantle) to wear over his habit, and that he rode an Arabian horse preceded by two servants. Leandro describes his pain at having to go around in this garb, but soon he understands that his increased prestige was useful for the local Christians, who now came to services in

the church rather than asking Leandro to go to their homes to celebrate Mass (pp. 208-9).

In such practices, Leandro appears much more flexible in his relations with Muslim people and rulers than his principles would make us suppose.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In the dedication letter of this second book, to Archduke Karl, Leandro states that he intends to encourage Christian rulers to conquer Persia, which was then divided and weakened by internal fighting. It follows that his particular interest in reporting the vicissitudes of Persia, which occupy the greater part of the book, would be dictated by this purpose.

Throughout the book, Leandro exhibits a much more positive attitude towards Persia, its culture, and the character of its inhabitants than towards the Ottoman Empire and its inhabitants – an attitude shared by many contemporary travellers and authors of travelogues. For example, he writes, ‘Having for many years lived alongside both Persians and Turks, I have always noticed in the first a better knowledge and greater accuracy in the false Muslim faith that is common to both. One should not doubt that the Persians have always been more charitable to the poor, more humane towards foreigners, more loyal in their contracts, less dishonest, because they have always been willing to work hard, and are consequently less barbarous and ignorant’ (translated from p. 137).

If the detailed description of the history of the kingdom of Persia was connected with Leandro’s purpose to urge Christian rulers to conquer the country, he also has a moral and eschatological interest: to see at work the inscrutable divine design in the destruction of such a great country (pp. 137-8). Finally, the amount of space given to the contemporary difficulties of Persia may be due to the interest that surrounded these events in Europe, testified by the publication of such works as the memoirs of Tadeusz Jan Krusinski (1675-1756) in the French translation by du Cerceau, and Jean Otter’s (1707-48) *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* (1748).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Leandro di S. Cecilia, *Persia, ovvero Secondo Viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente, scritto dal medesimo e dedicato a Sua Altezza Serenissima il Principe Carlo Arciduca d’Austria*, Rome: Angelo Rotilj nel palazzo de Massimi, 1757; CF005646410 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

## STUDIES

Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano'

Genito, 'Un Carmelitano Scalzo'

Gulbenkian, *Translation of the four Gospels*

H. Chick (ed. and trans.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, London, 1939 (repr. London, 2012) vol. 2, pp. 954-5

## Mesopotamia

DATE 1757

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

This book (its full title is *Mesopotamia, ovvero terzo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente, scritto dal medesimo e dedicato a Sua Altezza Serenissima il Principe Pietro Leopoldo Arciduca d'Austria*) describes Leandro's third journey to the East, to Mesopotamia, mainly Baghdad, Mosul (Nineveh) and Diyarbakir, between 1747 and 1751. It offers descriptions of various places, among them Baghdad (pp. 46-51), and the 'Earthly Paradise' near Mardin (p. 92), although a great part recounts Leandro's vicissitudes, his difficult relations with Christians of other confessions, the persecutions of Catholic Armenians by schismatic Armenians, the accusations made against him after a 'bad Christian' had stolen some letters which the *Propaganda Fide* had sent him (pp. 84-6), the final break with the Chaldean Nestorian Patriarch Elias and worsening relations with him, and Leandro's good relations with the governors sent by the Ottoman sultan to Baghdad, Mosul and Diyarbakir. With some of the local governors he discusses the Qur'an and the state of the Ottoman Empire (pp. 122-4).

Leandro also gives news of the political situation in Mesopotamia and in Persia, thus continuing the history of Persia offered in the previous two books. In particular, ch. 7 recounts the death of Nadir Shah (r. 1736-47) as it was told him by 'people worthy of trust' (pp. 39-46, with a picture of the shah). He also speaks of his successes as a physician, and gives some of the remedies he uses (pp. 100-1, 113-18).

From what Leandro writes, it seems that the real difficulties during his years of mission arose from the rivalry and bad relations with the French Capuchins, and with 'the schismatic Armenians'.

Many episodes from real life make reading his voluminous work enjoyable. Despite Leandro's limitations arising from his ideological position, his work is rich in first-hand pieces of information on the culture, history, monuments and religions of the Islamic East.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Compared with the first two books, this is mainly of interest for biographical details about Leandro, and for the history of the missions in the East. It is fundamental for understanding Leandro's attitude towards the Islamic Middle East.

Many episodes from real life testify to a relationship of mutual knowledge and free exchange of ideas between Leandro and local notables. For example, he reports a discussion on the Qur'an and the Ottoman Empire with the cousin of the *Bassa* of Mosul, in which 'I told him, first, that, as far as the Alcoran was concerned, that book is a collection of errors mixed with false ideas and mendacious tales, with which the eternal truths are adulterated ... Mahomet, who was the first author of it, pretended, with frauds and deceits, to have received his mission from God ... Coming then to talk of the Ottoman Empire, I told him, ... that it was impossible to assert anything concerning its duration; although the foul vices reigning in it impudently, must make him fear its end ... He showed that he liked the sincerity with which I had answered him, and thanked me cordially' (translation of pp. 122-3). Insights afforded by episodes such as this show that behind the facade of rejection and condemnation, human relationships that were fully developed made possible true understanding of differences.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Leandro di S. Cecilia, *Mesopotamia, ovvero terzo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente, scritto dal medesimo e dedicato a Sua Altezza Serenissima il Principe Pietro Leopoldo Arciduca d'Austria*, Rome: Angelo Rotilj nel palazzo de Massimi, 1757; CF005646411 (digitised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

#### STUDIES

Conte, 'Alcune considerazioni'  
 Orsatti, 'Il Carmelitano'  
 Genito, 'Un Carmelitano Scalzo'

Paola Orsatti

# Felice Tempia

Felice Michele Giobbe Tempia

DATE OF BIRTH 1720  
PLACE OF BIRTH Biella  
DATE OF DEATH 13 September 1774  
PLACE OF DEATH Turin

## BIOGRAPHY

The priest Felice Tempia, canon and prior of the Church of Corpus Domini in Turin, was a prolific writer of eulogies, religious orations and other minor occasional pieces, all written in a magniloquent, flowery style (*Il modello di un soldato, secondo lo spirito del Vangelo*, Turin: Davico, 1761; *La redenzione degli schiavi sudditi di S.S.R.M. fatta in Algeri, Tunisi e Tripoli da' PP. trinitarij scalzi detti di S. Michele, colla orazione recitata in tale occasione dal priore Felice Tempia*, Turin: Avondo, 1765; *Orazione panegirica di D. Felice Tempia detta nel primo anniversario della solenne traslazione del corpo di S. Vittorio martire*, Turin: Vimercati, stampatore del S. Officio, 1745; *Breve ragguaglio della vita del signor Carlo Antonio Vacchetta sacerdote della congregazione della missione di Torino*, Turin: Zappata, 1751). He was admired for his eloquence and learning, and had an extensive personal library. He studied theology and had as his spiritual director Carlo Antonio Vacchetta, head of the Casa della Missione.

Close to the Congregazione della Missione, he eventually entered the Collegiate Church of Santissima Trinità. In 1756, he was made a consultant to the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Turin. Tempia died in 1774, and his funeral oration was delivered by the cleric Carlo Giuseppe Tardi (or Tardi or Tardy), who had mildly Calvinist inclinations, and who later became an influential abbot as well as the spiritual director of the House of Cavour.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Carlo Giuseppe Tardi, *Nei funerali fatti alla memoria del Chiarissimo Sacerdote Priore Felice Tempia Torinese della Congregazione del Corpus Domini e della Collegiata della SS. Trinità in Torino, Orazione funebre di Carlo Giuseppe Tardi Torinese Lic. in Teologia detta nella Chiesa dell'Illustrissima Città li 17 del Novembre l'anno 1774*, Turin: Mairesse, 1774

*Secondary*

V. Lavenia, *Dio in uniforme. Cappellani, catechesi cattolica e soldati in età moderna*, Bologna, 2017, p. 226

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Compendio della vita del P. Domenico di S.  
Tommaso, detto Ottomano  
'Résumé of the life of Father Domenico of San  
Tommaso, known as Ottomano'

DATE 1757

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

Father Domenico of San Tommaso, better known as Domenico Ottomano (1642–c. 1676), allegedly the son of Sultan Ibrahim (r. 1640–8), who became a Dominican friar, is a figure with considerable power in the imaginary of European Catholics of the time.

In this work, entitled *Compendio della vita del P. Domenico di S. Tommaso, detto Ottomano, dell'Ordine de' Predicatori. Dedicata a Sua Eccellenza Fra Antonio Solaro, Cavaliere dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano, Gran Priore di Lombardia, ed ambasciatore della sua religione alla Santità di N.S. Benedetto XIV* ('Résumé of the life of Father Domenico of San Tommaso, known as Ottomano, of the Order of Preachers'), his life starts with him being kidnapped by the Knights Hospitaller when he was only two years old, and continues with his experiences in Malta, where he is forced to receive a proper Catholic education, and finally to enter the Dominican order. From being an adventure story, however, his life soon turned into tragedy as the young friar attempted to transform himself, in the clash between Europe and the Ottoman Empire at the time of the War of Candia, from a mere pawn into an agent in history, with the

dream that he could reunite East and West and become the first 'Christian prince of Ottoman blood'.

Felice Tempia's biography of the friar shows how fascination with him continued into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Tempia's book was published in Turin. In Venice, Giovanni Grevembroch was at the same time writing his *Gli abiti de' Veneziani*, in the fourth volume of which he included a portrait of Domenico Ottomano with some biographical details, entitling it *Luna convertita in sole* ('The moon converted into the sun'). As Tempia also makes clear, portraits of the Dominican were to be found all over Europe: even Cardinal Mazarin had one in his study. Tempia dedicated the biography to Fra Antonio Maurizio Solara, Knight Hospitaller, prior of Lombardy and an acquaintance of Montesquieu, because of the leading part played by the Maltese Order in the events he describes. His book is 168 pages long, and includes an engraving of the portrait of Domenico Ottomano at the age of 34. As in all depictions of Domenico, at the top of the picture there are two crescents, the symbol of Islam.

The title of the book, *Compendio* ('Résumé'), makes clear that its aim was to spread existing knowledge more widely. Tempia did not consult original sources, except in a very few cases, taking information almost exclusively from the biography published in Naples in 1689 by the Dominican Ottaviano Bulgarini, and from other historians such as Giovan Battista Nani, Galeazzo Gualdo, Gerolamo Brusone, Alfonso Loschi, Pietro Bertelli, Giacomo Bosio and Ignace Hyacinthe Amat de Graveson.

The story begins with a description of Sultan Ibrahim (r. 1640-8) and the vow he made to 'the false prophet Muḥammad': if he succeeded in having a son, he would take him to Mecca to be circumcised, 'according to the foolish superstition of that country'. Little Osman was born, and preparations began for the pilgrimage. A magnificent galleon with a convoy of ships set sail for Alexandria, with the infant, his mother Zefira and high-ranking officials and courtiers, including the Kizlar Agha (head of eunuchs) Sümbül Ağa, on board. On 28 September 1644, however, when they were passing Rhodes, the pilgrims ran into six Maltese galleys that were patrolling the sea. Despite the unequal balance of forces, the Knights Hospitaller prevailed over the Turks, killed the ship's captain and Sümbül Ağa, seized the treasure and took the surviving passengers prisoner. A storm arose and the Maltese vessels with their precious cargo took shelter in the port of Kalismene in Crete, then a Venetian possession. The hospitality they were given there by the Venetians, whom the Ottomans accused of being in league with the Maltese, became the *casus*

*belli* of the Ottomans' attack on the Republic of Venice, and triggered the War of Candia (1645-99).

On 3 November, the convoy reached Malta, where the prisoners were sold into slavery, apart from Zefira, Osman and some ladies-in-waiting. A few months later, Zefira died, and the Grand Master, Giovanni Paolo Lascaris, began collecting information to establish the identity of little Osman; he reached the conclusion that Osman really was Ibrahim's heir. Meanwhile, in expectation of an Ottoman attack, the Knights Hospitaller made various military preparations, which are fully described by Tempia. On 8 August 1648, however, Ibrahim was killed and his son Mehmed IV, Osman's younger brother (r. 1648-87), became sultan (p. 48).

Forty women had accompanied Zefira, and looked after Osman. Of these, 23 died, five converted to Christianity and went into the service of the queen of Spain, and the rest were sold into slavery. At this point, the boy, who was about nine, was put into the care of the Dominicans, with the Vicar General Placido Leante having chief responsibility. For two years, Osman refused to abjure the faith in which his mother and the other women had brought him up, and 'every word expressing contempt for the Turkish sect was a knife cutting into his vitals'. Finally, after a painful internal struggle, 'the Lord broke down his resistance' and he converted to Catholicism. His solemn baptism, described in great detail by Tempia, was celebrated on 23 February 1656, in the Conventual Church of Saint John, and he chose the name Domenico of San Tommaso. Following this, he asked to enter the Dominican order, and did so on 20 October 1658.

Not only was Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655-67) kept constantly informed of the events that were taking place (he received a report on Osman's conversion), but from then on he became ever more closely involved in the convert's life. Thus, it was the pope himself who insisted that Osman should pursue his studies not in Salamanca, which was the wish of the General of the Dominicans, but in Naples, in the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria della Sanità. When he was on his way to Naples, Osman asked for the ship's route to be changed so that he could visit the miraculous picture of St Dominic in the monastery in Soriano.

After a few months in Naples, however, the boy became ill and the pope decided to move him to Rome, where he was the object of tremendous interest and fascination. He studied philosophy and stayed in the city for four years, until Cardinal Antonio Barberini – with the agreement of Cardinal Mazarin – dispatched him to Paris at the end of August 1665,



in the hope that he would be able to play some useful part in the international crisis resulting from the War of Candia. On the journey, Father Ottomano stopped in Florence, Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Parma, Milan and Turin, in all those cities being welcomed with great honours and ceremonies. His arrival in Paris on 27 January 1665 was greeted with similar rejoicing; he presented himself to King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) (giving a speech in Italian), and took up residence in the Dominican Couvent de l'Annonciation on rue Saint-Honoré.

Tempia emphasises the contrast between the public figure surrounded by curiosity and honours, and the actual character of Father Ottomano, which is described as modest, timid, shy, inclined to melancholy and contemplation and intensely private. In Paris, the friar received a number of letters from Cosmo Maurizio Paleologo, the Vicar General of the Greek Orthodox Church of Alexandria, who urged him to foment revolts against the Ottomans in Greece, where the Christians would hail him as a king leading an uprising against the sultan. Yet again, the Dominican passively submitted to other people's decisions, in this case those of Marco Antonio Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador to Paris, who told him to leave Paris and go to Venice to inform the Senate of his readiness to act as the initiator of disorder in the Middle East. The Republic of Venice, in agreement with the new Pope Clement IX (r. 1667-9), decided to send Father Ottomano to Crete. He was received by the Venetian commander Francesco Morosini, who hoped that his presence would create disturbance and unrest among the Ottoman soldiers. The plan was that he should write messages in Turkish in which he would proclaim himself the rightful sultan, and get them distributed, initially by his servant Jusuf. When that did not work, messages were written on pieces of paper and attached to arrows, which were shot into the enemy's camp. That did not work either and there were no riots.

The situation was deteriorating and Father Ottomano was moved to Zante, where he suddenly seems to have become more active. He tried to establish contact with the inhabitants of Mani in the Peloponnese, who were famously warlike and resistant to Ottoman rule: he dreamed he would be able to kindle some revolt. Meanwhile, on 4 October 1669, Candia was surrendered to the Ottomans. The Dominican did not surrender, however, and began to entertain ideas of anti-Ottoman insurrections in Poland and Russia. He went to Venice to discuss them with the Senate and requested the finance necessary to carry out the plan, but got very little response. He then decided to hurry to Rome to ask the pope for

help. The vessel that should have taken him to Ancona was shipwrecked, and he ended up in the port of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where he was forced to disguise himself as an Armenian merchant to avoid persecution. He eventually managed to get to Ravenna, and from there he went to the Sanctuary of Loreto (p. 348). He reached Rome on the day Pope Clement died, and the death of Antonio Barberini followed soon after. Thus, the Dominican lost his protectors, and at a loss, he decided to become a priest. He celebrated his first mass in the Basilica of San Paolo, and stayed in Rome for five years, 'totally alone', devoting every day to reading the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas.

Nonetheless, his experiences in Greece had changed his temperament and aspirations, 'keeping alight within him a sacred desire to devote himself to the benefit of souls, and above all to those of the infidels' (p. 150). Eventually, he decided to ask his General to be sent as a missionary 'to anywhere in the world' but preferably to Armenia. Instead, he was named Prior and Vicar General of the Dominican convents in Malta, where a plague epidemic was raging. Travelling via Naples and Sicily, he reached Valletta on 28 March 1676, with his companion, Padre Tomaso Ignozzi of Terracusa. Shortly after his arrival he fell ill, and he died on 25 October that same year. He was 34. The Knights Hospitaller organised a splendid funeral – which was 'magnificent and sorrowful'.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Compendio* is a work of little originality, written in a grandiloquent style. What is of interest is Tempia's decision to take a case of child kidnapping and forced conversion from Islam, make it into an edifying narrative, and popularise it in the circles of the House of Savoy that he himself frequented – those connected with the missionaries, the Trinitarian Fathers and the Inquisition. Certain unknown 'worthy personages' had urged him to write about his protagonist, drawing mainly on the biography published by the Dominican Ottavio Bulgarini in Naples in 1689.

Tempia does not seem to have had any particular interest in Islam. Unlike his main source, Bulgarini, he does not give details of syncretic devotional practices that took place in Malta (involving an image of San Domenico, for example), nor does he deal with the Muslim teaching that Ottomano received as a child. Tempia is far more interested in the political and military aspects of the story, and in examining how Catholic religious propaganda, together with the authorities of the Greek Orthodox

Church, had attempted to destabilise some of the territories ruled over by the Ottomans.

The life of the sultan's son who became a Dominican friar created a huge sensation at the time, and information about him circulated around the whole of Europe for many years. It aroused fierce controversy, one example of which is a book published in English and translated into Latin, French and German (*The history of three late, famous impostors, viz. Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei and Sabatai Sevi: the one, pretended son and heir to the late Grand Signior, the other, a prince of the Ottoman family, but in truth, a Valachian counterfeit, and the last, the supposed Messiah of the Jews*, London: Herringman, 1669, pp. 1-21). Its author, John Evelyn, opined that Osman was not really the son of the sultan, and that the War of Candia had therefore been fought for no reason. Such questioning of the identity of Padre Ottomano can be explained not only in terms of freethinking criticism, but also as arising from the political and diplomatic rivalry existing between England, Venice, France and Rome regarding the Ottoman Empire.

Tempia defends the truth of Osman's identity (he published at the beginning of his book an excerpt from Graveson's *Historia letteraria*, the *Propugnatio regiae originis Patris Ottomanī*), but it is difficult to tell how far the Turin priest was aware of this power play, which extended far beyond little Osman. To him and to his readers, Osman remained a mere edifying example: first there was the conversion that took place in the house of Ottoman royalty, then the fact that the convert himself was given the task of fighting for the political and religious defeat of the sultanate. The narrative lays emphasis on Osman's character: he is described as gentle, submissive, unfailingly obedient and ready to do the bidding of his superiors, even though he kept some signs of regality. A great deal of space is, of course, devoted to describing the conversion, which Osman tried to resist as long as possible. The repudiation of the Islamic faith was achieved by the persistence of the Dominicans, who tried every means to make the boy renounce it (to the extent that Osman was afraid of becoming ill, in case he should be baptised against his will). Subsequently, the boy was struck down by a nervous breakdown, 'an intense wretchedness', during which he was overwhelmed by memories of the Muslim teaching given him by his mother and the other women who took care of him. The conversion process was only completed because of miraculous power emanating from the images of San Domenico and of the Virgin of the Rosary, and the oil of the lamp burning above the altar of San Domenico.

Tempia's story, like that of Bulgarini, which inspired it, follows the rhetorical pattern of conversion narratives, which constitute a distinct literary genre. It is no surprise, therefore, that we cannot find in any part of the tale a trace of the coercion and of the violence inflicted on Osman, who was kidnapped, more or less forced to repudiate Islam, and then exploited for military and diplomatic purposes. Adopting the rhetorical scheme of the genre implies encoding and reshaping the violence within a precise narrative and ideological frame. The result is the lack of any mention of the violence that underlies this tale.

The story, in which a wide range of powers and interests from the Mediterranean and Continental Europe overlapped, was thus written and read in Savoy ecclesiastical circles under Carlo Emanuele III (r. 1730-73), mainly as 'a great spur to virtue, and a powerful reason to wonder at Divine Mercy, and reverence it ever more greatly'.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Felice Tempia, *Compendio della vita del P. Domenico di S. Tommaso, detto Ottomano, dell'Ordine de' Predicatori. Dedicata a Sua Eccellenza Fra Antonio Solaro, Cavaliere dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano, Gran Priore di Lombardia, ed ambasciatore della sua religione alla Santità di N.S. Benedetto XI*, Turin, 1757

#### STUDIES

- T. Freller, 'Osman and Muhammad el-Attaz. Muslim princes converted to Christianity and their role in the "Holy War" against Islam', *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam* 65 (2016) 21-50
- G. Fiume, *Schiavitù mediterranea. Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna*, Milan, 2012
- Ö. Bardakçı and F. Pugnière, *La dernière croisade. Les Français et la guerre de Candie, 1669*, Rennes, 2008, p. 39
- T. Freller, 'The fall of Candia and the "Padre Ottomano". Facts and fiction', *Studi Veneziani* 51 (2006) 319-52
- T. Freller and D. Campoy, *Padre Ottomano and Malta. A story of 1001 nights*, Malta, 2006
- S. Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna*, Naples, 1999, p. 300
- K.M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the seventeenth century*, Philadelphia PA, 1991, p. 111
- A.A. Bernardy, 'L'incidente di Malta (1644-45) e il padre Ottomano (1641?-1676)', *Archivio Storico di Malta* 7 (1936) 448-62

- D. Callus, *Il padre Ottomano fu vero principe? Saggio storico-critico*, Rome, 1918
- H. del Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris, 1906, vol. 1, pp. 205, 227
- H. Missak Effendi, 'Le père Ottoman', *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* 17 (1903) 350-78

Chiara Petrolini

## *Distinta relazione di un caso assai funesto avvenuto in Costantinopoli*

‘The singular report of a very bad case that occurred  
in Constantinople’

DATE 1768

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

### DESCRIPTION

This anonymous text of a mere three pages, published in Venice in 1768, is in the form of a letter written from Constantinople (its title in full is *Distinta relazione di un caso assai funesto avvenuto in Costantinopoli, e sentenza terribile pronunciata dal Primo Visire contor un Prete Greco, condannato ad essere abbrugiato vivo*, ‘The singular report of a very bad case that occurred in Constantinople, and the terrible sentence pronounced by the Grand Vizier sentencing a Greek priest to be burned alive’). It is intended to inform an unknown reader (maybe a Venetian) of two strange events that happened in Constantinople, probably during that year. The first was a series of unexpected earthquakes that were severe enough to cause terror and many deaths in the suburb of Pera, and the second was the case of the attractive wife of a Greek shopkeeper being harassed so much by the son of a Turkish general that she and her husband decided to kill him by luring him into a trap. Some months later, just before Holy Week, the shopkeeper went to confession and told the priest of the crime. Aware of the rich reward of 500 reals that was promised by the dead man’s father for information, the priest denounced the shopkeeper to the Grand Vizier, who ordered his arrest.

But that was not the end of the matter. As the author says, ‘Divine Providence did not want the priest’s wrongdoing in revealing his penitent’s confession to go unpunished.’ The shopkeeper’s wife sought a hearing with the Grand Vizier and told him the story, begging him to show clemency towards her husband. Struck by what she said, the Grand Vizier interrogated her husband and reprimanded him both for committing the crime and also for not appealing to him for justice. Above all, he asked him why he had confessed his crime to the priest and risked it becoming known. The shopkeeper replied that the priest should not

have revealed the contents of the confession, even to spare his own life because of the priestly obligation to keep secrets that were sincerely confessed during the sacrament of confession.

The Grand Vizier thought he should consult the Patriarch of Constantinople. The latter confirmed that a violation of the confessional necessitated the severest penalty, namely the stake. So, the Grand Vizier, who had been called to administer justice in the name of the sultan for the murder of a Muslim by an infidel, in a strange and contradictory reversal of positions imposed a death sentence on the priest and set the shopkeeper free.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The events in this story must have been more complicated than the short letter suggests, but its essence is that, in this instance, Ottoman justice recognised the violation of the sacrament of penance by a member of the Greek clergy as a crime, rather than the murder of a Muslim at the hand of an infidel. Some aspects of the story should be highlighted.

First, the text was printed in Venice, the author seems to have addressed it to a Venetian, and the Greek Orthodox colony in the Republic of Venice was the richest and most important colony in the Greek diaspora.

Second, the Ottoman Empire was multi-ethnic and multi-religious. It contained a number of non-Muslim minorities, and the majority of Europe's Orthodox Christians lived within its borders. Since the time of Mehmed II (r. 1451-81), the Christian patriarch had been recognised as an important official dignitary, recipient of a banner with two horse tails, and beneficiary of the administrative and military support of the state. The Greek Church maintained its spiritual independence, and the Greek community (*millet*) was administered and represented by the Patriarchate.

Despite the fact that the Greek clergy often distanced themselves from the Ottoman power upon which they were dependent, generally speaking they remained loyal to the sultan. Some recent studies have proposed a new appraisal of the *millet* system and of Christian (and Jewish) communities as 'powers that effectively provided shelter and discipline for their members' (Greene, 'Introduction', p. 10). The high number of appeals by Orthodox subjects to the Islamic courts, even in matters that came within the ambit of their own courts (suggesting a general weakening of the power of the Patriarchate, and linked to the desirability of obtaining a verdict that was more immediate and more favourable to

their needs), the porosity of religious boundaries, and the frequency of personal relationships between individuals of different faiths, have led to criticism of the image of a society in which different religious communities lived separated from each other by rigid legal and confessional barriers.

Third, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Russian advances in the Mediterranean led to the development of close ties between the Greek subjects of the Sublime Porte and Orthodox Russia. After the conclusion of the Russian-Ottoman conflict of 1768-74, Catherine II (r. 1762-96) formally declared that Russia was protector of all Orthodox Christians, and at the same time rebellions were stirred up throughout the Balkans among the sultan's subjects. The Ottomans noted with concern the bonds between the Greek nation and the Russian Empress. It could therefore be that this particular case and the account of it demonstrate the importance to the Ottoman authorities of showing they were competent to treat the Orthodox community with scrupulous fairness, even to the extent of imposing the punishments prescribed by the community itself, and even in the case of the murder of a Muslim, and also the importance to them of making clear more widely that there was no need for outside powers to become involved in internal affairs within their empire.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Anonymous, *Distinta relazione di un caso assai funesto avvenuto in Costantinopoli, e sentenza terribile pronunziata dal Primo Visire contro un Prete Greco, condannato ad essere abbrugiato vivo*, Venice, 1768; 811.h.18 (digitised version available through the British Library)

#### STUDIES

- V. Lavenia, "Quasi haereticus". Lo scisma nella riflessione degli inquisitori dell'età moderna', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 126 (2014); <http://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/1838>
- A. Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the late Ottoman Empire. A study of communal relations in Anatolia*, London, 2013
- M. Greene, 'Introduction', in M. Greene (ed.), *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton NJ, 2005, 1-12
- F. Müge Göçek, 'The legal recourse of minorities in history. Eighteenth-century appeals to the Islamic court of Galata', in M. Greene (ed.), *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton NJ, 2005, 47-69

Rita Foti



# Alfonso Maria de' Liguori

DATE OF BIRTH 27 September 1696  
PLACE OF BIRTH Marianella, Kingdom of Naples  
DATE OF DEATH 1 August 1787  
PLACE OF DEATH Pagani, Kingdom of Naples

## BIOGRAPHY

Born into a noble family, Alfonso received a private education in humanist and scientific disciplines, including painting, composing and playing various instruments. Around the age of 16, his family employed for him a Muslim servant named Abdullah. According to some biographers (such as Vincenzo Ricci), the servant converted to Christianity because of his admiration for his young master's virtuous life.

From 1708 to 1713, de' Liguori studied law at the university of Naples. He practised until 1723, but when he uncovered corruption and injustice during a trial, resulting in his first defeat in court, he abandoned his career. Months later, he turned to theological studies and immediately became interested in moral theology. From December 1726, after ordination, he preached in the streets of Naples. In this way, his well-known practice of 'popular mission' was born, and his bishop assigned other priests to preach alongside him. In 1732, he founded the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists), which was officially recognised by the pope in 1749.

De' Liguori wrote many moral, dogmatic, ascetic and spiritual works, inspired by issues and questions that arose during his missions. In 1762, he was named bishop of S. Agata dei Goti in Benevento, and worked there for the renewal of clerical and lay education and social renewal. During this time, he wrote about Islam, persuading people of the excellence of Catholicism and strengthening their loyalty to the Church. He retired in 1775 and died in 1787. Pope Gregory XVI (r. 1831-46) canonised him in 1839, and in 1870 Pius IX (r. 1846-78) proclaimed him a Doctor of the Church.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- MS Rome, General Archives of Redemptorist Fathers in Rome – *Notizie biografiche di Sant'Alfonso*, XXV, XXVI, XXVII; two diaries, S.A.M., VI, 9, 10
- G. Cardone, *De vita venerabili servi Dei Alphonsus Maria de Liguori*, Rome, 1796
- A. Tannoia, *Della vita ed istituto del venerabile Alfonso de Liguori*, Naples, 1798
- V. Giattini, *Vita del beato Alfonso Maria de Liguori*, Rome, 1816
- A. Rispoli, *Vita del beato Alfonso de Liguori*, Naples, 1834
- C. Puccinelli, *Vita del beato Alfonso Maria de Liguori*, Rome, 1839
- W. Faber, *The life of Saint Alphonse del Liguori*, London, 1848
- C. Villecourt, *Vie et institute de Sant'Alphonse de Liguori*, Tournai, 1863
- A. Capecelatro, *La vita di Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori*, Rome, 1893

*Secondary*

- G. Padovan, art. 'Islam e la Chiesa in Italia', in *Dizionario storico-tematico 'La Chiesa in Italia'*; [www.storiadellachiesa.it](http://www.storiadellachiesa.it).
- V. Ricci, *Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori, maestro di vita spirituale*, Milan, 1998
- A. Berthe, *Saint'Alphonse de Liguori*, Paris, 1986
- T. Rey-Mermet, *Le saint du siècle des Lumières. Alfonso de Liguori 1696-1787*, Paris, 1982
- G. Cacciatore, art. 'Alfonso Maria de Liguori', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 2, Rome, 1960, 342-50
- R. Telleria, *San Alfonso de Liguori*, Madrid, 1950
- O. Gregorio, *Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori, contributi bio-bibliografici*, Brescia, 1940
- M. De Meulemeester, *Bibliographie de St. Alphonse de Liguori*, Leuven, 1933

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Verità della fede

## 'The truth of the faith'

DATE 1767

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

In this work, de' Liguori collects and expands two treatises he had written earlier: *Breve dissertazione contro gli errori de' moderni increduli* ('A brief dissertation on the mistakes of modern unbelievers', 1756) and *Verità della fede fatta evidente* ('The truth of faith made clear', 1762), both reactions against ideas such as deism and rationalism. In his introduction to

*Verità della fede*, de' Liguori states that he wishes to rescue the youth of his time from these mistakes, so this short pamphlet-length publication intended for mass-distribution employs colloquial language that anyone could follow.

De' Liguori devotes just four paragraphs out of 786 to Islam, under the title *Non può esser vera la religione maomettana* ('The Mohammedan religion cannot be true'). He starts with praise for Muḥammad for his cleverness, generosity and thankfulness, but then he questions some of his moral lapses, such as his sexual appetite, his many wives, and his depiction of heaven as a place of fleshly pleasures. In addition, Muḥammad's participation in fighting and his condemnation of prisoners to torture and death are inconsistent with his claim to be a religious leader. Predictably, there are no signs of any awareness of the changed attitudes towards Muḥammad that were beginning to appear in French and English works of this time.

On the Qur'an, de' Liguori questions the claim that it is inspired and revealed from God. He recognises the difference between narrative, doctrinal and juridical passages, and he mentions the accusation made in it that Jews and Christians falsified their texts. He also notes the many irreconcilable differences between the very physical depiction of judgement, heaven and hell in the Qur'an and the teachings of the Thomist tradition, and stresses the problem raised by what he understands as the rejection in the Qur'an of allegorical interpretation. In what he says about the Qur'an, de' Liguori depends on Ludovico Marracci, whose translation and commentary he regularly quotes.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

On 4 August 1767, immediately after the publication of *Verità della fede*, Pope Clement XIII (r. 1758-69) honoured the work with a *breve* (brief papal letter), in which he praised the author for his untiring struggle for the triumph of faith. Some years later, in 1771, Ignatius Neubauer quoted de' Liguori's work repeatedly in his *Vera religio vindicata*, regarding it as one of the better contributions to the defence of Christianity.

De' Liguori discusses Islam alongside Judaism and a series of Christian heresies in order to explain certain moral issues and to emphasise unreasonable beliefs and practices. By doing this he aimed to portray Catholic Christianity as the only true faith, from both a moral and a rational perspective. As in similar works, Islam itself is not the main focus of de' Liguori's theological investigation, and knowledge of Islam and other religions was no more than an apologetic tool.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Naples: Di Domenico, 1767  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Bassano: Remondini, 1767;  
 Polem. 1636 m-1 (digitised version available through MDZ)  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Naples: Di Paci, 1777  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Bassano: Remondini, 1778  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Monza: Corbetta, 1823;  
 17.J.9.(Vol.1/Vol.2) (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Turin: Marietti, 1826  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Venice: Antonelli, 1832;  
 19.Cc.282.(Vol.14) (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Turin: Marietti, 1832  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Venice: Antonelli, 1834;  
 19.Cc.282.(Vol.44) (digitised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Verità della fede*, Naples: Gabinetto Letterario, 1840  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, *Opere dogmatiche*, vol. 8, *Opere di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*, Turin, 1880, *Verità della fede*, 536-786 (text available through Intratext)

## STUDIES

- Padovan, 'Islam e la Chiesa in Italia'  
 Ricci, *Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori*  
 Berthe, *Saint'Alphonse de Liguori*  
 Rey-Mermet, *Le saint du siècle des Lumières*  
 Telleria, *San Alfonso de Ligorio*  
 Gregorio, *Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori*  
 De Meulemeester, *Bibliographie de St. Alphonse de Liguori*

Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni,  
o il trionfo della Chiesa  
'The history of heresies and refutations of them,  
or the triumph of the Church'

DATE 1772

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

This work was also a product of de' Liguori's time as bishop of Sant'Agata dei Goti, Benevento. In the introduction, he states that, even if many notable scholars have already written about the topic, his work will provide a brief and well-ordered summary of each heresy, so it will be easily accessible even to those who do not have time to read many books. His intention is not only to provide historical information about heresies, but also to show the superiority of the Catholic Church over other forms of religion. To his mind, even after the recovery of Spain by the Catholic Monarchs, Islam and Judaism remain threats, because Catholic Christians could be weakened in their faith by the temptation to think that non-Catholic traditions could somehow be true. He names as his sources Caesar Baronius, Noël Alexandre, Giovanni Battista Orsi, Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont and especially Claude Fleury.

When it was first published in Naples, *Istoria delle eresie* comprised three volumes with a total of more than 1,000 pages. The *imprimatur* was not easy to obtain, and the censor complained about de' Liguori's references, judging his source authors to be insufficiently known in the Church. To ensure publication, de' Liguori dedicated his work to Bernardo Tanucci, prime minister of the Kingdom of Naples, and immediately after the first publication he sent a copy to the Venetian publisher Remondini, so that it would be reprinted in case it was censored in Naples.

In the first edition, the 'Mahomeddians' are described in five pages in ch. 7. After a brief historical introduction about Muḥammad's life, de' Liguori stresses Muḥammad's turning to war and violence in response to persecutions, and as a means of spreading Islam. He condemns aspects of Islam that he considers wrong or immoral: the prohibition of discussion about the interpretation of the Qur'an, Muḥammad's claim to be reforming Christianity and Judaism, the idea of paradise as a place of

sensual pleasures, polygamy and divorce. At the end, he refers readers to his earlier *Verità della fede* for a fuller treatment of Islam.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

De' Liguori's work is in line with the long-standing Christian tradition that goes back to John of Damascus, of regarding Islam as nothing more than a Christian heresy. This was not uncommon in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Although the *Istoria* was intended for a popular readership, it is so filled with references to other scholars and works that it is far longer than Liguori had planned. It turned out to be less suited for pastoral use than for scholarly purposes.

It enjoyed great success and deeply influenced the struggle against the Jansenists, becoming a model for refuting them. In 1871, when Liguori was proclaimed a Doctor of the Church, the work was praised as a source of inspiration for the *Syllabus errorum* of 1864. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was looked on as a contribution to the Catholic reaction against modern trends in religion, affirming the excellence of Catholicism and exposing the weaknesses of other traditions.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni, opera dell'ill. e rev. Mons. Alfonso Maria de Liguori, intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa e divisa in tre tomi*, Naples: Paci, 1772

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni, opera dell'ill. e rev. Mons. Alfonso Maria de Liguori, intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa e divisa in tre tomi*, 2 vols, Bassano: Remondini, 1773

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni, opera dell'ill. e rev. Mons. Alfonso Maria de Liguori, intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa e divisa in tre tomi*, Bassano: Remondini, 1791

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Storia delle eresie: colle loro confutazioni*, Bassano, 1822

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Storia delle eresie: colle loro confutazioni*, Monza: Corbetta, 1824; H.eccl. 636 m-1[2/3] (digitised version available through MDZ)

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria delle eresie colle loro confutazioni del beato Alfonso Maria de' Liguori: intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa*, Turin: Marietti, 1828

Alfonso de' Liguori, *Storia delle eresie colle loro confutazioni*, Venice: Antonelli, 1832

- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni, intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa*, Turin, 1832
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Théologie dogmatique: réfutation des hérésies ou le triomphe de l'Église*, 2 vols, Lyon, 1833 (French trans.); BIB.197To13 v.1/v.2 (digitised version available through Universiteits Bibliotheek Gent)
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Théologie dogmatique: réfutation des hérésies ou le triomphe de l'Église*, 2 vols, Tournai, 1834 (French trans.)
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria delle eresie colle loro confutazioni: intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa*, Bassano: Remondini, 1838
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Storia dell'eresie: colle loro confutazioni, intitolata Trionfo della Chiesa*, Naples: Gabinetto letterario, 1838
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *The history of heresies and their refutation: or, the triumph of the Church*, trans. J.T. Mullock, 2 vols, Dublin, 1847, 1857<sup>2</sup> (English trans.); 1857 ed. 33433068240484 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust)
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Istoria delle eresie colle loro confutazioni: opera intitolata 'Il trionfo della religione'*, Rome, 1865; BH FLL 43077 (digitised version available through Hathi Digital Trust)
- Alfonso de' Liguori, *Sämmtliche Werke des heiligen Alphons Maria von Liguori. Abth. 2 Dogmatische Werke 6. Band: Triumph der heiligen Kirche über alle Irrlehren oder Geschichte und Widerlegung der Häresien; 1. Theil Widerlegung der Häresien*, Regensburg, 1884 (German trans.)

## STUDIES

- Padovan, 'Islam e la Chiesa in Italia'
- Ricci, *Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori*
- Berthe, *Saint'Alphonse de Liguori*
- Rey-Mermet, *Le saint du siècle des Lumières*
- Telleria, *San Alfonso de Ligorio*
- Gregorio, *Sant'Alfonso Maria de Liguori*
- De Meulemeester, *Bibliographie de St. Alphonse de Liguori*

Gianluca Padovan

# Giovanni Antonio Ciantar

Giovannantonio Ciantar

DATE OF BIRTH 14 September 1696  
PLACE OF BIRTH Valletta, Malta  
DATE OF DEATH 14 November 1778  
PLACE OF DEATH Valletta, Malta

## BIOGRAPHY

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar was born in Malta in 1696 into a prosperous aristocratic family. In October 1711, as a 15-year old, he travelled to Majorca and to many parts of Italy, including Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena and Leghorn. He then settled in Rome to pursue his education at the Nazarene College, studying literature and jurisprudence. At that time, he became a member of Arcadia, assuming the name of Tagindo Ionide. Subsequently he left the Nazarene College to study theology, and he also travelled to Naples and Sicily. By 1723, he had returned to Malta, though for the rest of his life he remained in contact with some of the well-known literary figures of his time, including Ludovico Antonio Muratori and Antonio Mongitore.

Ciantar married Theodora, daughter of Count Ignazio Wizzini Paleologo, and had a number of children, among them Giorgio Serafino, who was to see to the publication of Giovanni's major work following his death. Proceeding with his literary pursuits, he became a member of other renowned literary societies, including the Accademia degli Intornati of Siena and the Colombaria of Florence. In 1745, Louis XV of France (r. 1715-74) awarded him the title of correspondent of the Académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres of Paris.

Ciantar published a large number of works in Italian and Latin. These included devotional and secular verse in single-sheet format and a number of serenades in honour of the ruler of Malta, the Grand Master of the Order of St John, which were sung on the occasion of *calendimaggio*, a feast celebrated annually on 30 April. He also authored larger book-sized works on devotional and archaeological subjects. Two of his main publications treated the issue surrounding the shipwreck of St Paul and the conversion of the Maltese to Christianity around the year 60. These were



*De B. Paulo apostolo in Melitam ...* (Venice, 1738) and *Critica de'critici moderni, che dall'anno 1730 infino al 1760 scrissero sulla controversia del naufragio di S. Paolo appostolo ...* (Venice, 1763). These contributed to the controversy that had been sparked off in 1730, when Ignatius Georgius made a case for the island of Meleda on the Dalmatian coast as the place of St Paul's shipwreck in his *Paulus apostolus in mari quod nunc Venetus sinus dicitur naufragus et Melitae, Dalmatiensis insulae post naufragium hospes*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

G.A. Ciantar, *Malta illustrata, ovvero descrizione di Malta isola del mare siciliano e adriatico con le sue antichità*, Malta, 1780, pp. 599-602 (the earliest known biography of Ciantar, compiled by his son, Count Giorgio Serafino Ciantar Paleologo)

### Secondary

G. Bugeja, 'Gli amici arcadi di Giovanni Antonio Ciantar', *Symposia Melitensia* 2 (2005) 101-12

G. Mangion, art. 'Ciantar, Giovanni Antonio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 25, Rome, 1981, 200-1

A.T. Luttrell, 'Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela. Tradition and invention in Maltese historiography', *Melita Historica* 7 (1977) 105-32

G. Mangion, 'Giovanni Antonio Ciantar letterato maltese del settecento', *Melita Historica* 7 (1977) 157-62

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Malta illustrata ovvero descrizione di Malta 'Malta illustrated, a description of Malta'

DATE 1772, 1780

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

### DESCRIPTION

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar's *Malta illustrata* (in full, *Malta illustrata ovvero descrizione di Malta isola nel mare siciliano e adriatico, con le sue antichità, ed altre diverse notizie*, 'Malta illustrated, a description of Malta, an island in the Sicilian and Adriatic seas, including its antiquities and various other notes') was published in two volumes in 1772 and 1780 respectively. The second volume was published posthumously. Sometimes the

work is quoted as authored by 'Abela-Ciantar', since Ciantar's work consists of a new edition of Giovanni Antonio Abela's, which had originally been published in 1647.

Volume 1 contains [12], xxvii, 813 and 26 pages, and 25 unnumbered plates, mostly showing Maltese and Gozitan archaeological findings, and includes a folded map of the Maltese islands. Volume 2 contains [12], 602 and 16 pages, and 2 unnumbered plates. They were printed in the Maltese state printing press, at the press's own expense, in folio format and they were the largest publication to come out of the state press (1756-98) during the rule of the Order of St John (1530-1798).

The work consists of an enlarged and updated edition of Gian Francesco Abela's *Della descrizione di Malta*, printed in Malta in 1647, and considered the standard work on Maltese history for over two centuries (see J. Chesworth, '*Della descrizione di Malta*', in *CMR* 9, 764-7). Ciantar kept Abela's original format, dividing his two volumes into a series of sections or 'books', and these into further sub-sections. It is known that Ciantar started working on his new edition in 1769, by which time copies of Abela's original edition had become scarce.

The main part dealing with Christian-Muslim themes is contained in vol. 1 (Book II, sections 9 and 10), where Ciantar discusses the Arab conquest of the Maltese islands in the year 870/1, and the later 'liberation' by Count Roger of Normandy in 1090/1. Four main themes can be discerned, which were to become the accepted versions in later Maltese historiography as well as in Maltese national memory.

The first theme is the derogatory way in which Ciantar refers to the Muslim conquerors. They are described as 'cruel' (p. 674), their religion is an 'iniquitous sect' (p. 675) and Muḥammad a *falso profeta* ('a false prophet', p. 676). As evidence of their alleged 'barbarous, ignorant and tyrannical' nature, Ciantar remarks that while earlier colonisers, namely the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans, left remains that attest to their cultural achievements on the island, the Arabs left practically nothing of note in two and a half centuries of occupation (p. 693) – he does, however, describe three tangible remains from Arab rule, the round towers in Fort St Angelo (p. 679), the 'Maimuna stone' (pp. 691-2), an inscribed funerary marker dated 1174, and a hoard of gold coins discovered in Mdina in 1698 (pp. 692-3), of which he records the inscriptions. Even when the 'magnanimous Count Roger' allowed the Muslims to remain in Malta and to practise their beliefs, *que' misleali Saraceni* ('those disloyal Saracens') unsuccessfully tried to regain control of the island (section 10,

pp. 707-8). His attitude has to be understood within the context of the endemic struggle between Muslims and Christians in the Mediterranean, and in which Malta, ruled by the Hospitaller Order of St John, played a central part.

The second notable theme is the religious situation in Malta following the Muslim conquest. Ciantar claims that the Maltese population remained Christian, despite being discriminated against and at times persecuted, and also having their bishop imprisoned (p. 679). This central theme runs throughout Abela's 1647 original account, and Ciantar's own re-edition of 1778. The Christian Maltese languished, *infelicamente soggiacea al tiranno dominio de'Saraceni* ('suffered during their subjugation by the tyrannical Saracens', p. 681). In contrast, modern scholarship points towards the total or almost total eradication of Christianity among the Maltese population during Arab rule.

The third theme in *Malta illustrata* is the issue of the Maltese language. Ciantar disagrees with the theory that Maltese is derived from the pre-Arab Punic language that was spoken in Malta, and argues at length that it is a corrupt form of Arabic and a direct legacy of Arab rule (pp. 681-91). Unlike Sicily, which is closer to the Italian mainland and which had a far larger population than Malta, the island's proximity to Africa and its limited population resulted in Arabic being adopted by the local people. This was facilitated, claims Ciantar, by the fact that the rich and educated Maltese class had left the island before the Arab invasion, and only the illiterate remained. Over a few generations, they lost their original language and adopted that of their rulers: *che si trovano pure nella dura necessità di usare l'idioma de' loro dominanti: il che molto più loro fu dopo di praticare; se non erano periti nell'uso della penna, conservatrice degl'idiomi naturali* ('they found themselves under duress to use the language of their masters, this being facilitated by their being illiterate', p. 683). The derivation of the Maltese language from Arabic and hence under Arab rule has since been established on both historical and linguistic grounds.

The last theme is the 'liberation' of the Maltese by Count Roger, treated in Book II, section 10. Roger is described in adulatory terms, as *l'Augusto, e magnanimo Conte ... flagello de'Saraceni, soldato zelantissimo del culto Divino ...* ('the august and magnanimous count ... scourge of the Saracens and a most zealous soldier for the divine religion', p. 694). Following his liberation of Sicily, Count Roger was anxious to liberate Malta, because he was 'generous' (p. 696). Encouraged by his zeal, the

Christian Maltese joined forces with his army in besieging the capital city of Mdina, and the Arabs surrendered after three days (p. 697). Roger proceeded to free all Christians from servitude, both Maltese and foreigners, and he also re-established the cathedral church of the island (pp. 698-9). Modern scholarship has confirmed what had already been suspected even in Ciantar's time, that Count Roger's attack was more of a raid than a permanent conquest and subjugation.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Ciantar's reiteration of Abela's factual account and interpretation of Maltese history, particularly its Muslim and immediate post-Muslim phase, resulted in the perpetuation of the traditional historical interpretation of that period to well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Between 1647 and Ciantar's edition of 1772 and 1780, practically no alternative interpretation of the Maltese Muslim period was offered. The debate concerning the location of St Paul's shipwreck from 1738 onwards strengthened, if anything, the Maltese historical insistence upon Abela's theories about the Maltese remaining uninterruptedly loyal to the Christian faith, even under Muslim rule, notwithstanding persecution and discrimination. The conversion of the Maltese by St Paul and their steadfast attachment to Christianity – even during the most trying period of Muslim 'occupation' – constituted the core of Maltese self-identity and pride in the face of their colonial masters.

Ciantar's work was printed in a large run, and remained in print well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It also remained the only general history of Malta. For these two reasons, its influence remained very strong indeed. Consequently, all historical accounts dealing with the Maltese Muslim period published up to the early 1970s, including school textbooks, remained loyal to Abela's and Ciantar's version. Ciantar's work also includes one of the earliest illustrations of Muslim archaeological remains found in Malta, notably the 'Maimuna Stone'.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Giovanni Francesco Abela, *Della descrizione di Malta isola nel mare siciliano con le sue antichità, ed altre notizie, libri quattro*, Malta, 1647; Res/2 Ital. 3 (digitised version available through MDZ)

MS Valetta, National Library of Malta – 1012, 97-102 (before 1772;

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar, *Novella letteraria* – a pre-publication promotional description of Ciantar's *Malta illustrata*)

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar, *Malta illustrata, ovvero descrizione di*

*Malta isola del mare siciliano e adriatico con le sue antichità, ed altre notizie, divisa in quattro libri, del commendatore F. Giovanfrancesco Abela [...] corretta, accresciuta, e continuata dal conte Giovannantonio Ciantar [...] Libro primo e secondo*, Malta, 1772; Res/2 Ital. 4 (digitised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar, *Malta illustrata, ovvero descrizione di Malta isola del mare siciliano e adriatico con le sue antichità, ed altre notizie, divisa in quattro libri, del commendatore F. Giovanfrancesco Abela [...] corretta, accresciuta, e continuata dal conte Giovannantonio Ciantar [...] Libro terzo e quarto*, Malta, 1780; 3924 (digitised version available through The Digital Cicognara Library)

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar, *Malta illustrata*, Malta, 1842 (a new edition of the book; no editor is named, but it bears the imprint of John Stocker's printing press; it includes only the first part of vol. 1 without any illustrations)

#### STUDIES

J. Vella Gauci, *Christian-Muslim relations as a topos in Maltese historiography and literature*, Malta, 2010

W. Zammit, *Printing in Malta 1642–1839. Its cultural role from inception to freedom of the press*, Malta, 2008

W. Zammit, *Il naufragio di San Paolo in Malta ossia la conversione di San Publio e dell'isola: Opera morale. An eighteenth-century play by Vittorio Gristi*, Malta, 2004

W. Zammit, 'A bibliography of Giovanni Antonio Ciantar's printed works', *Melita Historica* 11 (1994) 281–309 (provides the most comprehensive bibliography of Ciantar's printed output)

G. Wettinger, 'The Arabs in Malta', in *Malta. Studies of its heritage and history*, Malta, 1986, 87–104 (the most comprehensive study on the Arab period and on the question of the survival of Christianity in Malta)

A.T. Luttrell, 'Approaches to medieval Malta', in A.T. Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta. Studies on Malta before the knights*, London, 1975, 1–70 (the first study that discusses in detail the controversial but central issue of the survival of Christianity in Malta during the Arab period)

**William Zammit**

## *Carteggio tenuto dal Gran-Turco col Papa Pio VI fin dall'anno 1782*

'Correspondence between the Grand Turk and Pope Pius VI from 1782'

DATE 1784

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

### DESCRIPTION

The *Carteggio tenuto dal Gran-Turco col Papa Pio VI* ('Correspondence between the Grand Turk and Pope Pius VI'), is a pamphlet of 40 pages in *sextodecimo*. It was published anonymously in 1784 in Rome, but with 'Constantinople' given as a place of publication. It was obviously a forgery, part of the stream of European publications extremely critical of Pope Pius VI (r. 1775-99) and his temporal and spiritual government. To the classic repertoire of accusations against the pope, the *Carteggio* adds an explicit and negative parallel between the two theocracies of the time, the papal and the Ottoman. On the one side, there is 'the ruler of the metropolis of the Eastern Empire', and on the other, 'the ruler of the capital of the West' (p. vi). The *Carteggio* announces a political alliance between the pope and Sultan Abdul Hamid I (r. 1773-89) in a union against the common enemy, the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (r. 1765-90), whose political and religious plans threaten both the sultan and the pontiff.

The anonymous author was probably part of the group of European scholars who, during those years, wrote with unprecedented violence against Pius VI. Employing catastrophic descriptions, these writings denounced the anachronism, the misery and the absolute despotism of the Church of Rome: a despotism, they said, similar to the Oriental model, and therefore unknown to the rest of Europe. In addition, they condemned the nepotism and excessively luxurious life-style of the pope, the 'European Lama', using a tone and language that anticipated the anti-Roman writings that would flourish during the time of the French Revolution. Pamphlets and booklets were published for the most part in direct connection with Pius VI's famous trip to Vienna in 1782 – also prompted by the *Carteggio* – with which the pope had tried, without any success, to make Joseph II desist from his ecclesiastical reforms. The

texts were often printed with places of publication that were fake but had meaningful and evocative names, such as Ancient Tibet or even Constantinople. 'Ancient Tibet' was a form that, as the publishers of one of these pamphlets noted, indicated that there was also a 'Modern Tibet', easily identifiable as Rome by the reader.

In the *Carteggio*, it is the sultan who starts the conversation. He writes that the 'bizarre circumstances' of the time force Muslims to unite 'with those same Christians, whom we have been calling dogs for twelve centuries' (p. 4). In fact, the attack directed against the sultan and his empire comes from the same hand that is about to take away from the pope 'the influence that his opinion still preserves in the Christian world' and which forms 'the foundation of his Empire' (p. 7). It is clearly necessary to stop any dispute 'over respective prejudices' and instead to form an alliance against the common enemy, an alliance that will be as legitimate as any established between European sovereigns. From this perspective, the sultan writes:

It will shock you less, Most Holy Father, that the head of a religion (regarded by you as false and barbarous) is addressing the head of a religion (whom we treat on our part with equal contempt, but with greater tolerance). We should not dispute any longer over respective prejudices, but unite with a well-understood policy, and resist, if possible, the common enemy. This will not be the first example given to the world of an alliance formed between two sovereigns, who no one would have supposed, should join together. (p. 5)

He also recalls alliances between popes and Ottomans established in the past, concluding that the time of the crusades is over.

The pope does not address the issue that a modern reader would immediately grasp, that the sultan attributes the influence of the papacy among Christians to an 'opinion', and not to beliefs and devotion to the pope. He answers not by refusing the offer absolutely but by specifying that he wants first to use every means to dissuade Joseph II from his plans and his 'spiritual usurpations' by going to him in person. The reference to Pius' famous journey to Vienna in 1782 is very clear.

In his reply to this, Abdul Hamid betrays sarcasm towards what he considers to be pure illusions and vain hopes of the pope:

I believe I can assure you as a good Ottoman that you will not obtain anything from Joseph: that constant and great man will have for you the respect due neither to your virtues, nor to your age; and I swear on the

beard of our Holy Prophet, that you will not change his plans in any way.  
(pp. 15-16)

He continues:

Therefore, with no hesitation put yourself back in my hands, if you want to preserve the little power that is left to you. I will guarantee, even in the very worst event, the survival of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. I know well that this relief does not serve to balance the losses that you are on the eve of suffering if a lucky accident does not save you from the talons of the Austrian Eagle; but this is a relief that has not yet been offered to you by any Christian Prince. (p. 20)

Pius VI eventually yields. In his reply, the desperate pope writes: 'Everything portends to the world an important revolution, in which we may be the first victims. I agree with you that our alliance will be of great use to me' (p. 21). In addition, after expressing his regret for the suppression of the Society of Jesus, which was very active in connecting the Church with Catholic rulers, he accepts the alliance with the sultan in order 'to stave off the lightning, which is close to erupting over the papal throne' (p. 40).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Beyond its almost prophetic value of predicting what was actually to happen in the following decade, with an actual revolution and the collapse of the temporal power of the pope and his deportation from Rome, this document, almost unknown to historians, explains well the radically negative judgement held by the enemies of the papacy by setting up hypothetical equality between the Church and the Ottoman Empire, both of which by this time were perceived to be in full crisis and decline. It was the beginning of a paradigm of contempt that was to continue right into the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This associated the image of the pope with that of the Grand Turk as representatives of cultural and material decadence and degradation, intolerance, mutual prejudices, and despotism, arguing on the basis of preconceived similarities and on the analogy of interests of the two theocratic regimes. Both were perceived and represented as 'outside modern Europe', similar to medieval rulers, alien to the Enlightenment, reason, transformational policies, and reforms.

This idea had been born two centuries earlier, characterised by a consistent polemical tone against the papacy and with a strong critical strain. The model of papal-Turkish equivalence was, in fact, part of the anti-papal literature in England. False documents relating to the relationship and alleged mutual consultations between the pope and the



Grand Turk were circulated in England in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century as part of the reaction to real and alleged 'popish plots' supposedly encouraged by the popes to restore Catholicism to the island, and the violent anti-Roman publications that ensued. Even a neologism, 'Turkish papacy', was invented in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century to denounce the identity of the two religions, *Turco-papismus*, and their conspiracy against true Christianity (which, of course, was the Reformed faith). Among the works published in this period, two are noteworthy: William Gifford, *Calvino-Turcismus. Id est Calvinisticae perfidiae, cum Mahumetana Collatio ... Quatuor libri explicata* (Antwerp, 1597), and the reply, *De Turco-Papismo: hoc est, De Turcarum et Papistarum adversus Christi ecclesiam et fidem coniuratione, eorumque in religione et moribus consensione et similitudine, Liber unus. Eidem praeterea adjuncti sunt, de Turco-papistarum maledictis et calumniis* (London, 1604). Later, similar works appeared, including *A second consultation between the Pope and the Turk, concerning the propagation of the Catholic faith* (London, 1679), a work in verse in which it is the pope who proposes an alliance with the Turk.

Another false letter from Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769-74) to the Mufti Osman-Mola was published under the orders of Frederick II of Prussia (*Lettre du pape Clément XIV au Mufti Osman Mola. Traduit de latin*, Cologne, 1771). In this, the Mufti, addressed as 'dear cousin in Abraham', is warmly thanked by the pope for his help against the enemies of Catholicism and for their alliance against common threats, which are identified as reason, philosophy and freedom of thought. Only a decade after this, the fake correspondence of the *Carteggio* was to appear. And still in 1793, Giuseppe Gorani reinforced the argument of the similarity between the two rulers, as follows, 'The modern Roman government has extraordinary similarities with Turkey, and even more so with the regime of the Barbary Coast' (*Mémoires secrets et critiques des cours, des gouvernements, et des mœurs des principaux états d'Italie*, Paris: Buisson, 1793, vol. 2, p. 75). Rome resembled not only Istanbul, but also Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

The comparison between Rome and the Ottoman Empire before and during the reign of Pius VI represented a real and important turning point for the history of the Catholic Church. The main ingredients of the radical critical literature that attacked Rome and its sovereign pontiff were priestly tyranny, despotism, rigidity, corruption, temporalism and economic and social stagnation. Hostile works usually started with criticism of the economic, social and administrative structures of the

state, but with implications of much wider ideological and religious condemnations. The attacks against Rome and the papacy, inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment (beginning with Voltaire's virulent *Epître aux Romains* of 1768), developed throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but became increasingly violent, especially during the pontificate of Pius VI.

News of the alliance and of the plot by the pope and the Grand Turk against the culture of the Enlightenment and reforms was created to denounce to the Republic of Letters and to European rulers the existence of conservative forces acting in anti-European and anti-modern ways. But the news of the alleged agreement also reveals a distorted perception of the Muslim world and its government that still at this time dominated the minds of European elites.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Carteggio tenuto dal Gran-Turco col Papa Pio VI fin dall'anno 1782, Seconda edizione*, Constantinople [Rome]: Nuova Stamperia, 1784

#### STUDIES

M. Caffiero, 'Il papa e il Gran Turco. Rappresentazioni e realtà di un pontificato difficile', in G. Ericani and F. Mazzocca (eds), *Commitenti, mecenati e collezionisti di Canova*, Padua, 2008, 203-23

M. Caffiero, 'Il coturno e la tiara. La Roma di Pio VI', in B. Alfonzetti and N. Bellucci (eds), *Alfieri e Roma*, Rome, 2006, 17-34

S. Villani, 'Complotti papisti in Inghilterra tra il 1570 e il 1679', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 11 (2003) 119-14

**Marina Caffiero**

# Vincenzo Abbondanza

DATE OF BIRTH 18th century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Rome  
DATE OF DEATH End of the 18th century  
PLACE OF DEATH Possibly Rome

## BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about the life of Vincenzo Abbondanza. Born in Rome into a modest family in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, he became the secretary of cardinal Domenico Orsini d'Aragona (1719-89), also having responsibility for his private library. While holding this office, he wrote his only recorded work, *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani*, in 1786. He is said to have died just before the end of the century.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Secondary*

Art. 'Abbondanza, Vincenzo', in G. Amati (ed.), *Bibliografia romana. Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori romani dal secolo XI fin ai nostri giorni*, vol. 1, Rome, 1880, 1-2

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi  
ottomani

'Historical dictionary of the lives of all the Ottoman  
rulers'

DATE 1786  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

*Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani* (in full, *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani; fino al regnante gran signore Achmet 4, e delle più riguardevoli cose appartenenti a quella monarchia*) is an encyclopaedic compendium (426 pages long) of Islamic religion and

history, with particular emphasis on the Ottoman period. The work is composed of over 250 entries arranged in alphabetical order and devoted to historical figures, notable places and elements of the religion and daily life of the Islamic world (pp. 1-392). The entries are preceded by a dedicatory letter addressed to Cardinal Orsini (pp. iii-ix); a preface, which offers some general information on the Ottoman state and the Islamic religion (pp. xi-xxiv); and a sort of glossary accompanied by indexes (pp. xxv-xxxii).

The *Dizionario* is the typical product of an 18<sup>th</sup>-century armchair scholar; Abbondanza had no direct experience of the Islamic world, or any knowledge of the languages used there. The book is essentially a work of compilation entirely based on a variety of secondary and, above all, tertiary sources. Among them, Abbondanza especially relies on the Italian translations of *Anecdotes, ou histoire secrète de la maison ottomane* (Naples, 1728) by Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez, and – less extensively – of *Modern history, or the present state of all nations* (Venice, 1738) by Thomas Salmon. Other sources are *Le grand dictionnaire historique* by Louis Moréri, and *Le grand dictionnaire géographique et critique* by Antoine-Augustin de La Martinière. For more recent events, Abbondanza seems to have referred to Italian periodical publications (*pubblici fogli*, p. 19), such as the *Gazzetta universale* (Florence, 1773-). In so doing, he succeeded in offering a large amount of information, whose quality is, however, generally poor. The work is diffusely flawed by inaccuracies, mistakes and misinterpretations, and the rendering of Arabic and Turkish words is often wrong, sometimes bordering on unintelligible. While Abbondanza appears to have been well acquainted with current issues, especially those involving the Eastern Catholic Churches, he completely failed to produce a reliable image of the Islamic world.

In spite of the aim of ‘acting as a pure historian’ (*fare il puro storico*, p. xxiii), his reporting of the most sensationalistic and fictive accounts from 18<sup>th</sup>-century French literature on the Turks is uncritical, largely indulging in topics such as the rulers’ love affairs and harem intrigues. His original contributions consist of superficial observations on Islamic culture and the good temperament of the Turks. Nonetheless, the book met with some success in Italy. In 1788 it was reprinted – anonymously and without the dedicatory letter – in Venice, where it circulated among the leading intellectuals of the time.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This dictionary was conceived in Rome within the private library of Cardinal Orsini and printed by publishers closely associated with the

Congregation of the Oratory. It is a witness to the attempts of Roman intellectuals close to the Catholic Church to propose a more realistic and positive representation of Islam, in response to the ongoing debate during the Italian Enlightenment. The liberal attitude it demonstrates, however, is strongly contradicted by the actual result. Although the work claims to provide an unbiased and uncensored representation of Islam (p. xxiii), it in fact uncritically reproduces the stereotypes and fabrications of its sources, mostly French historical dictionaries compiled several decades before.

Abbondanza proposes a positive, but oversimplified image of the *homo islamicus*, in the form of the meek, honest and submissive Turk. As regards religious practices and doctrines, the vagueness and inaccuracy of the entries betray a complete lack of understanding of Islam. All these shortcomings did not escape Alberto Fortis (1741-1803), who reviewed Abbondanza's *Dizionario* harshly. Nevertheless, it enjoyed wide circulation both within Rome and outside. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it continued to be quoted as an authoritative source in texts published by Catholic presses, thus contributing to an image of Islam that dated back at least to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Vincenzo Abbondanza, *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani; fino al regnante gran signore Achmet 4 e delle più riguardevoli cose appartenenti a quella monarchia*, Rome, 1786; 3 3433 06661436 7 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Vincenzo Abbondanza, *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani; fino al regnante gran signore Achmet 4 e delle più riguardevoli cose appartenenti a quella monarchia*, 2 vols, Venice, 1788; DR438/D62 (1 and 2) (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

#### STUDIES

M. Formica, *Lo specchio turco. Immagini dell'altro e riflessi del sé nella cultura italiana d'età moderna*, Rome, 2012, pp. 174-5, 185, 192-3

P. Preto, *Venezia e i turchi*, Florence, 1975, pp. 514-16

A. Fortis, 'Review of *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani*', *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico* 12 (1786) 57-61

# Giambattista Toderini

DATE OF BIRTH 1728  
PLACE OF BIRTH Venice  
DATE OF DEATH 4 July 1799  
PLACE OF DEATH Venice

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Giambattista Toderini's early years, except that he was born in Venice in 1728. Only Moschini (*Della letteratura veneziana*, vol. 1, p. 239) offers an exact date, 'on the morning of 27 June', and says that his father's name was Domenico Maria Toderini. The sources agree that Giambattista Toderini joined the Society of Jesus at the age of 15. What little is known about the period between 1743 and 1781, when he arrived in Istanbul, is based on his own publications and on information about his academic activities provided by the Jesuit natural historian, Domenico Troili (d. 1793). He met Toderini in Forlì, near Ravenna, in 1767, the year the Jesuit order was suppressed in Italy. It seems that the Bishop of Forlì, Francesco Piazza, had appointed Toderini theologian to the local *Accademia degli Icnautici* in 1766. Earlier, Toderini lived in Verona, where he taught philosophy. It was there that the French traveller Joseph Jérôme Lefrançois de Lalande (d. 1807) met him in 1765, noting in his *Voyage d'un François en Italie* that 'the former [sic] Jesuit Toderini owns a collection of rare coins, mostly from the kings of the Goths' (vol. 8, pp. 340-1). Lalande's *Voyage* was published only in 1769, after the suppression of the Jesuits, which probably explains why he calls Toderini a 'former Jesuit'. In Verona, Toderini had also become acquainted with the erudite Count Scipione Maffei, who was interested in archaeology and owned a large epigraphic collection.

It was at the *Accademia degli Icnautici* at Bishop Piazza's palace in Forlì that Toderini read his dissertation on a piece of fossil wood (*Dissertazione sopra un legno fossile*), which was published by Troili in Modena in 1770. In the same year, Toderini gave another lecture at the Academy, reflecting on Benjamin Franklin's research on lightning, which had not been properly published until 1767. Toderini's learned treatise of 65 pages, of which he sent a copy to Franklin from Forlì in August 1772, shows that he was well-informed about contemporary scientific debates in London and Paris.

In the later 1770s, Toderini was back in Venice. On 1 February 1779, he gave an 'oration' at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, for example, and in the same year he published a learned account of the Sculo della Madonna de'Mascoli, which was located in the ducal basilica of San Marco. In 1780, he published a book on moral philosophy with the Venetian press of Gaspare Storti, who would later publish the *Letteratura turchesca*.

From October 1781 until May 1786, Toderini resided in Istanbul, where he was attached to the court of the Venetian *bailo* (ambassador) to the Ottoman Empire, Agostino Garzoni (in office 1781-5), as private tutor to his son. Toderini also collected Greek and Latin manuscripts, as well as all kinds of antiquities and any other artefacts that took his fancy. He was not the only Westerner doing this; the British ambassador, Sir Robert Ainslie, for example, who resided in Istanbul from 1776 till 1794, had a large natural historical collection, as Toderini notes with admiration.

Toderini then shifted his focus to Arabic and Persian manuscripts, to the study of Turkish books printed in Istanbul, and to scientific instruments produced by the Turks. He first planned to write a history of the printing press in Istanbul, but he gradually extended the scope of his project to include other strands of Turkish literary culture. The prospectus of Toderini's publication was advertised prior to publication in Florence and Paris, as well as in St Petersburg, thanks to the help of the Russian envoy to the Porte, 'Boullak', i.e. Yakov Ivanovich Bulgakov (in office 1781-9). Upon Toderini's return to Venice, he benefitted from the patronage of Senator Andrea Quirini, to whom he dedicated the *Letteratura turchesca*, which was published in three volumes in 1787.

Toderini died in Venice on 4 July 1799.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- J.J. Lefrançois de Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie en 1765 and 1766. Contenant l'histoire & les anecdotes les singulieres de l'Italie & sa description; les mœurs, les usages, le gouvernement, le commerce, la littérature, les arts, l'histoire naturelle, & les antiquités; avec les jugemens sur les ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, & architecture, & les plans de toutes les grandes villes de l'Italie*, Venice, 1769, vol. 8, pp. 340-1
- D. Troili (ed.), *Dissertazione sopra un legno fossile, che tutto sciogliesi in cenere rossa [...] recitata dal Padre Giambattista Toderini [...] pubblicata con due proprie lettere [...]*, Modena, 1770
- Giambattista Toderini, *Filosofia frankliniana delle punte preservatrici dal fulmine, particolarmente applicata alle polveriere, alle navi, e a Santa Barbara in mare*, Modena, 1771

Giambattista Toderini, *Memorie intorno l'antichissima Scuola della Madonna de' Mascoli eretta nella ducale Basilica di S. Marco*, Venice, 1779

Giambattista Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca dell'Abate Giambattista Toderini*, 3 vols, Venice, 1787

G. Moschini, *Della letteratura veneziana del secolo XVIII fino a' nostri giorni*, Venice, 1806

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Letteratura turchesca

#### 'Turkish literature'

DATE 1787

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

#### DESCRIPTION

*Letteratura turchesca* was published in three volumes. Vol. 1 offers a survey of the state of scholarship among the Turks. It begins with a general discussion, which is followed by a systematic treatment by field. The first of these is religious studies, which is subdivided into Qur'anic studies, *tafsīr* ('Spiegazione dell'Alcorano'), Hadith, metaphysics, jurisprudence, etc. In subsequent chapters, Toderini discusses Arabic grammar; logic; rhetoric; moral philosophy; mathematics; algebra; geometry; physics, or natural history; medicine; chemistry; astronomy; Nautica; astrology; dream interpretation; poetry; and music (including an illustration of a Turkish *tambur* and some sheet music).

Vol. 2 discusses Ottoman institutions of higher education (in 12 chapters) and libraries (in 15 chapters) in Istanbul. Several remarks are directly relevant to Christian-Muslim relations. For example, on pp. 126-37, Toderini discusses Muslim views of Christianity, based on the existence of Arabic translations of the Pentateuch, Psalms and Gospels, which he asserts the Turks considered sacred texts. He also mentions Christian publications printed in the Ottoman Empire in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the same volume, he says (pp. 151-2) that the library of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Rāghib Paşa (in office from 1756 till his death in 1763) contained numerous copies of Western travel accounts about the Ottoman Empire. Rāghib Paşa had earlier been governor-general of Aleppo, and we know that he was friends with at least one British resident there at the time, Dr Patrick Russell. It is not clear whether Russell's half-brother's book about Aleppo, *The natural history of Aleppo* (London, 1756), was also found on Rāghib Paşa's shelves.



Toderini also includes in vol. 2 a learned dissertation on some old copies of the Qur'an in the sultan's library, which had been catalogued as autographs by the caliphs 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Without apparently having seen these, Toderini reasons that, if they are really that old, they cannot be written on paper, which was not yet in use, they must be written in Kufic script, and the Arabic letters cannot bear diacritics, which were invented later. Vol. 2 ends with a *Catalogo della Libreria del Seraglio trasportato da Constantinopoli a Venezia dall'Abate Giambattista Toderini nell'anno MDCCLXXXVI* (1786). This is a 36-page document consisting entirely of Arabic titles of books and treatises, catalogued by subject, starting with *tafsīr*, then *uṣūl al-fiqh*, etc.

Vol. 3 discusses the history of book printing in Istanbul. Toderini's account of the first Ottoman printing press, run in Istanbul by İbrahim Müteferrika between 1729 and 1742, was the most complete report about it available in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Each of the press's 17 publications is discussed. The publication of the illustrated Müteferrika edition of the *Cihan-nüma* (1732) had led to a discussion between Toderini and 'Giovanni Potocki Krayczyc, Knight of Malta' – i.e. Count Jan Potocki (1761-1815) – on the question whether the Qur'an forbids illustrations of humans and animals. Toderini's views are found in a 'critical disquisition' on the subject, inserted into this volume as an aside (vol. 2, pp. 45-74).

After the discussion of the Müteferrika press, which takes up most of vol. 3, Toderini discusses the cessation of its activities as well as its later revival, also listing books recently printed in Istanbul. After a list of the 12 Ottoman histories found in the private library of Baron Ignazio Stürmer (d. 1829), the Papal Internunzio, and a discussion of the Arabic grammar of ['Allāma] Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 1249), *Sharḥ al-kāfiya*, the volume ends with an annotated genealogical table of the Ottoman dynasty.

Toderini's *Letteratura turchescha* was not the first European work on this subject. In 1688, a book titled *Della letteratura dei Turchi* was published in Venice. Its author was Giovan Battista Donà (or Donado, d. 1700), the former Venetian *bailo* to the Sublime Porte (in office 1680-4), who had purportedly written his account in response to queries about science and literature among the Turks posed by his brother, Abbate Andrea Donà. The latter was involved in the Venetian Casa dei Catecumeni, the institution created by the Venetian senate for non-Christian prisoners of war and slaves who converted to Catholicism. In connection with these activities, the *Rudimento della lingua Turchesca* by Yovhan-nēs Konstandnupölsec'i (1635-91), published in Venice in 1685, had been dedicated to Abbate Andrea. Giovan Battista Donà is believed to have

learned some Turkish before travelling to Istanbul, but the materials he used for his book were translated by his dragoman (interpreter), Giovanni Rinaldo Carli. It was the latter who provided the *translation ad verbum* of the first part of Hüseyin Hezârfen's *Telhîs ül-bayân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, which is quoted extensively, possibly because Donà had known Hüseyin Hezârfen personally in Istanbul. Carli later also translated Kâtib Çelebi's *Kashf al-zunûn* into Italian. That work, entitled *Cronologia storica scritta in lingua Turca, Persiana & Araba da Hazi Halifé Mustafâ* and published in 1697, he dedicated to Giovan Battista Donà. Both Donà and Carli's works were notable examples of a wave of Venetian publications related to Turkey, which also included *Viaggi a Costantinopoli di Gio: Battista Donado Senator Veneto: Spedito Bailo alla Porta Ottomana l'anno 1680* (Venice, 1688). Donà's work on Turkish literature was a positive counterbalance to Michel Fèvre's popular but negative *Teatro della Turchia*, published in 1683 and reprinted a year later.

Where Donà's work leans rather heavily on Hezârfen's *Telhîs*, Toderini's *Letteratura turchescha* is based on personal visits to numerous libraries and *medreses* (schools) in Istanbul, where Toderini obtained copies of catalogues and texts. He also spoke with numerous European residents of the Ottoman capital and with many dragomans, the locally recruited ambassadorial interpreters who were better informed about the literature and erudition of the Muslims. In addition, he read many Oriental works translated into European languages and the learned texts produced by Western scholars on anything relevant to his researches. Toderini also had some Ottoman informants. He particularly befriended the *Muderrris della Validè* (i.e. teacher of the *medrese* attached to the Valide Sultan Mosque), who would answer his questions and verify his findings. Toderini describes the man as 'a Muderrris knowledgeable in geometry and astronomy, learned in the law, and very erudite; a serious man, but with pleasant manners, and polite', but he does not mention his name. When Toderini found contradictions in the secondary literature, he would sometimes also consult the chief mufti in Istanbul by applying for a fatwa. 'At the gate of his place are scribes and *legulei* to whom one presents one's question on a piece of paper, which is passed on into the hands of the Mufti. And after a few days and payment of a small fee, one receives the decision, or Fatwa, signed in his own hand.' Although Toderini almost certainly knew Arabic, he does not seem to have learned Turkish, so he always relied on interpreters and translators, presumably those employed by the *bailo*.



Illustration 16. Title page of *Letteratura turchesca*, including a *tughrā*, a sultan's monogram

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Toderini's extensive survey of Ottoman literary culture presents it in a much more serious and less antagonistic fashion than earlier publications on the subject. Soon after its publication in Venice in 1787, the *Letteratura turchesca* was translated into French (1789) and German (1790). The German translation was produced by Philipp Wilhelm Gottlieb Hausleutner, who also published *Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien und Siliens unter der Herrschaft der Araber: In gleichzeitigen Urkunden von diesem Volk selbst* (Königsberg: Friedrich Nicolovius, 1791-2). It was reprinted in Frankfurt in 2008. Partial Turkish translations were published in 1990 and 2008.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Giambattista Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, 3 vols, Venice, 1787; (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Giambattista Toderini, *De la littérature des Turcs*, trans. A. de Courmand, Paris, 1789 (French trans.); (digitised version of vols 2 and 3, available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)
- Giambattista Toderini, *Litteratur der Türken*, trans. P.W.G. Hausleutner, Königsberg, 1790 (German trans.); A.or. 5737-1/2 (digitised version of vol. 1, available through MDZ)
- Giambattista Toderini, *İbrahim Müteferrika matbaası ve Türk matbaacılığı*, ed. Şevket Hıfzı Rado, trans. Rikkat Kunt, Istanbul, 1990, repr. 2008 (Turkish trans. of vol. 3)
- Giambattista Toderini, *Litteratur der Türken*, trans. P.W.G. Hausleutner, Frankfurt, 2008, 1790 (German trans.; repr. of 1790 edition)
- Giambattista Toderini, *Türklerin Yazılı Kültürü (Türklerin Edebiyatı)*, trans. Ali Berktaş, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2012 (partial Turkish trans. in one volume)

## STUDIES

- M.P. Pedani, *Il Palazzo di Venezia a Istanbul e i suoi antichi abitanti/İstanbul'daki Venedik Sarayı ve Eski Yaşayanları*, Venice, 2013
- M. Bucciarelli, 'Venice and the East. Operatic readings of Tasso's *Armida* in early eighteenth-century Venice', in M. Bucciarelli and B. Joncus (eds), *Music as social and cultural practice. Essays in honour of Reinhard Strohm*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007, 232-49, esp. p. 237
- M. Soykut, 'The Ottoman Empire and Europe in political history through Venetian and papal sources', in M. Birchwood and M. Dimmock (eds), *Cultural encounters between East and West, 1453-1699*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2005, 168-85, esp. pp. 181-5

Maurits van den Boogert

# Esteban de Arteaga y Lopez

Stefano Arteaga

DATE OF BIRTH 26 December 1747  
PLACE OF BIRTH Moraleja de Coca (Segovia) or Madrid  
DATE OF DEATH 30 September 1799  
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

## BIOGRAPHY

Stefano Arteaga (born Esteban de Arteaga y López) was one of the most illustrious of the Spanish Jesuits. He emigrated to Italy, where he wrote the most complete history of opera to appear in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was known as a student of Metastasio, Alfieri and Cesarotti.

Arteaga was born in 1747, either in Moraleja de Coca (near Segovia) or in Madrid, where he studied grammar and rhetoric. In 1763, he entered the Society of Jesus and was enrolled in the province of Toledo. In 1767, following the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish territory, he took refuge in Italy, where, in 1769, four years before the suppression of the order, he left the Society.

From 1773 to 1778, he studied philosophy, mathematics and medicine at the University of Bologna. During this period, he was fascinated by the thought of the empiricists (especially John Locke) and the sensualists, who exerted a considerable influence on his critical outlook. He was in contact with the Franciscan friar Giovanni Battista Martini (1706-84), a leading musician and composer of the period, and his first work, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente* (1783), arose from a dispute between Martini and the Spanish musicologist Antonio Eximeno Pujades (1729-1808) about harmonic combinations and counterpoint. This work was a particularly important document concerning the development of reformist thought in 18<sup>th</sup>-century opera and of aesthetic reflection on drama in music.

Arteaga was appointed tutor to the Marquis Francesco Albergati Capacelli (1728-1804), an important Bolognese author and playwright, though he was soon caught up in a controversy with his employer because of the disdainful judgements about Italian literature he expressed in a series of *Osservazioni*. These were published in an appendix to *Del gusto*

*presente in letteratura* (Venice 1784), a dissertation by the essayist and philosopher Matteo Borsa (1751-98).

At the end of 1784, Arteaga moved to Venice, where he attended the literary salon of Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (1760-1836), a famous essayist and scholar of Greek origins, who drew up a collection of physical and moral *Ritratti* that included one on Arteaga. She described him as 'clear, quick, juicy [*succoso*] in speaking', with a 'burning heart and creative imagination', though 'rather intolerant in judging others' (*Ritratti*, no. XXIV, pp. 105-6).

At the beginning of 1787, Arteaga moved to Rome, where he attended various circles of artists and, among other things, was in touch with the diplomat José Nicolás de Azara (1730-1804), Spanish ambassador to the Holy See. During this period, he studied classical Latin and Greek poetry, and edited collections of poems by Horace (1791), and also Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius (1794). He published his reflections on the arts and neo-classicism in his *Investigaciones filosóficas sobre la belleza ideal considerada como objeto de todas las artes de imitación* (Madrid, 1787; new ed. Madrid, 1943).

At this time he also published *Della influenza degli arabi sulla poesia moderna in Europa* (Rome, 1791). This was part of a debate about the influence of Arab music and poetry on the origins of European music and poetry. Arteaga opposed the theory of influence, standing against the hypotheses of Giammaria Barbieri (1519-75) and Juan Andrés (1740-1817).

In 1796, Arteaga followed Azara to Paris, where the latter had been appointed ambassador. There, he became close friends with the musicologist J. Chr. Grainville (1760-1805). He died in 1799, leaving some of his works unpublished.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- I.T. Albrizzi, *Ritratti scritti da Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi. Quarta edizione arricchita di due ritratti di due lettere sulla Mirra di Alfieri e della Vita di Vittoria Colonna*, Brescia, 1807 (Pisa, 1826)
- R. Diosdado Caballero, *Bibliothecae scriptorum societatis Jesu supplementa. Supplementum alterum*, Rome, 1816, pp. 8-9
- E. de Tipaldo, *Biografia degli italiani illustri*, vol. 1, Venice, 1834, pp. 17-20
- J.M. Esperanza y Sola, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. José M. Esperanza y Sola el día 31 de mayo de 1891*, Madrid, 1891

- V. Cian, 'L'immigrazione dei Gesuiti spagnuoli letterati in Italia', *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 45 (1895) 1-66
- A. Gallerani, 'Dei gesuiti proscritti dalla Spagna mostratisi letterati in Italia', *Civiltà Cattolica* 47 (1896) 152-65, 416-30, 549-67

*Secondary*

- F. Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 426-9
- M. Batllori, *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos. Españoles, Hispanoamericanos, Filipinos. 1767-1814*, Madrid, 1966
- M Batllori, 'Los manuscritos de Esteban de Arteaga', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis* 14 (1941) 199-216
- M. Batllori, 'Esteban de Arteaga. Itinerario biográfico (1747-1799)', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis* 13 (1940) 203-22

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Della influenza degli Arabi sull'origine della poesia  
moderna in Europa  
'The influence of the Arabs on the origin of modern  
poetry in Europe'

DATE 1791

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

In *Della influenza degli Arabi sulla poesia moderna in Europa*, Arteaga was contributing to an involved debate about the precise way of making poetry in vernacular Romance languages and the origin of the use of rhyme. This had concerned European intellectuals for some centuries, and it had become a familiar literary problem. As Roberto Dainotto states, it served to articulate and unfold the idea of 'intellectual communication' between Europe and the Islamic world, and cultural cooperation between them ('Arab origin', p. 289).

The hypothesis of an Arab origin was first proposed by the Italian philologist Giovanni Maria Barbieri (1519-75). In *Arte del rimare*, he offered a historical explanation for the emergence of rhyme in Sicily and Provence by linking the modern technique of versification to the cultural influence of the Arabs in southern Italy and Spain. Barbieri's essay remained unpublished for almost two centuries, and his ideas were only rediscovered when the Spanish Jesuit Juan Andrés y Morell (1740-1817) examined

the issue and came to similar conclusions. In *Dell'origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, Andrés dismissed the possibility that rhyme derived from late Latin versification. He claimed that the Arabs were the source of the European literary and scientific *risorgimento*, and that Spanish poetry contributed to the origin of modern poetry through the troubadours.

The arguments Andrés put forward suggested four ways in which modern Romance poetry would have been similar to Arabic poetry: in preferring vernacular to classical language; in privileging didactic, moral, encomiastic and love poetry above all other lyrical forms; in the similarity between the forms of *tenzone* and *contrasto* and similar genres in Arabic, which were unknown to Greek and Latin speakers; and in the development of rhyme and syllabic poetry mainly through the impulse of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Fārābī (d. 950).

Arteaga had already made a contribution to the debate in the first edition of *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano* (Bologna, 1783-8), where he sharply rejected the theory of Arab influence and went as far as 'to elaborate a culturalist theory of differences regarding the expressions of emotions in literature' (Benigni, 'Dante', p. 114). He linked the origin of musical poetry to that of rhyme, even if he did not take a clear position regarding the possibility that the Provençals were its inventors (*Le rivoluzioni*, vol. 1, pp. 145-8). As he saw it, the Italians knew certain forms of musical poetry regardless of al-Fārābī, and actually, in an 11<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript a Benedictine monk called Francone quoted a verse from a Provençal song accompanied by musical notation, providing evidence that showed the genre existed at this time. He also discussed Andrés' four arguments point by point in 'Aggiunte, variazioni, e correzioni dell'autore ricavate dalla veneta edizione' (*Le rivoluzioni*, vol. 3, pp. 106-24).

As part of this debate, in 1790 Girolamo Tiraboschi republished Barberi's *Arte del rimare*, giving it a new title, *Dell'origine della poesia rimata*, and writing a new preface in which he outlined the whole state of the art on the issue. He argued that, in times of peace, there had been fruitful relationships between Christians and Muslims that included exchanges of a literary nature. The influence of styles and forms in poetry was therefore proof that, over a number of centuries, there had been important relations between the Arab-Islamic world and the Christian world. Tiraboschi's teleological approach to literary history is consistent when it is considered that, in the background of this debate, 'the Mediterranean



figures prominently. The Arab influences and Arab-Christian commercial and cultural exchanges across the sea are considered formative movements in the history of Romance literature' (Benigni, 'Dante', p. 115).

Arteaga wrote *Della influenza degli arabi sull'origine della poesia moderna in Europa* in 1791, in response to Tiraboschi and primarily to refute Andrés' theses. The title paraphrases the question of where one would find the origins of modern poetry, even if this was not certain to be the Arab world. It is 118 pages in length.

At the beginning of his dissertation, Arteaga condenses the controversy into two points, the alleged Arab origins of metre and rhyme in Provençal poetry, and the possible introduction of metre and rhyme into Europe through Spain. He refutes both arguments, which were based on 'analogy in use' and 'anteriority of time', by opposing arguments based on difference in culture, style and system of versification. Moreover, he questions the hypothesis that similarities derived from actual contacts, and sets out a culturalist theory of difference in expressing emotions in literature.

He explains in detail the Arabic versification system, which he regards as substantially quantitative, along with its metric structure. Owing to these characteristics, the rhymes, metres and ornaments of Arab poetry could not have been adapted into Spanish poetry and particularly into a harmonic system. To support his theory, he adduces the evidence of the work of Guido of Arezzo (d. c. 1033), who invented the system known as Alfonsinian rhymes before the time of al-Fārābī.

In the last part of his work, Arteaga examines Muratori's thesis and proves that the arguments of analogy and anteriority were not relevant to claims about the Arab origins of Provençal poetry.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

With his highly critical position about influences, Arteaga was denying intercultural and interreligious relations. While he was motivated in his rejection of influences by what he accepted as evidence of a literary kind, there can be no doubt that his religious loyalty played a certain part in this controversy.

Regardless of Arteaga's rejection, the Arabist theory reached the peak of its popularity among *literati* (such as Sismonde de Sismondi, Claude Fauriel, Stendhal, E.J. Delecluze, E. Baret) in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when, as María Rosa Menocal states, 'the notion that the origins of troubadour poems and courtly love lay in al-Andalus was a conventional maxim of criticism' (*Arabic role*, p. 80). It has gained increasing

polemical force in recent years. Starting in the 1940s, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, A. Nykl, and G. von Grunebaum went back to Barbieri and Andrés to propose an Arab origin of early Romance versification. Menéndez Pidal states that any opposition to the hypothesis of Arab origins was nothing but 'a rooted prejudice: the belief in the lack of intellectual communication between worlds, the Christian and the Islamic' (*Poesía árabe y poesía europea*, p. 34).

#### PUBLICATIONS

Stefano Arteaga, *Della influenza degli arabi sull'origine della poesia moderna in Europa: dissertazione*, Rome, 1791; L.eleg.g. 13 y (digitised version available through MDZ)

#### STUDIES

- E. Benigni, 'Dante and the construction of a Mediterranean literary space', *Philological Encounters* 2 (2017) 111-38
- R.M. Dainotto, 'On the Arab origin of modern Europe. Giammaria Barbieri, Juan Andres, and the origin of rhyme', *Comparative Literature* 58 (2006) 271-92
- M. Eusebi, 'Andres, Arteaga, Tiraboschi e il contrasto sulle origini della prosa rimata', in M. Eusebi, *Saggi di filologia romanza*, Florence, 2005, 243-8
- M.R. Menocal, *The Arabic role in medieval literary history. A forgotten heritage*, Philadelphia PA, 2004
- H. Heijkoop and O. Zwartjes (eds), *Muwaššah, zajal, kharja. Bibliography of eleven centuries of strophic poetry*, Leiden, 2004
- E.M. Rudat and C. Criado de Rodríguez Puértolos, *Las ideas estéticas de Esteban de Arteaga. Orígenes, significado y actualidad*, Madrid, 1971
- R. Allorto, 'Stefano Arteaga e le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano', *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 52 (1950) 124-47
- M. Olguin, 'The theory of ideal beauty in Arteaga and Winckelmann', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 8 (1949) 12-33
- G. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam. A study in cultural orientation*, Chicago IL, 1946
- A.R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry and its relations with the Old Provençal troubadours*, Baltimore MD, 1946
- R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea, con otros estudios de literatura medieval*, Buenos Aires, 1941

- M. Batllori, 'Ideario filosófico y estético de Arteaga', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 7 (1938) 293-325
- M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. 3. *Siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1886

Francesca Bellino



## Contributors

| Name                      | Affiliation                                                                                                                      | Entries                                                       |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sylviane Albertan-Coppola | Professor, Department of Literature, University of Picardie                                                                      | Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier                                     |
| Bernadette Andrea         | Professor, Department of English, University of California, Santa Barbara                                                        | Delarivier Manley; Mary Pix                                   |
| Paul Auchterlonie         | Honorary University Fellow, Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies, University of Exeter                                            | Joseph Pitts                                                  |
| Marialuisa Baldi          | Full Professor, Department of Philosophy Piero Martinetti, Università degli Studi di Milano                                      | Andrew Michael Ramsay                                         |
| Frédéric Bauden           | Professor, Arabic Language and Islamic Studies, Department of Antiquities, University of Liège                                   | Antoine Galland                                               |
| Francesca Bellino         | Assistant Professor, Arabic Language and Literature, Department of Human and Social Sciences, University of Naples 'L'Orientale' | Esteban de Arteaga y Lopez; Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri |

| Name            | Affiliation                                                                                                                        | Entries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Clinton Bennett | Faculty member,<br>Department of Philosophy,<br>State University of New<br>York at New Paltz                                       | Introduction:<br>Western Europe<br>and Islam in the<br>long 18th Century;<br>Thomas Chubb;<br>Jean Gagnier;<br>Edward Gibbon;<br>John Hughes;<br>David Jones;<br><i>Miscellanea Aurea:<br/>Or the Golden<br/>Medley</i> ; Simon<br>Ockley; Orientalist<br>tropes, themes<br>and pseudo-<br>Orientalist novels,<br>plays and poetry<br>in 18 <sup>th</sup> -century<br>English literature;<br><i>Reflections on<br/>Mohammedanism<br/>and the Conduct<br/>of Mohammed</i> ;<br>George Sale;<br>Heinrich Seike;<br>Thomas Smith;<br>Three Anglican<br>Unitarians: Stephen<br>Nye, William<br>Whiston and<br>Samuel Clarke;<br>John Toland |
| Luca Berardi    | Research fellow,<br>Department of Foreign<br>Languages, Literatures<br>and Modern Cultures,<br>Università degli Studi di<br>Torino | Vincenzo<br>Abbondanza;<br>Giovanni Ambrogio<br>Migliavacca;<br>Antonio Maria<br>Lucchini                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

| Name                       | Affiliation                                                                                                                                           | Entries                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pierre Berthiaume          | Professor Emeritus,<br>Université d'Ottawa,<br>Canada                                                                                                 | Antoine Prévost                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Maurits van den<br>Boogert | Publishing Director, Middle<br>East, Islam and African<br>Studies, Brill, Leiden                                                                      | Lady Mary Wortley<br>Montagu; James<br>Porter; Johan<br>Ægidius van<br>Egmond van den<br>Nijenburg and<br>Johannes Wilhemus<br>Heyman; Alexander<br>Russell with<br>Patrick Russell;<br>Giambattista<br>Toderini |
| Michele Bosco              | Researcher in Early Modern<br>History, Department of<br>History, University of<br>Florence; Department of<br>History & Civilizations,<br>EHESS, Paris | Ildefonso da<br>Palermo                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Miguel Ángel de<br>Bunes   | Consejo Superior de<br>Investigaciones Científicas,<br>Madrid                                                                                         | Francisco Ximénez<br>de Santa Catalina                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Marina Caffiero            | Full Professor, Department<br>of History Cultures<br>Religions, Sapienza<br>University of Rome                                                        | Carteggio tenuto<br>dal gran turco con<br>papa Pio VI                                                                                                                                                            |
| John Chesworth             | Research Officer CMR1900,<br>Department of Theology<br>and Religion, University of<br>Birmingham                                                      | Jacques Abbadie;<br>Edward Pococke<br>Junior                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Emanuele Colombo           | Associate Professor,<br>Faculty of Catholic Studies,<br>College of Liberal Arts and<br>Social Sciences, DePaul<br>University, Chicago                 | Tirso González de<br>Santalla                                                                                                                                                                                    |

| Name                     | Affiliation                                                                                                              | Entries                                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Valentino Cottini        | Professor, Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e d'Islamistica (PISAI), Rome                                              | Giuseppe Assemani                                |
| José F. Cutillas         | Professor, Department of Modern Languages, University of Alicante                                                        | Félix de Alamián                                 |
| Roberta Denaro           | Associate Professor, Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo, Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'             | <i>Novelle arabe divise in mille e una notte</i> |
| Arianna D'Ottone Rambach | Associate Professor, Arabic language and literature, Sapienza University of Rome                                         | Giuseppe Assemani; Stefano Evodio Assemani       |
| Elena Dini               | Independent Scholar                                                                                                      | Girolamo Bascapè                                 |
| Carole Dornier           | Professeur émérite, Langue et littérature françaises du XVIIIe siècle, Université de Caen Normandie                      | Abbé de Saint-Pierre                             |
| Henri Duranton           | Associate, Institut d'Histoire des Représentations et des Idées dans les Modernités (IHRIM), Université de Saint-Etienne | Paul Lucas                                       |
| Youssef El Alaoui        | Teacher researcher, Département d'Études Romanes, Université de Rouen Normandie                                          | Manuel Sanz                                      |
| Fayçal Falaky            | Associate Professor, Department of French and Italian, Tulane University                                                 | Philémon de La Motte                             |



| Name                                | Affiliation                                                                                                          | Entries                                                                                                                                      |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Anne Fastrup                        | Associate Professor of Comparative Literature, Department of the Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen | Vincent Mignot; Richard Simon                                                                                                                |
| Rachel Finnegan                     | Independent Researcher, County Kilkenny, Ireland.                                                                    | Charles Perry; Richard Pococke; Thomas Shaw                                                                                                  |
| Rita Foti                           | Ricercatore, Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche e delle relazioni internazionali, Università degli Studi di Palermo   | <i>Distinta relazione di un caso assai funesto avvenuto in Costantinopoli; Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta</i> |
| Khadeega Ga'far                     | Arabic Editor, Philosophy in Plain Arabic Project, Andrew Mellon Grant, The American University in Cairo             | David Mallet; John Sheffield                                                                                                                 |
| Jonathan Haddad                     | Assistant Professor, Department of Romance Languages, University of Georgia                                          | Sieur de La Croix                                                                                                                            |
| Alastair Hamilton                   | Senior Research Fellow, The Warburg Institute, University of London                                                  | Claude-Étienne Savary                                                                                                                        |
| Leendert Jan Joosse<br>Gábor Kármán | Independent Scholar<br>Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Center for the Humanities, Institute of History       | Adriaan Reland<br>Erland Dryselius                                                                                                           |

| Name             | Affiliation                                                                                                                                                | Entries                                                                                |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Klaus Karttunen  | Docent, South Asian and Indoeuropean Studies, Asian and African Studies, Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki                              | Petrus Laurbecchius                                                                    |
| Julia Landweber  | Associate Professor, Department of History, Montclair State University                                                                                     | Laurent d'Arvieux                                                                      |
| Vincenzo Lavenia | Associate Professor, Dipartimento di Storia Culture Civiltà Alma Mater – Università di Bologna                                                             | Angelo Legrenzi; Luigi Ferdinando Marsili                                              |
| Lucien van Liere | Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Utrecht University                                                                    | Georg Everhard Rumphius; Wouter Schouten                                               |
| Jan Loop         | Associate Professor of History, Faculty Director of Internationalisation, The University of Kent                                                           | Islam and the European Enlightenment                                                   |
| Nabil Matar      | Professor of History and English, English Department, University of Minnesota                                                                              | Daniel Defoe; Henry Maundrell; Joseph Morgan; Edward Pococke Junior; Humphrey Prideaux |
| Rudolph Matthee  | John and Dorothy Munroe Distinguished Professor of History, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark DE                                       | John Chardin; Jacques Villotte                                                         |
| Justin Meggitt   | Senior Lecturer in the Study of Religion, Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge and Visiting Researcher, History of Religions, Stockholm University | Nöel Aubert de Versé                                                                   |

| Name               | Affiliation                                                                                                                                                                                 | Entries                                                      |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Rolando Minuti     | Professor, Dipartimento di Storia, Archeologia, Geografia, Arte e Spettacolo, University of Florence                                                                                        | Joseph de Guignes; Montesquieu                               |
| Tobias Mörike      | Head of Islamic Art Section, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; Doctoral candidate, Gotha Research Center of Erfurt University                                                          | Elias Habesci                                                |
| Joshua Mugler      | Doctoral candidate, Department of Theology, Georgetown University; Postdoctoral fellow in Eastern Christian manuscript cataloging, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St John's University | Lancelot Addison                                             |
| Paola Orsatti      | Associate Professor, Department – Istituto italiano di studi orientali, Sapienza University of Rome                                                                                         | Giovanni Augusto Cottalorda                                  |
| Gianluca Padovan   | Diocesan Deputy Delegate for Ecumenism and Dialogue, Vicenza                                                                                                                                | Alfonso Maria de' Liguori                                    |
| Sabina Pavone      | Professor, Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism, Università di Macerata                                                                                                   | Niccolò Manuzzi                                              |
| Chiara Petrolini   | Researcher, Institute of Austrian Historical Research, Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies, University of Vienna                                                                     | <i>Racconto della prodigiosa conversione</i> ; Felice Tempia |
| Jane Aptekar Reeve | Independent Scholar                                                                                                                                                                         | James Bruce                                                  |

| Name                    | Affiliation                                                                                                                            | Entries                                                                   |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Vasco Resende           | Researcher, CHAM –<br>Centre for the Humanities,<br>FCSH, Universidade NOVA<br>de Lisboa                                               | Manuel Godinho                                                            |
| Norbert Schürer         | Professor, Department of<br>English, California State<br>University, Long Beach                                                        | John Henry Grose                                                          |
| Filippo Screpanti       | Doctoral candidate, Duke<br>University                                                                                                 | Albert Jouvin;<br>Madeleine de<br>Scudéry                                 |
| Maria-Susanna<br>Seguin | Université Paul-Valéry<br>Montpellier III – IHRIM<br>UMR 5317-ENS de Lyon –<br>Institut Universitaire de<br>France                     | Nicolas Antoine<br>Boulanger                                              |
| Luisa Simonutti         | Senior researcher,<br>Institute for the History of<br>Philosophy and Science in<br>the Modern Age, National<br>Research Council, Italy | Pierre Bayle                                                              |
| Jørgen Bæk<br>Simonsen  | Associate Professor,<br>Department of Cross<br>Cultural and Regional<br>Studies, University of<br>Copenhagen                           | Ludvig Holberg;<br>Georg Hjersing<br>Høst; Danish<br>captivity narratives |
| Gé Speelman             | Assistant Professor,<br>Protestant Theological<br>University in Amsterdam                                                              | Maria ter Meetelen                                                        |
| Denise Spellberg        | Professor, Department of<br>History, University of Texas<br>at Austin                                                                  | John Trenchard                                                            |
| Karel Steenbrink        | Emeritus Professor,<br>Department of Religion,<br>University of Utrecht                                                                | Simon Oomius;<br>Georg Everhard<br>Rumphius                               |

| Name                | Affiliation                                                                                                                                  | Entries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Giovanni Tarantino  | Research Lecturer,<br>Department of History,<br>Archaeology, Geography,<br>Arts and Performance,<br>University of Florence                   | Jean-Frédéric<br>Bernard and<br>Bernard Picart                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Ann Thomson         | Professor of Intellectual<br>History, HEC Department,<br>European University<br>Institute                                                    | Jean-Baptiste de<br>Boyer d'Argens;<br>Louis de Chénier;<br>18 <sup>th</sup> century French<br>Encyclopédistes;<br>Jacques Phillipe<br>Laugier de Tassy;<br>Guillaume-Thomas<br>Raynal; Jean Michel<br>Venture de Paradis;<br>Mathurin Veyssière<br>de la Croze |
| Ferenc Tóth         | Senior Research Fellow,<br>Hungarian Academy of<br>Sciences, Research Center<br>for the Humanities,<br>Institute of History,<br>Budapest     | François de Tott                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Felicita Tramontana | Honorary Fellow, Centre<br>for the Study of the<br>Renaissance, University of<br>Warwick                                                     | Carlo Camucio                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Diego Venturino     | Maître de conférences en<br>histoire modern, Centre<br>de recherche Universitaire<br>Lorrain d'histoire,<br>Université de Lorraine –<br>Metz | Henri de<br>Boulainvilliers                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

| Name                         | Affiliation                                                                                                               | Entries                                                                                                                        |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Catherine<br>Volpilhac-Auger | Professeur des<br>Universités de<br>Littérature Française,<br>ENS de Lyon, IHRIM,<br>Université de Lyon                   | René-Aubert de<br>Vertot                                                                                                       |
| Susanna de Vries             | Doctoral candidate,<br>Department of History and<br>Art History, University of<br>Utrecht                                 | Voltaire                                                                                                                       |
| Avner Ben Zaken              | Professor, Liberal Arts,<br>Humanities and Social<br>Sciences, Ono Academic<br>College, Israel                            | Intellectual,<br>scientific and<br>technological<br>relations between<br>Christian<br>and Muslim<br>Civilisations<br>1580-1822 |
| William Zammit               | Associate Professor and<br>Head of the Department<br>of Library Information<br>& Archive Sciences,<br>University of Malta | Giovanni Antonio<br>Ciantar                                                                                                    |

# Index of Names

Numbers in *italics* indicate a main entry.

- Abbadie, Jacques *503-10*  
 'Abbās I, Shah of Iran 840-1, 844, 918  
 'Abbās II, Shah of Iran 525, 840  
 Abbé Conti 312-13  
 l'Abbé de Charte-Livry, *see* Jean-Frédéric Bernard 501-2, *643-56*  
 Abbé de Saint-Pierre 576, *608-18*, 722  
 Abbé Raynal, *see* Guillaume-Thomas Raynal 765, 773-83, 784, 786  
 Abbondanza, Vincenzo *953-5*  
 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī 98  
 'Abd al-Karīm ibn 'Alī Perez 194  
 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī 53  
 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī 82  
 Abdul Hamid I, Ottoman sultan 948-9  
 Abela, Giovanni Antonio 944-5, 946  
 Abraham, patriarch 147, 159, 161, 199, 361, 719, 740, 951  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII, emir of Granada, *see also* Boavdilin 488-9, 489-90  
 Abū Bakr, first caliph 99, 108, 167, 331, 720  
 Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān 501  
 Academy of Sedan 75, 503, 511  
 Achmet Beg, Effendi, *see also* Ahmed Bey 285, 311-13  
 Acciard, Michele 898  
 Adam 80, 147, 159, 194, 210, 283, 361, 631, 740  
 Addison, Joseph 68, 161, 164, 379, 380-2, 392  
 Addison, Lancelot *68-74*, 192  
 Adriaan Reland 2, 11, 23, 24, 30, 31, 184, 188, 194, 208, 296, 334, 346, 417, 438, 447, *457-61*, 519, 520, 568, 648, 651, 669, 739  
 Agra 842, 846, 849, 852  
 'A'isha, wife of Muḥammad 693  
 Akbar, Mughal emperor 846, 852  
 d'Alembert, Jean le Rond 609, 680, 686, 690, 707, 768  
 Alamin, Félix de *811-14*  
 Albert Jouvin *477-81*  
 Albinoni, Tomaso 861  
 Alchoran, *see* Qur'an 199, 280  
 Alcoran, *see* Qur'an 28, 80-2, 91, 100, 133, 429, 448, 508, 687-8, 715, 723, 737, 738, 825, 922  
 Alcorano, *see* Qur'an 826  
 Aleppo 96, 202, 232, 238, 259, 289-90, 293-6, 302, 478, 542, 543-4, 551, 553, 594, 602, 781, 792-3, 835-6, 837-9, 842-3, 845-6, 958  
 Alexander Pope 5-6, 164, 230, 267, 277, 311, 381  
 Alexander Russell 289-99  
 Alexander the Great 568, 719, 723  
 Alexander VII, pope 926  
 Alexandria 80, 202, 248, 369, 374-5, 478, 535, 626, 687, 720, 745-8, 887, 901, 925, 927  
 Alfonso Maria de' Liguori *935-41*  
 Algiers 188-9, 194, 214, 220, 221-6, 369, 372, 393, 426-7, 430, 556, 557-9, 561-2, 572, 573, 593, 602, 621, 626, 627, 782, 784, 785, 786, 815, 817, 897, 951  
 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, fourth caliph 99, 105, 108, 304, 443, 612, 650, 682, 720, 728, 959  
 Ali, Syed Amir 365  
 Almanzor, Andalusian vizier, *see also* al-Manṣūr 133  
 Alpharabius, *see* al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad 108, 966-7  
 Ambon, Ambon Island 440, 442, 445, 451-2, 453-5  
 Anabaptists 68, 647  
 al-Andalus (Andalusia) 36, 39, 124, 390, 488, 796, 967  
 André du Ryer 138, 328, 347, 539, 646-7, 669, 751  
 Andrés y Morell, Juan 964, 965-8  
 Andrew Michael Ramsay *582-8*  
 Angelo Legrenzi *835-47*, 849  
 Anglicans *and* the Anglican Church, *see also* Church of England 9, 14, 22, 56, 77, 98, 163, 244, 268, 275, 278, 365, 387, 503, 647  
 Anquetil-Duperron, Abraham Hyacinthe 668, 696

- anti-Trinitarians 2, 19-20, 75, 78, 87, 88,  
 145, 182, 267, 273, 275, 276  
 Antoine Galland 31, 32, 359, 379, 529-47,  
 749, 857-8, 859  
 Antoine Prévost 635-42  
 Antonio Maria Lucchini 861-3  
 Antonio Vivaldi 861  
 Antony Spyridon, *see* Ishmail Pasha  
   Serdar Ağa 882, 884, 885  
 apostasy 4, 91, 216, 438, 637-8, 883, 885  
 Apostles 277, 770, 867  
 Apostles' Creed 84  
 Arabic Infancy Gospel 447, 449  
 d'Argens, Jean-Baptiste de Boyer 560,  
 619-34  
 Arians *and* Arianism 62, 142, 152, 276,  
 506, 586, 769  
 Aristotle 35, 37, 38, 133  
 Armenia *and* Armenians 81, 199, 210,  
 259-60, 394, 480, 491, 519, 533, 551,  
 589-90, 592, 828, 830, 832, 835, 838-41,  
 844-5, 852, 862, 874, 876, 877, 897, 919,  
 921, 928  
 Arnold, Theodor 17, 335  
 Arouet de Voltaire, *see* Voltaire 566,  
 698-744  
 Arteaga y Lopez, Esteban de, *see also*  
   Stefano Arteaga 963-9  
 d'Arvieux, Laurent 593-607  
 'Ashūrā' 443, 846  
 Asia Minor 258, 261, 469, 548  
 Assemani, Giuseppe 864-9, 875, 892  
 Assemani, Stefano Evodio 864, 892-5  
 Athanasian Creed 279, 281, 283-4  
 Aubin, Penelope 4, 5, 393, 396  
 Augustinians, religious order 830, 841,  
 845  
 Aurangabad 835, 842  
 Aurangzēb, Mughal sultan 303, 836, 842,  
 846, 848, 849, 852-3  
 Avempace (Avenpace), *see* Ibn Bājja 38,  
 55, 108  
 Averroes, *see* Ibn Rushd 38, 55, 626  
 Avicenna, *see* Ibn Sīnā 55, 108, 339  
 Ayyūb al-Anṣārī 493-4  
 Baghdad 133, 341, 380, 553, 755, 792, 840,  
 843, 845, 907, 913-14, 919, 921  
 Baḥīrā, *see also* Sergius the Nestorian 62,  
 90, 146, 159, 351, 442, 578  
 Balbi, Gaspare 843  
 Banier, Antoine 502, 551, 646  
 Barbin, Claude 478, 492, 531  
 Barbary captivity narratives 4, 393  
 Barbary piracy 1, 3, 9, 202, 393-4  
 Barbary states 2, 3, 4, 15, 194, 222-3, 259,  
 426, 428, 489, 556, 557-8, 561-2, 564, 608,  
 626, 781, 951  
 Barbieri, Giovanni Maria (Giammaria)  
   964, 965, 968  
 Barnabas, Gospel of 143, 146-8, 329  
 Barthélemy d'Herbelot de Molainville  
   138, 184, 296, 359, 416, 514, 568, 647, 676,  
   686-7, 688, 723, 765  
 Baruch Spinoza 75, 141, 152, 162, 496, 566,  
 586, 644  
 Bascapè, Girolamo 821-7  
 Basra 202, 792, 842, 913  
 Batavia, *see also* Jakarta 1, 440, 442, 444,  
 451-2, 841  
 Baudier, Michel 669, 692  
 al-Bayḍāwī, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar 329  
 Bayle, Pierre 18, 78, 326, 333, 416, 511-17,  
   518, 586-7, 616, 626, 668, 682, 705, 727,  
   732  
 Belgrade 285, 311-12, 871  
 Bembo, Ambrogio 843  
 Bengal 1, 394, 440, 442-3, 849  
 Berber language 422, 784, 786  
 Bergier, Nicolas-Sylvestre 707, 737,  
 767-72  
 Bernard, Jean-Frédéric 501-2, 643-56  
 Bernard Picart 501, 643-56  
 Bertandière, Antoine 593, 596  
 Bethlehem 96, 100, 259, 478, 601, 839,  
 904  
 Bibliander, Theodor 328, 438  
 Bijapur 849, 852  
 Boavdilin, King of Granada, *see also* Abū  
   'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII 488-9,  
   489-90  
 Boccaccio, Giovanni 16, 116  
 Bombay 300, 302, 792, 842  
 de Bonneval, Claude-Alexandre 42, 625,  
 638  
 Bosio, Giacomo 578, 925  
 Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne 718  
 Boulanger, Nicolas Antoine 680-3  
 Boulainvilliers, Henri de 2, 21, 27-8, 88,  
   150-2, 184, 328, 358, 360-1, 416, 566-71, 613,  
   614, 669, 705, 721-3, 731  
 Boyle, Robert 37-9, 278, 281  
 Boysen, Friedrich Eberhard 755  
 Brissot, Jacques Pierre 759  
 Bruce, James 289, 369-78  
 Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de 40-1, 231-2



- Cadisja, *see* Khadija 692  
 Cairo 43, 45, 235, 238, 240-1, 248, 249, 251,  
 290, 339, 375, 380, 394, 478, 548, 551, 626,  
 745-7, 784, 887, 888  
 Calas, Jean 699, 727, 740  
 Calcutta 350, 749  
 Camucio, Carlo 901-4  
 Candia, *see also* Crete *and* Chania 257,  
 259, 260, 927  
 Candia, War of 924, 926, 927, 929  
 Cantemir, Demetrius 284, 359, 765  
 Capuchins, religious order 480, 551,  
 811, 815, 840, 841, 845, 850, 851, 853, 877,  
 914, 921  
 Carlo Camucio 901-4  
 Carlo Emanuele III, King of Sardinia 913,  
 930  
 Carlo Leonelli, *see* Ignazio di Gesù 843  
 Carmelites, religious order 590, 794, 832,  
 841, 845, 914  
 Carsten Niebuhr 32, 295, 421-2  
 Castriot, George 383-5  
 Catecumeni, Casa dei, Venice 883-4,  
 886, 959  
 Catherine II, the Great, Empress of Russia  
 684, 732, 740  
 Cato, pseudonym of John Trenchard and  
 Thomas Gordon 174  
 Cerceau, Jean Antoine du 919, 920  
 Ceylon, *see also* Sri Lanka 1, 2, 442, 846  
 Chaldean Church 877, 914, 921  
 Chambers, William 7  
 Chania, *see also* Crete *and* Candia 536  
 Chardin, John 128, 129, 522-8, 592, 615,  
 630, 631, 647, 648, 661, 669, 723  
 Charles II, King of England 68, 179, 386-7,  
 522, 792, 796, 798, 848  
 Charles VII, Holy Roman Emperor 572,  
 905  
 Charles Goring 386, 387-8  
 Charles Olier de Nointel 478, 491, 529, 835  
 Charles Perry 226, 235-43, 254  
 Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre, *see*  
 Abbe de Saint-Pierre 576, 608-18, 722  
 Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La  
 Brède et de Montesquieu, *see*  
 Montesquieu 1, 3, 14, 60, 66, 162, 347,  
 355, 358-60, 380-1, 526, 566, 569, 574,  
 657-72, 694-5, 722, 745, 759, 925  
 Chénier, Louis de 762-6  
 Chevalier Ramsay, *see* Andrew Michael  
 Ramsay 582-8  
 Chevreau, Urbain 514  
 China *and* the Chinese 440, 583, 586,  
 630, 673, 678, 720, 730, 798  
 Chios 199, 470, 536, 882  
 Christ, *see also* Jesus Christ 2, 11, 80, 82,  
 84, 91, 100, 101, 143, 146-7, 152-3, 154,  
 159-60, 162-3, 199-200, 209, 212, 268, 271,  
 277, 281, 286, 328-9, 331, 361, 365, 443,  
 449, 506-8, 520, 562, 568, 585-6, 647, 701,  
 706, 716, 731, 722, 728-9, 729-30, 731, 732,  
 769-70, 800-1, 806, 808, 809, 824, 826, 831,  
 838, 845, 890  
 Christendom 60, 100, 224, 239, 240, 366,  
 898  
 Christians of St John, *see* Mandaeans  
 794, 843, 844  
 Chubb, Thomas 267-74, 277  
 Church of England, *see also* Anglican  
 Church 65, 75, 111, 182, 275, 506  
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre 13, 110, 239,  
 258, 904  
 Ciantar, Giovanni Antonio 942-7  
 Clarke, Samuel 6, 202, 275-88  
 Claude-Étienne Savary 359, 745-56  
 Clement IX, pope 927-8  
 Clement XI, pope 590, 864  
 Clement XII, pope 864, 892  
 Clement XIV, pope 951  
 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste 31, 491, 535, 594  
 Coleti, Sebastiano 857-9  
 Collins, William 380, 382  
 Compagnie du Levant, *see also* Levant  
 Company 96, 289-90, 344, 350, 535  
 Comte de Provence, future Louis XVIII,  
 king of France 745, 747  
 Comte de Vergennes, French ambassador  
 in Constantinople 762, 784  
 Conant, Martha Pike 379, 381, 394  
 Congregatio de propaganda fide, *see also*  
 Propaganda Fide 589-90, 840, 843, 845,  
 851, 865, 867-8, 873, 877, 879, 890, 912-14,  
 919  
 Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer  
 (Redemptorists) 935  
 Constantine, Emperor 81, 209, 363  
 Constantinople 21, 31, 35, 60, 119, 203, 235,  
 237, 238, 262, 283, 344, 345, 352, 357, 358,  
 375, 390, 447, 480, 485-6, 494, 548, 602,  
 604, 620-1, 625, 694, 757, 759, 762, 781,  
 784, 824, 828, 830, 835, 863, 882, 914,  
 932-3, 948-50  
 conversion to Christianity 202, 375, 586,  
 651, 800-1, 808, 824-5, 826, 882-5, 890,  
 926, 928-30, 942, 946

- conversion to Islam 3-4, 169, 216, 362,  
 389, 394, 428, 438, 541, 705, 719, 793, 849,  
 852  
 converts to Christianity 4, 24, 33, 204,  
 284, 328, 443, 454, 609, 729, 767, 781, 794,  
 803, 813, 824, 825, 841, 843, 845, 853, 884,  
 885-6, 889, 897, 926, 929, 935, 959  
 converts to Islam 4, 5, 9, 42, 61, 166, 167,  
 199, 214, 216, 261, 272, 296, 389, 390, 422,  
 424, 429, 464, 532, 557, 559, 625, 637, 677,  
 692, 701, 704, 715, 720, 843, 882  
 Copenhagen 413-14, 420-1  
 Copts and Coptic Christianity 249-50,  
 259, 394, 480, 498, 518, 626, 831, 887,  
 889-90  
 Corfu 848, 883-5  
 Coran, *see* Qur'an 30, 225, 270, 285, 688,  
 737  
 Corinth 882-3, 885  
 Count Alexander Gika, *see* Elias Habesci  
 348, 350-4  
 Craven, Elizabeth 2, 314  
 Crete 259-61, 536, 746-6, 835, 925, 927  
 Crimea 13, 757, 759  
 Croix, Alexandre-Louis-Marie Pétis de la  
 603-4  
 Croix, François Pétis de la (snr) 544,  
 603-4  
 Croix, François Pétis de la (jnr) 491, 785  
 Cromwell, Oliver 72, 721  
 Croze, Mathurin Veysseyre de la 518-21  
 crucifixion of Christ 84  
 crusaders 98, 204, 703, 809, 839  
 Cuper, Gisbert 467, 469  
 Cyprus 220, 235, 257, 260, 577, 589, 901-3  
  
 Dadichi, Carolus 325  
 Damascus 96, 100, 109, 167-8, 240, 259,  
 362, 478, 480, 552, 601, 838, 940  
 Damietta, Damiaata 248, 745-6  
 Dandini, Jérôme 496  
 Daniel Defoe 10, 39, 197-207, 379, 386, 388  
 Daniel, Hebrew prophet 286, 364, 408,  
 585  
 Daniel's little horn (referring to  
 Muḥammad) 286, 364  
 Dansk-Afrikansk Kompagni (the Danish-  
 African Company) 420  
 Dārā Shikōh, Mughal prince 848, 852  
 D'Avenant, Sir William 166, 232  
 David, king of Israel 147, 159, 209, 720  
 David Jones 136-40  
 David Mallet 230-4  
 David Malloch, *see* David Mallet 230-4  
 Dean Mahomet 305  
 Deccan 842, 849, 852-3  
 Defoe, Daniel 10, 39, 197-207, 379, 386, 388  
 deists 2, 56, 88-90, 92, 150, 270, 272-3,  
 312-13, 520, 770  
 Delarivier Manley 117, 120, 126-35  
 Delhi 835, 842, 846, 848-9, 852  
 Demetrius Cantemir 284, 359, 765  
 Denmark 126, 413-14, 417, 420, 421-2,  
 424-5, 426-8  
 Dervishes 494, 625, 648, 831, 877  
 Descartes, René 37, 566, 608  
 Deuteronomy, biblical book 443  
 Devil 260, 507, 813  
 Diderich, Lars 429  
 Diderot, Denis 9, 680, 684, 686-8, 768, 774  
 Dioscorides 39  
 Discalced Carmelites, religious order  
 794, 832  
 Discalced Trinitarians, religious order  
 815  
 Dissenters 84, 87, 141-2, 146, 271  
 Divan Club 236, 244  
 Diyarbakir 839, 845, 877, 914, 919, 921  
 Domenico Lanza 914  
 Domenico Ottomano, *see also* Osman, son  
 of Sultan Ibrahim 924-5, 926, 927,  
 928-9  
 Dominicans, religious order 845, 875,  
 877, 914, 924-8, 928-9  
 Donà, Giovan Battista 875, 879, 959-60  
 Drury Lane Theatre 117, 164, 230, 232, 384,  
 388, 389, 392, 395  
 Druzes 99, 480, 552, 781, 786, 877  
 Dryden, John 122, 179, 180, 383, 386, 390  
 Dryselius, Erland 410-12  
 Duc d'Orléans 572, 582  
 Duke of Buckingham 157, 179  
 Durand, David 647, 651-2, 653, 728  
 Dutch East India Company, *see also*  
 Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie  
 (VOC) 440, 451-5, 841  
 Dutch East Indies 440, 451  
 Dutch West-Indies Company (WIC) 451  
 al-Duwayhī, *see* Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī 96, 99  
  
 East India Company (British) 291, 300,  
 302, 350, 850  
 Ebionites, *see also* Nazarenes 147, 277,  
 286, 519  
 Edict of Nantes, revocation of 76, 503,  
 511, 558, 563, 643, 721

- Edirne 307, 311, 589  
 Edward Gibbon 7, 11, 27, 106, 139, 169, 186,  
 355-68, 675, 723  
 Edward Lane 296, 859  
 Edward Pococke (jnr) 53-7  
 Edward Pococke (snr) 25, 53, 55, 65, 66,  
 87, 98, 184, 188, 208, 296, 332, 339, 360,  
 514, 519, 568, 586, 647, 765  
 Edward Wortley Montagu 307-8, 311, 313  
 Edward Young 390, 392  
 Egmond van der Nijenburg, Johan Ægidius  
 van 466-71  
 Egypt and Egyptians 3, 14, 43-4, 45, 193,  
 220, 222, 225, 235, 238, 239, 241, 244, 245,  
 247-9, 250-1, 253, 254, 257, 263, 264, 370,  
 373-4, 394, 467, 469, 471, 478-9, 548, 550,  
 584, 585-6, 600, 626, 676, 720, 734-6,  
 745-7, 748, 749, 752-4, 755, 757, 759-60,  
 770, 775, 784, 828, 830-1, 864, 887-8,  
 888-9, 890  
 Egyptology 242, 245  
 Egilsson, Olafur 427  
 Elias Habesci, *see also* Count Alexander  
 Gika 348, 350-4  
 Elias, Chaldean Nestorian patriarch 914,  
 921  
 Elijah, biblical prophet 681-2  
 Elizabeth I, queen of England 13, 62  
 Elkhana Settle 386-7  
 Elzevier press 75, 78, 82  
 Emir Turabey 596, 605  
 Emlyn, Thomas 84, 284  
 Enlightenment 11, 16-18, 19, 22-6, 32, 38-9,  
 43, 45, 313, 333, 413, 423, 459, 493, 643,  
 665, 670, 676, 678, 682, 737, 745, 752, 754,  
 768, 908, 950, 952, 955  
 Enoch, biblical character 147, 682  
 Enoch, Book of 370  
 Erland Dryselius 410-12  
 Erpenius, Thomas 25, 438  
 Erizzo, Antonio 883-4  
 Erzurum 589, 591-2  
 Eskihissar 262, 478  
 Esteban de Arteaga y Lopez, *see also*  
 Stefano Arteaga 963-9  
 Ethiopia and Ethiopians, *see also*  
 Habesha 369, 372-5, 376-7, 390, 394,  
 568, 668  
 Ethiopic Orthodox Church 498  
 Eton, William 352  
 Eucharist 529, 541, 740, 824, 843  
 Evelyn, John 929  
 Exodus, Book of 281  
 Ezekiel, biblical prophet 101  
 Fakhr al-Dīn II, al-Ma'nī, Druze ruler of  
 Lebanon 42, 99  
 al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad 108, 966-7  
 Faroe Islands 426  
 Felice Tempia 923-31  
 Félix de Alamín 811-14  
 Fénelon, François 559, 582-3, 584-5  
 Fèvre, Michel 960  
 Fleury, Claude 703, 939  
 Fontenelle, Bernard le Bovier de 576,  
 608, 612, 613, 682  
 Fourmont, Étienne 551, 673  
 Franciscans, religious order 239-40, 464,  
 480-1, 811, 830, 832, 836, 838, 843, 845,  
 865, 887, 889, 890, 903, 963  
 Francisco Ximénez de Santa Catalina  
 815-18  
 François de Tott 42, 757-61  
 François Pétiſ de la Croix (snr) 544,  
 603-4  
 François Pétiſ de la Croix (jnr) 491, 785  
 François-Marie Arouet, *see* Voltaire 566,  
 698-744  
 Franks 240, 241, 260, 262, 553, 746, 832  
 Frederick II, King of Prussia 619, 690,  
 699, 704-6, 951  
 Frederick V, king of Denmark 32, 422  
 French Revolution 758, 784, 948  
 Fréret, Nicolas 566, 731  
 Frisius, Christiernus Samuelis 408  
 Frizon, Nicolas 591-2  
 Gabriel, angel 194, 331, 351, 416, 613, 705, 844  
 Gagnier, Jean 182-7, 329, 340, 341, 360,  
 647, 669, 692, 706, 722, 739, 741, 751-2, 754  
 Galland, Antoine 31, 32, 359, 379, 529-47,  
 749, 857-8, 859  
 García-Bravo, Joaquín 755  
 Gaspar de São Bernardino 792-3  
 Gemelli Careri, Giovanni Francesco 466,  
 828-34, 917  
 Geneva 75, 511, 643, 658, 699, 708, 731  
 Georg Everhard Rumphius 451-6  
 Georg Hjersing Høst 420-5  
 George Castriot 383-5  
 George I, king of Great Britain 179, 202  
 George II, king of Great Britain 9, 222, 271  
 George III, king of Great Britain 7, 175,  
 369, 707  
 George Lyttelton 380, 381-2  
 George Sale 17, 24, 25, 27-8, 158, 208, 213,  
 271, 273, 296, 325-43, 344, 346, 359, 360,  
 449, 569, 646, 648, 705, 721-2, 738-9, 741,  
 752, 755, 765

- Georgia 249, 522, 828, 830  
 al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid 55, 108, 539  
 Giambattista Toderini 956-62  
 Gibbon, Edward 7, 11, 27, 106, 139, 169,  
     186, 355-68, 675, 723  
 Gifford, William 951  
 Gildon, Charles 116, 118-19  
 Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca 905-11  
 Giovanni Antonio Ciantar 942-7  
 Giovanni Augusto Cottalorda, *see* Leandro  
     di Santa Cecilia 912-22  
 Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri 466,  
     828-34, 917  
 Giovanni Potocki Krayczyc, *see* Jan  
     Potocki 959  
 Giovio, Paolo 484-5, 878  
 Girolamo Bascapè 821-7  
 Giuseppe Assemani, *see also* Yūsuf  
     al-Sim'ānī 864-9, 875, 892  
 Gluck, Christoph 905  
 Goa 454, 830, 835, 841, 843, 849, 852  
 Godinho, Manuel 791-5  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang 29, 186, 334-5,  
     707  
 Golius, Jacobus 25, 331, 437, 438, 448,  
     467  
 Gomez, Madeleine-Angélique de 954  
 González de Santalla, Tirso 796-805  
 Gordon, Alexander 83, 85, 136  
 Gordon, Thomas 172, 173, 174-6  
 Goring, Charles 386, 387-8  
 Gospel (of Christ) 80, 82, 145, 147, 154,  
     157, 159-60, 211, 284, 449, 507, 590, 770,  
     807, 811, 824, 825-6, 919, 958  
 Gospel of Barnabas 143, 146-8, 329  
 Gospel of the Hebrews 147  
 Granada 123, 488-9, 489-90, 824  
 Graveson, Ignace Hyacinthe Amat de  
     925, 929  
 Greek (Orthodox) Church 210, 239,  
     249-50, 491, 498, 529, 647, 728, 877, 890,  
     927, 928, 933  
 Gregory Bar Hebraeus 360  
 Gregory X, pope 865  
 Grose, John Henry 300-6  
 Guadagnolo, Filippo 346, 808  
 Guebres (Zoroastrians) 661, 680  
 Gueullette, Thomas-Simon 858  
 Guignes, Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de 673  
 Guignes, Joseph de 2, 11, 359, 673-9  
 Guillaume Postel 648, 651  
 Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *see also* Abbé  
     Raynal 765, 773-83, 784, 786  
 Habesci, Elias 348, 350-4  
 Habesha, *see* Ethiopians 390  
 Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von 30  
 Hannā Diyāb 542, 544  
 Hark Olufs 427-8  
 Harley, Robert 142-3, 197-8, 199  
 Havard, William 383, 384  
 Haydn, Franz Joseph 906  
 Haywood, Eliza 4-5, 390-1, 393  
 Heimaey, island off Iceland 427  
 Heinrich Seike, *see also* Henry Sike  
     447-50, 457  
 Henri de Boulainvilliers 2, 21, 27-8, 88,  
     150-2, 184, 328, 358, 360-1, 416, 566-71, 613,  
     614, 669, 705, 721-3, 731  
 Henry Maundrell 96-104  
 Henry Sike, *see* Heinrich Seike 447-50,  
     457  
 d'Herbelot de Molainville,  
     Barthélemy 138, 184, 296, 359, 416, 514,  
     568, 647, 676, 686-7, 688, 723, 765  
 Heyman, Johannes Wilhemus 466-71  
 Hindus and Hinduism 302, 303-5, 611,  
     794, 842, 844, 849, 852, 854  
 Holberg, Ludvig 413-19  
 Holy Land 98, 101, 220, 225, 238, 239, 257,  
     548, 577-8, 601, 828, 830, 835, 837-8, 845,  
     865, 877, 903-4, 913  
 d'Holbach, Paul Thiry 150, 680, 685  
 Hormuz 792, 841, 852  
 Høst, Georg Hjersing 420-5  
 Hottinger, Johann Heinrich 19, 20, 71,  
     514, 520  
 Hughes, John 164-71  
 Hugo Grotius 413, 514, 732, 739-41  
 Huguenots 78, 150, 503, 511, 513, 522, 525,  
     564, 614, 643-4, 684  
 Hume, David 358, 363, 636  
 Humphrey Prideaux 73, 87-95, 105, 109,  
     111, 138-9, 158-61, 161-3, 184, 188, 191, 193,  
     208-10, 328, 341, 359, 416, 514, 568, 669,  
     691, 705, 751  
 Hungary *and* Hungarians 43, 81, 199, 244,  
     257-8, 260, 280, 411, 506, 658, 757, 758,  
     828, 870, 872, 878  
 Hürrem Sultan, *see also* Roxana,  
     Roxelana 10, 202, 385-6, 388, 486, 907  
 Hüseyin ibn Ga'fer Hezârfen 874-6, 960  
 Hyde, Thomas 208, 586  
 Ibn Bājja, *see also* Avempace  
     (Avenpace) 38, 55, 108  
 Ibn Rushd, *see also* Averroes 38, 55, 626

- Ibn Sinā, *see also* Avicenna 55, 108, 339  
 Ibn Ṭufayl 10, 23, 38, 53, 54-5, 105, 107, 201, 388  
 Ibrāhīm I, Ottoman sultan 118-19, 924-6  
 İbrahim Müteferrika 42, 959  
 Iceland 426-7  
 Ignazio di Gesù, *see also* Carlo Leonelli 843  
 Ildefonso da Palermo 887-91  
 Incarnation of Christ 112, 146, 284, 361  
 India *and* Indians 1, 4, 7, 9, 43, 55, 81, 148, 153, 272, 291, 302-3, 304, 305, 350, 366, 415, 442, 522, 586, 611, 791, 793, 828, 830, 836, 837, 839, 841-2, 843, 846, 849, 851-2, 854  
 Infancy Gospel, Arabic 447, 449  
 Infidels 61, 101, 158, 200, 363, 393, 508, 578, 615, 651, 770, 786, 836, 842, 844-6, 871, 890, 928  
 Innocent XI, pope 797-8, 873  
 Inquisition 631, 791, 811, 923, 928  
 Iran *and* Iranians 338, 522, 524-6, 589-90, 591, 592, 647, 650  
 Irving, Washington 186  
 Isaac Newton 37, 268, 276, 278, 698, 871  
 Isaiah, prophet *and* Book of 507, 585  
 Isfahan 382, 522, 589-90, 591-2, 630, 661, 793, 830, 840, 845, 852, 913, 918  
 Ishmael, son of Abraham 159, 365, 374, 395  
 Ishmail Pasha Serdar Ağa, *see also* Ismail Bascià Serdar *and* Antony Spyridon 882, 884, 885  
 Ismā'īl Abū l-Fidā' 11, 182, 183, 184-5, 329, 340, 359, 587, 596, 677, 748, 751  
 Ismail Bascià Serdar, *see* Ishmail Pasha Serdar Ağa 882, 884, 885  
 Israelites 159, 631  
 Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, Maronite patriarch 96, 99  
  
 al-Jabartī, 'Abd al-Rahmān 44  
 Jābir ibn Ḥayyān 36  
 Jacobite Christians 551, 838-9, 844  
 Jacques Abbadié 503-10  
 Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy 572-5, 627  
 Jacques Villotte 589-92  
 Jaffa 60, 838, 901-2  
 Jaffar (Ja'far), 'brother of Mahomet' 374  
 Jakarta, *see also* Batavia 1, 440, 442, 444, 451-2, 841  
 James Bruce 289, 369-78  
 James Porter 344-9, 352  
 Jan Potocki 959  
 Jansenism *and* Jansenists 529, 541, 585, 612, 614, 616, 631, 644, 658, 680, 706, 739, 940  
 Jean Gagnier 182-7, 329, 340, 341, 360, 647, 669, 692, 706, 722, 739, 741, 751-2, 754  
 Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Argens 560, 619-34  
 Jean-Baptiste de Secondat, *see* Montesquieu 1, 3, 14, 60, 66, 162, 347, 355, 358-60, 380-1, 526, 566, 569, 574, 657-72, 694-5, 722, 745, 759, 925  
 Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *see also* l'Abbé de Charte-Livry 501-2, 643-56  
 Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis 748, 753, 781, 784-8  
 Jefferson, Thomas 175, 176  
 Jersey 126, 393  
 Jerusalem 13, 16, 96, 97-8, 100-1, 109-10, 194, 223, 237-8, 258-9, 470, 478, 480, 496, 577, 601, 605, 626, 701, 703, 716, 830, 835, 838, 899, 901-2, 903  
 Jesus Christ, *see also* Christ 2, 11, 80, 82, 84, 91, 100, 101, 143, 146-7, 152-3, 154, 159-60, 162-3, 199-200, 209, 212, 268, 271, 277, 281, 286, 328-9, 331, 361, 365, 443, 449, 506-8, 520, 562, 568, 585-6, 647, 701, 706, 716, 731, 722, 728-9, 729-30, 731, 732, 769-70, 800-1, 806, 808, 809, 824, 826, 831, 838, 845, 890  
 João de Barros 792  
 Johan (Jan) Ægidius van Egmond van der Nijenburg 466-71  
 Johannes Wilhemus Heyman 466-71  
 John (Jean) Chardin 128, 129, 522-8, 592, 615, 630, 631, 647, 648, 661, 669, 723  
 John Dryden 122, 179, 180, 383, 386, 390  
 John Henry Grose 300-6  
 John Hughes 164-71  
 John Locke 13-14, 39, 53, 56, 76, 89, 141-2, 275-6, 566, 619, 698, 727, 963  
 John Sheffield 179-81  
 John Toland 2, 21, 141-56, 162, 163, 212, 272-3, 275, 286, 333, 449, 586, 644  
 John Trenchard 172-8  
 Johnson, Charles 388  
 Johnson, Samuel 7, 9, 168, 289, 359, 376, 379, 380, 382, 386, 389-90, 393-4  
 Jonah, prophet 201, 604  
 Jonathan Edwards 139, 268, 272-3  
 Jones, David 136-40  
 Jones, Sir William 1, 7, 345, 359  
 Joseph II, Habsburg emperor 948-9  
 Joseph de Guignes 2, 11, 359, 673-9

- Joseph Morgan 188-96, 338, 574  
 Joseph Pitts 214-19  
 Jouvin, Albert 477-81  
 Juan Andrés 796, 801, 808  
 Judaism 17, 142, 145-7, 154, 269-70, 273,  
 280, 283-4, 286, 329, 365, 442, 494, 499,  
 586, 604-5, 625, 647, 653, 693, 718, 720-2,  
 727, 752, 844, 937, 939  
 Judges, biblical book 282  
 Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor 520,  
 729-30  
 Julius Caesar 174, 568, 723, 939
- Ka'ba 100, 168, 200, 648, 793  
 Karlowitz, Treaty of 1, 12, 283, 871  
 Kashan 589, 591, 840  
 Kâtib Çelebi 42, 960  
 Khadija, *see also* Cadisja 158-9, 329, 416,  
 692  
 Kazimirski, Albin de 753, 755  
 Khan, Syed Ahmad 365  
 al-Kindî, Abû Yûsuf 36  
 Knights Hospitaller 627, 924-6, 928  
 Knights of Malta 896  
 Knights of the Grand Cross 896  
 Knolles, Richard 138-9, 232, 359, 354,  
 383-4, 385-9, 692  
 Krapf, Ludwig 376  
 Krusinski, Judasz Tadeusz 919, 920  
 Kurds *and* Kurdistan 835, 839
- Labat, Jean-Baptiste 593-4, 600-1, 603-4  
 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 2, 5-6, 43,  
 119, 123, 134, 277, 285, 307-24, 352, 381,  
 391-2  
 Lancelot Addison 68-74, 192  
 Laonicus Chalcocondyles 485  
 Larpent, George 344-5  
 Laurbecchius, Petrus 407-9  
 Laugier de Tassy, Jacques Philippe 572-5,  
 627  
 Laurent d'Arvieux 593-607  
 Leandro di Santa Cecilia 912-22  
 Lebanon 42, 99, 244, 892, 913  
 Legrenzi, Angelo 835-47, 849  
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 142, 313, 496,  
 518, 519, 520, 608, 626, 687  
 Leo Africanus 189  
 Leopold I, Holy Roman emperor 410, 411,  
 871  
 Leslie, Charles 77-8, 83-4, 145  
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 16-18, 334  
 Levant Company, *see also* Compagnie du  
 Levant 96, 289-90, 344, 350, 535
- Lillo, George 383-5  
 Liguori, Alfonso Maria de' 935-41  
 Lobo, Jeronimo 369, 394  
 Locke, John 13-14, 39, 53, 56, 76, 89, 141-2,  
 275-6, 566, 619, 698, 727, 963  
 Lope Obregón 801  
 Louis XIV, king of France 31, 390, 477,  
 492, 511, 522, 526, 548, 566-7, 593-4,  
 602-3, 605, 608, 663, 798, 927  
 Louis XV, king of France 556, 603, 652,  
 942  
 Louis XVIII, king of France 745, 747  
 Louis de Chénier 762-6  
 Louis de Jaucourt 684, 686-8, 723, 769  
 Löwenclau, Hans 691  
 Lucas, Paul 542, 544, 548-55, 661  
 Lucchini, Antonio Maria 861-3  
 Ludolf, Hiob 373  
 Ludvig Holberg 473-19  
 Luigi Ferdinando Marsili 691, 870-81  
 Luis (Luys) del Mármol (Caravajal) 189,  
 558, 703  
 Lutheran(s) 18, 200, 312, 410, 429, 518  
 Lyttelton, George 380, 381-2
- Madeleine de Scudéry 386-7, 482-90, 638  
 Madonna, *see* Mary, mother of Jesus *and*  
 Virgin Mary 883  
 Magi 584, 586  
 Mahamet, Hamet, *see* Muḥammad 80, 99  
 Mahomed, *see* Muḥammad 61  
 Mahomet, *see* Muḥammad 18, 28, 61-3,  
 80, 91, 100, 118, 157-8, 161, 163, 167, 175, 180,  
 200-1, 271, 276, 281, 282, 312, 325, 360, 362,  
 373-4, 429, 507-8, 513, 514, 652, 687, 705,  
 746, 765, 826, 917, 922  
 Mahomet, at the court of George I 202  
 Mahomet II, Ottoman sultan 513-14  
 Mahomedan(s), Mahomeddans  
 (Muslims) 303, 852, 939  
 Mahometanism (Islam) 18, 147, 199, 268,  
 270, 273, 282, 609, 647, 695  
 Mahometan(s), Mahomettan(s)  
 (Muslims) 21, 23, 30, 80-1, 90, 92, 98-9,  
 141, 144-5, 147, 168, 174, 193, 194, 198, 201,  
 203-4, 212, 240, 249-50, 261, 271, 280-1,  
 284, 302-3, 374, 388, 393, 488, 498-500,  
 586, 647, 667, 825-6, 917  
 Mahometism (Islam) 506, 605, 613, 647  
 Mahumed, *see* Muḥammad 72  
 Mahumedans (Muslims) 71  
 Mahumetans (Muslims) 80  
 Maimonides, Moses 53, 87  
 Maimuna stone 944, 946

- Malabar rite(s) 798, 850, 853  
 Malebranche, Nicolas 608, 613  
 Malta 13, 478, 536, 577, 579, 627, 806, 807,  
 828, 830, 836, 896-9, 924, 926, 928, 942,  
 944-6, 959  
 Mallet, David 230-4  
 Mallet, Edme François 684, 685, 686  
 Mandaeans, *see also* Christians of St  
 John 794, 843, 844  
 Mangey, Thomas 145, 148  
 Manicheism 512, 832  
 Manley, Delarivier 117, 120, 126-35  
 al-Manşūr, 'Abbasid caliph 133, 677  
 al-Manşūr, Andalusian vizier, *see also*  
 Almanzor 133  
 Manuel Godinho 791-5  
 Manuel Sanz 806-10  
 Manuel de Santo Thomas de Aquino 811,  
 814  
 Manuzzi, Niccolò 835-6, 842-3, 846,  
 848-56  
 Marana, Gian Paolo 380, 660  
 Maria ter Meetelen 4-5, 462-5  
 Mármol (Caravajal), Luis (Luys) del 189,  
 558, 703  
 Maronite Christians 42, 96, 225, 259-60,  
 295, 480, 491, 498, 542, 544, 551-2, 781,  
 838, 864, 892  
 Marquis d'Argens, *see* Jean-Baptiste de  
 Boyer d'Argens 560, 619-34  
 Marracci, Lodovico 24-5, 184, 326, 328-9,  
 332, 372, 448, 514, 539, 540, 568, 647, 651,  
 669, 738, 741, 751-4, 802, 937  
 Marseille 370, 375, 466, 478, 549, 589, 590,  
 593-4, 773, 784, 792, 902, 913  
 Marsh, Elizabeth 4, 6  
 Marsili, Luigi Ferdinando 691, 870-81  
 Mary, mother of Jesus, *see also* Virgin Mary  
*and* Madonna 147, 200, 272, 285, 508,  
 824, 867  
 Mary Pix 115-25, 128  
 Mary Wortley Montagu, *see* Lady Mary  
 Wortley Montagu 2, 5-6, 43, 119, 123,  
 134, 277, 285, 307-24, 352, 381, 391-2  
 Massawa (Masuah) 370, 373, 375  
 Mathurins, religious order 556, 557-8,  
 561, 564  
 Mathurin Veyssière de la Croze 518-21  
 Maundrell, Henry 96-104  
 Mecca 100, 168, 200, 214, 216, 225, 250-1,  
 304, 346, 352, 360, 375-6, 395, 416, 427,  
 429, 459, 464, 519, 552, 586, 614, 692,  
 703-4, 705, 755, 775, 793, 842, 925  
 Mede, Joseph 282-3  
 Medina *and* Medinans 210, 216, 282, 352,  
 360-1, 373, 416, 443, 480, 493, 552, 692-4,  
 793, 842  
 Meetelen, Maria ter 4-5, 462-5  
 Mehmed II, Ottoman sultan 494, 718,  
 740, 933  
 Mehmed IV, Ottoman sultan 479, 602,  
 874, 926  
 Megerlin, Friedrich 29  
 Metastasio, Pietro 905-6, 908, 963  
 Mexico 811, 828, 830  
 Michaelis, Johann David 32, 748  
 Migliavacca, Giovanni Ambrogio 905-11  
 Mignot, Vincent 690-7  
 Miguel de Luna 122  
 Miguel Servetus 20-1  
 Mohamed, *see* Muḥammad 6, 338, 341  
 Mohamet Rabadan, Sheikh, *see also*  
 Muḥammad Rabadan 192-4  
 Mohammed, *see* Muḥammad 28, 84, 327,  
 801  
 Molière 483, 594, 602  
 Monnoye, Bernard de la 145  
 Montesquieu 1, 3, 14, 60, 66, 162, 347, 355,  
 358-60, 380-1, 526, 566, 569, 574, 657-72,  
 694-5, 722, 745, 759, 925  
 Moors, Mores (Muslims) 6, 122-3, 189,  
 198, 202, 203, 303-4, 375, 442, 443, 430,  
 443, 637, 702, 814, 831  
 Moréri, Louis 954  
 Morgan, Joseph 188-96, 338, 574  
 Moriscos, Moriscoes 77, 192, 194, 489-90,  
 815-16, 818  
 Morri, Giacomo 862, 863  
 Moselems (Muslims) 98  
 Moses 2, 143, 147, 152-4, 159, 271, 283, 328,  
 331, 361, 496, 568, 722, 769, 801  
 Moss, Niels 429-30  
 Motte, Philémon de La 556-65  
 Moulay Abdallah 462, 463-4  
 Mughals *and* the Mughal Empire 4, 7, 92,  
 303, 792, 836, 837, 841-2, 846, 848-9, 850,  
 852-4  
 Muḥammad, *see also* Apostle of God,  
 Mahamet, Hamet, Mahomed, Mahomet,  
 Mahumed, Mohamed, Mohammed, the  
 Prophet 2, 11-12, 20-2, 25, 27-9, 55, 61-2,  
 64, 71-3, 77, 82-4, 88, 90-1, 92, 106, 109, 111,  
 139, 143, 146-8, 152-4, 157-62, 164, 168,  
 180-1, 183, 184-6, 188, 191-5, 200, 208-12,  
 216, 270-2, 277, 281-2, 286, 290, 294, 304,  
 326, 327-35, 338-9, 340-1, 351-2, 357-65,  
 373-5, 383, 385, 391, 393, 411, 415-17, 428-9,  
 442-4, 449, 493-4, 499, 503, 506-9, 513,

- 519-20, 539, 563, 566, 568-9, 577-8, 597,  
611, 613-14, 615, 617, 631, 647-8, 650-1, 653,  
661, 667, 669, 676-8, 682, 691-5, 701,  
703-8, 715, 716-17, 718-22, 722-3, 727,  
728-9, 729-30, 731, 732, 737, 738-40, 741,  
748, 751, 754, 765, 769-70, 775, 782, 793-4,  
800-2, 807-9, 812-14, 817, 826, 831, 838,  
842, 844, 852, 883, 893-4, 925, 937, 939,  
944, 966
- Muhammad XII, Abū 'Abd Allāh, sultan of  
Granada, *see also* Boavdilīn 488-9,  
489-90
- Muhammad Alguazir 77
- Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh 6, 420, 424
- Muhammad Rabadan, *see also* Sheikh  
Mohamet Rabadan 192-4
- Muratori, Ludovico Antonio 942, 967
- Murray, Alexander 370, 372
- Mustafā, Bassā (Pasha), Ottoman governor  
of Rhodes 896-8
- Mustapha, at the court of George I 202
- Nadir Shah, ruler of Iran 918-19, 921
- Najashi (*Nagūs*) 374
- Napoleon Bonaparte 3, 14, 43-4, 707, 745,  
755, 759, 784
- Nau, Michel 669
- Nazarenes, *see also* Ebionites 147, 280,  
283, 519, 877, 942
- Nestorian Christians 72, 81, 90, 146, 480,  
498, 693, 695, 832, 839-40, 844, 867, 877,  
914, 921
- New Julfa 590, 840, 852
- Newton, Isaac 37, 268, 276, 278, 698, 871
- Newtonians 586
- Niccolò Manuzzi 835-6, 842-3, 846,  
848-56
- Nicolas Antoine Boulanger 680-3
- Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier 707, 737, 767-72
- Niebuhr, Carsten 32, 295, 421-2
- Night Journey (of Muḥammad) 29, 90,  
109, 160, 161, 185, 194, 210, 330, 716, 722,  
754
- Noah 147, 159, 361, 586
- Nöel Aubert de Versé 75-86
- Norway 413-14, 429
- Nubia 81, 375
- Numa Pompilius, king of Rome 28, 731
- al-Nuwayri 677
- Nye, Stephen 275-88
- Ockley, Simon 10-11, 27, 65, 105-14, 142,  
166-7, 169, 199, 277, 284, 326, 341, 359,  
362, 568, 722
- Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq 40-1, 231-2
- Olafur Eigiłsson 427
- Olier, Charles François 478, 491, 529, 835
- Oliver Cromwell 72, 721
- Oliver Goldsmith 355, 382
- Oomius, Simon 437-9
- Order of St John of Jerusalem 577, 601,  
639, 899
- Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the  
Redemption of Captives, *see*  
Mathurins 556, 557-8, 561, 564
- Orientalists and Orientalism 1, 3, 7, 19,  
26, 65, 71-3, 87, 92, 109, 112, 119-20, 123-4,  
129, 133-4, 158, 168, 188, 194, 204, 226, 339,  
346, 351, 353, 359, 380, 396, 416, 459, 481,  
491, 500, 520, 525, 568, 602, 662, 673,  
759-60, 784, 787, 857, 865
- Osman I, Ottoman sultan 692, 876
- Osman II, Ottoman sultan 531-2
- Osman, son of Sultan Ibrahim, *see also*  
Domenico Ottomano *and* Domenico of  
San Tommaso 924-6, 927, 928-30
- Otho III, Holy Roman emperor 282
- Ottaviano Bulgarini 925, 928, 930
- Ottoman Turkish 40, 63, 492, 530, 531,  
537, 539, 540
- Ottomano, Domenico, *see also* Osman,  
son of Sultan Ibrahim 924-5, 926, 927,  
928-9
- Páez, Pedro 369
- Palermo, Ildefonso da 887-91
- Paolo Giovio 484-5, 878
- Paraclete (identified as Muḥammad) 147
- Paradise 61, 72, 109, 168, 175, 194, 210, 313,  
416, 443, 499-500, 563, 586, 611, 614, 617,  
621, 623, 631, 693, 717, 720, 722, 813, 921,  
939
- Passarowitz, Treaty of 12, 884
- Paterson, James 9, 148
- Patrick Russell 289-99, 958
- Paul, Apostle 147, 210, 270, 360, 365, 729,  
732, 897, 942, 946
- Paul Lucas 542, 544, 548-55, 661
- Paul Rycaut, Sir 58, 65, 83, 90, 119-20,  
138-9, 312, 514, 647, 669, 878
- Paul Wittek 363
- Pepys, Samuel 9-10
- Pérez de Hita 489
- Perry, Charles 226, 235-43, 254
- Persia 81, 118, 210, 233, 381-3, 395, 417, 485,  
548, 584-5, 611, 630-1, 661, 669, 793, 828,  
830, 832, 840, 843-4, 848, 852, 877, 912-13,  
918-20, 921



- Persian Gulf 775, 792, 830, 836, 842, 846  
 Persians 61, 129, 200, 443, 486, 490, 537, 585, 621, 630-1, 648, 720-1, 792, 845, 907, 918, 920  
 Peter, Apostle 147, 270, 360, 365, 838, 897  
 Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny 24  
 Petrus Laurbecchius 407-9  
 Philémon de La Motte 556-65  
 Photinus of Sirmium 81  
 Picart, Bernard 501, 643-56  
 Pico della Mirandola 39  
 Pierre Bayle 18, 78, 326, 333, 416, 511-17, 518, 586-7, 616, 626, 668, 682, 705, 727, 732  
 Pietro Della Valle 831, 835, 841, 843, 853, 878, 917  
 Piracy *and* pirates 1, 3, 9, 199, 202, 203-4, 214, 393, 394, 430, 488, 609, 775-6, 781  
 Pitts, Joseph 214-19  
 Pius VI, pope 948, 950, 951-2  
 Pix, Mary 115-25, 128  
 Pococke, Edward (jnr) 53-7  
 Pococke, Edward (snr) 25, 53, 55, 65, 66, 87, 98, 184, 188, 208, 296, 332, 339, 360, 514, 519, 568, 586, 647, 765  
 Pococke, Richard 220, 222, 226, 235, 237, 239, 241, 244-66, 438, 747  
 polygamy 5, 119, 159, 162-3, 209, 294, 330, 373, 376, 443, 569, 621, 623, 631, 651, 667, 693, 715, 719-20, 722, 732, 738, 754, 769, 844, 940  
 Pope, Alexander 5-6, 164, 230, 267, 277, 311, 381  
 Porte, *see also* Sublime Porte 231, 352, 493, 844, 957  
 Porter, James 344-9, 352  
 Potocki Krayczyc, Giovanni, Knight of Malta, *see* Jan Potocki 959  
 Prévost, Antoine 635-42  
 Prideaux, Humphrey 73, 87-95, 105, 109, 111, 138-9, 158-61, 161-3, 184, 188, 191, 193, 208-10, 328, 341, 359, 416, 514, 568, 669, 691, 705, 751  
 Priestley, Joseph 84, 145  
 Primitive Christianity 162, 267, 278, 283, 286  
 probabilism 797-8  
 Propaganda Fide *see also* Congregatio de propaganda fide 589-90, 840, 843, 845, 851, 865, 867-8, 873, 877, 879, 890, 912-14, 919  
 the Prophet, *see* Muḥammad 55, 80, 82, 88, 90, 100, 148, 157, 168, 186, 188, 191-5, 200, 210, 212, 216, 225, 290, 294, 312-13, 314, 330, 334, 339, 341, 364-5, 383, 385, 391, 393, 395, 416, 428-9, 499, 507-8, 513-14, 520, 578, 615, 621, 631, 650, 652, 676, 686-7, 692-3, 695, 704, 706-8, 715-17, 719, 722, 728, 730, 732, 737, 738-40, 751-2, 755, 765, 794, 813, 831, 883, 893, 925, 944, 950  
 Prussia 13, 518, 619, 690, 699, 951  
 Psalms 147, 277, 507, 958  
 Purgatory 499, 551, 769, 831  
 Quakers 56, 68, 92, 647  
 Quietism 583, 811  
 Qur'an, *see also* Alchoran, Alcoran, Alcorano, Coran 12, 17, 20, 23-4, 28-30, 62, 71-2, 80-2, 90-1, 109, 126, 147, 154, 159-60, 184, 190, 200, 212, 216-17, 284, 304, 326, 328-35, 346, 360-2, 364, 374, 411, 417, 429, 438, 443, 448-9, 459, 493, 500, 513, 519-20, 539-40, 611, 615, 626, 646-8, 651, 667, 669, 687, 693, 695, 705, 715-16, 720, 728, 738-9, 751-5, 769, 800-2, 807-8, 813, 824, 826, 877, 893, 919, 921-2, 937, 959  
 Rabadan, Sheikh Mohamet, *see also* Muḥammad Rabadan 192-4  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter 123  
 Ramaḍān 62, 428-9, 459, 493, 500, 536, 631, 648, 650, 708, 754, 793  
 Ramsay, Andrew Michael 582-8  
 Ramusio, Giovanni Battista 831  
 Ravn, Wilhelm Friedrich 428  
 Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas 765, 773-83, 784, 786  
 Reiske, Johan Jacob 2, 10-11, 25-6, 33, 112, 185, 359, 362  
 Reland, Adriaan 2, 11, 23, 24, 30, 31, 184, 188, 194, 208, 296, 334, 346, 417, 438, 447, 457-61, 519, 520, 568, 648, 651, 669, 739  
 René-Aubert de Vertot 576-81, 608, 705  
 Revelation, Book of 76, 276, 281-3, 286, 364, 507  
 Rhodes 166, 470, 486, 577, 589, 746, 896, 899, 925  
 Richard Pococke 220, 222, 226, 235, 237, 239, 241, 244-66, 438, 747  
 Richard Simon, *see also* le Sieur de Moni 75, 78, 82, 496-502, 514, 519-20, 669  
 Richard Steele 118, 164, 168, 380-1  
 ring parable 16-17  
 Robert Boyle 37-9, 278, 281  
 Robert Harley 142-3, 197-8, 199  
 Robert of Ketton 24, 328, 647

- Robert Withers 63-4  
 Roe, Sir Thomas 7  
 Roque, Jean de La 593-4, 595-6, 598, 601, 858  
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 28, 29, 526, 707, 728, 767, 768  
 Rowe, Nicholas 390  
 Rowley, William 122  
 Roxana, Roxelana *see also* Hürrem Sultan 10, 202, 385-6, 388, 486, 907  
 Rumphius, Georg Everhard 451-6  
 Russell, Alexander 289-99  
 Russell, Patrick 289-99, 958  
 Russia 13, 126, 363, 417, 589, 684, 732, 741, 757, 878, 927, 934  
 Russian language 394-5, 414, 415, 579, 759, 831  
 Ryer, André du 138, 328, 347, 539, 646-7, 669, 751  
  
 Safavid Empire 128, 525, 526, 589, 648, 835, 841, 845, 877  
 Šafi II, Safavid shah 522, 841  
 Saint-Médard 'convulsionists' 612  
 Saint-Pierre, Charles-Irénée Castel de *see* Abbé de Saint-Pierre 576, 608-18, 722  
 Šalāḥ al-Din (Saladin) 16, 339, 363, 578, 718, 748  
 Salé 202, 462, 464, 762  
 Sale, George 17, 24, 25, 27-8, 158, 208, 213, 271, 273, 296, 325-43, 344, 346, 359, 360, 449, 569, 646, 648, 705, 721-2, 738-9, 741, 752, 755, 765  
 Salomon Negri 325  
 Samuel Clarke 6, 202, 275-88  
 Samuel Johnson 7, 9, 168, 289, 359, 376, 379, 380, 382, 386, 389-90, 393-4  
 Samuel Pepys 9-10  
 Sand, Christoph 78, 82  
 Santa Cecilia, Leandro di 912-22  
 Sanz, Manuel 806-10  
 Saracens 92, 109, 224, 281-2, 442, 944-5  
 Savary, Claude-Étienne 359, 745-56  
 Schouten, Wouter 440-6  
 Schultens, Albert 26, 33, 748  
 Schultetus, Samuel 514  
 Scilly Isles 427  
 Scudéry, Georges de 482, 484, 485, 488, 638  
 Scudéry, Madeleine de 386-7, 482-90, 638  
 Seal of the Prophets (Muḥammad) 61  
 Sebastian, king of Portugal 794  
 Seike, Heinrich 447-50, 457  
 Selim I, Turkish sultan 284-5, 694  
  
 Seljuq Turks 358, 411  
 Sennar 370, 375  
 Sephardic Jews 42, 876  
 Sergius the Nestorian, *see also* Bahīrā 62, 90, 146, 159, 351, 442, 578  
 Settle, Elkhana 386-7  
 al-Shahrastānī, Abū l-Faṭḥ 540  
 Shāh 'Ālam 836, 849  
 Shah Ismā'īl I 840, 845  
 Shāh Jahān, Mughal emperor 848, 852  
 Shakespeare, William 335, 389, 392, 701  
 Shaw, Thomas 101, 220-9, 239, 251, 253, 263, 372  
 Sheffield, John 179-81  
 Sheridan, Frances 393, 395, 636  
 Sicard, Claude 253, 747  
 Sicily 362, 533, 824, 902, 928, 942, 945, 965  
 Siege of Vienna 199, 204, 791, 825, 870, 874  
 Sieur de La Croix 491-5  
 Sieur de Moni, *see* Richard Simon 75, 78, 82, 496-502, 514, 519-20, 669  
 Simon Ockley 10-11, 27, 65, 105-14, 142, 166-7, 169, 199, 277, 284, 326, 341, 359, 362, 568, 722  
 Simon Oomius 437-9  
 Simon, Richard 75, 78, 82, 496-502, 514, 519-20, 669  
 Smith, Thomas 14, 15, 58-67  
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) 25, 325-6  
 Society of Jesus, *see also* Jesuits 791, 801, 806, 809, 950, 956, 963  
 Socinians *and* Socinianism 17, 20, 76, 78, 92, 142, 145, 438, 506, 508, 519, 520, 586  
 Solomon, king of Israel 361, 585, 623, 720  
 Soranzo, Lazzaro 845, 878  
 Spinoza *and* Spinozism 75, 141, 152, 162, 496, 566, 583, 586, 644  
 Spirit of God, *see also* Holy Spirit 278-9, 507, 867  
 Spon, Jacob 533-4, 878  
 Steele, Richard 118, 164, 168, 380-1  
 Stefano Arteaga, *see* Esteban de Arteaga y Lopez 963-9  
 Stefano Evodio Assemani 864, 892-5  
 Stephen Nye 275-88  
 Strabo 98, 372, 747  
 Stubbe, Henry 20-1, 28, 66, 77, 142, 146, 162, 192-3, 195  
*Sturm und Drang* movement 29  
 Sublime Porte, *see also* Porte 231, 307, 352, 491, 493, 593, 648, 691, 782, 843, 844, 896, 934, 957, 959

- Süleyman Aga 593, 602-3  
 Süleyman I, the Magnificent, Ottoman  
   sultan 484, 486, 907  
 Sultan Husayn, Safavid shah 830, 918  
 Sweden 13, 239, 407, 870  
 Syed Ahmad Khan 365  
 Syed Amir Ali 365  
 Syriac language 42, 457, 496, 518, 674,  
   864-5, 866, 892, 893  
  
 Tagindo Ionide, *see* Giovanni Antonio  
   Ciantar 942-7  
 Talmud 212, 500, 693, 811  
 Tamerlane/Tamerlaine 390-1, 838, 842  
 Tartars/Tatars 411, 470, 677, 757, 759, 678,  
   865, 876  
 Tasso, Torquato 489  
 Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste 525, 526, 647,  
   661, 669, 723, 831-2, 917  
 Tekle Haymanot, king of Ethiopia 370,  
   375  
 Tempia, Felice 923-31  
 Tenison, Archbishop Thomas 78, 182  
 Ter Meetelen, Maria 4, 5, 462-5  
 Thévenot, Jean de 139, 175, 479, 602,  
   647-8  
 Thomas Chubb 267-74, 277  
 Thomas Kouli-Khan 630  
 Thomas Shaw 101, 220-9, 239, 251, 253,  
   263, 372  
 Thomas Smith 14, 15, 58-67  
 Thornton, Thomas 350, 352  
 Tiraboschi, Girolamo 966-7  
 Tirso González de Santalla 796-805  
 Toderini, Giambattista 956-62  
 Toland, John 2, 21, 141-56, 162, 163, 212,  
   272-3, 275, 286, 333, 449, 586, 644  
 Tott, Baron François de, *see* François de  
   Tott 42, 43, 757-61, 784  
 Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de 647, 669  
 Trapp, Joseph 386-7  
 Treaty of Karlowitz 1, 12, 283  
 Treaty of Passarowitz 12, 884  
 Trenchard, John 172-8  
 Trinity 18, 19, 20, 81, 111, 112, 142, 146, 147,  
   152, 210, 212, 273, 275, 278, 280, 284, 358,  
   361, 438, 457, 500, 519, 520, 568, 824, 825,  
   831, 843, 875  
 Tripoli, Lebanon 496, 601, 838, 845, 864  
 Tripoli, Libya 220, 426, 427, 556, 557, 558,  
   559, 560, 621, 626, 897, 951  
 Tristan L'Hermite 532  
 Tulip era 13, 41, 42, 307  
  
 Tunis and Tunisia 188, 189, 192, 195, 220,  
   222-4, 426-7, 488, 548, 556, 557-9, 561-2,  
   593, 601-2, 621, 626, 781, 784-6, 815, 817,  
   818, 897, 951  
 Turkish (language) 40, 64, 98, 427, 467,  
   478, 492, 530, 531, 537, 539, 540, 593, 691,  
   748, 757, 879, 884, 887, 893, 894, 954, 957,  
   960  
 Turning Moor *or* Turk 1, 4, 240  
  
 'Umar, second caliph 99, 110, 339, 374,  
   443, 612, 720, 728  
 Unitarians 19-21, 75, 77-85, 145, 268, 275-8,  
   280, 509  
 Urbano di S. Eliseo 919  
 'Uthmān, third caliph 108, 331, 659  
  
 Valle, Pietro Della 831, 835, 841, 843, 853,  
   878, 917  
 Venture de Paradis, Jean-Michel 748, 753,  
   781, 784-8  
 Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie  
   (VOC), *see also* Dutch East India  
   Company 440, 451-5, 841  
 Versé, Noël Aubert de 75-86  
 Vertot, René-Aubert de 576-81, 608, 705  
 Vienna 9, 40, 41, 199, 204, 307, 311, 692,  
   791, 801, 825, 870, 874, 875, 879, 905, 906,  
   914, 949  
 Villotte, Jacques 589-92  
 Vincent Mignot 690-7  
 Vincenzo Abbondanza 953-5  
 Virgin Mary, *see also* Mary, mother of Jesus  
   *and* Madonna 147, 285, 551, 929  
 Vivaldi, Antonio 861  
 Volney, Constantin-François de 748, 759,  
   784  
 Voltaire 9, 12, 18, 186, 272, 278, 334, 355,  
   358, 359, 360, 526, 552, 566, 569, 609, 618,  
   670, 676, 678, 687, 690, 691, 692, 694,  
   695, 698-744, 745, 768, 770, 952  
 Vorst, Willem Hendrik 82  
  
 Wagenseil, Georg Christoph 906  
 Walter Raleigh, Sir 123  
 al-Wāqidi, Abū 'Abd Allāh 105, 108, 166,  
   167  
 Warburton, William 251, 263  
 Weil, Gustav 186  
 Wherry, Elwood M. 335  
 Whincop, Thomas 383, 384, 385  
 Whiston, William 6, 111, 146, 182, 267, 273,  
   275-88, 449

- William III, king of England 136, 172, 197,  
 390, 503  
 William Collins 380, 382  
 William Jones, Sir 1, 7, 345, 359  
 William Shakespeare 335, 389, 392, 701  
 William Whiston 6, 111, 146, 182, 267, 273,  
 275-88, 449  
 Winter, Peter von 707  
 Withers, Robert 63-4  
 Wittek, Paul 363  
 Wortley Montagu, Lady Mary 2, 5-6, 43,  
 119, 123, 134, 277, 285, 307-24, 352, 381,  
 391-2  
 Wouter Schouten 440-6  
 Xenophon 584  
 Yazīdis 839, 844  
 Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi 13  
 Yovhannēs Konstandnupōlsec'i 959  
 Yūsuf al-Sim'ānī, *see* Giuseppe  
 Assemani 864-9, 875, 892  
 Yves de Vallone 150  
 Zayd, adopted son of Muḥammad 209,  
 693  
 Zaynab, wife of Muḥammad 209, 693  
 Zefira, wife of Ibrahim, Ottoman  
 sultan 925-6  
 Zenta, Battle of 12, 283  
 Zoroaster 209, 415, 584  
 Zoroastrianism 212, 302, 305, 494, 584,  
 586, 630, 661, 717, 721, 840, 844

# Index of Titles

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- Abdollariphi historiae Ægypti*  
*compendium* 53  
*Abra-Mulé, or, love and empire* 386, 387  
*Abrégé de la vie et des ouvrages de M.*  
*Fourmont* 673  
*An account of Monsieur De Quesne's late*  
*expedition at Chio ...* 199  
*An account of south west Barbary* 105  
*An account of the authority of the Arabic*  
*manuscripts in the Bodleian* 105  
*Account of the manners and customs of the*  
*modern Egyptians* 296  
*The account of the miraculous conversion*  
*of a Muslim to the holy Catholic faith, see*  
*Racconto della prodigiosa conversione*  
*di un maomettano alla santa fede*  
*cattolica* 882-6  
*Account of the new route by land and sea*  
*from India to Portugal, see Relação do*  
*novo caminho que fez por terra e mar,*  
*vindo da Índia para Portugal* 792-5  
*Account of the rise and progress of*  
*Mahometanism* 20  
*Acide e Galatea* 905  
*Adskillige Heltinders og Navnkundige*  
*Damers Sammenlignede Historier efter*  
*Plutarchi Maade* 415  
*Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige*  
*Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske*  
*sammenlignede Historier og Bedrifter*  
*efter Plutarchi Maade* 415-19  
*The adventures of Madrid* 118  
*The adventures of Rivella* 126  
*Age of Louis XIV* 618  
*Aladdin and the enchanted lamp* 544  
*De l'Alcoran et de Mahomet* 694, 715, 741  
*Alcorani textus universus* 24  
*L'Alcoran de Mahomet (Du Ryer)* 328, 347  
*L'Alcoran de Mahomet* 539-40  
*Alf layla wa-layla, Kitāb, see Mille et une*  
*nuit* 3, 5, 31, 32, 56, 132, 133, 201, 204,  
379, 392, 395, 530, 542, 543-7, 749, 857,  
858, 859  
*Ali Baba and the forty thieves* 544  
*The Alf laila or Book of the thousand nights*  
*and one night* 749  
*All's lost by lust* 122  
*Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* 482, 488-90  
*Almahide, or the captive queen, see*  
*Almahide, ou l'esclave reine* 482, 488-90  
*Almindelig Kirke-Historie* 414  
*Almyna: or, the Arabian vow* 127, 132-5  
*The Ambonese herbal, see Kruidboek* 452  
*De Ambonse historie* 453-6  
*Les amours d'Anas Eloujoud et de Ouardi*  
749  
*al-amthāl, Kitāb* 438  
*Amyntor, or a defence of Milton's life* 146  
*Ancient and modern Smyrna, see Smyrne*  
*ancienne et moderne* 533-4, 535  
*An answer to Dr. Stebbing's True state of the*  
*controversy with Mr. Foster, on the subject*  
*of heresy* 271  
*Analyze raisonnée de Bayle* 514  
*Anéantissement futur du mahométisme et*  
*des autres religions humaines* 617-18  
*Anecdotes, ou histoire secrète de la maison*  
*ottomane* 954  
*Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques ou*  
*Nouveaux mémoires du comte de*  
*Bonneval* 638  
*Animadversiones in praecedentem*  
*epistolam* 78, 83  
*Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a*  
*Turcis sua lingua scripti* 691  
*Anthionius Hambroek of de belegering van*  
*Formosa* 445  
*Anti-christus Mahometes* 514  
*Anti-Nazareus* 148  
*Apologia contra la ley Cristiana* 77  
*Apologia pro Christiana religione* 346, 808  
*Apologie de la religion chrétienne* 733, 767  
*Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die*  
*vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* 18  
*Apostolic constitutions* 162, 278  
*Arab novellas divided into a thousand and*  
*one nights, see Novelle arabe divise in*  
*mille e una notte* 857-60  
*Arabian nights, see Mille et une nuit* 3, 5,  
31, 32, 56, 132, 133, 201, 204, 379, 392, 395,  
530, 542, 543-7, 749, 857, 858, 859  
*l'Ariane* 703

- Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus* 482, 638  
*Arte del rimare* 965, 966  
*Atlas maior* 874  
*Aureng-zebe* 383  
*Avis important aux réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France* 512
- Bajazet* 388, 703  
*Beschreibung des türkischen Reiches* 352  
*Beschryvinge van het magtig koninkryk Krinke Kesmes* 445  
*La bevanda asiatica* 870  
*Bibliotheca librorum novorum* 447  
*Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 865  
*Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus* 865  
*Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum MMS Orientalium catalogus* 893-5  
*Bibliothèque française* 643  
*Bibliothèque orientale* 138, 359, 416, 514, 676, 686, 723  
*Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l'Europe* 614, 616, 618  
*Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne* 696  
*The blessed Jew of Morocco* 145  
*Le bourgeois gentilhomme* 594, 602  
*Breve dissertazione contro gli errori de' moderni increduli* 936  
*Breve relatione dell'introduzione e fondatione della Missione della terra di Farsciut nel Superiore Egitto e fabbrica della casa* 887  
*A brief discourse of the greatness of the Turkish Empire* 63  
*A brief history of the Unitarians* 275, 280  
*Brief notes on the Creed of St Athanasius* 275, 280  
*A brief treatise against the Muhammadan sect, see Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana* 807-10
- Calvino-Turcismus* 951  
*Candide* 699  
*Carteggio tenuto dal Gran-Turco col Papa Pio VI fin dall'anno 1782* 948-52  
*Catalogo della Libreria del Serraglio trasportato da Constantinopoli a Venezia dall'Abate Giambattista Toderini nell'anno MDCCCLXXXVI* 959
- Catalogue of the codices of Oriental manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Mediceae Laurentiana and Palatina, see Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum MMS Orientalium catalogus* 893-5  
*Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* 467  
*Catéchisme de l'honnête homme* 727, 728-9, 733  
*Cato's Letters* 172, 174-8  
*The ceremonies and religious customs of the several nations of the known world, see Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* 501, 643, 644, 645-56  
*Ceremonies et coutumes qui s'observent aujourd' huy parmi les Juifs* 496, 501  
*Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* 501, 643, 644, 645-56  
*La certitude des preuves du christianisme* 767  
*Chinese letters, see Lettres chinoises* 619, 630-4  
*Choses utiles et agréables* 731  
*The Christian hero* 383, 384  
*Christianismi restitutio* 20  
*Christianity not mysterious* 141, 142, 275  
*Chronicle of the Franciscan mission in Upper Egypt, 1719-39, see Cronaca della missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto, 1719-39* 888-91  
*Chubb's tracts* 271  
*Le Cid* 703  
*The citizen of the world (Goldsmith)* 380, 382, 383  
*La clef de l'Apocalypse* 76  
*Clef du cabinet des princes de l'Europe* 733  
*Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* 449  
*Comparison of several female heroes and praiseworthy ladies according to the way of Plutarch, see Adskillige Heltinders og Navnkundige Damers Sammenlignede Historier efter Plutarchi Maade* 415  
*Comparison of the history and achievements of several great heroes and praiseworthy men, particularly Orientals and Indians, according to the way of Plutarch, see Adskillige store Heltes og berømmelige Mænds, sær Orientaliske og Indianske*

- sammenlignede Historier og Bedrifter efter Plutarchi Maaed* 415-19  
*Compendio della vita del P. Domenico di S. Tommaso, detto Ottomano* 924-31  
*A compleat history of the Turks* 138-40  
*The complete English tradesman* 203  
*A complete history of Algiers* 188-9, 338, 574  
*A comprehensive commentary on the Qur'an* 335  
*Concise history of humankind, see Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* 11, 183, 184, 185, 359  
*Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* 796, 801  
*Confutación del Alcorán y secta mahometana* 801  
*Conjugal lewdness or, Matrimonial whoredom* 202  
*The conquest of Granada* 122  
*The conquest of Spain* 118, 122-5  
*The conquest of Syria, Persia, and Aegypt by the Saracens, see also The improvement of human reason – exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yodkan* 10, 27, 105, 107-14, 166, 199, 284, 341, 359  
*Il conquisto di Granata* 489  
*Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence* 358, 658  
*Contes en verse* 700  
*A continuation of the letters writ by a Turkish spy at Paris* 198  
*Controversy ended* 83  
*Copie delle lettere scritte di P. Ildefonso da Palermo, 1728-1734* 887  
*Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe* 359, 751-6  
*Correspondence between the Grand Turk and Pope Pius VI from 1782, see Carteggio tenuto dal Gran-Turco col Papa Pio VI fin dall'anno 1782* 948-52  
*Le couronnement de Soleïmaan troisième, roy de Perse* 522  
*Critica de'critici moderni, che dall'anno 1730 infino al 1760 scrissero sulla controversia del naufragio di S. Paolo appostolo ...* 943  
*Critical history of the religions and customs of the Eastern nations, see Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* 498-502  
*Cronaca della missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto, 1719-39* 888-91  
*Cronologia historica scritta in lingua Turca, Persiana & Araba da Hazi Halifé Mustafá* 960  
*Cyropaedia, or the education of Cyrus* 584  
*The death of Sultan Osman, see La mort du sultan Osman* 531-2  
*Decamerone* 16  
*The decline and fall of the Roman Empire, see also History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* 11, 139, 186, 356, 357-68, 675  
*Défense de l'Esprit des lois* 658  
*The deity of Jesus Christ essential to the Christian religion: a treatise of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, see Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* 503, 505-10  
*Description de l'Égypte* 747  
*La description general de Africa* 703  
*A description of the East and some other countries* 220, 222, 244, 247-66  
*Della descrittione di Malta* 944  
*Dialogue between Mahomet and the Duke of Guise* 180-1  
*Dialogue between two Persians* 615-16  
*Dialogue entre deux Persans* 615-16  
*Dialogues critiques et philosophiques* 650  
*Dialogues on the divinity of the Qur'an and the Vedas* 611-12  
*Dialogues sur la divinité de l'Alcoran et du Vedam* 611-12  
*Diario de Argel* 815, 817-18  
*Diario de Túnez* 815  
*Diary (Galland), see also Journal* 541-3  
*Diary (Pepys)* 9  
*Diary of Algiers and Tunis, 1718-35, see Viaje (Diario) de Argel y de Túnez, 1718-1735* 815, 817-18  
*Dictionnaire historique et critique* 18, 416, 512, 513-17  
*Dictionnaire de théologie* 768  
*Dictionnaire philosophique portatif* 334, 716, 737-8  
*Didache* 277  
*Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* 727, 729, 731, 733  
*Discurso de la luz* 192  
*Discours contre le mahométisme* 613-15  
*Discours sur la mythologie des Payens* 584, 585  
*Discourse against Islam, see Discours contre le mahométisme* 613-15

- A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation* 281
- A discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity* 142
- A discourse of free-thinking* 616
- Discourse sur l'histoire universelle* 718
- Disputatio theologica de Paradiso* 457
- Dissertatio philosophica theorematum miscellaneorum* 408-9
- Dissertation on Eli and Enoch* 681, 681-3
- Dissertation sur Élie et Énoch* 681, 681-3
- Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets* 519
- Distinta relazione di un caso assai funesto avvenuto in Costantinopoli* 932-4
- The divine legation of Moses demonstrated* 251
- The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ asserted and defended against the objections of the Arrians, Demy-Arrians, and Socinians, see Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* 503, 505-10
- Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani* 953, 953-5
- The double distress* 118
- Doubts about religion, see Doutes sur la religion* 143, 150-6
- Doutes sur la dissertation de M. De Guignes* 674
- Doutes sur la religion* 143, 150-6
- Le droit des gens* 15
- Early voyages and travels to the Orient* 62
- East-Indian journey, see Oost-Indische voyagie* 441-6
- Ecclesia Muhammedana breviter delineata* 514
- L'éducation d'un prince* 700
- Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* 421, 421-3, 424
- Embassy letters, see Turkish embassy letters* 5, 6, 119, 123, 134, 285, 308, 311-24
- Empress of Morocco* 386
- Encyclopaedia or systematic dictionary of the sciences, arts and professions* 686-9
- Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* 686-9
- An enquiry concerning revelation* 271
- Die Entführung aus dem Serail* 907
- Entretiens singuliers, see also Le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* 727, 729, 731, 733
- An epistle dedicatory to his illustrious Excellency Ameth Ben Ameth Ambassador of ye mighty emperor of Fez and Morocco to Charles the 2nd, King of Great Brittain* 71, 72, 75, 77-86
- Epistola Ameth Benandala Mahumetani* 77, 78, 79
- Epistolæ duæ: quarum altera de Moribus et Institutis Turcarum agit, altera septem Asiae Ecclesiarum notitiam continent, see Remarks upon the manners, government and religion of the Turks* 15, 58, 59-67
- Epistolæ quatuor, quarum duæ de moribus ac institutis Turcarum agunt, duæ septem Asiae ecclesiarum et Constantinopoleos notitiam continent, see Remarks upon the manners, government and religion of the Turks* 15, 58, 59-67
- L'espion du Grand-Seigneur* 660
- Esprit des lois/loix* 14, 66, 162, 526, 574, 658, 661, 662, 663, 665-72, 695
- Essai sur l'histoire générale, et sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours, see Essai sur les moeurs* 670, 678, 694, 703, 715, 716, 717-20, 722, 723, 729, 731, 732, 741
- Essai sur les moeurs* 670, 678, 694, 703, 715, 716, 717-20, 722, 723, 729, 731, 732, 741
- Essay concerning human understanding* 56, 89, 142
- Essay on the origin of languages* 28, 29
- An essay on the Revelation of St John* 276, 281
- An essay on universal history, the manners and spirit of nations from the reign of Charlemain to the age of Lewis XIV, see Essai sur les moeurs* 670, 678, 694, 703, 715, 716, 717-20, 722, 723, 729, 731, 732, 741
- État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger* 557-60, 561, 562
- Euangelium infantiae: vel, Liber apocryphus de infantia Servatoris* 448-50
- The European traveller, see Le voyageur d'Europe* 477, 478-81
- Examen critique ou Réfutation du livre des moeurs* 723
- Examen de religion* 151
- L'examen important de Milord Bolingbroke* 727, 729-30



- Explication of the articles of the divine unity* 275-6, 279  
*An explanation of the several Arabick terms* 166, 167
- The fair captive* 4, 390, 391  
*A faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans* 214, 215-19  
*Fanaticism or Mahomet the Prophet* 12, 186, 670, 692, 695, 700, 701, 703-14, 715, 719, 722, 739  
*Le fanatisme ou Mahomet* 12, 186, 670, 692, 695, 700, 701, 703-14, 715, 719, 722, 739  
*Fanine* 702  
*Il faut prendre un parti* 727, 731-6, 739, 740  
*The female captive* 4  
*The first state of Mahomedism* 69, 70-4  
*La fortuna invidiata nelle prosperità di Osimano, con la pazzia politica di Selim* 862, 863  
*Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans, see De religione Mohammedica libri duo* 23, 24, 194, 359, 416, 458-61, 648, 651, 769  
*The fruitless enquiry* 392  
*En fuldstændig istorisk efterretning om de medfarendes skiebne paa skibet jomfrue Christina fra Tronhiem ...* 429-30  
*The future destruction of Mahometism and the other human religions, see Anéantissement futur du mahométisme et des autres religions humaines* 617-18
- General dictionary* 326  
*General historie of the Turks* 359, 383, 385  
*A general history of the Huns, Turks, Mongols, and other Western Tartars, see Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux* 11, 359, 673, 675-9  
*De generale lant-beschrijvinge van het Ambonese Gouvernement* 452, 453-6  
*A general description of the Islands of Ambon, see De generale lant-beschrijvinge* 452, 453-6  
*Gerusalemme liberata* 489  
*Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien und Sciliens unter der Herrschaft der Araber* 961  
*Ghāyat al-ḥakīm, see Picatrix* 36  
*Giro del mondo* 829, 830-4
- Gli abiti de' Veneziani* 925  
*Gospel of Barnabas* 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 329, 586  
*The Gospel of the infancy, or the apocryphal book of the infancy of the Saviour, see Euangelium infantiae: vel, Liber apocryphus de infantia Servatoris* 448-50  
*Grammaire arabe* 749  
*Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littérale* 749  
*Le grand dictionnaire géographique et critique* 954  
*Le grand dictionnaire historique* 954  
*Grotesque architecture, or, rural amusement* 7  
*Del gusto presente in letteratura* 963-4
- Handbook to convert Muslims, see Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum* 800-5  
*Hark Olufs besynderlige advanturer eller forunderlige skiebne ...* 427  
*Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* 10, 23, 38, 39, 53, 54, 55, 105, 107, 201, 204, 205, 379, 388  
*Het Geopende en Wederleyde Muhammedisdom of Turckdom* 438-9  
*Histoire, cérémonies, peuples du monde* 502  
*Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* 498-502  
*Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* 75, 78, 82, 496  
*Histoire d'Aphéridon et d'Astarté* 661  
*L'histoire de Jean Sobieski* 691  
*L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* 690, 691-7  
*Histoire des chevaliers de l'ordre de Malte* 576  
*Histoire des chevaliers de Malte* 577-81  
*Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem* 577-81  
*Histoire des deux Indes* 765, 773, 774-80, 781  
*Histoire des factions des Zegris et des Abencerages, chevaliers maures de Grenade* 489  
*Histoire des Turcs contre les Chrétiens* 782  
*Histoire du Royaume d'Alger* 573-5  
*Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol* 851  
*Histoire générale des cérémonies, mœurs et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* 646

- Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux* 11, 359, 673, 675-9
- Histoire générale des voyages* 636
- Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans l'Afrique*, see also
- Histoire des deux Indes* 765, 773, 774-80, 781
- Historia Aethiopica* 373
- Historia de Moyssés en prosa y de Mahoma en castellano ...* 816
- Historia del Reyno de Túnez*, see *Viaje (Diario) de Argel y de Túnez*, 1718-1735 815, 817-18
- Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae Othomanicae* 359
- Historia letteraria* 929
- Historia Orientalis* 20, 71, 514
- Historia religionis veterum Persarum* 586
- Historical account of the conspiracy of the Turkish slaves in Malta*, see *Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta* 896-900
- An historical and critical dictionary*, see *Dictionnaire philosophique* 334, 716, 737, 737-8
- Historical and dogmatic treatise of the true religion* 767-8
- Historical dictionary of the lives of all the Ottoman rulers*, see *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani* 953, 953-5
- Historical investigations concerning the Moors and history of the Moroccan Empire*, see *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et histoire de l'empire du Maroc* 764-6
- Historische Nachrichten von der Regierungsart, den Sitten und Gewohnheiten der osmanischen Dynastie* 352
- A history of Ambon*, see *De Ambonse historie* 453-6
- The history of heresies and refutations of them, or the triumph of the Church*, see *Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni, o il trionfo della Chiesa* 939-41
- History of Nourjahad* 393, 395
- The history of Rasselas* 7, 168, 379, 389, 393, 394
- The history of the conquest of Spain by the Moors* 122, 123
- History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* 11, 139, 186, 356, 357-68, 675
- History of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire* 284
- History of the Kingdom of Algiers*, see *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger* 573-5
- The history of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem*, see *Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem* 577-81
- The history of the Moroccan Emperor Muhammad ibn Abd Allah*, see *Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed Ben Abdallahs historie* 421, 424-5
- History of the Mughal Empire*, see *Storia do Mogor* 836, 850, 851-6
- The history of the Ottoman Empire*, see *L'histoire de l'Empire ottoman* 690, 691-7
- History of the revolt of Ali Bey against the Ottoman Porte* 748
- History of the Saracens, The improvement of human reason – exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yodkan* 10, 27, 105, 107-14, 166, 199, 284, 341, 359
- The history of the siege of Damascus* 166, 167
- The history of the Turkish empire, from the year 1623 to the year 1677* 118, 119
- History of the two Indies*, see *Histoire des deux Indes* 765, 773, 774-80, 781
- The history of three late, famous impostors, viz. Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei and Sabatai Sevi* 929
- Ibrahim ou l'illustre bassa (Madeleine de Scudéry)* 386, 482, 484-7
- Ibrahim, or the illustrious bassa (Settle)* 386
- Ibrahim, or the illustrious pasha (Madeleine de Scudéry)* 386, 482, 484-7
- Ibrahim, the thirteenth emperor of the Turks* 117-21, 122, 123, 124, 128
- Ibrahim (Georges de Scudéry)* 484
- Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* 540
- The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai Ebn Yodkan* 10, 27, 105, 107-14, 166, 199, 284, 341, 359
- Impugnación contra el Talmud de los Judios, Alcorán de Mahoma y contra los hereges* 811, 812-14

- The influence of the Arabs on the origin of modern poetry in Europe* 964, 965-9
- Della influenza degli arabi sulla poesia moderna in Europa* 964, 965-9
- Information about Morocco and Fes, see Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes* 421, 421-3, 424
- An interesting narrative of the travels of James Bruce, Esq., into Abyssinia, see Travels to discover the source of the Nile* 372-8
- Irene (Johnson)* 168, 386, 389-90, 394
- Irène (Voltaire)* 700, 701
- Irene; or, the fair Greek, a tragedy (Goring)* 386, 387-8
- Istoria dell'eresie colle loro confutazioni, o il trionfo della Chiesa* 939-41
- Dell'istoria della sacra religione et illustrissima militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano* 578
- Itinerário (Gaspar de São Bernardino)* 792
- Jewish letters, see Lettres juives* 560, 619, 624-30, 630, 631
- Journal (Galland), see also Diary* 541-3
- Journal des Sçavans* 673, 677
- Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes orientales* 128, 524-8
- A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* 97-104
- Journey in the Levant, see Voyage fait en Levant* 535-6
- Journey of Paul Lucas, gent., to the Levant, see Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant* 550-5
- A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* 2, 314
- A journey to Arabia Felix* 858
- De jure pauperis et peregrini* 87
- Kashf al-zunūn* 960
- The key of the Revelation* 282
- Kitāb al-amthāl* 438
- Kitāb alf layla wa-layla, see Mille et une nuit* 3, 5, 31, 32, 56, 132, 133, 201, 204, 379, 392, 395, 530, 542, 543-7, 749, 857, 858, 859
- The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed* 17, 25, 28, 208, 273, 326, 327-37, 359, 449, 722
- Koran (Marracci)* 372
- Der Koran, oder insgemein so genannte Alcoran des Mohammeds* 17
- Kort underretning om det Maroccanske slaverie i aarene 1751, 1752 og 1753, dagviis forfattet på vers* 428
- Kruidboek* 452
- Das Leben Mohammeds nach Mohammed Ibn Ishak, bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hisham* 186
- Législation orientale* 668, 696
- Letter from a Turkish merchant* 199, 201
- A letter of resolution concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation* 280-1
- Letter to the Earl of Nottingham* 277, 281, 283
- Letteratura dei Turchi* 879, 959
- Della letteratura dei Turchi* 959
- Letteratura turchesca* 957, 958-62
- Letters concerning toleration* 14
- Letters from a Persian* 380, 381-2
- Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M--y W---y M----e, see Turkish embassy letters* 5, 6, 119, 123, 134, 285, 308, 311-24
- Letters writ by a Turkish spy* 200, 380
- Lettre de M. de Peyssonnel, contenant quelques observations* 760
- Lettre du pape Clément XIV au Mufti Osman Mola* 951
- Lettres cabalistiques* 619, 630
- Lettres chinoises* 619, 630-4
- Lettres critiques de Hadji Mehemed Effendy* 603
- Lettres juives* 560, 619, 624-30, 631
- Lettres persanes* 1, 380, 526, 657, 660-5, 667, 669, 670, 759
- Les Lettres persanes convaincues d'impiété* 661
- Lettres sur l'Égypte (Savary)* 747, 748
- Lex Mahumet Pseudoprophete* 648
- Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* 865
- Life, adventures, and pyracies* 202
- The life and death of Mahumed, the author of the Turkish religion, see The first state of Mahumedism* 69, 70-4
- The life and teachings of Mohammed* 365
- Life of Mahomed* 613
- Life of Muḥammad, see De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis* 183, 184-7, 329, 360, 692, 706, 722, 751
- The life of Muḥammad by the Count of Boulainvilliers, see La vie de Mahomed par M. le comte de Boulainvilliers* 21, 22, 27, 328, 361, 416, 568-71, 648, 692, 705, 722, 731

- The life of the most illustrious monarch Almanzor*, see *La verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo* 122, 123
- Lives of Mohammed and his successors* 186
- The lives and memorable actions of many illustrious persons of the eastern nations* 326, 338-40
- Luna Turcica eller Turkeske mane* 410, 411-12
- Mahomed, der Prophet von Mekka* 186
- Mahomet* (Bayle) 513-17
- Mahomet* (Goethe) 29, 707
- Mahomet and Irene*, see also *Irene* (Johnson) 168, 386, 389-90, 394
- Mahomet, ou le fanatisme*, see *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet* 12, 186, 670, 692, 695, 700, 701, 703-14, 715, 719, 722, 739
- Mahometanism unveiled* 365
- Mahometism explained* 188, 189, 191-6
- Mahometism fully explained* 188, 189, 191-6
- 'Mahométisme' 687, 688, 723, 768-72
- Malta illustrata ovvero descrizione di Malta* 943-7
- Malta illustrated, a description of Malta* 943-7
- Mangoneutes: Being a defence of Nazarenus* 148
- Manlius* 703
- Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum* 800-5
- Maometto* (von Winter) 707
- Den marokkanske Kejser Mohamed Ben Abdallahs historie* 421, 424-5
- De materia medica* 39-40
- Mathilde d'Aguilar, histoire espagnole* 482
- Le mauvais dîner, ou lettres sur le dîner du comte de Boulainvilliers* 733
- Médime* 702
- Mémoire dans lequel on prouve que les Chinois sont une colonie égyptienne* 674
- Mémoire sur l'origine des Huns et des Turcs* 673
- Mémoire sur une Nouvelle mappemonde* 680
- Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 551, 673, 674
- Mémoires de Monsieur le Marquis d'Argens, avec quelques lettres sur divers sujets* 620-4
- Mémoires de Trévoux* 658, 733
- Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares* 759-61
- Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux* 599-607
- Mémoires du comte de Bonneval* 638
- Mémoires du Sieur de La Croix* 492-5
- Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde* 635, 637
- Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte* 635, 637-42
- Mémoires secrets et critiques des cours, des gouvernements, et des moeurs des principaux états d'Italie* 951
- Memoirs* (Whiston) 276, 277, 278, 281, 284
- Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, on the Turks and the Tartars* 759-61
- Memoirs of Chevalier d'Arvieux* 599-607
- Memoirs of the Marquis d'Argens, with letters on various subjects* 620-4
- Memoirs of Sieur de La Croix* 492-5
- Memoirs of the life and writings of Edward Gibbon* 106, 355, 357
- Memoirs towards the history of Malta* 635, 637-42
- Memorie della guerra* 691
- Memorie istoriche de Monarchi Ottomani* 691
- Mercur de France* 577, 715, 716, 760, 773
- Mesopotamia, ovvero terzo viaggio di F. Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente* 921-2
- Al-milal wa-l-nihāl* 540
- The military status of the Ottoman Empire*, see *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno* 873-81
- I mille ed uno quarti d'ora: Novelle Tartare* 858
- Mille et une nuit*, see also *Arabian Nights* 3, 5, 31, 32, 56, 132, 133, 201, 204, 379, 392, 395, 530, 542, 543-7, 749, 857, 858, 859
- Mirror of princes*, see *Luna Turcica eller Turkeske mane* 410, 411-12
- Miscellanea aurea: Or the golden medley* 157-63, 325
- Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ* 5
- Modern history, or the present state of all nations* 954
- Mohammed and Mohammedanism* 365
- Monarch-Spiegel, see Luna Turcica eller Turkeske mane* 410, 411-12
- Morale de Mahomet* 747, 754-5

- La mort du sultan Osman* 531-2  
*On the Muḥammadan religion*, two books,  
     see *De religione Mohammedica libri*  
     *duo* 23, 24, 194, 359, 416, 458-61, 648,  
     651, 769  
*Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* 11, 183,  
     184, 185, 359  
*MS Udine, Biblioteca Civica V. Joppi di*  
     *Udine – Joppi* 540 903-4  
*Musibetnâme* 531-2  
*Mustafâ Bassâ di Rodi Schiavo in*  
     *Malta* 898  
*Mustapha, a tragedy* 231-4  
  
*Narratio originis, rituum et errorum*  
     *Christianorum s. Joannis* 843  
*Nathan der weise* 16, 18  
*The natural history of Aleppo* 289, 290,  
     291, 293-9, 958  
*Nazarenus: Or Jewish, Gentile and*  
     *Mahometan Christianity* 21, 142, 144-50,  
     151, 162, 163, 212, 449, 586  
*Der neue Teutsche Merkur* 30  
*New collection of voyages, discoveries and*  
     *travels* 304  
*A new Cyropaedia*, see *Les voyages de*  
     *Cyrus* 582, 583, 584-8  
*The noble slaves* 4, 393, 396  
*Noticias singulares de algumas*  
     *cousas succedidas em a cidade de*  
     *Constantinopla* 791  
*Nouveaux mélanges* 731  
*Nouveaux mémoires du comte de*  
     *Bonneval* 638  
*La nouvelle Cyropédie*, see *Les voyages de*  
     *Cyrus* 582, 583, 584-8  
*Nova acta eruditorum* 33  
*Novelle arabe divise in mille e una*  
     *note* 857-60  
  
*Objection against the Talmud of the Jews,*  
     *the Qur'an of Muḥammad and against*  
     *the heretics*, see *Impugnación contra*  
     *el Talmud de los Judios, Alcorán de*  
     *Mahoma y contra los hereges* 811, 812-14  
*Observations on the religion, law,*  
     *government, and manners, of the*  
     *Turks* 344, 346-9, 352  
*Oost-Indische voyagie* 441, 441-6  
*Oratio inauguralis de commendando studio*  
     *linguarum Orientalium* 467  
*Oriental eclogues*, see also *Persian*  
     *eclogues* 380, 382  
  
*The originall & progress of*  
     *Mahometanism* 21, 78, 162  
*Dell'origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni*  
     *letteratura* 966  
*Osman* 532  
*Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo* 870  
*Othello* 701  
*Ouvrages de morale et de politique* 615, 616  
  
*Palestina, ovvero primo viaggio di F.*  
     *Leandro di S. Cecilia in Oriente* 916-18  
*Papiers de l'abbé Raynal* 781-3  
*Papiers Venture de Paradis* 785-8  
*Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et*  
     *les maximes des Orientaux* 537-9  
*Il pellegrino nell'Asia* 837-47  
*Pensées (Montesquieu)* 660, 667  
*Persia, ovvero secondo viaggio di F. Leandro*  
     *di S. Cecilia in Oriente* 918-21  
*Persian eclogues* 380, 382  
*Persian letters*, see *Lettres persanes* 1, 380,  
     526, 657, 660-5, 667, 669, 670, 759  
*Perside* 484  
*Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to*  
     *el-Medinah and Mecca* 376  
*Philosophical commentary* 616  
*Philosophical dissertation [consisting]*  
     *of miscellaneous theses*, see  
     *Dissertatio philosophica theorematum*  
     *miscellaneorum* 408-9  
*Philosophical principles of natural and*  
     *revealed religion* 583, 587  
*Philosophus autodidactus*, see also *Ḥayy*  
     *ibn Yaqẓān* 53, 54-7  
*Picatrix* 36  
*Una piccola relatione delle missioni del*  
     *Superiore Egitto*, see *Cronaca della*  
     *missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto*,  
     1719-39 888-91  
*Pietas Londinensis. Or the present*  
     *ecclesiastical state of London* 9  
*The pilgrim in Asia*, see *Il pellegrino*  
     *nell'Asia* 837-47  
*The plan of the English commerce* 198,  
     203, 204  
*Pocket philosophical dictionary*, see  
     *Dictionnaire philosophique* 334, 716,  
     737-8  
*Pococke's travels*, see *A description of the*  
     *East and some other countries* 220, 222,  
     244, 247-66  
*Posthumous works (Chubb)* 267, 268,  
     269-74

- Le pour et contre* 635, 638  
*The present state of Egypt* 253  
*The present state of the Ottoman Empire* 83, 119-20, 138, 139, 175, 348, 351-4, 359, 514, 691  
*The present state of Turkey* 350  
*The previous question with regard to religion* 267  
*Primitive Christianity revived* 267, 277  
*Principle of action, or We must take sides, see Il faut prendre un parti* 727, 731-6, 739, 740  
*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* 802  
*Project for the extirpation of the Barbary corsairs* 609  
*Project of perpetual peace* 608  
*Proposal for printing by subscription the second volume of the History of the Saracens* 166  
*The purpose of the sage, see Picatrix* 36  
  
*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* 12, 716, 737, 738-44  
*The Qur'an of Muḥammad, see L'Alcoran de Mahomet* 539-40  
*The Qur'an, translated from the Arabic, see Le Coran, traduit de l'arabe* 359, 751-6  
  
*Racconto della prodigiosa conversione di un maomettano alla santa fede cattolica* 882-6  
*De radiis stellarum* 36  
*La raison par alphabet, see Dictionnaire philosophique* 334, 716, 737-8  
*La recherche de la vérité* 613  
*Recherches curieuses* 514  
*Recherches historiques sur les Maures et histoire de l'empire du Maroc* 764-6  
*Recherches sur l'origine du despotisme oriental* 681  
*Recueil de cent estampes representant différentes nations du Levant* 648  
*Recueil nécessaire* 729  
*La redenzione degli schiavi sudditi di S.S.R.M. fatta in Algeri, Tunisi e Tripoli* 923  
*Reflections on Mahometanism and Socinianism* 519-21  
*Reflections on Mohammedanism and the conduct of Mohammed* 208-13  
*Réflexions historiques et critiques sur le mahométisme et sur le socinianisme* 519-21  
*Refutatio Alcorani* 651  
  
*Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* 32  
*Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa, Klein Asien ...* 468-71  
*Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar, vindo da Índia para Portugal* 792-5  
*Relação exacta e verdadeira da conjuração, que Mostafá Baxá de Rhodes intentou fazer* 898  
*Relación de los maravillosos efectos* 797  
*Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* 139, 479  
*Relation of a journey* 139  
*Relazione delle campagne d'Ungheria* 828  
*Relazione istorica della congiura de' schiavi turchi di Malta* 896-900  
*La religion des Mahometans* 23, 24, 194, 359, 416, 458-61, 648, 651, 769  
*De religione Mohammedica libri duo* 23, 24, 194, 359, 416, 458-61, 648, 651, 769  
*Remarkable sayings, apothegms and maxims of the Eastern nations, see Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux* 537-9  
*Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne* 448  
*Remarks on several occasional reflections in answer to The Rev. Dr. Middleton, Dr. Pococke ...* 251  
*Remarks upon Nazarenus* 145, 148  
*Remarks upon the manners, government and religion of the Turks* 15, 58, 59-67  
*Remarques pour servir de supplément à l'Essai sur les moeurs* 715, 720-6  
*Remarques sur l'Essai* 739  
*Résumé of the life of Father Domenico of San Tommaso, known as Ottomano, see Compendio della vita del P. Domenico di S. Tommaso, detto Ottomano* 924-31  
*The revenge* 390, 392, 396  
*A review of the case of Judah and Ephraim* 164, 169  
*Révolutions de l'Empire ottoman* 762  
*The rival princesses: or, The Colchian court* 129  
*Robinson Crusoe* 10, 56, 198, 201, 204, 379, 388  
*La Rodhienne* 484  
*Roxana, the fortunate mistress* 10, 198, 202, 386, 388  
*The royal mischief* 117, 127, 128-32, 134  
*Rudimenta linguae Arabicae cum catechesi Christiana (Uşûl al-lughâ*

- l-'arabiyya wa-qawā'id al-imāna l-masīhiyya* 866-9  
*Rudimento della lingua Turchesca* 959  
*The rudiments of the Arabic language together with Christian catechesis* 866-9  
  
*Sacre metamorfosi* 822, 823-7  
*Sacred metamorphoses* 822, 823-7  
*Sandfærdig fortællelse om de Christnes ynkværdig slaverie udi barbariet, især hos den Maroccanske keyser ...* 429-30  
*Scanderbeg (Havard)* 383, 384  
*Scanderbeg; or love and liberty* 383, 384  
*A second consultation between the Pope and the Turk* 951  
*Selim, grand sultan of the Turks* 862-3  
*Selin, gran signore dei Turchi* 862-3  
*Sentences of Ali* 106, 110  
*A series of essays on the life of Mohamed* 365  
*Sermons and essays (Whiston)* 276, 277  
*A short report on the missions in Upper Egypt, see Cronaca della missione francescana dell'Alto Egitto, 1719-39* 888-91  
*The siege of Damascus* 164, 165-71  
*The siege of Rhodes* 166  
*The singular report of a very bad case that occurred in Constantinople, see Distinta relazione di un caso assai funesto avvenuto in Costantinopoli* 932-4  
*Smyrne ancienne et modern* 533-4, 535  
*The Socinian controversy discuss'd* 77, 78, 83, 145  
*Socinianism truly stated* 141  
*Il Solimano (Bonarelli)* 907  
*Solimano (Migliavacca)* 905, 906-11  
*Soltani Solymanni Turcorum Imperatoris horrendum facinus* 231-2  
*Solymannidae* 232  
*Sopra la letteratura de' Turchi* 875  
*A sovereign antidote against Arian poison, see Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* 503, 505-10  
*The Spanish wives* 115, 117, 128  
*Specimen historiae Arabum* 360, 586  
*Spicilege* 667  
*The spirit of the laws, see Esprit des lois* 14, 66, 162, 526, 574, 658, 661, 662, 663, 665-72, 695  
*The state of the Kingdoms of Barbary, Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers, see État des royaumes de Barbarie, Tripoly, Tunis et Alger* 557-60, 561, 562  
*Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno* 691, 873-81  
*Storia do Mogor* 836, 850, 851-6  
*Storia generale delle congiure, cospirazioni, e sollevazioni celebri, antiche e moderne* 898  
*The story of Helim and Abdullah* 161  
*Sucinta relaçam do ultimo naufragio* 898  
*The sultaness* 386, 388  
*Summa perfectionis magisterii* 36  
*A supplement to a book entitled Travels, or Observations* 251  
*Sur l'auteur de l'Alcoran* 722  
*Sur un passage de l'Alcoran cité par un Anglais dans le livre intitulé: De la liberté de penser* 616  
*Surat Yusuf. Historia Patriarchae, ex Alcorano* 25  
  
*Tableau des principales religions du monde* 650  
*Tafsir al-Jalālayn* 752, 754  
*Tamerlaine* 390, 391  
*Teatro della Turchia* 960  
*Telhīs ūl-bayān fī kavānīn-i Āl-i Osmān* 874, 876, 960  
*Theological and philosophical works of the late Mr John Toland* 144  
*Third journey of Paul Lucas, gent., in 1714, see Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en MDCCXIV* 550-5  
*Thousand and one days* 544  
*A thousand and one nights, see Mille et une nuit* 3, 5, 31, 32, 56, 132, 133, 201, 204, 379, 392, 395, 530, 542, 543-7, 749, 857, 858, 859  
*Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* 503, 505-10  
*Traité des trois imposteurs* 143, 151  
*Traité sur la tolerance* 727-8, 729, 739  
*Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana* 807-10  
*Travels in Palestine to the Grand Emir of the Bedouins, see Voyage dans la Palestine vers le grand Emir des Bédouins* 594, 595-9  
*Travels of a Jesuit missionary in Turkey, Persia and Barbary, see Voyages d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jesus en Turquie, en Perse et en Barbarie* 591-2

- The travels of Cyrus*, see *Les voyages de Cyrus* 582, 583, 584-8
- The travels of Jean Chardin into Persia*, see *Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin* 128, 524-8
- Travels, or, observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* 220, 221-9, 251, 372
- Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor ...*, see *Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa, Klein Asien ...* 468-71
- Travels to discover the source of the Nile* 372-8
- Treatise on the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*, see *Traité de la divinité de notre seigneur Jesus Christ* 503, 505-10
- Treatise of the plague* 291
- Treatise of the three imposters* 143, 151
- Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en MDCCXIV* 550-5
- A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans* 214, 215-19
- The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* 73, 87, 88-95, 109, 138, 158, 159, 160, 161, 193, 208, 416, 514, 692, 752
- The truth of the faith*, see *Verità della fede* 936-8, 940
- De Turco-Papismo* 951
- Turkish embassy letters* 5, 6, 119, 123, 134, 285, 308, 311-24
- Turkish literature*, see *Letteratura turchesca* 957, 958-62
- Turkish moon*, see *Luna Turcica eller Turkeske måne* 410, 411-12
- Turkey. Its history and progress*, see *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners, of the Turks* 344, 346-9, 352
- La Turquie chrétienne sous la puissante protection de Louis le Grand* 491
- Unigenitus* 612, 614, 721
- An universal history* 326, 334, 338, 340-3, 360, 677
- Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* 416
- Uns al-Wujūd ma'a l-ward fi l-akmām* 749
- La verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo* 122, 123
- Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religion* 811, 814
- Verità della fede* 936-8, 940
- Viaggi a Costantinopoli di Gio* 960
- Viaggio dell'Indie orientali* 843
- Viaggio nell'Arabia felice* 858
- Viaggio nell'India orientale, et oltra l'India* 843
- Viaje (Diario) de Argel y de Túnez*, 1718-1735 815, 817-18
- La vie de Mahomed par M. le comte de Boulainvilliers* 21, 22, 27, 328, 361, 416, 568-71, 648, 692, 705, 722, 731
- La vie de Mahomet*, see *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis* 183, 184-7, 329, 360, 692, 706, 722, 751
- A view of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece* 237-42, 254
- Vision of Mirza* 161, 379, 380
- De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis* 183, 184-7, 329, 360, 692, 706, 722, 751
- Voyage dans la Palestine vers le grand Emir des Bédouins* 594, 595-9, 603
- Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse* 594, 598
- Voyage du Mont Liban* 496
- Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant* 550-5
- Voyage en perse*, see *Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin* 128, 524-8
- Voyage fait en Levant* 535-6
- Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis* 557, 561-5
- A voyage round the world*, see *Giro del mondo* 829, 830-4
- A voyage to Abyssinia* 394
- A voyage to Barbary for the redemption of captives*, see *Voyage pour la rédemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger et de Tunis* 557, 561-5
- A voyage to the East Indies* 301-6
- Voyages à Pékin, Manille et l'Île de France* 673, 674
- Les voyages de Cyrus* 582, 583, 584-8
- Voyages d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jesus en Turquie, en Perse et en Barbarie* 591-2
- Voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* 723
- Le voyageur d'Europe* 477, 478-81
- La vraie religion démontrée par l'écriture sainte* 151
- West Barbary. Or, a short narrative of the revolutions of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco* 68, 69



|                                                 |                                        |            |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------|
| <i>Wonderbaarlijke en Merkwaardige Gevallen</i> | <i>Zadig</i>                           | 699, 739   |
| <i>van een Twaalfjarige Slavernij</i>           | <i>Zaide</i>                           | 703        |
| <i>Wondrous and remarkable matters of a</i>     | <i>Zaire</i>                           | 701-3, 706 |
| <i>12-year slavery</i>                          | <i>Zoroastre, Confucius et Mahomet</i> | 723        |
| <i>The works of Mr. Thomas Emllyn</i>           | <i>Zulima</i>                          | 703        |
| <i>The works of Samuel Clarke</i>               | <i>Zulime</i>                          | 701, 702-3 |
| <i>The world displayed</i>                      |                                        |            |