Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

Volume 22. Central Europe (1800-1914)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth

with Ines Aščerić-Todd, Stanisław Grodź, Douglas Pratt,
Cornelia Soldat and Catherina Wenzel

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FOREWORD

Like Western and Northern Europeans in the 19th century, Central and Eastern Europeans generally looked on Islam as something of a vague reality about which they knew little, even though Islam was for them a more immediate presence. The borders of the Ottoman Empire were close, while in South-Eastern Europe sizeable numbers of Christians actually lived within it and elsewhere a few had communities of Muslims dwelling among them. Many held memories of Ottoman armies threatening to bear down on their families and massacre them. *Christian-Muslim Relations, a bibliographical history* volume 22 (*CMR* 22) covers the region now known as Germany, Poland, Austria, Switzerland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria and other Balkan states.

In German-speaking areas, 18th-century Enlightenment ideas influenced intellectuals deeply, just as in the West. Specialists in the study of religion, especially Protestant theologians, applied the same rational (historical-critical) methods, particularly in biblical studies, that were used in other intellectual disciplines. They recognised that Christianity, when viewed in this way, could be compared with other major religions, including Islam. They generally accepted, though often without saying, that Muḥammad was a sincere seeker after truth who had constructed a body of beliefs for his own people or had tapped into spiritual realities in the same way as the initiators of other religious traditions, though more than a few preserved the old belief that he was an epileptic, a false prophet and above all a plagiarist. They also accepted that the Qur'an was comparable to the Bible as a body of doctrines and ethics, though hardly anyone thought it was anything more than Muḥammad's own handiwork based on borrowings from Jewish and Christian scriptures. Almost no one conceded that Islam stood on the same level as Christianity, but scholars often abandoned old polemical attitudes and proceeded to formulate religion as a divinely inspired part of human experience and explained the separate religious traditions as versions of it, with Christianity as the most complete form and Islam and other religions less so. The story of such experiments stretches well beyond the end of the 19th century and the limits of this series.

In the 19th century, Jewish scholars from the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism') movement gave significant impetus to comparative religious research and the academic study of Islam in German-speaking

countries. These included Abraham Geiger, the Hungarian Ignác Goldziher and Josef Horovitz. They were leaders in the study of religion as a historical phenomenon, focussing on the role of Judaism and Islam, which remained underexposed or devalued in Christian discourses. While they were mainly concerned to reassert the role of Judaism in history, a new approach to Islam emerged as a result of their work, which also had an impact on the relationship between Islam and Christianity. For this reason, they are included in this volume together with scholars from a Christian background as leading representatives of the new European way of thinking about religion.

Of course, old inherited attitudes still persisted among many Christians, in particular that Islam was no more than a debased form of Christianity put together by a fraud, while the view that Islam lay in terminal decline was confirmed in the travelogues of those who passed through the Ottoman Empire, usually on their way to the Christian holy places. These travellers encountered a society they judged to be paralysed by the belief that enterprise and initiative were of no purpose because God's will directed all things, and they typically advocated the introduction of social and intellectual structures that worked at home as the only solutions. Even explorers who immersed themselves in the languages and cultures of the Islamic world so fully that they passed as indigenous inhabitants tended to look down on what they observed as inferior to what was familiar in Europe. However, their experience also offered them an image of religion that could be opposed to secularisation and the loss of authority of the churches. It allowed them to criticise current developments in Europe.

In contrast to this distant relationship with things Islamic at home, in their overseas colonies Germans came into direct contact with Muslims. Like their neighbours in other parts of Europe, they ruled parts of Africa and practical necessity required them to find the most appropriate ways to govern their domains. Like British administrators in other parts of the world, German officials in Africa not infrequently sought to anticipate the risk of interfaith clashes by discouraging Christian missions among the people they governed, and in East Africa they had to face the difficulty of what to do about vigorous Muslim missions from Arabia. German scholars who had interest in Christian mission and participated personally in it exchanged strong words with colonial officials about what they saw as unfair treatment of missionaries who braved the hazards of Africa to spread the Gospel.

Further east in Europe, in the lands that now comprise Poland, the Baltic States, Belarus and Ukraine, the situation differed from German-speaking

areas. Between 1772 and 1795, most of this region was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Empire, and during the 19th century it was turned into the western provinces of the empire. The Russian expansion in the Black Sea region effaced the old 'Turkish threat' from Polish public awareness and life and refocused the activities of many people on resisting Russian domination or trying to come to terms with it.

The lands that became Lithuania, Belarus and north-eastern Poland were unusual in having Tatar Muslims not only living among its communities but also occupying senior ranks in its public life. Descendants of the Mongol hordes who hundreds of years earlier had settled in what became Lithuania, Belarus and north-eastern Poland occupied positions as military officers and landed nobility, and while they remained Muslim in faith they were deeply integrated into the upper ranks of Polish society. A mark of this unusual situation was that when General Tadeusz Kościuszko, who had led Polish resistance against Russia, died in 1817, the personnel of two mosques went as far as to incorporate into their Friday congregational prayers commemorations of him that included suitably adapted verses from the Old Testament to which all could assent. The prayers were conducted in the presence of Christian representatives.

Although sensitive gestures of this kind could be extended, many Christians in this region continued to maintain the uniqueness of the Christian revelation and to reject Islam as at best an imitation and in reality a fraud.

Further south, in the Balkans and Greece, Muslims were actually present as close neighbours within Christian towns and villages and as their rulers. Life under Muslim rule and the experience of harsh masters stirred calls for freedom and provoked armed uprisings that often led to crushing reprisals. It is not surprising that in 19th-century poetical and dramatic works written by Christians from this region the Ottomans are typically portrayed as oppressors characterised by base inhumanity and unusual cruelty whose faith authorised them to treat non-Muslims as sub-human objects of tyranny and lust.

As the 19th century progressed, Islam became an object of scholarly study in Eastern Europe as it did in most of the countries further west. Prose and verse translations of the Qur'an were made into many European languages and the person of Muḥammad remained an object of enquiry for the sheer immensity of his achievement. Nevertheless, with the terminal weakening of the Ottoman Empire a generally accepted fact, Islam was regarded as a faith that was unsuited to modern times. Since its legal and moral teachings were part of its revelation alongside its doctrinal

teachings and could not be modernised, people thought that the whole structure must fall into decay and irrelevance because it was incapable of being reformed. The general attitude in Eastern Europe was that its survival would not be for long.

The volumes in the *CMR* series provide full analytical accounts of the known works written by Christians and Muslims about and against the other and also of works that contain direct or indirect evidence of attitudes. Like this one, the recent volumes cover particular geographical regions, and together the series surveys the whole world in the period 600-1914. Its aim is to be comprehensive and in this as much as in earlier volumes there has been generous help from both well-established and new scholars, some responding to the challenge to explore interfaith elements in works that had not previously been studied for this purpose. As with the other volumes that have been completed in the last few years, the work on this one has been particularly challenging because of the restrictions imposed by Covid 19 – some contributors sent in their entries years ago but have had to wait until now to see them published. For this and some other reasons, completeness of coverage cannot be claimed, so this volume is presented as an extensive but not entirely comprehensive account of works that appeared in Central Europe in the century leading up to 1914 (and in some cases afterwards). Determined efforts have been made to ensure that all the major works written on relations between Christians and Muslims in this time have been included, but further research may show that the few that are known but could not be discussed prove to be equally fascinating and important.

Like its predecessors, *CMR* 22 starts with introductory essays that outline the historical, political, intellectual and social background in the region concerned. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The principle has been to choose works largely about or against the other faith or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on reciprocal attitudes. Apologetic and polemical works are naturally included, while letters, official reports and works of travel and history also frequently qualify for inclusion. The reason why a work appears may sometimes not seem obvious because its direct references to the other faith are few, though initially unpromising works are repeatedly seen to attest to distinct attitudes by such features as the way they are structured or how their authors have selected or shaped information, or have revealed their bias by occasional comments. Everything is included that has been judged to contribute in any significant way towards conveying the information about the religious other that circulated among people in this part

of the world in the 19th century and towards constructing the impressions about the religious other that they generally took to be true. This principle is easily applied in most cases, though in some instances it proves difficult. The approach has therefore been inclusive (perhaps too inclusive), especially regarding works that contain very slight though insightful details or that appear to touch only obliquely on relations.

Another principle is that inclusion of works has been decided according to the date of their author's death not the date when the works themselves appeared (though the date of publication is used where no other information is available). The adoption of this approach has led to evident anomalies at the beginning, where authors may have died in the years just after 1800 but were mainly or almost entirely active in the 18th century. Other criteria could have been adopted, such as an author's most active period, though, while this might have worked for some, it would not have helped for many others. When it comes to the end-date of the volume, the year 1914, this principle has been relaxed. There is no plan at present to continue the *CMR* series beyond the early 20th century and so, for the sake of completeness, authors who died after 1914 have been included provided their major period of activity started well before this limit. Within the volume, entries have been ordered according to the date of the completion of the work being discussed, or in the case of authors who wrote a number of relevant works the date of the last of these. In the relatively few instances of the date of the work not being known, the date of the author's death has been used.

The majority of entries are divided into two main parts. The first part is concerned with the author: it contains biographical details, an outline account of their intellectual activities and writings, the chief primary sources of information about them, and scholarly studies on them from the mid-20th century onwards. Some entries are concerned with organisations or clusters of authors who were active at roughly the same time and wrote on the same theme, in which case they are situated in the sequence of entries as appropriate. Without aiming to be exhaustive in biographical detail or scholarly study, this section contains enough information to enable readers to pursue further points about the authors and their general activities that bear on their writings about Christianity and Islam.

The second part of the entry is concerned with the works of the author that are particularly devoted to the other faith. Here, the aim as far as possible is comprehensiveness. The work is named and dated, and then in two important sections its contents are described with emphasis on what it says about Christianity or Islam and its significance in the history of

Christian-Muslim relations is appraised, including any innovative features and influences it exerted on later works. The sections following these list publication details (first, manuscripts, where known, and then editions and translations) and studies from roughly the middle of the 20th century onwards. Both these sections are intended to be fully up to date at the time of going to press.

Like the earlier volumes in the series, *CMR* 22 provides sufficient to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and manuscripts, editions and translations and the latest studies located. Each work is also placed as far as possible in chronological order of completion or publication together with other works from the same location that were written at the same time, though this grouping should be regarded as more a matter of organisational convenience than anything else. Proximity between entries does not necessarily indicate any direct relationship between the works about which they were written, let alone influence between them (though this may sometimes be stated by an author or be discernible in the work). In this period, as in any other, it is as likely that an author was as deeply influenced by a work written in another country or century as by a work from their immediate locality or time.

The task of producing *CMR* 22 has involved numerous contributors, and it is pleasing to note how many have readily agreed to write entries and have not infrequently produced contributions that will remain authoritative. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), Douglas Pratt (preliminary editing of entries), Ines Aščerić-Todd (South-Eastern Europe), Stanisław Grodź (Poland and Slavonic neighbours), Cornelia Soldat, Charles Tieszen (essays) and Catherina Wenzel (Germany). They are all members of a much larger team comprising 25 specialists in total, that covers all parts of the world. Several other scholars gave assistance in particular ways and without them the task of assembling the material in this volume could not have been completed. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Nikolay Aretov, Andrzej Drozd, Davor Dukić, Sevil Özçalık Dumanoğulları, and Sylwia Filipowska. In addition, Carol Rowe copy-edited the entire volume with her usual keen eye for detail, Phyllis Chesworth carefully compiled the indexes and Louise Bouglass prepared the maps. We are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed to bringing this volume into being, not least our colleagues at Brill, Leiden, who produced it with accuracy, speed and efficiency.

Extensive efforts have been made to ensure the contents of the volume are both accurate and as complete as they can be, though it would be

unrealistic to think there are no omissions or mistakes. Some details must surely have escaped the checks made, contributors may have withdrawn at the last minute, authors may have been ignored, new interpretations of works may have been put forward, and new editions, translations and studies (in particular) published. For these reasons corrections, additions and updates are warmly invited. They will be incorporated into the online version of *CMR* and into any further print editions. Please send details to David Thomas at d.r.thomas.1@bham.ac.uk.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMZ	*Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMS	Church Missionary Society
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France; https://gallica.bnf.fr
DOM	Deutsche Orient-Mission
EI2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition*
EI3	*Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*
MDZ	*MünchenerDigitalisierungsZentrum; https://www.digitalesammlungen.de*
Q	Qur'an

Central Europe

Essays

Introduction: Central Europe

Stanisław Grodź and Catherina Wenzel

This account covers Central Europe and its populations of German-speaking and West- and South-Slavonic-speaking peoples during the 19th century.

Historical framework

The German states

Following the French invasions at the beginning of the 19th century, a number of German states and principalities were included in the Napoleonic Empire. Only the Habsburg Empire and Prussia (though both were defeated by Napoleon) retained their independence. Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo in 1815 led to a modified restoration of the earlier German political structures. The gathering of the victorious European rulers at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 attempted to curb Russian incursions into Central Europe by apportioning parts of the German provinces, including the Rhineland and part of Saxony, to Prussia in order to make it a counter-balancing power in the region.[1] The involvement of Germany in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire at this time can also be seen as an attempt to check Russian expansionism. When plans were laid to establish an Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem from 1841 onwards, Ottoman Palestine, Syria and Lebanon attracted the interest of the German public, especially as numerous Protestant-Prussian orphanages, hospitals and schools were established there, as well as a number of Swabian-Pietist settlements.[2] The immense scale of this interest was not only related to political constellations, but also to the religious character of the region, with which readers of the Bible were generally familiar. This explains, for example, why the travel writings on the Holy Land by Friedrich Adolf

[1] T. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*, Munich, 1994, pp. 90-1 (English trans., *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866*, Princeton NJ, 1996).

[2] S.B. Keeley, '"Will the day break in the East?": The origins of Anglo-Prussian Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem, 1840-1880', in N. Duhaut and J. Paulmann (eds), *Europe across boundaries*, Berlin, 2022, 37-61.

Strauss (1817-88), a Protestant theologian and pastor from a revivalist movement and the founder of the Jerusalem Association, became some of the most popular Palestine travel books of his time. By 1882, his *Sinai und Golgotha. Reise in das Morgenland* (Berlin, 1847) had been published eleven times.[3]

The revolutions of the mid-19th century that shook many European states did not affect Prussia much and so it was able to consolidate its increasing power. Through a series of wars with the Danes, the French and the Habsburgs and their southern German allies, the Prussians managed to unify German states under their own banner (1871) and initiate the German Empire with the Prussian King Wilhelm I (r. 1871-88) as the new emperor (the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation had been abolished by Napoleon in 1806). Wilhelm's Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), was the key driving force in shaping Prussian-German politics in 1862-90.[4]

In the Middle East, the new German Empire primarily intended to follow the earlier Prussian approach and play the role of mediator in Oriental political disputes, exerting influence without acting as a colonial power. Bismarck was cautious about colonial aspirations, seeing a potential conflict of interest with the British, in which the Germans would have been unable to gain the upper hand. However, the aspirations of the German colonial lobby were met during the Berlin Conference of 1884-5, at which the European powers divided the world into separate spheres of influence. The colonial enterprise brought the Germans into direct contact with Muslims in northern parts of Togo and Cameroon, and in East Africa (today Tanzania),[5] where German colonial governments drew support from Islamic elites and institutions. The Germans further strove for influence in the Ottoman Empire by sending military staff to help the reorganisation of the Ottoman army and engineers to construct a railway line from Berlin to Baghdad. In order to strengthen relations, the emperor and members of his family also paid state visits to the Ottoman Empire.[6]

From the time of the Mahdist uprising in the Sudan in the 1880s, Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918), the last German Emperor and King of

[3] F. Foerster, 'Reise in eine multireligiöse Welt. F.A. Strauß: Sinai und Golgatha', in A. Feldtkeller and A. Nothnagle (eds), *Mission im Konfliktfeld von Islam, Judentum und Christentum. Eine Bestandsaufnahme zum 150-jährigen Jubiläum des Jerusalemsvereins*, Frankfurt, 2003, 19-33; see F. Foerster, 'Friedrich Adolf Strauss', in *CMR* 22, 208-17.

[4] S.E. Goddard, 'When right makes might. How Prussia overturned the European balance of power', *International Security* 33/3 (2008-9) 110-42.

[5] See J. Beyers, 'Introduction', in *CMR* 19, 5-21, pp. 6-8; M. Pesek, 'German Protestant mission in East Africa', in *CMR* 19, 404-17.

[6] Cf. U. Ryad, 'Introduction', in *CMR* 18, 1-26, p. 10.

Illustration 1. 'Une paire d'amis', showing the German Emperor Wilhelm II and the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid when they met in Istanbul in 1898

Prussia (r. 1888-1918), had been an enthusiastic supporter of Islamic insurgency movements, especially when they were directed against the British. In the summer of 1914, shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, when it became clear that Britain would not remain neutral, the emperor wrote: 'Our consuls in Turkey and India, agents *et cetera* must inflame the entire Mohammedan world into a wild uprising against this hated, mendacious, unscrupulous people of merchants; for if we are to bleed to death, then England should at least lose India.'[7] Prior to this, Baron Max von Oppenheim (1860-1946), an employee of the Imperial Consulate General in Cairo (1896-1909), had been commissioned to develop a war strategy that would include Muslims and their ideas. He dwelt on the ideas of pan-Islamism (i.e. all Muslims, including those living in Europe or the USA, should regard themselves as subjects of the Ottoman sultan, hence a unified entity) and jihad (mobilising Muslims everywhere, including prisoners, against the respective colonial rulers). In October 1914, Oppenheim presented his *Denkschrift betreffend die Revolutionierung der islamischen Gebiete unserer Feinde* ('Memorandum on bringing about revolution in the

[7] J. Bühler, *Vom Bismarck-Reich zum geteilten Deutschland. Deutsche Geschichte seit 1871*, Berlin, 1960, p. 380.

Islamic territories of our enemies') but attempts at implementing these ideas ultimately failed.[8] The defeat of Germany in the First World War (1914-18) resulted in the loss of its colonies to the British and the French.

The Habsburg Empire[9]

Though Napoleon broke the Habsburg domination of the German political scene in 1806, the Habsburgs quickly re-established their position after his defeat, hosting the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15, which determined a new political order in Europe. Freed from the (post)revolutionary French threat, the Habsburgs turned their attention back to their south-eastern borders, though they could not avoid internal socio-political unrest. The so-called Spring of Nations (1848) led to the restructuring of the Habsburg state into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the subsequent failed Russian attempt to extend their direct sphere of influence deeper into the Balkans, which eventually led to the Crimean War of 1853-6, the Austro-Hungarian Empire remained only an onlooker. It was still not strong enough (despite help from its southern German allies) to check Prussian expansion in the German-speaking area and suffered defeat during the 1866 war in the Battle of Königgrätz (Hradec Králové).

The Austro-Hungarian Empire acquired territorial gains only by taking advantage of an Ottoman defeat in another war with Russia. However, it faced many revolts in occupied Bosnia and Hercegovina (1878). The formal annexation of the region (1908) aggravated the long-simmering crisis, despite legal concessions that had already been made to Muslims living within the empire (family legal matters had been treated according to the Ḥanafī code of Islamic family law since 1874 and Ḥanafī legal books were translated into German and published in Vienna in 1883). A legal act promulgated in 1912 formally recognised Muslims as a religious community according to the 'Ḥanafite rite' in the empire.[10]

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[8] M. Hanisch, 'Max Freiherr von Oppenheim und die Revolutionierung der islamischen Welt als anti-imperiale Befreiung von oben', in W. Loth and M. Hanisch (eds), *Erster Weltkrieg und Dschihad*, Munich, 2014, 13-38; see S.Ö. Dumanoğulları, 'Max von Oppenheim', in *CMR* 22, 510-17.

[9] P.M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire. A new history*, Cambridge MA, 2016; R. Okey, *The Habsburg monarchy, c. 1765-1918. From Enlightenment to eclipse*, London, 2000.

[10] R. Potz, 'Die Anerkennung der islamischen Glaubensgemeinschaft in Österreich', in J. Schwartländer (ed.), *Freiheit der Religion: Christentum und Islam unter dem Anspruch der Menschenrechte*, Mainz, 1993, pp. 135-46.

The Slavonic peoples of Central Europe[11]

After the third and final partition of the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which had been completed in 1795, Polish speaking populations were distributed between Prussia, Russia and the Habsburg Empire. The region inhabited by the Muslim Tatar population of the former Commonwealth was allocated to Russia. Many Polish-speakers (including the Tatars) started volunteering to serve in the French armies as early as the 1790s and later strongly backed Napoleon. An ephemeral Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1807-15), a Napoleonic satellite state, did not survive Napoleon's fall and was incorporated into Russia. But growing dissatisfaction with Russian rule resulted first in the formation of conspiracy groups, among them the *Towarzystwo filomatyczne* ('Society of Philomaths') at the University of Vilnius. They set themselves goals that were social and educational[12] but they later also strove to gain political influence. For these efforts they were ruthlessly suppressed. But dissatisfaction eventually led to the November Uprising of 1830-1. The Russian suppression of this insurrection led some survivors to emigrate to Western Europe, while those taken prisoner were sentenced to serve in the Russian army (some of the conspirators of the 1820s had already been exiled to Siberia or the Caucasus). Many of those who joined in conspiracy groups and took part in the January Uprising of 1863-4 were also sentenced to serve long periods in the Russian army, quite often in the Caucasus (see the entry on Karol Kalinowski).[13]

The Slavonic peoples of South-Eastern Europe[14]

The Russians persisted in trying to gain control of the Danube principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia by supporting uprisings against the Ottomans in the Balkans. To this end, they gave military backing to the Serbs during their first uprising between 1804 and 1813. In the face of the risk of Napoleon invading their empire, they withdrew from the Danube principalities but remained in Bessarabia, according to the Treaty of Bucharest, 1812. When a second uprising started in Serbia in 1815 in

[11] A. Zamoyski, *Poland. A history*, New York, 2009, esp. chs 14-17.

[12] An example of these was a translation of the Qur'an into Polish by two members of the society, D. Chlewiński and I. Domeyko, on whom see *CMR* 22, 676-89.

[13] See A. Porada, 'Karol Kalinowski', in *CMR* 22, 717-21.

[14] S.K. Pavlowitch, *A history of the Balkans 1804-1945*, London, 2014; see also Ryad, 'Introduction', in *CMR* 18, pp. 11-13.

response to the Ottoman reprisals against the first, the sultan granted concessions to the Serbs in order to prevent further Russian intervention, but Russian support for the Serbs led to another Russo-Ottoman war in 1828-9. This resulted in defeat for the Ottomans, who were forced to cede the mouth of the Danube to the Russians in the Treaty of Edirne in 1829[15] and to grant Serbia full autonomy within the Ottoman Empire in 1830.

The Greek War of Independence (1821-32) was conducted with gradual success. Seizure of the Peloponnese by the Greeks was followed by an Ottoman recovery with backing from Egyptian reinforcements. But the destruction of the Egyptian fleet by the Western European powers in a naval battle at Navarino in 1827 led to an agreement reached in London in 1830 in which the independence of Greece was acknowledged, though the sultan conceded this only in 1832.[16]

With the Ottomans losing their power in the Balkans, the region became increasingly unstable. Exploitation of the people by local Muslim officials led to a new revolt in Bosnia in 1875. Then, an uprising broke out in Bulgaria in 1876. Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottomans in 1877 and the Russians joined in. The Ottomans were defeated, though they were able to check further Russian advances. The creation of a large Bulgarian state in the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 failed to meet the approval of other European powers and led to reductions of its territory in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, though Serbia and Montenegro gained new land. Serbia, Montenegro and Romania obtained full independence from the Ottomans in 1878, while Bosnia-Herzegovina was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Empire and formally annexed in 1908.

Another series of wars erupted in 1912. The Balkan League, comprising Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece, attacked the Ottomans with the aim of expelling them from Europe and, while the Ottomans suffered defeat, another short war erupted almost immediately in 1913 between the members of the league over the territorial gains they had made. The Ottoman Empire broke apart in the aftermath of the First World War and wars in the region lasted until 1922.

[15] See M. Amelicheva, 'Ottoman-Russian treaties in the 19th century', in *CMR* 23 (forthcoming).

[16] T.W. Gallant, *The Edinburgh history of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913. The long nineteenth century*, Edinburgh, 2015, pp. 1-105.

Diverse interests in the Ottoman-Muslim world and imaginary constructions of the 'Orient'

The 19th century was characterised by global dynamics that strongly influenced and often transformed the understanding and experience of religion through the spread of secularisation and the increase of scientific method in the quest for knowledge. However, Jürgen Osterhammel argues that there are good reasons for situating religious sentiment and religion(s) at the centre of a world history of this century. They were 'a power of existence of the first rank, a source of individual orientation in life, a crystallisation point for community building and for the forms of collective identities, [...] a driving force of political struggles, a field in which sophisticated intellectual debates were carried out'.[17] Moreover, religion was now studied not only in theological faculties or church circles but also in the emerging academic disciplines of Oriental Studies, the comparative study of religion and ethnology. Theologians, philosophers, philologists and translators were joined by confessional and secular historians, interested laypeople, travellers, writers, journalists, diplomats, geographers and artists, all of whom participated in the expansion of religious knowledge through a wide variety of channels and media. Among them, the works of only one woman, Ida Hahn-Hahn (1805-80),[18] are known to scholarship. Writings by other women authors still remain to be discovered.

The Central European authors whose works are presented in this volume were almost all Christian and mainly Protestant. Nevertheless, Jewish authors, such as Abraham Geiger (1810-74), Ignác Goldziher (1850-1921), Josef Horovitz (1874-1931), Max von Oppenheim (1860-1946), Davis Trietsch (1870-1935) and Arminius Vámbéry (1832-1913),[19] have also been included because of the impact they had on Christian writers (see below the essay on 'Critical Qur'an research and Christian-Muslim relations in the context of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism')' regarding the particular role of Jewish scholars in establishing Islamic Studies in Germany). There is also an entry on a convert from Islam, Johannes Awetaranian (1861-1919), formerly Meḥmed or Muḥammed

[17] J. Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 2009, p. 1239.

[18] See S. Gruber, 'Ida Hahn-Hahn', in *CMR* 22, 201-7.

[19] See, A.W. Hughes, 'Abraham Geiger', in *CMR* 22, 163-9; J. Chesworth and C. Wenzel, 'Ignác Goldziher', in *CMR* 22, 328-37; G. Jäger, 'Josef Horovitz', in *CMR* 22, 605-10; S.Ö. Dumanoğulları, 'Max von Oppenheim', in *CMR* 22, 510-17; S. Vogt, 'Davis Trietsch', in *CMR* 22, 562-71; and R. Bartholomä, 'Arminius Vámbéry', in *CMR* 22, 380-410.

Şükrī, who became a Christian as a result of the efforts of the Deutsche Orient-Mission (the German Mission to the East).[20]

At the beginning of the 19th century, German Oriental Studies focused primarily on philology and translation studies. The emphasis was on texts rather than on the people who lived in 'the Orient'. Many accounts explained the emergence of Islam and the appearance of the Qur'an as deriving from Muḥammad himself as initiator and author rather than as recipient of a divine utterance. The Qur'an was also perceived as a work of poetry (see the entry on J.W.L. Gleim's *Halladat oder Das rothe Buch*) and a desire arose for a poetically beautiful translation of it into German. Regardless of sensitivities within Islam about whether the Qur'an can actually be translated, translations such as those by Friedrich Rückert, which appeared posthumously in 1888, and that by Max Henning from 1901 have been highly regarded by Muslims.[21] At the same time, new literature created new facets in the new conceptions of 'the Orient' among Central European scholars. For example, *Les mille et une nuits*, Antoine Galland's French adaptation of the collection of Arabic stories *Alf layla wa-layla* ('A thousand and one nights'), in 1704, had a lasting influence on German, English and French literature and also had an impact on music and the visual arts.[22] The reception of Islam, which often had negative connotations, was thus supplemented by the vision of an 'Orient' that was full of secrets, stories, erotic adventures and wonders that offered points of departure for flights of the imagination, personal desires and needs as well as alternative social concepts.

Travellers to the Islamic world for religion, scholarship and leisure

Travel writings were of enormous importance as sources of information about Islam and its cultures in German-speaking countries, for the simple reason that the great majority of Christians living in Germany had never seen a Muslim and knew little about what Muslims believed.[23] For even an imaginary journey into texts, such as that undertaken by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) in his *West-östlicher Divan*, was based on travel writings; Goethe refers to these as 'closer aids' in the 'Notes and

[20] See G. Alıcı, 'Johannes Awetarian', in *CMR* 22, 595-604; C. Pschichholz, 'Johannes Lepsius', in *CMR* 22, 572-82, a founder of the Deutsche Orient-Mission.

[21] See O. Krämer, 'Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim', in *CMR* 22, 37-42, and J. Chesworth, 'Friedrich Rückert', in *CMR* 22, 271-80.

[22] See F. Bauden, 'Antoine Galland', in *CMR* 13, 529-48.

[23] M. Rohe, *Islam in Deutschland. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Munich, 2016², pp. 95-116.

treatises' to his great poetry collection.[24] It is striking that he particularly favoured travellers who acquired their knowledge outside academic institutions, away from philology and, moreover, at a time before the separation of knowledge about the East into specialist fields.[25] Heinrich von Diez (1751-1817),[26] who, unlike Goethe, actually travelled in the East and lived in Constantinople for six years and spoke fluent Turkish, also emphasises in his foreword to *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* (Berlin, 1815) how much he valued the French Huguenot Jean Chardin's (1643-1713) travelogue.[27] In the lecture *Das religiöse Leben im Islam*, delivered in the presence of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia (r. 1840-61) by Heinrich Abeken (1809-72), the Councillor of the Prussian Legation to Istanbul, as part of a series of events organised by the Evangelischer Verein für kirchliche Zwecke (Evangelical Association for Church Purposes) in Berlin in 1854, references to travel literature are manifold. Abeken was Bismark's close associate and had already been involved in the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem since 1841. His lecture must also be seen in the context of the Crimean War (1853-6), which was raging at this time.[28]

German Oriental Studies scholars also drew on the observations of individuals who did not occupy academic positions but travelled out of simple curiosity and sometimes stayed for long periods of time in one place, meeting Muslim clerics and intellectuals. For example, the writer and translator Friedrich von Bodenstedt (1819-92) learnt Turkish/Azeri and Persian from Mirza Schaffy (Mirzə Şəfi Vazeh, 1792 or 1794-1850) in Tbilisi in 1843-5. He also learnt classical Arabic, which included the study of the Qur'an, and was introduced to Azeri and Persian literature. He himself wrote *Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient* ('A thousand and one days in the East') during his stay in Trans-Caucasia. First published in 1850, this book offers a poetic complement to his ethnological, historical and political studies in the form of a piece of travel writing. His aim was to 'paint lifelike pictures from memory, initially of countries and peoples of which we in wider circles did not yet have a vivid picture'.[29] Most of these are attributed

[24] J.W. Goethe, 'Besserem Verständniss', in H. Birus (ed.), *West-östlicher Divan.* Neue, völlig revidierte Ausgabe, 2 vols, Berlin, 2010, vol. 1, 251-66; see C. Wenzel, 'Johann Wolfgang Goethe', in *CMR* 22, 106-17.

[25] A. Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus. Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 2005, p. 178.

[26] See L. Gibson, 'Heinrich Friedrich von Diez', in *CMR* 22, 83-8.

[27] See R. Mathee, 'Jean Chardin', in *CMR* 13, 522-8.

[28] See C. Wenzel and W. Frischbier, 'Heinrich Abeken', in *CMR* 22, 245-53.

[29] F. Bodenstedt, *Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1865, pp. XI-XII; see also C. Walbiner, 'Friedrich von Bodenstedt', in *CMR* 22, 245-53.

to Mirza Schaffy, who is regarded as the second protagonist of *Tausend und Ein Tag.* Although religion was not a major theme for Bodenstedt, he was very interested in people's daily lives which were governed by traditional ways and religion. The book was published in an expanded and revised edition of three volumes as early as 1853-4. According to Carsten Walbiner, the work is so remarkable because it goes back to Mirza Schaffy's songs and because for several decades he was the 'most popular Muslim' after the Prophet Muḥammad in the German-speaking world.[30]

Another popular figure, though fictional, was Kara Ben Nemsi, who was endowed by his creator, the novelist Karl May (1842-1912), with considerable experience of cultures. May's books were among the most widely read in German in this period; by the time of his death in 1912, the number sold had risen to one and a half million. The *Orientzyklus* ('Orient cycle'), which is of particular interest here, comprises six novels, all of which were published in 1892. In them, Kara Ben Nemsi – May's alter ego – gets involved in numerous adventures in the Arab and Islamic world and encounters Christians, Muslims and also Yazidis. He talks to colonial officials and locals, and his conversations with his servant Hadschi Halef Omar often relate to matters of faith. In the novels, Kara Ben Nemsi speaks Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Kurdish, as well as all the Balkan languages – and without an accent! In fact, May attempted to embody him in himself, and from 1896 photographs of him were distributed dressed as his creation. Despite the fact that he had never travelled in 'the Orient' himself before the turn of the 20th century, both he and his publishers claimed that he was reporting on his own adventures. He based his stories on tourist handbooks, travel books, geographical, archaeological and anthropological works, maps, encyclopaedias, dictionaries and other writings.[31]

In the *West-östlicher Divan*, Goethe saw himself as a merchant and traveller who was concerned with finding a way to overcome the distance separating him (and therefore his readers) from 'the Orient'. This is why he felt challenged to 'orientalise ourselves, the Orient will not come over to us'.[32] Of course, the method of orientalisation (through language studies, disguises and other forms of assimilation) is not only found in Goethe and May, but directly affects the genre of travel writings. Johann Burckhardt

[30] Walbiner, 'Friedrich von Bodenstedt', p. 235.

[31] A. Polaschegg, 'Durch die Wüste ins Reich des silbernen Löwen. Kara Ben Nemsi reitet durch den deutschen Orientalismus', in S. Beneke and J. Zeilinger (eds), *Karl May. Imaginäre Reisen. Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Historischen Museums*, Berlin, 2007, 115-36; see also W. Reinhard, 'Karl May', in *CMR* 22, 481-502.

[32] Goethe, 'Besserem Verständniss', p. 200.

(1784-1817) and Heinrich von Maltzan (1826-72) even altered their identities, converting temporarily to Islam or at least making it look as though they had. This was not only about being able to travel more easily, but also about being able to report more credibly and therefore more successfully. They assumed dual roles because, when a traveller includes himself as a character in his reports on his journey, he also creates himself as a literary figure.[33]

German Christian missionaries

The 19th century was also characterised by the increasing activities of German missionaries. The contributions included here cover works of scholarship and journalism published in Germany, complementing those by German missionaries published elsewhere that appear in other volumes of *CMR*. Some of the writers and publications presented here have previously been researched only a little or not at all. The historian Rebekka Habermas points out that, despite the apparent disregard for missions in the historiography of the 19th century, it is nevertheless the case that missionaries were connecting Europe with other parts of the world. They can be seen as transmitters of culture, as they stood at the intersection of a wide variety of interests.[34] This is the only way to explain, for example, how Christian Gottlob Barth (1799-1862) was able to introduce Shīʿī 'myths' about Jesus into discussions about the New Testament within Württemberg Pietism.[35]

Differently from the previous three centuries, missions in the 19th century were predominantly Protestant. Scholarly theological engagement with Islam is represented in this volume by the works of leading theologians such as Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti (1771-1841), Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930), Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), Adolf Keller (1872-1963) and Wilhelm Bousset (1865-1920), and also the Roman Catholic theologian Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838).[36] More journalistic works, though not

[33] J. Loop, 'Maskerade in der Wüste? Sheikh Ibrahims Reisemethode im Kontext seiner Zeit', in L. Burckhardt et al. (eds), *Johann Ludwig Burckhardt – Sheikh Ibrahim. Entdeckungen im Orient um 1800/ Discoveries in the Orient around 1800*, Basel, 2019, 82-100; see also J. Chesworth and D. Thomas, 'Johann Ludwig Burckhardt', in *CMR* 22, 89-105, and F. Krobb, 'Heinrich von Maltzan', in *CMR* 22, 265-70.

[34] R. Habermas, 'Mission im 19. Jahrhundert. Globale Netze des Religiösen', *Historische Zeitschrift* 287/3 (2008) 629-79.

[35] See R. Pietsch, 'Christian Gottlob Barth', in *CMR* 22, 176-80.

[36] See C. Wenzel, 'Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti', in *CMR* 22, 49-63; A. von Scheliha, 'Adolf von Harnack', in *CMR* 22, 415-20; U. Schmiedel, 'Ernst Troeltsch', in *CMR* 22, 611-19;

devoid of scholarly aspirations, are accounted for in two cluster entries on the contents of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (*AMZ*) and the proceedings of the German Colonial Congresses.[37] Although Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), the long-time editor of *AMZ*, perceived missionary work among Muslims as no more than a distant possibility, he nevertheless published a number of articles on Islam and Muslims by various missionaries and missionary officials. Not all of them were written in the confrontational tone that was usual at the time (see the accounts of works by Karl Heinrich Christian Plath [1829-1901] and Karl Axenfeld [1869-1924] in the entry on the *AMZ*, and the entry on Moritz Wilhelm Lüttke [1838-1909], which details his struggle to position Muḥammad, Islam and Muslims in his worldview).[38] Interesting perspectives on Christian-Muslim encounters can also be found in the works of Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933), a scholar and later a government official.[39]

The intensification of missionary activities and the interest of the German public in them coincided with German colonial expansion from the 1880s onwards.[40] The entries in this volume offer a glimpse into the peculiar relationship between missionaries and government officials: on the one hand, missionaries collaborated with the government, and on the other, they denounced government policies as showing undue favour towards Muslims and Islam.

The vast numbers of publications on Islam and Muslims in the German-speaking region through the 19th century have made it difficult to fulfil the requirement for comprehensiveness set in *CMR*. Some works have been omitted because they were no more than repetitions of better-known material, while entries on others could not meet the publication deadline of the volume and will hopefully appear in the online version of *CMR*.

M. Jehle-Wildberger and C. Wenzel, 'Adolf Keller', in *CMR* 22, 358-67; J. Höffker, 'Wilhelm Bousset', in *CMR* 22, 375-9; and J. Chesworth and D. Thomas, 'Johann Adam Möhler', in *CMR* 22, 147-54.

[37] See S. Grodź, 'Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*', in *CMR* 22, 620-36; and S. Grodź, 'German Colonial Congresses 1902, 1905 and 1910', in *CMR* 22, 421-32.

[38] On Plath and Axenfeld, see Grodź, 'Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*', pp. 626-7, 630-2; on Lüttke see S. Grodź, 'Moritz Wilhelm Lüttke', in *CMR* 22, 313-27.

[39] Becker was the first holder of the chair of the history and culture of the Middle East at the Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut (1908), where he also founded the journal *Der Islam*; see also M. Mälzer, S. Grodź and J. Chesworth, 'Carl Heinrich Becker', in *CMR* 22, 537-61.

[40] Such German missionary societies as *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* had already been active in the Dutch Indies and elsewhere; see M.C. Kissel, S. Grodź and C. Wenzel, 'Gottfried Simon', in *CMR* 22, 459-80.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations in Slavonic languages

The entries on works written by Slavonic authors included here are not numerous, though they do give an overview of the interests of Slavonic authors and readers in general. A few Greek works have also been included, as Greece ceased to be a part of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century but, due to the overall political situation, was not yet perceived as a part of southern Europe. There are several works from the South-Slavonic-speaking region and from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, though the Czech-Slovak-speaking area is represented by only one entry, on Václav Matěj Kramerius (1753-1808), an author and publisher from the first half of the 19th century.[41] The majority of the works from South-Eastern Europe, in Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and other Slavonic dialects, are poetry and focus mostly on struggles for independence from Ottoman domination. Apart from generally acclaimed works, there are also some that have only come to light in relatively recent times.

The editors are aware of the gaps that still wait to be covered in the area of Slavonic contributions to Christian-Muslim relations. Hopes of acquainting readers with the contents of some highly interesting Tatar manuscripts from the area of present-day Lithuania, Belarus and north-east Poland have been partly fulfilled. Some information on these manuscripts is included in *CMR* 7 and *CMR* 8, as the originals (at least some of them) were allegedly written in the 16th century and then copied over the generations, though, since the oldest existing copies are dated from the 18th and 19th centuries, they are presented fully in this volume.[42]

In the early 19th century, two young intellectuals from an educational secret society formed at the University of Vilnius, Dionizy Chlewiński (1793-1870), a Roman Catholic priest, and Ignacy Domeyko (1802-89), a geologist and engineer (later acclaimed for his work in Chile), translated the Qur'an from French into Polish in an effort to help Polish-speaking Lithuanian-Polish Tatars better to understand their sacred text. The translation, most probably made between 1824 and 1829, was banned from publication by tsarist censors but, as recent scholarship has discovered, it

[41] See L. Storchová, 'Václav Matěj Kramerius', in *CMR* 22, 208-15.

[42] A few historians and philologists from Lithuania, Belarus and Poland, e.g. T. Bairašauskaitė, G. Miškinienė and A. Drozd, have researched and published on the topic, though their works have not been translated into English. See also J. Kulwicka-Kamińska, *Dialogue of scriptures. The Tatar tefsir in the context of biblical and qur'anic interpretations*, Berlin, 2018, and the website of the 'Projekt *Tefsir*' from Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, http://www.tefsir.umk.pl/o,4,publikacje.html.

was eventually published in Warsaw in 1858 under the name of Jan Mirza Tarak Buczacki.[43]

A few other entries on the works of intellectuals from former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth territory should also have found their way into the current volume, among them an entry on the works of the Orientalist Antoni Muchliński (1808-77). The editors hope that they will be included in the digital version of the volume.

[43] J. Kulwicka-Kamińska and Cz. Łapicz (eds), *Rękopis z Czombrowa. Filomacki przekład Koranu – edycja i studium historyczno-filologiczne zabytku*, Toruń, 2019. See Tamara Bairašauskaitė and Andrzej Drozd, 'Dionizy Chlewiński and Ignacy Domeyko', in *CMR* 22, 676-89.

Critical Qur'an research and Christian-Muslim relations in the context of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism')

Christian Wiese and Catherina Wenzel

Wissenschaft des Judentums ('Science of Judaism')

> In his famous study on Orientalism, Said curiously omits any serious engagement with German Orientalism in his work because Germany did not possess colonial holdings in the Middle East and, therefore, German scholarship did not have the same ideological over-tones as that produced in France and England. True enough, but the vast majority of serious Oriental scholarship developed and took place in Germany, and not France and England. Moreover, virtually all of the major nineteenth-century scholarship on Islam was produced by German scholars, many of whom were Jewish.[1]

Aaron Hughes points here to a very striking phenomenon that demands special attention in the context of surveys of German authors and works that have shaped Christian-Islamic relations.

In the course of the European Enlightenment, a modern citizenship law came into effect in German-speaking countries which at least theoretically conferred legal and political equality on Jewish citizens. An example of the reform ideas of the time is the essay *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* ('Concerning the amelioration of the civil status of the Jews', 1781)[2] by the Prussian lawyer and diplomat Christian Konrad Wilhelm von Dohm (1751-1820). Dohm justified his plea for legal equality for the Jewish minority by arguing that the causes of the negative characteristics attributed to the Jews were based on the centuries-long legal and social discrimination against them and also on the belief that Jews could only become useful members of Christian society through integration.

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[1] A.W. Hughes, 'Contextualizing contexts. Orientalism and Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* reconsidered', in D. Hartwig et al. (eds), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung*, Würzburg, 2008, 87-98, pp. 90-1.

[2] See C.W. Dohm, *Concerning the amelioration of the civil status of the Jews*, trans. H. Lederer, Cincinnati OH, 1957.

The desire for social recognition and improved living conditions was linked to demands for religious tolerance. However, the attainment of this civic equality, the first step of which was taken in Prussia with the *Edikt betreffend die bürgerlichen Verhältnisse der Juden in dem Preußischen Staate* ('Edict concerning the civil status of the Jews in the Prussian State') of 11 March 1812, took decades to complete and was only enshrined in state law in 1871 with the founding of the German Empire. From that time it was recognised as valid, at least in formal legal terms, but it referred solely to Jews as individuals, while the equal status of Judaism as a religious culture, including its institutions, remained strictly limited, at least until the Weimar Constitution (1919).

In the course of the 19th century, Jews were generally allowed to study at a university in German-speaking countries from 1812 onwards. However, Judaism itself was not a subject taught at any university but was at best encountered in the context of constructions of Jewish history and culture by Christian theologians, historians, philosophers and Orientalists. Those who wanted to become rabbis or were generally interested in Jewish history and literature therefore studied philosophy, history and Oriental or Semitic languages.[3] This was the case, for example, with Abraham Geiger (1810-74),[4] who began studying history, ancient languages, philosophy and archaeology in Heidelberg in 1829. After one semester, he moved to the University of Bonn, where he enrolled in a programme of Arabic studies and the Qur'an under Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Freytag (1788-1861). Following his prize-winning treatise *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* ('What did Muhammad take from Judaism?'), which was published in book form in 1833, he was awarded a doctorate at the University of Marburg. However, as Jews were not allowed to work as professors at universities at that time, he took up a position as a rabbi in Wiesbaden (1832-7). In 1861, Gustav Weil (1808-89) was the first professing Jew to be appointed full professor at the University of Heidelberg.[5]

Due to the lack of career opportunities, Abraham Geiger had already in 1836 called for the founding of a Jewish theological faculty in a higher

[3] See C. Wilke, *'Den Talmud und den Kant'. Rabbinerausbildung an der Schwelle zur Moderne*, Hildesheim, 2003.

[4] See A.W. Hughes, 'Abraham Geiger', in *CMR* 22, 163-8.

[5] See D. Hartwig, 'Die "Wissenschaft des Judentums" als Gründerdisziplin der kritischen Koranforschung. Abraham Geiger und die erste Generation jüdischer Koranforscher', in C. Wiese, W. Homolka and T. Brechenmacher (eds), *Jüdische Existenz in der Moderne. Abraham Geiger und die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Berlin, 2013, 297-320, pp. 301-2.

education institution.[6] His demand was neither heard in the relevant universities and ministries nor favoured or supported by representatives of Orthodox Judaism, though it remained vigorous throughout the 19th century, with representatives of both Liberal and Conservative Judaism pushing for institutionalised forms of Jewish theological studies.[7]

The pioneers of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('science of Judaism') were reform-oriented, enlightened and at the same time characterised by German Romanticism and enthusiasm for the East. This resulted in two different programmes. On the one hand – for example in Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) – was the Enlightenment view of the rabbinical tradition and its writings. They were seen as the work of human minds and were therefore open to critical analysis. It is interesting to note that many Jewish scholars were convinced that the study of Judaism required a historical-critical examination not only of the Torah, but also of the New Testament, the Qur'an and their respective religious traditions.[8]

On the other hand, the influence of Romanticism brought with it a historicising view that sought to recognise and preserve its own Jewish tradition in an identity-forming sense. As the universities offered no space for the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* until well into the Weimar Republic, institutionalised forms emerged exclusively outside German universities. The *Wissenschaft des Judentums* began with a circle of young Jewish intellectuals, who founded the Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden ('Society for Jewish culture and Jewish studies') in Berlin in 1819. In 1854, the conservative Jüdisch-Theologische Seminar Fraenckel'sche Stiftung (Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau) was founded in Breslau, and in 1872 the liberal Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums ('Higher Institute for Jewish Studies') was opened in Berlin. Its founding members included Abraham Geiger, Ludwig Philippson (1811-89) and Salomon Neumann (1819-1908). The initiative and initial financial endowment can be traced back to the commitment of the Berlin city councillor Moritz Meyer (1811-69) and the psychologist of nations (*Völkerpsychologe*) Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903).[9]

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[6] See A. Geiger, *Über die Errichtung einer jüdisch-theologischen Facultät*, Wiesbaden, 1838.

[7] See C. Wiese, *Challenging colonial discourse. Jewish studies and Protestant theology in Wilhelmine Germany*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 351-426.

[8] See C. Schulte, 'Kritik und "Aufhebung" der rabbinischen Literatur', in D. Hartwig (ed.), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung*, Würzburg, 2008, 99-109, pp. 108-9.

[9] On the emergence and institutional history of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, see C. Wiese, art., 'Wissenschaft des Judentums', in D. Diner (ed.), *Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur*, vol. 6, Stuttgart, 2015, 427-35.

Academic research into Judaism, its religion, history and culture not only had the function of securing the training of rabbis within Reform Judaism, but should also be understood quite programmatically as counter history. It aims to counter discrimination against Jewish citizens in the academic world, contemporary anti-Semitism and the discriminatory resentment associated with it. In this respect, the studies of Jewish scholars also had something of an apologetic function. Further, the circles of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* also developed an intellectual commitment that countered the hegemonic claims of various representatives of Protestant theology, who chiefly interpreted Judaism as a fossilised, outdated, dead religion, and thereby devalued it.[10]

This is of immense importance for understanding Jewish positions on Islam. While it is normally assumed that Jews and Christians are closer to each other than they are to Islam because they share what for Jews is *Tanakh*, comprising Torah (instructions), *Nevi'im* (prophets) and *Ketuvim* (writings), and for Christians is the Old Testament, and both are more distant from Islam because the Qur'an is a new sacred text, in this fresh approach a completely new assessment of these constellations is made. The new historical narrative that resulted can be illustrated by Heinrich Graetz's (1817-91) studies on the history of the Jews, especially as his work *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* ('History of the Jews from the earliest times to the present') became one of the 19th century's most influential historical accounts.[11] Among other things, it denounced Christian rule in Spain following the *Reconquista*, because Jews and Muslims were driven out of the peninsula or forced to convert. In contrast to this, Jews in the Iberian Peninsula had experienced a period of tolerance and cultural prosperity during Muslim rule between the 8th and 15th centuries. The narrative laid out here underlies such a work as Heinrich Heine's (1797-1856) drama *Almansor* (1820-1).[12] Graetz and Heine admittedly idealised Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula by portraying it as a golden age. Nevertheless, this view of history was to be understood as a clear criticism of contemporary Christianity. They saw parallels between the religious intolerance and forced conversions during the Spanish *Reconquista* and their own time. Just as Jews and Muslims were expelled

[10] See Wiese, *Challenging colonial discourse*; S. Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, Chicago, 1998.

[11] See M. Pyka, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz*, Göttingen, 2007.

[12] See C. Sosna and C. Wenzel, 'Heinrich Heine', in *CMR* 22, 117-25.

from Spain or forced to convert at that time, they felt connected to cotemporary Muslims because of this shared fate.[13]

At the end of the 19th century, the Hungarian-Jewish scholar Martin Schreiner (1863-1926), a student of David Kaufmann (1852-99) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921),[14] defined what he understood by the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, in terms of both a scholarly and an apologetic discipline, in an 1898 essay entitled *Was ist uns die Wissenschaft des Judentums?* ('What is the science of Judaism to us?'). His path led him from the Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest (Budapest University of Jewish Studies) in 1893 to the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, where he taught Jewish history, Jewish biblical exegesis, the history of Semitic religions and philosophy of religion until 1902. He described the function of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* as follows:

> *Wissenschaft des Judentums* is the historical knowledge of Judaism, the science of its religious ideas, the revelation of them in the great individuals of the Jewish people, its literature, and its religious and moral life. It is also the science of religious ideas and institutions as they appear to fit into our world view, proving their worth in us and to us as living moral forces. It is the great evidence of Judaism's achievements in the past, of its right in the present and future, and it is our protection against prejudices disseminated over millennia, against all intellectual weapons directed against us and our teachings. It protects the great facts of the past, and it collects the rays emanating from the documents of Judaism that light the present and the future. Without it, we would be a body without a soul, a ship without a captain. [...] It has become part of the legacy of the wonderful past of the Jewish people, and thus the difficult task still lies ahead, to awaken all good minds of our race with strong words against the destruction that has been caused by shortsightedness, ignorance, and indifference. [...] Its task is to raise everyone's awareness of what mission Judaism has fulfilled by preserving the religion of the Prophets and the Torah from all sorts of mystifications by the unprecedented struggles and suffering of those who profess it, and it will also have the duty to take a stand against the attempt to transform our religion into a syncretistic construction by accepting foreign institutions.[15]

[13] On the function of this narrative, see I. Schorsch, 'The myth of Sephardic supremacy in nineteenth-century Germany', in Y. Halevi-Wise (ed.), *Sephardism. Spanish Jewish history and the modern literary imagination*, Stanford CA, 2012, pp. 35-57, 294-301; for a historical critique of this view of history, see O. Fraisse (ed.), *Modern Jewish scholarship on Islam in context. Rationality, European borders, and the search for belonging*, Berlin, 2018.

[14] See J. Chesworth and C. Wenzel, 'Ignác Goldziher', in *CMR* 22, 328-37.

[15] M. Schreiner, 'Was ist uns die Wissenschaft des Judentums?', *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 62 (1898) no. 13, 150-2; no. 14, 164-5; no. 15, 175-7, p. 177 (trans. Christian Wiese).

The special social position of German Jews meant that they developed a philological and religio-philosophical style of thought that was particular to themselves. And just as the protagonists of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* interpreted Judaism itself as a modern, morally rational, pluralistic and lively 'religion of the future' and thus countered the negative attributions in Christian discourses with an alternative interpretation, they also created a different image of Islam in contrast to that held by Christian philologists and theologians. They showed a dynamic Islam in whose dominions culture and science flourished and which it was therefore quite wrong to portray as archaic, unchanging or fossilised.[16]

To summarise, the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* can be characterised in the words of John Efron as follows:

> (1) the desire of Jewish Orientalists for Jewish civil equality through emancipation; (2) their rejection (often virulent) of Orthodox Judaism; (3) their antipathy to Christianity; and (4) their Islamophilia, which saw them tirelessly promote the idea of a genuine Muslim-Jewish symbiosis.[17]

Critical Qur'an and Islam Studies

The intellectual commitment of the representatives of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* led to scholarly innovations in the critical study of the Qur'an and Islam in general. Representatives of this Jewish qur'anic scholarship were largely the students of Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Freytag and Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-88). Freytag's students in Bonn included Lion Baruch [Ludwig] Ullmann (1804-43)[18] and Abraham Geiger. Friedrich August Müller (1848-92)[19] and Ignaz Goldziher were among Fleischer's numerous pupils.

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[16] See O. Fraisse, 'Normativity and philology. Imaginaries of the Orient in nineteenth-century German-Christian and Jewish research on Islam', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 45 (2017) 158-88.

[17] J.M. Efron, 'From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East. Orientalism through a Jewish Lens', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 94/3 (2004) 490-520, p. 493.

[18] See *Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen wortgetreu neu übersetzt, und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen*, Krefeld, 1840. The first edition of 4,000 copies was soon sold out, and eight further editions were published up to 1897. It was revised in 1959 and has since gone through many editions, making it the German translation of the Qur'an that has been longest in print; see Hartwig, 'Die "Wissenschaft des Judentums"', pp. 311-12.

[19] See F. Rückert, *Der Koran. Im Auszuge übersetzt*, ed. A. Müller, Frankfurt am Main, 1888.

While Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893)[20] still assumed that the Qur'an owed a great deal to the influence of Christian traditions, Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), who had been recognised as a renowned Qur'an scholar since the publication of his *Geschichte des Qorâns* (1860), was able to put the question of the genesis of the Qur'an on a new basis for discussion. He referred to the work of Jewish researchers who had shown that legends and debates from the Bible, Targums, Talmud and Midrash had influenced the qur'anic text to a much greater extent than had previously been known. Both scholars were committed to the Enlightenment ideal of scholarship, an ideal that relied on human reason as an authority of judgement to challenge traditional ideas and ideologies. This included the fight against prejudice and the plea for religious tolerance. In this way, they left behind those polemical tendencies that sought to belittle or denigrate the Prophet Muḥammad and the Qur'an. Abraham Geiger had laid the foundation for Jewish Qur'an research in 1832 with his prize-winning work *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, succeeding for the first time in locating the Qur'an in a Jewish – or rather rabbinical – frame of reference.[21] His concerns and the structure of his work can best be summarised in the words of his son, Ludwig Geiger (1848-1919):

> In the treatise, the influence of Judaism on Muḥammad was assumed to be proven. In the first section, the questions were answered as to whether Muḥammad wanted to absorb something from Judaism, and whether he could and was allowed to do so, all three questions were answered in the affirmative in view of the fact that the founder of the new religion was familiar with Judaism, appreciated it and was also encouraged to use it by the mood of his contemporaries. In the second section, the individual thoughts, beliefs, moral and legal regulations and opinions on life borrowed from Judaism were recorded, as well as the many stories that the Qur'an took from the Bible. In a brief conclusion, it was then shown that, despite this borrowing, the Qur'an rejects many biblical customs and regulations, especially the prohibitions on foodstuffs.[22]

It is also crucial that Abraham Geiger took a decidedly historical approach to the figure of Muḥammad, who had not until then not been studied as a complex historical figure but had been dismissed as a false prophet, liar and deceiver, or romanticised as a poet, as in Goethe's early work. Geiger,

[20] See G, Nickel, 'Aloys Sprenger', in *CMR* 24 (forthcoming).

[21] See Hartwig, 'Die "Wissenschaft des Judentums"', p. 307; Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, pp. 50-75.

[22] L. Geiger, *Abraham Geiger. Leben und Lebenswerk*, Berlin, 1910, p. 17.

however, developed an image of the illiterate Muḥammad, who knew the Jewish scriptures from hearsay. He portrayed him as an enthusiast, a person who felt poetically attracted to the Jewish stories. [23] He was thus the first to approach Islam in terms of equality in modern times.[24]

The esteem in which Geiger and other Jewish researchers held Islam was based on the fact that they assumed the intellectual superiority of Jewish traditions. Geiger was convinced that Christianity and Islam were not new religions, but rather 'daughter religions' of Judaism, new manifestations of Jewishness in the non-Jewish world, and they only gradually developed into religious traditions of their own with their own world-historical 'mission', without making Judaism superfluous as the embodiment of 'ethical monotheism'.[25] Geiger's achievement and the impact of his study must be accorded high value, as Susannah Heschel says:

> With his prize essay, Geiger launched a new field within Islamic Studies, placing the text of the Qur'ān under historicist scrutiny and contextualizing it within the history of transmission of rabbinic Judaism in Arabia. The essay also inaugurated the modern Jewish civilization of Islam and the remarkable Jewish scholarly engagement in the field of Islamic studies that continued unabated until World War II.[26]

This was Geiger's only book about Islam. However, what continued to preoccupy him was Jewish history and the question of what could be considered the core of Judaism? In the course of his life, he became increasingly critical of Christianity. Thus, in his lectures on the history of Judaism, he derived the Jesus movement from the Pharisees and declared that it was Judaism that was actually the universal religion, while in his eyes Christianity was initially a marginal phenomenon that over time transcended the boundaries of Judaism and ultimately became a dogmatic

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[23] See I. Hermann, 'Die jüdische Orientforschung und ihr "romantischer" Orient', in R.G. Czapla (ed.), *'Weltpoesie allein ist Weltversöhnung'. Friedrich Rückert und der Orientalismus im Europa des 19. Jahrhundert*, Baden-Baden, 2021, 111-24, p. 115.

[24] See A. Neuwirth, '"In the full light of history". The *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and the beginnings of the critical Qur'ān research', in D. Hartwig et al. (eds), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung*, Würzburg, 2008, 11-24, pp. 12-14.

[25] See A. Geiger, Review of 'Aloys Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad, 1861', *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 3 (1862) 186; A. Geiger, *Judaism and its history*, trans. M. Mayer, vol. 1, New York, 1866, pp. 2-3.

[26] S. Heschel, 'Abraham Geiger and the emergence of Jewish Philislamism', in Hartwig et al. (eds), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung*, Würzburg, 2008, 65-86, p. 66.

and exclusive religion in the Roman Empire.[27] Overall, Abraham Geiger exerted a far-reaching influence on future generations of Oriental scholars:

> Those German-Jewish scholars who came after Geiger saw the limitations of his method, but they did so on philological and historical grounds, not on political or 'Orientalist' ones. [...] We must not lose sight of Geiger's pioneering research, especially when put in its historical context. German-Jewish scholars writing after Geiger, such as Horovitz, Heinrich Speyer, and others, were often critical of Geiger's work, but the point I wish to make here is that they did not see the need to desist from examining the various philological and historical contexts that produced the Qur'ān.[28]

According to Susannah Heschel, the Qur'an and Islamic studies within the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* had a side effect that should not be underestimated:

> In a way, Islam became the template with which they could familiarise the German environment with Judaism. Through their studies of the rationality of Islam's legal and ethical traditions, as well as their admiration for monotheism and its rejection of anthropomorphism, Jewish scholars provided an explanation for the rational and ethical basis of Jewish *halakhah* and the importance of its advocacy of monotheism.[29]

The strict monotheism of Islam, which is opposed to the Christian dogma of the Trinity, obviously exerted a strong attraction on Jewish researchers.[30] For Ignaz Goldziher, for example, Islam was the fulfilment of the monotheism that had begun in Judaism. He assumed 'that development is the elixir of life of every religion'.[31] Judaism and Islam were characterised by a special feature that both united and distinguished them with regard to the developmental dynamics that were constitutive of each of them. Whenever Judaism came into contact with a foreign culture, it always enriched its own ideas with the ideas it encountered. For Goldziher, the outstanding role of this intercultural dynamic was also beyond question with regard to Islam. He emphasised that Islam, particularly in the East, owed its existence in a special way to the laws

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[27] See Geiger, *Judaism and its history*, pp. 211-71.

[28] Hughes, 'Contextualizing', pp. 96-7.

[29] S. Heschel, 'Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und der Islam. Ein Vorbild für Deutschland im 21. Jahrhundert', lecture given on 6 July 2009 at the opening of the Kollegium Jüdische Studien at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (see Hartwig, 'Die "Wissenschaft des Judentums"', p. 308).

[30] See Hartwig, 'Die "Wissenschaft des Judentums"', p. 308.

[31] O. Fraisse, *Ignác Goldzihers monotheistische Wissenschaft. Zur Historisierung des Islam*, Göttingen, 2014, p. 18.

of cultural-historical development, which is why it should be regarded as the motor of cultural history between India and al-Andalus for the period between the 8th and 14th centuries.[32] He saw the dynamics of the formation of traditions in Islam and Judaism as analogous processes. However, he saw a difference with regard to the fact that the development of monotheism in Judaism necessarily led to modern science.[33] According to Ottfried Fraisse, Goldziher's way of interweaving the modern key concepts of 'science', 'religion' and 'culture' testifies to an alternative interpretation of modernity, insofar as scientific progress and secularisation are by no means mutually dependent achievements.[34] Ultimately, he succeeded in 'proving the monotheism of Islam (and Judaism) as the motor of cultural histories' and thus contradicted Protestant theologians who accused the Semitic religions of lacking creativity and stagnation.[35]

Judaism, Christianity and Islam in Martin Schreiner's Religious Philosophy

Martin Schreiner, with whom the definition of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* quoted above originated, took a specific historical and religious-philosophical approach to constructions of Judaism by contemporary Protestant theologians and historians as well by representatives of anti-Semitism in academic guise. The main source for his confrontation with such constructions is his book *Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judentum. Kritisch untersucht* ('Recent judgements on Judaism, critically examined', 1902). Apart from the views of the Berlin church historian Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) in his work *Das Wesen des Christentums* ('The essence of Christianity', 1900),[36] Schreiner was particularly challenged by the thoughts of the classical historian, Egyptologist and Orientalist Eduard Meyer (1855-1930), set out in his *Die Entstehung des Judentums* ('The emergence of Judaism', 1896). Schreiner particularly criticised the dominance of historical verdicts that were determined by what he called the

[32] See Fraisse, *Ignác Goldzihers monotheistische Wissenschaft*; see also H.-M. Haußig, Review of Ottfried Fraisse, Ignác Goldzihers monotheistische Wissenschaft, *Zeitschrift der Vereinigung für Jüdische Studien e.V.* 23 (2016) 236.

[33] See Fraisse, *Ignác Goldzihers monotheistische Wissenschaft*, pp. 136-377; see Haußig, Review , p. 239.

[34] See Fraisse, *Ignác Goldzihers monotheistische Wissenschaft*, p. 186.

[35] See Haußig, Review, p. 240.

[36] For Harnack's book and the ensuing debate on the 'essence of Judaism', see Wiese, *Challenging colonial discourse*, pp. 159-216; M. Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judentum, kritisch untersucht*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 14-25.

'Pauline psychology of religion' (*paulinische Religionspsychologie*), which amounted to the negative assessment of Judaism as a 'religion of law' (*Gesetzesreligion*).[37] Moreover, he vehemently disputed Meyer's assertion that ancient, pre-Christian hostility towards Jews could be explained by the particularistic Jewish pride of election.[38]

What is of particular interest in Schreiner's interpretation of Judaism in relation to both Judaism and Christianity is his expertise as a religious philosopher with particular knowledge of medieval Islamic and Jewish thought. Many of the arguments in *Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judentum* are based on his manuscript book *Systematische Religionsphilosophie* (*Grundzüge einer jüdischen Religionsphilosophie*), written between the 1880s and 1896/97, which remained unfinished and was only published in 2024 by Sabine Schmidtke.[39] As an outline of a systematic 'Jewish philosophy of religion' (in view of the lack of a 'Jewish theology' in modern Jewish thought),[40] this work pursues a deliberately apologetic aim of setting out the 'religious ideas'[41] that characterise the Jewish religion, namely monotheism, the 'idea of God's just and benevolent governance of the world, revelation, the divine election of Israel, the holiness of the Torah and the messianic hope, in their origins and development, and at the same time undertakes to examine these ideas for their value for modern religious consciousness'.[42] It is important to note that Schreiner thought through this question with constant reference to the relationships between Judaism and Christianity and between Judaism and Islam.[43] In the context of his confrontation with the academic anti-Semitism of his time, three interwoven strategies emerged for him in this regard: 1. the emphasis on a strong religious-cultural affinity between Judaism and Islam for the purpose of defending both religions as two creative traditions – against denigration of their religious-historical achievements as well as their

[37] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judentum*, pp. 32-3; for Meyer's views on Jewish legalism, see E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums. Eine historische Untersuchung*, Halle, 1896, pp. 199-243, particularly p. 219.

[38] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, pp. 102-8; see Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 222.

[39] See M. Schreiner, 'Systematische Religionsphilosophie (Grundzüge einer jüdischen Religionsphilosophie)', in S. Schmidtke, *Martin Schreiner between Islamic Studies and 'Wissenschaft des Judentums'. Reconstructing his scholarly biography*, Tübingen, 2024, pp. 580-741; see also Schmidtke's introduction to Schreiner's biography and work on pp. 1-210.

[40] Schreiner, 'Systematische Religionsphilosophie', p. 583.

[41] Schreiner, 'Systematische Religionsphilosophie', p. 651.

[42] Schreiner, 'Systematische Religionsphilosophie', p. 662.

[43] See Schreiner, 'Systematische Religionsphilosophie', pp. 625-46 (on Judaism and Christianity) and pp. 646-51 (on Judaism and Islam).

significance for the present; 2. simultaneous emphasis on the distinctiveness and superiority of Judaism – as the original prophetic religion – in comparison with its two daughter religions; and 3. insistence on the fundamental religious-ethical solidarity of all three monotheistic religions in opposition to, and thus also as an alternative to, ethnic-racial principles of historical interpretation.

With regard to the latter aspect, Schreiner examined the publications of the philosopher and private scholar Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906), who had twice commented on the history and contemporary state of Judaism in the 1880s: in his works *Das religiöse Bewusstsein der Menschheit im Stufengang seiner Entwicklung* ('The religious consciousness of humanity in the stages of its development', 1882) and *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart und Zukunft* ('Judaism in the present and future', 1885). Von Hartmann's arguments were at times racist and aligned him with German nationalist ideologies, whose description of an alleged 'Jewish question' incorporated classic anti-Semitic stereotypes.[44] He also claimed that the Jewish financial aristocracy was exploiting German society, preferring to tie itself to left-liberal political parties and consequently nurturing a 'negatively decomposing spirit'.[45] The Jews were trying to dominate German culture instead of reconciling themselves with the German national consciousness.[46] Therefore, he concluded, they themselves were basically responsible for the anti-Semitism felt by others.[47]

Schreiner firmly rejected such political accusations and threats. In his argumentation, however, he focused on the philosopher's statements about the history and future of the Jewish religion. The religious critic von Hartmann considered both Judaism and Christianity to be religions that had been overcome and were incompatible with the modern world view, Judaism because of its confusion of ceremonial law and moral law, Christianity because of its Christological-trinitarian dogma. As he saw the situation, it would make most sense if Jews left Judaism and joined a class of non-confessional citizens in their search for a monistic-pantheistic

[44] See E. von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1885, pp. 6-28; for Hartmann's attitude towards Judaism, see H. Bergman, 'Eduard von Hartmann und die Judenfrage in Deutschland', *Leo Baeck Institut Yearbook* 5 (1960) 177-98.

[45] Von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart*, pp. 101-32, 178-92, quotation at p. 182; Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, pp. 92-3.

[46] Von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart*, pp. 49-65; Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, pp. 97-9.

[47] Von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart*, pp. 62, 131.

'religion of the spirit' (*Religion des Geistes*),[48] which would soon form the universal religion of the future.[49] The claim by modern Jewish intellectuals such as Abraham Geiger that Judaism had brought the highest, absolute form of religion to the world through its 'ethical monotheism' and that its mission was to bring this to perfection in world history was nothing other than an expression of the quest for Jewish world domination. Christianity and Islam, he claimed, were far superior to Judaism: he regarded what he called 'Muhammadism' as pure, abstract monotheism, which was comparable to Judaism, albeit on a higher level, because it was universal and not limited by 'national barriers'. And Christianity, according to Hartmann, had raised the Jewish idea of redemption to a higher level through the idea of divine immanence. His conclusion was that the once world-historical mission of Judaism had long been made obsolete by the emergence of its daughter religions.[50]

Schreiner countered this flurry of statements by first responding to the judgement that Judaism and Islam were 'religions of law' (*Gesetzesreligionen*), lacking true spirituality and incapable of progress, reform and modernisation. The Qur'an and the later Muslim traditions had, of course, proven to be capable of further religious, philosophical and mystical developments, and Islam had never stood in the way of cultural development in its varied dominions over the centuries, despite its religious-legal constitution.[51] The same was true of post-biblical Judaism. One should think of the flexibility of rabbinic literature to adapt religious law to prevailing circumstances through interpretation, or of the creative encounters of medieval Jewish philosophy with Islam, Neoplatonism and Aristotelian thought. These encounters were anything but antiquated and obsolete and had, in fact, been of utmost importance for Christian European culture.[52]

Furthermore, Martin Schreiner defended the concept of 'ethical monotheism' against accusations from the likes of Paul de Lagarde (1827-91) or Eduard von Hartmann, according to whom monotheism's exclusiveness and Judaism's concept of being chosen led to intolerance and hatred of others. He followed Goldziher's interpretations, according to which

[48] See E. von Hartmann, *Die Religion des Geistes*, Berlin, 1882; von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwartt*, p. 33.

[49] Von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart*, pp. 35-42.

[50] Von Hartmann, *Das Judenthum in Gegenwart*, pp. 44-5.

[51] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, pp. 51-2; Schreiner, *Systematische Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 623-4.

[52] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, p. 52.

Muḥammad's monotheistic teachings had brought about important social and ethical consequences for Islamic society, and then claimed that it was the ethical character of monotheism that made Judaism and Islam – to a much greater extent than Christianity – religions of justice, compassion and the sanctification of life.[53] The strong emphasis on Jewish-Islamic affinities is made even more plausible in Schreiner's religious philosophy by the fact that Jews had been far less exposed to anti-Jewish demonisation and persecution in Islamic societies than in Christian Europe.[54]

However, Eduard von Hartmann's claim that Islam was superior to Judaism due to its more universal character also forced Schreiner to draw polemical boundaries by claiming, for example, that the monotheism of the Torah, the Hebrew prophets and the Psalms was something completely different from that of the Qur'an and the Islamic tradition, for example, free from orthodox Islamic fatalism, and at the same time more tolerant and rational than Christianity and Islam.[55] Rather, Israel's election is 'a historical fact', the foundation of the religious and moral consciousness of millions and millions of Christians and Muslims to the present day: every cross, every church, every mosque, every call of the muezzin proclaims the blessing of Judaism for humankind.[56]

Schreiner was even more aware of the dangerous intellectual proximity of seemingly moderate historical, theological and philosophical variants of 'academic anti-Semitism' to more radical forms of pseudo-scientific glorification of race than most other representatives of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* who were involved in combating anti-Semitic tendencies. It was particularly Houston Stewart Chamberlain's book *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* ('The foundations of the nineteenth century'), published in 1899, that, from his point of view, embodied the curse of contemporary ethnic ideologies (*völkische Ideologien*), including the social-anthropological chimerical concepts of a racial and cultural struggle between the 'Aryan' and the 'Semitic' spirit.[57] According to Schreiner, historical and cultural developments did not depend on racial features. Judaism, Christianity and Islam were definitely not religions defined by race, but were instead determined by traditions that were subject to changing cultural circumstances. He urgently warned Christian theology against

[53] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, pp. 13-14; see Schreiner, *Systematische Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 663-79 on monotheism.
[54] Schreiner, *Systematische Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 649-50.
[55] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, p. 88.
[56] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, p. 84.
[57] Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, pp. 121, 130-1.

the ethnic-nationalist assumption of racial antagonism between Jesus and Judaism and the abandonment of the idea of the unity of humankind to which Judaism had made an essential contribution. It therefore had every reason to hold on to its faith and its institutions with all the pride of the chosen people of religion.[58] Despite his emphasis on Jewish difference and religious-cultural superiority, he invoked the importance of the 'Jewish-Christian-Muslim doctrine of the unity of the human race'[59] and the fundamental mutual solidarity of the three monotheistic religions, which have the potential to embrace and promote a spirit of reason and recognition of diversity.[60]

The Jewish traditions of knowledge presented in this essay, which revolutionised research into the Qur'an in the 19th and early 20th centuries, raised research into Islam onto a whole new level and promoted the ideal of relations between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the spirit of the unity of the human race. They were forcibly broken off when the National Socialists came to power and the tradition of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Germany came to an end. It was not until the 1960s that chairs and institutes for Jewish Studies were again established in Germany.[61]

In 2007, a major research project on the Qur'an entitled Corpus Coranicum began its work at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and the Humanities under the direction of the Arabist Angelika Neuwirth.[62] The aims of the project include a documentation of the qur'anic text, taking into account both the manuscript and the oral traditions. Furthermore, Jewish, Christian and other texts from the environment of the Qur'an will be made accessible and compared with individual suras. On the basis of these 'intertexts', as they are called, a literary commentary will be compiled. This project regards itself as firmly in the tradition of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.[63] In a joint publication by researchers from the Corpus Coranicum project and the Abraham Geiger Kolleg, an affiliated institute of the University of Potsdam, Walter Homolka wrote:

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58 Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, p. 84.

59 Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile*, p. 155.

60 Schreiner, *Systematische Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 616-17.

61 See M. Brenner and S. Rohrbacher (eds), *Wissenschaft vom Judentum. Annäherung nach dem Holocaust*, Göttingen, 2000.

62 See https://www.bbaw.de/forschung/corpus-coranicum.

63 M. Marx, 'Ein Koran-Forschungsprojekt in der Tradition der Wissenschaft des Judentums. Zur Programmatik des Akademievorhabens des Corpus Coranicum', in Hartwig et al. (eds.), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte', Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung*, Würzburg, 2008, 41-54, pp. 46-7.

> The science of Judaism and its contribution to research on the Qur'an is a field of enormous importance. Jews, Christians and Muslims have the task of bringing God's truth into the world through our actions, i.e. to live in the truth. We must find this truth again and again – each for ourselves – in the confrontation between tradition and modernity.[64]

[64] W. Homolka, 'Das Erbe der Wissenschaft des Judentums im Religionsdialog heute', in Hartwig et al. (eds), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung*, Würzburg, 2008, 55-61, p. 61 (quotation trans. by Christian Wiese).

Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1800-1914

Austro-Hungarian Empire, German States and Switzerland

Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim

DATE OF BIRTH 2 April 1719
PLACE OF BIRTH Ermsleben (Germany)
DATE OF DEATH 17 February 1803
PLACE OF DEATH Halberstadt (Germany)

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Wilhelm Gleim was born in the small town of Ermsleben in the Principality of Halberstadt, then part of Prussia. His father, a tax collector, and his mother both died early. In 1738, he began to study law at the University of Halle, where he became friends with Johann Peter Uz (1720-96) and Johann Nikolaus Götz (1721-81), young students and poets who shared his interest in anacreontic poetry. After working briefly as a tutor in Potsdam and as secretary to the Prince of Brandenburg-Schwedt and the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, Gleim was appointed secretary of the cathedral chapter in Halberstadt in 1747. In 1757, he was also appointed canon of Walbeck Abbey. These posts allowed him to live in financial security.

As a poet, Gleim was made famous by his first collection of poems, *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern* ('Sampling of playful songs', 2 vols, 1744-5). These were modelled on the poetry of the Greek poet Anacreon; they celebrated love, wine and friendship, criticised the austerity of Pietism and orthodox Protestantism, and propagated ideals of sentimental virtue. Gleim continued to write anacreontic poetry even after it had been superseded by new poetic fashions and ideals, but he also experimented with other forms and genres. During the Seven Years' War, for instance, he published a collection of 'Prussian war songs' glorifying Frederick II (r. 1740-86) and Prussia.

On the German literary scene, Gleim was widely known not only for his poems, but also for the enthusiasm with which he cultivated friendships and the generosity with which he supported younger poets. In his later years, he was frequently referred to as 'Father Gleim' among German authors, and although many of his later writings were considered repetitious or dated, he continued to be widely respected.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Halladat oder Das rothe Buch
'Halladat or The red book'

DATE 1774
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Halladat oder Das rothe Buch is a volume of poetry in two sections that contain 15 and 16 poems, respectively. They are all written in blank verse, with their length varying between about 20 and 80 verses. Gleim published the volume himself, with no publishing house involved. Some of the copies had the words: *Zum Vorlesen in den Schulen* ('To be read out in schools') printed on the title page, and Gleim did indeed have some copies distributed to schools. This first edition (1774) comprises 93 pages.

The narrator of the poems presents himself as a *Seher Gottes* ('seer of God'). He recounts episodes from his own spiritual biography and instructs his audience about the nature of God and the godly life. He seems to be living in an eastern country whose name, however, is not given. One poem is set in a palm grove, another in a desert. But particularly suggestive of the Oriental character of the speaker and his surroundings is the use of words which – at least to German ears – have an Arabic 'ring' to them. Many of the poems contain narrative episodes, and the characters appearing in these stories have names such as 'Azadull' or 'Ebarit Abuladott'.

In addition, the speaker employs words such as 'Millot', 'Arrah', 'Bannadar' and 'Lißba' with explanatory notes informing readers that these names refer to a small beetle, a large eagle, a rock and a snail. The word 'Halladat' is mentioned in the ninth poem in the first section and, as a note explains, it signifies 'a red book in which the wise man writes down his best and freest thoughts, and which he hides until he finds a wise man to whom he may reveal everything' (p. 28). The words cannot easily be traced to any Eastern language, and Gleim in fact confirmed in his letters that he himself had invented them (cf. Krämer, 'J.W.L. Gleims *Halladat oder Das rothe Buch*', p. 84).

In addition to this 'orientalising' language, the style of the poems is characterised by a simple sentence structure and by many exclamations and repetitions. The use of such poetic devices may have been determined by Gleim's views about the nature of sacred poetry, a topic that was much debated by German Orientalists in the wake of Robert Lowth's *Praelectiones academicae de sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (1754; published in English as *Lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews*, 1787 and 1815). But Gleim probably also considered this particular style suitable for the school children who formed part of *Halladat*'s intended audience.

What makes this book relevant to the history of Christian-Muslim relations is not only, and not primarily, its form or content, but primarily its genesis. Gleim was a friend of Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (1720-1800), a court preacher in Quedlinburg, who in 1773 published a German translation of the Qur'an, the full title of which ran: *Der Koran, oder Das Gesetz für die Muselmänner, durch Muhammed den Sohn Abdall. Nebst einigen feyerlichen koranischen Gebeten unmittelbar aus dem Arabischen übersetzt* ('The Qur'an or, The law given to the Muslims by Muhammad the son of Abdul. Together with some solemn qur'anic prayers, translated directly from the Arabic', Halle, 1773; 2nd edition 1775). Their conversations about the Qur'an and its translation motivated Gleim to write the poems, which were

eventually published under the title *Halladat oder Das rothe Buch*. Boysen admitted to Gleim that he felt unable to convey the poetic qualities of the Qur'an, while Gleim argued that those parts of the Qur'an that are written in metric form should be translated in verse, and he wrote several poems in order to demonstrate what, in his view, such a verse translation might look like. When he sent these poems to Boysen, he referred to them as the 'suras of a new Qur'an'. These samples then grew into the *Halladat* volume.

Gleim's poems are also mentioned in Boysen's preface to his Qur'an translation. There, Boysen explains how his translation had inspired a friend of his, a distinguished poet, 'to imitate the Arab prophet' and write poems that his friend had called 'suras of a second Qur'an' (*Der Koran*, 1773, p. 12). He actually quotes two of them in the first edition (1773, pp. 11-12). He does not reproduce these 'imitations of the Muhammadan muse' in the second edition (1775), but says that their author would soon publish a whole 'collection of such excellent songs' (p. 11).

Gleim's interest in Boysen's translation of the Qur'an was not limited to questions of poetic style. In his letters to Boysen, he also expressed his views about Islam and Muḥammad, which seem to have been influenced by his conversations with both Boysen and the Orientalist Johann David Michaelis (1717-91). In the preface to his Qur'an translation, Boysen criticises traditional anti-Islamic stereotypes and prejudices, e.g. the idea that Muḥammad was a charlatan. Writing to Boysen, Gleim agreed with this positive view and even declared himself able to prove that Muḥammad was 'a great man who was loved by God' and who deserved praise for converting the greatest part of humankind from polytheism to belief in 'the one God' (unpublished letter to Boysen, 13 June 1773 – 'Gleimhaus' Halberstadt, Hs. A 4691).

Apart from being influenced by Boysen's Qur'an translation, however, Gleim had other ambitions and ideas that led him to write *Halladat*, and it is this latter fact which seems to account for the lack of concrete references to the Qur'an in the poems. Gleim outlined the various influences behind the genesis of the collection in a letter to Lessing from 1774. Here, he intimates that he 'had always wanted to write a Bible' ('Briefe von und an Lessing 1770-1776', pp. 620-1). The conversations he had with Boysen about 'divine Muḥammad' and with Lessing about 'divine Homer' apparently served to feed this ambition, as did his conversations with theologians about the concept of inspiration. Thus, after Gleim wrote his samples of new 'suras' in verse form for Boysen, he went on to write all the poems of *Halladat*. As Jan Loop has remarked, Gleim's letter to Lessing

> is a striking testimony to the relationship between the secular Romantic idea of an inspired original genius, and the theological concept of the divine inspiration of Sacred Scripture. For Gleim and his circle the boundaries between Bible, Qur'ān, Greek mythology and ingenious poetry have completely dissolved. […] In [Gleim's] view, the Old Testament prophets were interchangeable with the 'divine Muhammad' and 'divine Homer', and his initial project to write a 'new Bible' could therefore easily be changed into a project for a 'new Koran'. (Loop, 'Divine Poetry?', p. 486)

Gleim's inclination to regard the Old Testament prophets, Muḥammad and Homer as almost 'interchangeable' was probably also reinforced by his commitment to the concept of a natural religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

Gleim's *Halladat oder Das rothe Buch* was read and commented on by key writers of the later 18th century, most of whom knew him personally, and it was reviewed in major journals. However, it did not have any substantial impact on the development of German poetry, and there is also hardly any evidence to suggest that it had a significant influence on the perception of Islam among German readers. The reviewers, while differing with regard to the poetic and intellectual merits of the poems, agreed that the Oriental setting and the exotic names were basically a framing device, an unusual mode of presentation for religious and moral lessons that were mostly well known to German readers and that had nothing specifically Oriental or Muslim about them.

There was one prominent German poet and philosopher, however, who used the word 'Qur'an' when speaking of *Halladat*. In 1794, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) quoted a poem from the collection in his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* ('Letters for the advancement of humanity') and remarked that Gleim's volume contained 'leaves of humaneness [*Menschengüte*] from the real Qur'an' (see Krämer, 'J.W.L. Gleims *Halladat oder Das rothe Buch*', p. 98). However, Herder did not elaborate on how, in his view, the relationship between the Qur'an and Gleim's 'Qur'an' should be understood.

Even though the influence of *Halladat* seems to have been limited, this volume of didactic religious poetry in an 'orientalised' language is significant because it embodies a view of the Qur'an determined by ideas that were influential in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: the notion of the text as an example of sacred poetry, the general idea of an affinity between poetic and religious inspiration and the concept of a natural religion that in some way underlies or links the Christian and Muslim faiths.

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Olav Krämer

Georg Lorenz Bauer

DATE OF BIRTH 14 August 1755
PLACE OF BIRTH Hiltpoltstein, Bavaria
DATE OF DEATH 12 January 1806
PLACE OF DEATH Heidelberg

BIOGRAPHY

Georg Lorenz Bauer was born near Nuremberg to the Protestant pastor Georg Wolfgang Bauer and Margaretha Salome Drechsel. He was first educated by his father and at the school in his birthplace, then at St Lorenz Latin School in Nuremberg. In 1772, he enrolled at Altdorf University, where the Orientalist Johann Andreas Michael Nagel (1710-88) became his teacher. He left university in 1775 with a master's degree and became a tutor, morning preacher, teacher, and finally a deputy headmaster in Nuremberg. In 1789, he succeeded Nagel as professor of Oriental languages, rhetoric and morality at Altdorf University. He was appointed professor of Oriental literature and biblical exegesis at Heidelberg University in 1805, but died the following year.

Bauer was interested in Oriental languages, especially Arabic, from his student days. In his short (16-page) master's dissertation, entitled *Specimen observationum ad illustranda quaedam codicis sacri loca ex Alcorano potissimum collectarum* ('Specimen of observations to illustrate certain passages of the sacred text, chiefly collected from the Qur'an', Altdorf, 1775), he makes use of Arabic terms in the Qur'an to elucidate difficult Hebrew terms in the Old Testament, ignoring any scruples about the Qur'an arising from religious differences between Christians and Muslims as he recognises its potential to shed light on another text that derives from the same Semitic origins.

He also translated the 13th-century Syriac Orthodox theologian and bishop Gregory Barhebraeus' (Abū l-Faraj ibn al-ʿIbrī; see H. Teule, 'Barhebraeus', *CMR* 4, 588-609) *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal* ('A short history of dynasties') into German under the title *Des Gregorius Abulfaradsch kurze Geschichte der Dynastien* (2 vols, Leipzig, 1783-5). The English scholar

Edward Pococke (1604-91; see *CMR* 8, 445-58) had edited the Arabic text of this work with a Latin translation in 1663, but Bauer was the first to translate it into German.

Bauer's Arabic interests are displayed most fully in his *Was hielte Mohammed von der christlichen Religion und ihrem Stifter? Aus der Urkunde beantwortet* (1782), in which he examines the teachings about Jesus Christ and Christianity in the Qur'an.

Relating to his study of Arabic texts, Bauer's approach to the Bible was decidedly historical. He was the first to use the term 'historical-critical', which appeared in the book title *Entwurf einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testaments* (1801).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Was hielte Mohammed von der christlichen Religion und ihrem Stifter? 'What did Muḥammad think of the Christian religion and its founder?'

DATE 1782
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Bauer's *Was hielte Mohammed von der christlichen Religion und ihrem Stifter? Aus der Urkunde beantwortet* ('What did Muḥammad think of the Christian religion and its founder? Answered from the record') is a relatively short study of 94 pages. In the introduction (pp. 3-21), he states that the Qur'an will be the foundation of his investigation (pp. 6-7), which consists of approximately 100 longer and shorter passages from the Qur'an in his own translation (p. 7).

The first section is devoted to Jesus in the Qur'an (pp. 21-43) and deals with his birth, his personality, his teaching, his purported foretelling of Muḥammad, his life and death, and his return at the end of time. The second section covers the Bible and its alleged falsification (pp. 44-51), and the third presents doctrinal similarities between Christianity and Islam (pp. 52-82), including God and His providence, the creation of humankind and the world, the fall of humanity, angels and the devil, repentance, resurrection, the last judgement, eternal life and hell. The fourth section examines the portrayal of Christians in the Qur'an (pp. 82-91).

Throughout, Bauer assumes that the Qur'an has taken up traditions from the Old Testament, New Testament and Christian apocryphal writings. He also recognises influence on the qur'anic portrayal of Jesus as word and

spirit of God (Q 4:171) from the Photinians, a Christian group that taught adoptionism. As a final thought, following J.C. Döderlein (*Fragmente und Antifragmente*, 1778-9), he expresses the view that belief in Islam can lead on to Christianity, although he acknowledges the prejudices of contemporary Muslims against Christians.

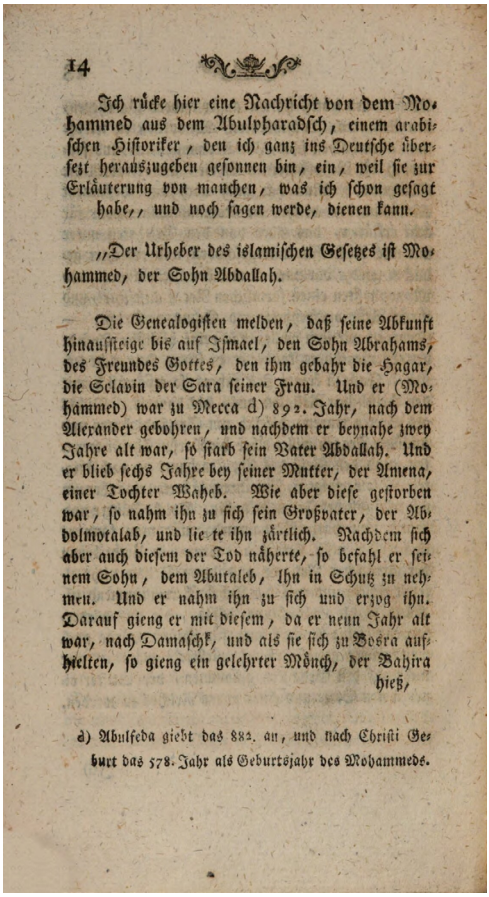
Bauer includes references to his two earlier works on Islam. For Talmudic traditions in the Qur'an he refers to his master's dissertation of 1775, and he takes the life story of Muḥammad (pp. 14-21) from his translation of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-'Ibrī's world history, which he published shortly after this work in 1783 and 1785.

In his discussion of the Qur'an, Bauer shows that he is familiar with contemporary and older Christian studies of the text. For example, he uses the 1698 edition by Ludovico Marracci (p. 7) and says that every theologian of his time should read the 1773 German translation by Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (p. 5, although he makes his own translation). Among Muslim scholars, he mentions the two Qur'an interpreters Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (c. 1389-1460) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (c. 1445-1505; p. 11, on Q 25:4), the historian Abū l-Fidā' (1273-1331; pp. 14 and 17, on the life of Muḥammad) and the theologian al-Ghazālī (1058-1111; p. 77, on Q 75:22-3), though he did not have many editions of their works at his disposal and so he had to rely on secondary sources. He also refers to the apocryphal Arabic Infancy Gospel (pp. 25 and 37, on Q 3:46), which had been edited by Heinrich Sike (*Evangelium infantiae*, Utrecht, 1697).

As a Protestant theologian, Bauer emphasises the primacy of Christianity throughout; for him, no other religion can equal it. Nevertheless, he defends Islam against unjustified criticism and sees it as a reasonable religion that does not deserve the contempt that Christians have for it (pp. 3-4). Some ideas in Islam also have parallels in Christianity, so Christians should not look down on it (pp. 91-2, cf. p. 3). In attempting to make Islam accessible and at the same time taking a mostly non-polemical approach towards it his work resembles testimonies from other Protestant scholars of his time such as Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (*Der Koran*, Halle, 1773; 1775^2), Wilhelm Haller (*Mochammads Lehre*, Altenburg, 1779), and Johann David Michaelis (*Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, vol. 8, Frankfurt, 1775, pp. 30-98).

SIGNIFICANCE

Bauer's motivation to write about Muḥammad and the Qur'an arose from his general interest in the East and especially the Ottoman Empire with its varied population (pp. 3-5, 92-3). Although his intended audience



14

Ich rücke hier eine Nachricht von dem Mohammed aus dem Abulpharadsch, einem arabischen Historiker, den ich ganz ins Deutsche übersezt herauszugeben gesonnen bin, ein, weil sie zur Erläuterung von manchen, was ich schon gesagt habe,, und noch sagen werde, dienen kann.

„Der Urheber des islamischen Gesetzes ist Mohammed, der Sohn Abdallah.

Die Genealogisten melden, daß seine Abkunft hinaufsteige bis auf Ismael, den Sohn Abrahams, des Freundes Gottes, den ihm gebahr die Hagar, die Sclavin der Sara seiner Frau. Und er (Mohammed) war zu Mecca d) 892. Jahr, nach dem Alexander gebohren, und nachdem er beynahe zwey Jahre alt war, so starb sein Vater Abdallah. Und er blieb sechs Jahre bey seiner Mutter, der Amena, einer Tochter Waheb. Wie aber diese gestorben war, so nahm ihn zu sich sein Großvater, der Abdolmotalab, und lie te ihn zärtlich. Nachdem sich aber auch diesem der Tod näherte, so befahl er seinem Sohn, dem Abutaleb, Ihn in Schutz zu nehmen. Und er nahm ihn zu sich und erzog ihn. Darauf gieng er mit diesem, da er neun Jahr alt war, nach Damaschk, und als sie sich zu Bosra aufhielten, so gieng ein gelehrter Mönch, der Bahira hieß,

d) Abulfeda giebt das 882. an, und nach Christi Geburt das 578. Jahr als Geburtsjahr des Mohammeds.

Illustration 2. A quotation from the medieval Muslim historian Abū l-Fidāʾ in Bauer's biography of the Prophet Muḥammad

consisted of a wide circle of educated readers, in particular parish priests and students of theology (as can be concluded from the introduction pp. 3-7), *Was hielte Mohammed* did not attract much attention, despite being mentioned in the relevant journals and bibliographies.

Bauer's work has received little attention in modern times. Only Martin Bauschke (*Jesus*, pp. 214-16) discusses its importance, emphasising Bauer's historical approach in appreciating that the Qur'an is dependent on Christian and Jewish sources. Bauer's conclusion that Muḥammad knew these traditions from hearsay (p. 10) still remains plausible today.

PUBLICATIONS

G.L. Bauer, *Was hielte Mohammed von der christlichen Religion und ihrem Stifter? Aus der Urkunde beantwortet*, Nuremberg, 1782; bsb10772253 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

STUDIES

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* 20/3 (2018) 175-92

M. Bauschke, *Jesus – Stein des Anstoßes. Die Christologie des Korans und die deutschsprachige Theologie*, Cologne, 2000, pp. 214-34

Martin Mulzer

Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti

DATE OF BIRTH 27 October 1771
PLACE OF BIRTH Eschenberga, present-day Eschenbergen
DATE OF DEATH 28 April 1841
PLACE OF DEATH Koblenz

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti was the son of Pastor Ernst Friedrich Anton Augusti (1738-1827) and grandson of Rabbi Josua Abraham ben Eschel (1691-1782), who had converted to Christianity in 1722 (with the new name Friedrich Albrecht Augusti). Johann Augusti studied Protestant theology at the universities of Jena and Leipzig, and was appointed extraordinary professor of philosophy (1800) and full professor of Oriental languages (1803) in Jena (Hamilton, 'Lutheran Islamophiles', pp. 339-40). He was probably the first full professor at a German university who had Jewish ancestors.

As a student of Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745-1812), Augusti committed himself to the free and critical study of the Bible. He was also influenced by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). His studies on Islam, and especially on the Qur'an, belong to the early phase of his academic career. They are to be placed in the field of oriental philology and biblical studies, but nevertheless deserve separate consideration. He provided a translation of selected suras of the Qur'an, with introductory explanations for interested lay readers. *Der kleine Koran* ('The Little Qur'an') was published in 1798. He received his doctorate in 1799 for his comparative study entitled *Christologiae Coranicae lineamente*. One year later this treatise was published in German as *Die Christologie des Koran's in Vergleichung des neuen Testaments und der christlichen Kirche* ('The Christology of the Qur'an compared with the New Testament and the Christian Church', 1800). Among further contributions is the article 'Über den angeblich unbekannt gebliebenen Vertrag zwischen Muhammed und den Christen aller Sekten' ('About the allegedly unknown pact between Muḥammad and Christians of all sects', 1801). In *Memorabilien des Orients* ('Memorabilia of the East', 1802), he collected various translations by Carl Wilhelm von Ludolf, Thomas Chabert and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and contributed some translations himself, not only from Arabic but also pieces from

the Persian poet Ferdowsi and the Book of Ruth in verse from Hebrew. Not least among his works, his *Habilitation* dissertation (written in order to obtain a full professorship) in 1803 was a very remarkable attempt to defend the Qur'an against polemical attacks by his contemporaries. The treatise, in Latin, bears the title *Vindiciarum Coranicarum periculum*.

During his academic career, Augusti worked in the field of historical-critical Bible exegesis and originated a series of publications: *Exegetisches Handbuch des Alten Testaments* ('Exegetical guide to the Old Testament', Leipzig, 1797-1800, together with J.G.C. Höpfner); *Grundriß einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung ins Alte Testament* ('Outline of a historical-critical introduction to the Old Testament', Leipzig, 1806); an edition of the Old Testament Apocrypha, *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi textum graecum* (Leipzig, 1804); and, together with W.M.L. de Wette, a new translation of the Bible: *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments* ('The Scriptures of the Old Testament', Heidelberg, 1809-11) and *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* ('The Scriptures of the New Testament', Heidelberg, 1814). It should be emphasised that he very much regretted that Christian exegetes of the Old and New Testament were hardly able or did not consider it necessary to study the Talmud and the rabbinical commentators. Therefore, he advocated the translation and a new edition of the Pentateuch commentary by Rashi, considered one of the most famous Jewish Bible and Talmud commentators of the Middle Ages (*Rabbi Salomo Jarchi's ausführlicher Commentar über den Pentateuch. Aus dem Original-Texte zuerst in's Deutsche übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen von L. Haymann. Mit einer Vorrede des Herrn Ober-Consistorialrath's Prof. Dr. Augusti*, Bonn, 1833, [Foreword by Augusti, vol. 1, V-XVIII, pp. XI-XVI]).

In the period 1807-12, Augusti was also an honorary professor of theology. In 1808, he received a doctorate in theology from the University of Rinteln. As professor of Protestant theology, he followed the principles of the Lutheran Church (Lipps, *Dogmengeschichte als Dogmenkritik*, pp. 163-212). He went to the new Silesian Friedrich-Wilhelm-University in Breslau in 1812 and became the rector (1812-14). In 1819, he moved to the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Bonn as professor of theology and as rector for a while (1818-19 and 1823-4). By this time, he was widely acknowledged not only as a theologian and biblical scholar, but also as a founder of Christian archaeology (see *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie* ['Memorabilia from Christian archaeology'], Leipzig, 1817-31, and *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* ['Guide to Christian archaeology'], Leipzig, 1836-7). He was also able to follow an ecclesiastical career and was first appointed as Oberkonsistorialrat and in 1835 as Konsistorialdirektor in Koblenz. He died there in 1841.

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K. Heussi, *Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät zu Jena*, Weimar, 1954, pp. 218-19

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Der kleine Koran
'The little Qur'an'

DATE 1798
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Der kleine Koran, comprising 339 pages, was published in 1798 (its title in full is *Der kleine Koran oder Uebersetzung der wichtigsten und lehrreichsten*

Stücke des Koran's mit kurzen Anmerkungen: Zur richtigern Kenntniß und Beurtheilung der von Muhamed gestifteten Religion, 'The little Qur'an, or a translation of the most important and informative segments of the Qur'an with brief comments: for a (more) accurate understanding and assessment of the religion founded by Muḥammad'). Dedicated to one of Augusti's closest friends, the classical scholar and theologian Johann Georg Christian Höpfner, one of its aims, as Augusti says, was to promote a more precise knowledge of the Muḥammadan religion, especially among those readers who either lacked this knowledge completely or who were only incompletely acquainted with it and not from the Qur'an itself. The second aim was to offer an entertaining book, especially to friends of antiquity and of eastern poetry in particular. When he was selecting the suras to be included, Augusti bore in mind that the many different religious aspects that characterise the Qur'an should be taken into account, and in such a way that a summary of the teachings of Islam could be combined with the most beautiful passages in the Qur'an. He speaks of the Qur'an as a 'lovely garden' with the 'undetected scent of various beautiful flowers' (*Der kleine Koran*, pp. 5-6; Hamilton, 'Lutheran Islamophiles', p. 341). Augusti used the Arabic-Latin edition of the Qur'an by Ludovico Marracci, as well as the translations by George Sale and Friedrich Boysen (Marracci, *Alcorani Textus Universus*, 1698; Sale, *The Koran*, 1734; Boysen, *Der Koran*, 1775), though his own 'translation was the first to be entirely in verse' (Hamilton, 'To rescue the honour', p. 205). He opted for a metric translation in iambic pentameter, one of the most common forms used in German poetry at this time. Augusti was convinced that Muḥammad would have preferred this form if he had been living in the 18th century.

In the first part of the introduction (pp. 13-47), Augusti offers a short outline of the life of Muḥammad based almost entirely on Jean Gagnier's edition of Abū l-Fidā''s (1273-1331) *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-bashar* rather than on Gagnier's own biography of the Prophet. All things considered, he presents a respectful representation of Muḥammad's life based on Islamic accounts. His notes to the text are not only full of approving remarks, but also emphasise points in common with the New Testament (Hamilton, 'Lutheran Islamophiles', p. 341). At first, Muḥammad remained silent about the revelations he was receiving though he gradually shared them, first with his wife Khadīja, then with Waraqa (who was probably a Christian) and then with ʿAlī, ʿUthmān and Abū Bakr (p. 24). Later, when he wanted to make his message public, he organised a banquet to which he invited mainly people from his family, though nearly all of them declined to come (a clear allusion to Jesus's parable of the wedding banquet

in Matthew 22:1-14). Only ʿAlī heeded Muḥammad and converted (Ismael Abu'l-Feda, *De vita et rebus gestis Mohammedis*, ed. J. Gagnier, 1723, p. 17, reflecting Shīʿī traditions of the Prophet's life).

Augusti demonstrates extensive correspondences between early Islam and Eastern Christianity. For example, he emphasises that the great Christian rulers in Byzantium, as well as the princes of Ethiopia and Abyssinia, sympathised with Islam, and that they would have converted were it not for political or strategic reasons. Further, the tolerant behaviour of early Muslim rulers caused many Christians in the conquered territories to convert to Islam.

In the second part (pp. 47-54), Augusti sets out the teachings of Islam and explains why the faith spread so quickly, employing polemical arguments from earlier times that emphasise the comparative simplicity of Islamic doctrine, practice and ethics. He combines this with a criticism of the Eastern Churches, which he says had lost their spirit at this time. Muḥammad was not introducing anything new but was restoring the original pure religion of the biblical patriarchs, which included worship of a single supreme indivisible Being. Augusti also explains Muslim religious duties and beliefs, which he supports with references to the Qur'an.

In the third part (pp. 55-62), Augusti speaks about the structure, nature and contents of the Qur'an. He gives a rational explanation for its origin based on historical-critical principles, just as he would for the Bible.

The main part of the book (pp. 63-262) comprises a metrical translation of the following passages from the Qur'an: 1; 2; 6:1-84; 13; 29:42-70; 30; 31:13-35; 52; 53; 55; 78; 81; 82; 84; 96; 97; 102; 109; 112; 113; 114, with prose translations of Q 3, 12 and 15 in an appendix (pp. 263-339). Augusti adds comments on the passages and explanations of them, and also refers to similar passages and to Muslim commentaries. All in all, it can be said that, at the beginning of the 19th century, very few German translators of the Qur'an praised Islam in such an enthusiastic way (Hamilton, 'Lutheran Islamophiles', p. 341).

SIGNIFICANCE

Augusti's partial translation of the Qur'an was the first German translation entirely in verse. In attempting it, he was signalling the position he occupied in theological and linguistic discussions about the correct handling of Islamic revelation. Like F.E. Boysen and J.W.L. Gleim, he was treating the 'poet-prophet' Muḥammad in the same way as the biblical prophets, under the category of 'divine', and was raising the Qur'an to the same level as the Bible. At the same time, he was rejecting opinions that denigrated

the Qur'an as a flat, silly or absurd book, explaining to readers the particular difficulties he encountered as a translator and emphasising the high esteem in which the Qur'an was held in Muslim communities.

After its first appearance, *Der kleine Koran* was not republished. This is probably due, on the one hand, to the fact that after 1803 Augusti did not continue to specialise in Islamic studies and, on the other, to the existence of complete German translations of the Qur'an by other scholars, particularly the rhymed translation of Friedrich Rückert (1814-66).

Augusti's translation deserves to be regarded as a praiseworthy attempt to translate the Qur'an into iambic pentameters and thus adapt it to the tastes of his own time.

PUBLICATIONS

J.C.W. Augusti, *Der kleine Koran oder Uebersetzung der wichtigsten und lehrreichsten Stücke des Koran's mit kurzen Anmerkungen: Zur richtigern Kenntniß und Beurtheilung der von Muhamed gestifteten Religion*, Weissenfels and Leipzig, 1798; lf-43 (digitised version available through Wolfenbütteler Digitale Bibliothek)

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A. Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans". Qur'ān 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* 89/4 (2009) 455-88

Die Christologie des Koran's in Vergleichung des neuen Testaments und der christlichen Kirche
'The Christology of the Qur'an compared with the New Testament and the Christian Church'

DATE 1800

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German, with some Latin

DESCRIPTION

Die Christologie des Koran's is headed by the motto from the poet Ovid: *Fas est et ab hoste doceri* ('Learning even from an enemy is right'), although

the text itself does not contain any polemical sections or hint at such attitudes. The treatise is based on Augusti's Latin dissertation *Christologiae Coranicae lineamente* from 1799, though he completely rearranged the material for this publication (p. 160). It comprises 48 pages in the German printed version included in *Apologien und Parallelen theologischen Inhalt's*, published in Leipzig in 1800. Since there were no Arabic characters available for typesetting, Arabic words were set in Hebrew characters. For quotations from the Qur'an, Augusti used the Arabic-Latin edition of Lodovico Marracci.

The treatise is divided into nine sections, the first two introductory and the other seven following particular themes: Introduction (pp. 158-60); From what sources did Muḥammad draw his knowledge of Christ? (pp. 160-7); 1. Names of Jesus (pp. 167-9); 2. Attributes of Jesus (pp. 169-76); 3. Nature and characteristics of Jesus (pp. 177-86); 4. History of the birth of Jesus (pp. 188-96); 5. Miracles of Jesus (pp. 197-201); 6. Jesus's prophecies (pp. 201-4); 7. Muḥammad's judgement on the value of Christianity and Christians (pp. 204-6).

In this study, Augusti does not want so much to understand the Qur'an better as to gain a better understanding of the New Testament traditions. Following Johann David Michaelis's (1717-91) *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes* ('Introduction to the divine writings of the New Covenant', Göttingen, third edition 1788), he accepts that the apocryphal Gospels of Jesus's childhood are mainly related to the canonical Gospel of Luke. He emphasises that he not only regards Muḥammad as an important witness to the New Testament traditions, but also that he puts Muḥammad and Jesus on the same level since both were human beings who founded religions (p. 159). As the author of a work that contains details about the development of Christology and the history of doctrine, Muḥammad is on a par with the Church Fathers. Augusti studied the apocryphal childhood Gospels according to the *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* edited by J.A. Fabricius (1668-1736), with particular emphasis on the *Evangelium de nativitate Mariae et Evangelium infantiae Iesu*. He mentions the following Christian groups as the bearers of these apocryphal traditions: Collyridians (venerators of Mary), Jacobites, Melkites and Nestorians. He finds it important to stress that the heretical nature of these Christologies should not offend the reader (p. 166).

He lists the most important passages in the Qur'an on Christology as follows: Q 2:87; 2:254; 3:45-8; 4:155-8; 4:169-170; 5:81-125; 19:1-23; 23:52; 61:6. He explains them in the individual sections of the work.

SIGNIFICANCE

Augusti's study of the Christology of the Qur'an follows both the intellectual principles and the methods of biblical criticism of the late Enlightenment. He avoids any polemics against Islam or accusations of heresy and he is not interested in a better understanding of the Qur'an itself. He is much more interested in the development of Christian doctrine in the period following the establishment of the canon of the New Testament.

Augusti's works on Islam were written in conditions of far-reaching religious freedom, especially in the Duchies of Gotha and Weimar (a few years later Johann Wolfgang Goethe [1749-1832] was able to promote Oriental studies in Jena and wrote the *West-östlicher Divan* there). In this work on the Qur'an and Christology, as well as in later theological works and in his edited journals, it can be seen how Augusti was able to initiate discussions on topics connected with Islam and to motivate readers to exchange ideas about them (Straßberger, 'Die späte Aufklärung').

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

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'Über den angeblich unbekannt gebliebenen Vertrag zwischen Muhammed und den Christen aller Sekten'
'On the allegedly unknown pact between Muḥammad and Christians of all sects'

DATE 1801
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Augusti published this short ten-page article in the journal *Minerva* in 1801. It was a response to an article entitled 'Unbekannt gebliebener Vertrag zwischen Mahomet und den Christen aller Secten' ('Unknown pact between Mahomet and Christians of all sects') by J.W. von Archenholz, the editor of the journal, which had appeared in the previous issue (36 [1800] 297-312). Against Archenholz, Augusti questions the authenticity of the so-called pact issued by Muḥammad to regulate relations between Muslims and Christians (*Al-ʿahd wa-l-shurūṭ allatī sharaṭahā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh li-ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*), known in its Latin translation as *Testamentum et pactiones initiæ inter Mohamedem et Christianæ fidei cultores* (The covenant and treaties instituted between Muḥammad and the followers of the Christian faith'; see *CMR* 9, 738-42, and also *CMR* 8, 610-17). The pact itself had already attracted much attention because of the French translation which had been published, together with the Arabic text and a history of its transmission and discovery, by the Parisian librarian Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre de Villebrune under the title *Pacte fait entre Mahomet, et les Chrétiens de toutes les sectes, par lequel il leur accorde la liberté de leur culte et maintient leurs accorde la liberté de leur culte, et maintient leurs propriétés et leurs hiérarchies* (Paris, 1797).

Having Villebrune's publication to hand, Augusti was able to study the Arabic text directly. He also used the editions by Gabriel Sionita from 1630 and Johann Georg Nissel from 1655, though he did not have access to the edition by Abraham Hinckelmann (1690).

Villebrune clearly took the side of those who believed the pact was authentic, though in his article Augusti suspects that there were political intentions behind this partisanship that had to be understood in connection with Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1798-1801). Augusti draws attention (p. 346) to the fact that a high-ranking French general, who was a convert to Islam, Abdullah Jacques-François de Boussay, Baron de Menou (d. 1810), had an interest in the pact because of the advantages it accorded

to Christians and the precedent it set for Muslim treatment of them. At the same time, Augusti says he wishes to enlighten his readers as to why this text cannot by any means be authentic. He tries to present his arguments in such a way that his readers can agree with them.

He first makes clear that it would have been possible, both in terms of the contents and language of the text, for Muḥammad to have formulated a pact of this kind, that Muḥammad had good relations with Christians at this time, and that the pact bears similarities to the style, formulas and expressions in the Qur'an. But then he argues that there are weighty considerations against its authenticity, among them that Christians are the only ones who benefit from the pact, which gives them and their possessions numerous protections and allows them to practise their religion with complete freedom, exempting them from high taxes and from participation in war, and that Muslims must bear all burdens alone, both their own and those of the Christians. He continues that, politically, such a treaty with its many inequalities could not have been implemented while, historically, it does not fit into the fourth year of the *hijra*, when the Battle of Uḥud took place and there would have been no occasion for such laws.

Augusti sees it as important to make readers understand for themselves that this text was much later than the time in which it appears to have been written, and that whoever produced it connected it with Muḥammad in order to give it legitimacy.

SIGNIFICANCE

Augusti's response and von Archenholz's article itself shed light on a reception of the so-called pact of Muḥammad with Christians that has so far received little attention. By means of the two journal pieces, the dispute over the authenticity of the Arabic text was aired in German, and the arguments set out enabled readers to consider the points of contention for themselves. Augusti was also able to make a plausible case for the renewal of the debate about the authenticity of the pact as being most likely due to political instrumentalisation in the context of Napoleon's campaign in Egypt. His arguments do not appear to have received any response.

PUBLICATIONS

J.C.W. Augusti, Über den angeblich unbekannt gebliebenen Vertrag zwischen Muhammed und den Christen aller Sekten', *Minerva. Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts* 37/1 (1801) 336-47; ZDB: 532310-1 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Memorabilien des Orients
'Memorabilia of the East'

DATE 1802
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Memorabilien des Orients, published by Augusti in 1802, is a collection of literary texts translated by a number of authors from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hebrew. In addition to the preface (pp. I-XIV), it comprises 168 pages.

The contributions were originally intended for an 'Oriental almanac', though this had not materialised. Augusti took responsibility for the new publication, gave it a new title and wrote the preface as well as contributing his own translations (p. IV). In the preface he states that it is his great concern to make the 'treasures of Oriental literature' accessible to the public, who should be able to read them through translation and publication (p. V). He feels obliged to do this in the same way that William Ouseley (1767-1842) had already published *The Oriental collections* in England between 1797 and 1800, because it can be assumed that there is an increased interest in this kind of literature throughout Europe. Finally, Augusti welcomes the *Asiatisches Magazin* ('Asian Magazine'), which Julius Klaproth (1783-1835) announced he was to publish. This appeared in two volumes in 1802 but it was not continued, just as Augusti's *Memorabilia* remained a single publication.

Memorabilien des Orients is divided into 12 parts, as follows: 1. *Bruchstück aus dem Schach-Nameh, oder den Annalen der Könige des persischen Dichters Ferdusi* ('Fragment from the Shahnameh, or the *Annals of the kings* of the Persian poet Ferdowsi', pp. 3-17), by Count Carl Wilhelm von Ludolf; 2. *Erbauung der Caba in Mecca. Aus dem arabischen Manuscripte: El aalamu bi yilami beledullahil harami, oder Geschichte der heiligen Stadt Gottes von Mewlana Kutbul millet weddin el Hanefi* ('Construction of the Kaʿba in Mecca. From the Arabic manuscript, *El aalamu bi yilami beledullahil harami*, or *History of the holy city of God*', pp. 18-31), by Thomas Chabert; 3. *Arabische Sprüche* ('Arabic sayings', pp. 32-4), by Thomas Chabert; 4. *Bruchstücke aus dem Beharistan des Molla Dschami* ('Fragments from the *Bahāristān* of Molla Djāmī', pp. 35-44), by Thomas Chabert; 5. *Einige Disticha aus dem Hafys, Saadi und andern Persischen Dichtern* ('Some

couplets from Hafez, Saadi and other Persian poets', pp. 45-8); 6. *Aus dem Türkischen* ('From the Turkish', pp. 49-58) by Thomas Chabert: 'Letter of the Khojah Sadeddin to the commander of the Ottoman army Saturdschi Mehmed Pasha [...]', and 'About marriage and women' (from the *Humajuname*, or *Fables of Bidpai*); 7. *Drei Oden des persischen Dichters Hafys* ('Three odes by the Persian poet Hafiz', pp. 59-65), by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall; 8. *Ruth, ein Familien-Gemälde* ('Ruth, a family painting', from the Hebrew, pp. 65-96) by J.C.W. Augusti; 9. *Firdusi's Spottgesang an Schach-Mahmud* ('Ferdowsi's satirical song to Shah Mahmud', pp. 97-102), by J.C.W. Augusti; 10. *Arabische Worte in der teutschen Sprache* ('Arabic words in the German language', pp. 103-30), by J.C.W. Augusti; 11. *Olām habō, oder das goldene Zeitalter der Hebräer* ('Olām habō, or the golden age of the Hebrews', pp. 131-60), by J.C.W. Augusti; 12. *Arabic Miszellen* ('Arabic miscellany', pp. 161-8), by J.C.W. Augusti.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is a reader for those who were not proficient in Eastern languages. Once again, Augusti shows how important it had become at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries to make the ever-increasing body of knowledge accessible to an educated, essentially Christian readership. As well as opening to them poems and literary works from the East, he introduces religious material from the history of the Islamic world. He also defends the practice of translating from Hebrew in verse just as he had translated the Qur'an in 1797, because, in his view, the Bible and the Qur'an come closer to each other in terms of their aesthetic dimensions as poetry.

As might be expected, Augusti found readers who were interested in *Memorabilien*. Among them was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who included it in the library he built up while he was working on the *West-östlicher Divan* and made use of it there (A. Bosse, *'Meine Schatzkammer füllt sich täglich ...', die Nachlaßstücke zu Goethes 'West-östlichem Divan'*, *Dokumentation – Kommentar*, vol. 1, Göttingen, 1999, pp. 170, 273, 279-80).

PUBLICATIONS

J.C.W. Augusti (ed.), *Memorabilien des Orients*, Jena, 1802; BV001360145 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Vindiciarum Coranicarum periculum
'An endeavour to defend the Qur'an'

DATE 1803
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The Latin treatise *Vindiciarum Coranicarum periculum* (also partly in Arabic, Greek and Hebrew), published in 1803, is Augusti's philosophical dissertation *pro loco*, written in order to progress to full status as professor of Oriental languages. In it, he counters contemporary polemical positions on the relationship between Islam and Christianity, continuing the investigations he started with the *Der kleine Koran* and *Die Christologie des Koran's*, though here he deepens and expands his arguments. The study, which is 56 pages long, is divided into three parts: 1. *De fide Corani historica* (pp. 1-15); 2. *De* mansūḫ *et* nāsiḫ *sive de abrogato et abrogante* (pp. 16-42); 3. *De principio morali in Corano proposito* (pp. 43-56). Arabic quotations are taken from Abraham Hinckelmann's 1694 edition of the Qur'an, in some instances compared with Lodovico Marracci's 1698 edition.

In the first part of the treatise, Augusti follows the Dutch Orientalist Adrian Reland in his *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (1705) in adducing arguments against the long history of Christian polemical portrayals of Muḥammad as a fraud, with Filippo Guadagnoli, Lodovico Marracci, Johannes Hoornbeeck, Abraham Hinckelmann and a certain Hartmann particularly in mind (p. 2-3). Following a new approach, he argues as follows (pp. 8-10): Muḥammad did not directly follow the Old and New Testaments but rather a wider tradition of post-biblical writings as well as Arab writers and traditions (as shown, for example, in references to prophets such as Hūd and Ṣāliḥ, and the tribe of Thamūd, who do not appear at all in Jewish traditions). So, if there are discrepancies between the Qur'an and the Bible, it does not follow that Muḥammad should be accused of deliberate falsification because he was not at all interested in reproducing the biblical texts exactly, but rather in taking up stories and examples that would help him to proclaim his own 'core message'. His sermons, which form the Qur'an, reflect this intention (pp. 11-13; see the review by Gabler, p. 436).

The second part is devoted to the more recent attacks on the Qur'an made by the pugnacious English natural scientist and Calvinist theologian Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) in his *Discourses relating to the evidences of*

revealed religion (1799). In the third volume, the fifth *Discourse* is devoted to a comparison between Islam and Christianity. It had been translated into German by J.W.H. Ziegenbein as 'Priestley's Abhandlung von den Grundsätzen und Beweisen des Mohammedanismus in Vergleichung mit denen des Christenthums' and published in the *Brittischen Magazin für Prediger* in 1801. Priestley highlights many of the changes in the revelations that Muḥammad received over time. The examples he gives, which had already been compiled by George Sale as well as Lodovico Marracci (p. 22), help him to discredit both the Prophet and his revelation. To refute this, Augusti explains in detail the Islamic principle of abrogation (*De* mansūḫ *et* nāsiḫ *sive de abrogato et abrogante*, pp. 16-42). He also focuses on the passages in the Qur'an that are usually understood to contradict one other, beginning with verses that more or less confirm that this did take place: Q 2:106 (100), that God causes verses to be forgotten and substituted; Q 13:39 (38-9), that God deletes and confirms verses; and Q 22:52 (51), that Satan confuses the Prophet's intentions and God corrects them. He argues that this process involves later regulations abrogating earlier ones and adds that it is also found in the New Testament. Most importantly, he shows that these changes relate to practices, customs or ceremonies but not to doctrines (p. 25-6). They include, for instance, changing the direction of prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca, rules of fasting and pilgrimage (pp. 26-8), and drinking wine or playing games (pp. 29-30). He also discusses different positions regarding the eternal happiness of Jews and Christians (p. 30-2).

After examining a great many examples, Augusti sums up that there is no case in which a reasonable law was replaced by an unreasonable one: reason always prevails in the Qur'an. This corresponds to the principle of *perfectibility* (p. 39), which is an anthropological concept and an ideal of the Enlightenment. Rousseau's notion of *perfectibility* has often been understood as the ability by which humanity can gradually 'perfect' itself. Here, Augusti shows that Muḥammad, as though he were a champion of the Enlightenment, succeeded in improving and perfecting the rules of his faith by abrogation.

In his *Discourse*, Priestley compares the moral conduct of Muḥammad with that of Jesus, treating Muḥammad as the negative counterpart to Jesus. In a response to this, in the third section of his *Periculum* Augusti examines the moral teachings of the Qur'an, asking whether they conform to reason. This draws in a discussion of Immanuel Berger's *Ueber die Moral des Korans und ihr Verhältniß zu der Sittenlehre des Christentums* ('On the morality of the Qur'an and its relationship to the moral doctrine

of Christianity'), published in 1799. Although Berger attributes merits to Muslims, he assesses Christian morality as superior and asserts that the Qur'an should be described as gross eudaemonism (virtuous living aimed at the attainment of happiness for the individual) and egoism (p. 45-7). Augusti denies this. He shows that Islam is based on the principle of devotion to God, which is a fundamental religious principle just as in Christianity (p. 47-9). Both Muslims and Christians strive to act according to the will of God, and so we cannot assume that there is a contrast between them, as Berger and Priestley do. He further argues that the promises of paradise may have attracted Muslims at one time, but they should not be understood in a sensualist way but rather symbolically (p. 49-51) because Muḥammad was more of a mystic than a rough sensualist (p. 51-2). Furthermore, the explanations show that it is worth reading the Qur'an with Kant and asking questions about morality (pp. 52-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

Augusti's concern was to bring Islam and Christianity into a close relationship and to develop a positive, appreciative and enlightened view of Islam; this can be found throughout his writings. Thanks to his example, it can be seen that this was possible around 1800 within the framework of Protestant theology. After centuries of polemics, he pleads for Muḥammad and Islam to be acquitted.

PUBLICATIONS

J.C.W. Augusti, *Vindiciarum Coranicarum periculum*, Jena, 1803

STUDIES

J.P. Gabler, 'Vindiciarum Coranicarum periculum', *Journal für auserlesene theologische Literatur* 1/2 (1804) 433-40 (review)

Catherina Wenzel

Václav Matěj Kramerius

DATE OF BIRTH 9 February 1753
PLACE OF BIRTH Klatovy, south-west Bohemia
DATE OF DEATH 22 March 1808
PLACE OF DEATH Prague

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Klatovy, in south-west Bohemia, Václav Kramerius was educated at a Jesuit *Gymnasium* in his native town and went on to study philosophy at the University of Prague. After graduation, he worked as a librarian, a proof-reader and a teacher of the Czech language. In 1786, he started to cooperate with Johann Ferdinand Schönfeld (1750-1821), who published the first regular newspaper in Czech. He married Schönfeld's daughter and began his own – rather successful, even though not always profitable – Czech newspaper three years later. In this period, he became a crucial figure in a slowly expanding network of authors writing in Czech (Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius* [*sic*], pp. 219-20). He founded the so-called Česká Expedyce ('Czech Expedition') in 1790, a publishing house and a bookshop combined, situated in Prague Old Town. It distributed his newspaper and his translations, as well as original books by Czech authors from all over Bohemia and part of Moravia. Although nationalist historians have stressed that Kramerius was selflessly fulfilling his 'patriotic duties', the production and dissemination of Czech literature was primarily a business (see also Storchova, 'Die Ägypter wussten', pp. 158-61; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 30).

At the beginning of his career in 1784, Kramerius published, among other works, a Czech version of *Das Buch Joseph* by Augustin Zitte (1762-85), in which he defended the administrative, social and religious reforms of the Emperor Joseph II (r. 1780-90). Subsequently, he concentrated on the publication of morality tales and published approximately 20 volumes of children's, travel and educational literature, mostly addressing agriculture and domestic economy (for an overview of Kramerius's translations and his own works, see Osvald, *Vychovatel lidu*, pp. 19-28, and Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, pp. 190-219). Without ever leaving Prague, Kramerius influenced the whole of Czech literary life of his time. He selected or even commissioned texts to be published, wrote forewords,

proof-read, took care of typesetting and delivered the 'Czech books' to readers (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 30). He helped to establish a standardised form of modern Czech and circulated ideas about what it meant to be a good citizen and a member of an emerging Czech national community (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 30).

Kramerius produced a complex imagery of Islam in his 'fictional travelogues', which was a specific instructive genre different from travel literature in the modern sense of the word. Several of these volumes appeared between 1802 and Kramerius's death in 1808 (for his possible involvement in volumes published posthumously, see below). He compiled them along the lines of German models, the majority of which had appeared in Nuremberg and Weimar as a part of the renowned *Bibliothek der neuesten Reisebeschreibungen* series (Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, p. 198; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 31). Kramerius most probably planned to give his readers knowledge about all the continents: the volumes published individually in 1802-4 described regions in Asia and Africa (India, Egypt, the Holy Land and the Near East) and the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Rybička, *Život a působení Václava Matěje Krameriusa*, Prague, 1859

J. Herben, *Matěj V. Kramerius, osvícenský novinář a buditel*, Prague, 1926

V. Osvald, *Vychovatel lidu M. V. Kramerius*, Prague, 1943

J. Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, Prague, 1973

H. Navrátilová, 'Venceslas Kramerius and bookworm travelling in the early 1800s', in J. Holaubek and H. Navrátilová (eds), *Egypt and Austria I. Proceedings of the symposium*, Prague, 2005, pp. 95-104

L. Storchová, 'Die Ägypter wussten Ihre Köpfe zu gebrauchen! Orientalische Alterität in den fiktiven Reisebeschreibungen von Václav Matěj Kramerius (1802-1808)', in R. Born and S. Lemmen (eds), *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Bielefeld, 2014, 147-86

L. Storchová, 'Zemi i pracovitým lidem jsou za břemeno. Alterita a biopolitika ve fiktivních cestopisech Václava Matěje Krameria', in J. Hrabal (ed.), *Fenomén cestopisu v literatuře a umění střední Evropy*, Olomouc, 2015, 119-47

L. Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason or a model of toleration? Imagining Islam in Fictional Travelogues of Václav Matěj Kramerius', in M. Tomorad (ed.), *Egypt and the Orient: The current research*, Oxford and Zagreb, 2020, 29-38

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in Kramerius's 'fictional travelogues'*

DATE 1802-04
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Czech

DESCRIPTION

All Kramerius's works that appeared between 1802 and 1804 have a similar form. They are presented as dialogues between a 'perfect Czech peasant', called Lipan, and a messenger (*posel*) who comes every week from Prague with the latest edition of a newspaper and other news. Following an initial exchange of pleasantries, the messenger proceeds to describe particular regions and to suggest to the Czech audience which 'non-European' practices they should imitate and which they should avoid. He attempts to 'cultivate' ordinary readers by elucidating the ideas of 'our most educated men in Prague' (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', pp. 31-2).

Since he uses the form of dialogue, Kramerius does not have to refer directly to his sources; he mostly does so only when he quotes from early modern Bohemian travel literature, especially from Kryštof Harant's travelogue of 1617, *Cesta z Království českého* [...] *do země Svaté* ('Journey from Bohemia [...] to the Holy Land'), which was admired as an example of a high style in Czech. Nor does he present all his subjects systematically but rather jumps from one topic to another, omits some information, refers to other information only briefly and includes many explanatory and moralising comments, often appealing to his readers' patriotic loyalties.

Auplné Wypsánj Egypta, genž ležj w třetím djlu swěta, Afryce; w němž se wypisuge wsse co gest pamětihodného a podiwného w té weliké zemi (1802)
This work (in English 'A comprehensive description of Egypt which is situated on the third continent; in which everything is described on what is memorable and remarkable in this big country'), published in 1802, gives a comprehensive description of Egypt and claims to describe everything memorable and remarkable in it. It is 216 pages long in the first edition

* Kramerius's 'fictional travelogues' are also the subject of Lucie Storchová's 'Terrifying unreason or a model of toleration?' in Mladen Tomorad (ed.), *Egypt and the Orient: The current research* (see above). Although that chapter was published in 2020, she wrote it after this entry, which for a number of reasons, not least restrictions arising from Covid 19, is only being published now.

of 1802 and devotes about 20 pages (pp. 171-89) to the history of Islam and Christian-Muslim relations (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 32). This was Kramerius's first fictional travelogue, and he published it in response to interest in a recent military campaign in Egypt (this is not identified, but it must be Napoleon's campaign of 1798-1801) and desire to learn more about the country. Kramerius repeats negative stereotypes of Islam and uses various forms of hate speech to describe the basic elements of Islam, its history and doctrine. He recounts that people of the Near East and especially of Egypt have allegedly always been superstitious, which is why the 'Mohammedan poison' spread from spread from here all over the world (1802 edition, p. 62 – this is used throughout; see also Storchová, Terrifying unreason', p. 32). Muḥammad is represented as a cunning merchant who decided to become a prophet and persuaded 'simple' Arab people that he had personally met the Archangel Gabriel who had given him a message (pp. 172-3). Despite the fact that Muḥammad's followers were 'simple' enough to accept his falsehoods, there were also many 'wise' people who rejected them from the outset and recognised that he was insane (categories of reason and unreason are of crucial importance in Kramerius's works). This is why Muḥammad had to flee from Mecca and why he declared war on his own countrymen, which Kramerius considers an inexcusable act (p. 172 see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33).

Already in this first travelogue, Islam is understood as a haphazard and simplistic amalgamation of various religious traditions (a topic that would be discussed in more detail in Kramerius's later works). Muḥammad put them together for no other purpose than to give them the widest possible appeal. He wanted to eradicate paganism and to proclaim the existence of only one God (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33). This was the right idea in Kramerius's opinion, but instead of persuading the local people by rational argument, Muḥammad used extreme violence in order to spread his new teaching. 'Everybody who wished to save his life had to confess that there was only one God, and Muḥammad was his Prophet', as Kramerius puts it (p. 174; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33).

The Islamic Empire quickly expanded, not through skilful government but by violence. Early caliphs were typical examples of bad rulers who 'killed and plundered the [conquered] lands by sword and fire' (p. 175). In doing so, they forfeited their subjects' loyalty, which resulted in general chaos and led to the collapse of the empire (p. 176; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 34). The Ottoman rulers ('Turks') and the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt emulated the practices of the early caliphs by exploiting and enslaving their subjects and condemning them to

unbelievably atrocious conditions. This type of rule, based on violence, continued up to Kramerius's own time (pp. 178-9): Muslim rulers contributed to the general destruction of Egypt, which had been a flourishing country in ancient and biblical times. Kramerius illustrates this with the example of the city of Alexandria (p. 200), mentioning the library there, which the Caliph 'Umar is said to have allowed to burn down out of his religious zealotry because it contained books other than just the 'fallacious Qur'an' (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35). This leads Kramerius to a more general reflection on how dangerous it is to leave one's 'reason' aside and let oneself be carried away by religious zeal (p. 201). In general, Kramerius criticises all forms of religious zeal and superstition.

In the concluding part of this travelogue, Kramerius gives a short explanation of the Hajj. He briefly describes the sacred site in Mecca and mentions that the Ka'ba in the court of the Great Mosque was allegedly constructed by Abraham, who used to say his prayers there, and that the black stone was brought there by Gabriel. Kramerius is sceptical about this belief, which he finds contradicts reason. As he puts it, 'stupid Mahometans do not ask, they just believe that the stone was brought from heaven, and people who could easily recognise and examine the stone are not allowed to come near the building' (p. 207; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35).

Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj w druhém djlu swěta Azyi. Při čemž se mnozí rozliční národowé, mrawowé, obyčegowé, zwyklosti, práwa a náboženstwj gegich, gakož i giné mnohé paměti hodné wěcy připomjnagj

In this 192-page volume on the history of the Mughal Empire (in English, 'History of the great Mughal Empire in Asia, the second continent, in which many various nations, manners, customs, traditions, laws, their religion as well as many other memorable things are mentioned'), published in 1803, Kramerius treats Islam as a rather secondary issue. It plays a completely different role here from that described in his travelogue dealing with the Near East. As Kramerius states, Islam was spread over the Mughal Empire by force during the time of the conqueror Tamerlane (1336-1405) and as a result of migration from Muslim countries (p. 43). Regarding the fact that Islam is believed to be the only monotheist religion in the region, Kramerius acknowledges its role in the fight against paganism and polytheism (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 34). All forms of polytheism are 'opposed to common sense' (*zdrawý Rozum*, i.e. 'healthy reason', as he puts it in Czech) and deserve to be eradicated.

Kramerius regards the people of India as extremely superstitious; they are said to be capable of cutting out a part of their bodies and offering them up to local idols (p. 173). This means that violence as such is not always seen as something negative, as Kramerius sees it in the context of Islamic expansion in the Near East. Muslim Mughal emperors commanded the punishment of all forms of religious superstition and the destruction of religious texts in Sanskrit (p. 107) together with 'disgusting' pagan temples and 'naked idols', which Kramerius thinks the best possible thing, although he does not hesitate to label this approach as 'tolerant' (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 34). He emphasises that Muslims in general 'let everyone practise his religion' (p. 125). In India, as in Ottoman society, individuals can advance socially only through their merits not through class privileges. On the other hand, Indian Muslims are no less zealous than Muslims in the Near East: they adore their 'Muslim saints' too ardently; they are not allowed to speak a word during their pilgrimages and so on. Kramerius also mentions a special case of zealotry when Shīʿīs harm themselves during their commemoration of martyrs. They allegedly 'jump as if they were insane, fence with sharp swords, cut their faces and arms so much that blood splashes around' (p. 146; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35). Last but not least, Kramerius often represents the everyday and religious life of Indian people by referring to that of Muslims. Islam plays the role of a primary interpretative pattern here, which helps Kramerius express what is different in foreign cultures. This is evidenced by his comparison of the clothes of Indian men and the veils of Indian women with those of Muslims (p. 44). In addition, Kramerius perceives parallels between the nomadic way of life of Indian people with that of Arab nomads in the Sinai desert (pp. 53, 56; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 36).

Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny; w kteréž se wssecka mjsta swatá, obywatelé, gegich powahy, mrawowé, obyčegowé, řádowé a náboženstwj gakož y giné mnohé paměti hodné wěcy wedlé uloženého pořádku wypisugj
This volume of 200 pages ('A journey to Arabia and to the Holy Land, that is Palestine; in which all holy sites, its inhabitants, their characters, manners, customs, institutions and religion as well as other memorable things are described in an orderly manner') was published in 1804. About a third of its contents refers to Islam and Kramerius concentrates on the faith in more detail here than elsewhere because it defines the whole region of Arabia. Following his early modern literary models – particularly Harant's

travelogue of 1617 – Kramerius describes Islam again as a random and above all simplified mixture of Judaism, Christianity and other religions (p. 103; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33). He even describes in detail which parts of Muḥammad's new teaching (circumcision, belief in angels, resurrection, life after death, etc.) were borrowed, and from where (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33). He says that Islam in itself had no strong theological background; it was mainly created by the personal character of particular individuals. Its religious practices emerged from the immoral character of Muḥammad, expecially his alleged mendacity, hunger for power and even his mental disorder (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33). Having travelled much as a merchant and witnessed various religious practices, he decided to found his own religion because he did not like any other (1804 edition, p. 86). He declared himself a prophet in order to further his personal advantage and popularity. His appearance was unexpected and resulted in a complete reversal of the existing social order. Despite his efforts, he was unable to establish a new well-functioning state. As Kramerius puts it, Muḥammad 'seduced the simple and trustful people' of Arabia by cheating and performing false miracles (pp. 86-7; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 33). Islam split early into two branches, again due to the personal characteristics of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, especially his pride and jealousy (pp. 99-100). At this point, instead of going into further theological details, Kramerius makes a rhetorical side-step and says that he does not want to hurt the religious feelings and sensibilities of his readers by telling them more about 'Muḥammad's lies' (p. 104; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 32).

Kramerius stresses repeatedly that the early caliphs converted people to Islam not by arguments but by force alone (p. 88). In addition to cheating, within its first decades Islam was very much based on violence. As Kramerius puts it,

> Muslims destroyed the country and murdered its people as long as there was nobody who would dare tell to Muḥammad's face that he was a disgraceful and shameless liar and that his new religion was nothing more than just a mixture of paganism and Jewish and Christian faith. (p. 98; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 34)

The early caliphs were driven by religious zeal, which led to a decade of bloodshed (p. 99). This is also why the 'Arabian kingdom' could not have lasted for longer than just a few years and why it perished so easily (p. 101): in conquered countries violence was not a substitute for social order and safety (p. 102; see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 34).

Despite many Muslim rules and customs, whether regular prayers, devoutness, modesty or charity (pp. 103, 112), appearing to be correct and even useful, Christian readers should be wary of being misled, because Muslim faith is superficial and Muslims are primarily concerned with 'external ceremonies', not seeking genuine moral excellence (p. 55; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 34).

A purported lack of rationality in Islam and in various forms of Muslim 'superstitions' is another important issue for Kramerius. Religious doctrines and practice present the main field in which all non-Europeans should be 'brought to reason' (Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 36). The problem is that Muslims allegedly believe in everything their leaders tell them without having the ability to use their own reason and ask questions. Kramerius elucidates this phenomenon by referring to the example of Arab nomads inhabiting the deserts (pp. 159-60; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35). Muslims in general worship in every possible and impossible place related to the Prophet's life without having a single proof of it (Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35). They even believe that Muḥammad's grandmother was buried in Cyprus, they supposedly know the exact location of the Garden of Eden (p. 63) and where figures important in both Islamic and biblical tradition – such as Zachariah and Job – were buried (p. 40). Muslims believe that the Qur'an was mediated to Muḥammad by the Archangel Gabriel, who had also previously brought the black stone in the Kaʿba to Abraham. The alleged angelic revelation may make Muḥammad's whole project appear more legitimate in the eyes of new believers but it makes it more ridiculous in the eyes of a European scholar who has studied institutions influenced by Enlightenment ideologies (Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35). Both a lack of critical thinking and a low level of education among common believers are typical of Kramerius's image of Islam. While he is describing them, he also criticises various 'superstitions' of common Czech people (e.g. a still prevalent belief in witches).

This portrayal of Islam is part of Kramerius's idea that a true religion must always be based on rationality, not on 'blind faith' and uncontrolled zeal. Kramerius criticised the latter, especially when its ignorance resulted in the poorer health of its believers and thus a fall in productivity. Some pilgrims to Mecca, for instance, use the occasion of Hajj for unrestrained sexual activity while others 'sing' verses from the Qur'an 'so ardently that they lose their strength and fall down and die' (p. 141; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 35).

Kramerius regarded all forms of monastic life as irrational. He criticised monks who, rather than engaging in 'honest work', lived off the earnings of the common people. All monastic communities, whether Brahmins, 'Dervishes' or Catholics, should be suppressed in the same way as European vagabonds. Good rulers (unlike Muslim rulers) should provide their subjects with the opportunity to engage in productive activities, rather than merely praying and fasting (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 36).

Kramerius's portrayal of Islam is influenced by cultural stereotypes that do not seem – from a modern perspective – to be directly linked with religious life. He labels different cultures as 'Islamic' and uses this label somewhat vaguely. By doing so, he relates new cultural stereotypes, mostly negative, to Islam in general. For instance, he describes Arab nomads as dangerous robbers (pp. 95, 134), regards members of Muslim sects as indecent beggars, and so on. Furthermore, he describes 'Turkish' or 'Ottoman' traits such as cunning, greed, barbarity, treachery and above all cruelty, (pp. 13-18) as though they were common to all Muslims.

Paradoxically, Kramerius appreciates the 'religious tolerance' of the Turks, which he describes as a situation in which rulers do not oppress any religious group but are more concerned about 'whether you behave properly and pay your taxes' (p. 19; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 37). Some social infrastructures of the Ottoman Empire, such as hospitals, were accessible to all individuals, regardless of their religious affiliation (p. 62). Kramerius also adopts a critical stance towards the cultural practices of Muslims, including dietary habits, ceremonies, marital life, and sexuality (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 37). Their lifestyle has affected Christians such as Maronites (p. 34) and seduced them away from their true religion.

Kramerius pays special attention to a stereotype common to many European authors from early modern times onwards: the earthly paradise in the Holy Land has become desolate under Muslim rule. In his version of this, Islam is the source of this cultural decline (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 37). As he puts it, the Holy Land

> which was full of towns in the times of Israelite people, and many of them very famous, and which abounded in all goods thanks to their diligence, is in our times desolate due to the laziness and negligence of its current inhabitants, so that we can almost compare it to the Arabian deserts. (p. 198)

SIGNIFICANCE

The Czech national movement first became established as a mass social phenomenon after 1810. Kramerius was considered one of the most

important founding 'revivalists' by earlier generations of Czech historians (see Rybička, *Život a působení Václava Matěje Krameriusa*). He was also described as an author who published short stories and 'how-to' literature in Czech to educate 'simple' people living in the countryside (Herben, *Matěj V. Kramerius*; Osvald, *Vychovatel lidu*; Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*). Kramerius was indeed a major shaper of Czech literary life around 1800. As explained elsewhere (Storchová, 'Die Ägypter'), his idea of a Czech national community was biopolitical; he paid particular attention to issues such as hygiene and the health of the population in the Czech lands and compared them with what he knew about these issues in non-European countries. Travel literature in particular played the role of a 'projection screen', which made it possible to reflect upon manners, values and political institutions (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 37).

Compared with other books published by the Česká Expedyce, his fictional travelogues were bestsellers (Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, p. 200; Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 31) and reached a great number of readers. They had an impact on readers´ relationship with the non-European Other and the creation of new cultural and national identities. Discourse on Islam and Muslim-Christian relations was a part of this process (see also Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason', p. 30).

Auplné wypsánj Egypta (1802) was the first work in modern Czech to offer readers basic – although very stereotypical – information on Islam, its history and religious practice. Here Islam played only a marginal role because it primarily described the civilisation of ancient Egypt, which was presented as a model for modern Czech society (its alleged rationality, the level of education, the exemplary work ethic, etc.). Reflection on Islam was still rather marginal in *Hystorycké Wypsánj welikého Mogolského cýsařstwj* (1803), but this work illustrates continuity in Kramerius's opinions, which had long-term impact on the Czech reading public. In the context of the Mughal Empire, he represents Islam more positively: it is the main monotheistic religion in India and it helped to eradicate the local 'disgusting paganism'.

Like Kramerius's other fictional travelogues, *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté* (1804) also reached, and very possibly also influenced, most of the Czech reading public of this period. The exposition of Islam played a crucial role in this work because Kramerius made it a part of his story of how the Holy Land had been devastated during the period of Muslim rule. This image of Islam was again strongly based on negative stereotypes and developed from early modern sources. In his interpretation, Kramerius employed rhetorical strategies such as omitting some topics (such as the

religious teachings of Islam) and projecting negative cultural stereotypes that were applied to some minority communities onto Islam in general.

In conclusion, Kramerius's fictional travelogues served as vehicles for the promulgation, relay and reinforcement of a highly prejudiced portrayal of Islam. Such portrayals, and their impact on public perceptions and thinking concerning Islam and Muslims, set the stage for negative presumptions and a cautious, if not entirely dismissive, approach on the part of a Christian public so far as any interaction with Islam and Muslims was concerned.

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V.M. Kramerius, *Cesta do Arabie, a do země swaté, ginak Palestyny; w kteréž se wssecka mjsta swatá, obywatelé, gegich powahy, mrawowé, obyčegowé, řádowé a náboženstwj gakož y giné mnohé paměti hodné wěcy wedlé uloženého pořádku wypisugj wydaná Kraméryusowau pracý a nákladem*, Prague, 1804; 54 J 004787 (digitised version available through Národní digitální knihovna)

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V.M. Kramerius, *Auplné wypsánj Egypta, genž ležj w třetjm djlu swěta, Afryce: w němž se wypisuge wsse co gest pamětihodného a podiwného w té weliké zemi: poneyprw w rozmlauwánj mezy Pražským poslem a hospodářem Lipanem wypracowáno od Wáclawa M. Kraméryusa*, Prague, 1816[2]; 54 K 082768 (digitised version available through Národni digitální knihovna)

STUDIES

Storchová, 'Terrifying unreason'
Storchová, 'Zemi i pracovitým lidem jsou za břemeno'
Storchová, 'Die Ägypter'
Navrátilová, 'Venceslas Kramerius and bookworm travelling'
Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, pp. 197-9
Osvald, *Vychovatel lidu M.V. Kramerius*
Herben, *Matěj V. Kramerius*
Rybička, *Život a působení Václava Matěje Krameriusa*

Hystorye Turecká a nebo Příběhy Turecké Ržísse 'Turkish history or Stories of the Turkish Empire'

DATE 1809-10 (posthumous)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Czech

DESCRIPTION

In this work of two volumes, comprising 236 and 160 pages respectively, the entire first volume and about a fifth of the contents of the second deal with the history of Islam and Christian-Muslim relations. Kramerius's authorship is not certain. Both volumes were published posthumously by his former collaborator, Jan Nepomuk Josef Rulík (1744-1812), and many bibliographical databases consider them entirely Rulík's work (see the database of the National Library, Prague). Rulík edited Kramerius's newspaper from 1807 onwards when Kramerius fell ill and he continued to work for Kramerius's son, Václav Rodomil, after his father's death, so he would have been in a position to compose the work. However, given the size of the *Hystorye Turecká* and the brief period between Kramerius's death in 1808 and the publication of the first volume a year later, it seems evident that Kramerius must have been significantly involved in the whole project. According to Václav Osvald (*Vychovatel lidu M. V. Kramerius*, Prague, 1943), before he died Kramerius prepared for publication a travelogue about

China and southern Vietnam (Cochinchina), which appeared even later than the *Hystorye Turecká*, in 1810. Unfortunately, the *Hystorye Turecká* includes no paratextual material that could explain exactly how the two volumes were created.

Hystorye Turecká differs from Kramerius's earlier travel literature in that its style is more instructive and neutral, and often even encyclopaedic. It does not include fictional dialogues nor does it appeal to 'true Czechs' based on a comparison between Czech and non-European social and religious life. It concentrates more on a systematic overview of basic facts, particularly in the field of political history, than on negative stereotypes. The biography of Muḥammad includes much data about his family and tribe, as well as the broad historical and geographical context of the region. It is rich in fact and relatively neutral. The main details it gives are that Muḥammad was a successful businessman who, despite lacking a formal education, succeeded due to his natural talent. At the age of 40, he unexpectedly changed his attitude because of his hunger for power (p. 6). Inspired by a Jew and a Nestorian renegade monk, he created his new religion, which, it was generally agreed, was strongly based on the Talmud and was, in fact, a mixture of Jewish, Christian and other teachings, often heterogenous and contradictory (Muḥammad explained this by attributing it to a revelation from the Archangel Gabriel). On the one hand, he inculcated into his uneducated countrymen the idea of the eternal and incorporeal God and, on the other, all his stories about his ecstasy, revelation and miracles were completely made up for his own profit. Muḥammad did all this on a recommendation from his Jewish friend. The *Hystorye Turecká* stresses that there was a direct connection between Islam, Christianity and Judaism, and that Christians and Jews also became the first supporters of Muḥammad during his years in Medina because they were not able to perceive any differences between their own religion and Islam (especially since Muḥammad recognised Jesus as a prophet, believed in Mary's virginity, and so on). Jan Rulík tries to clarify which part of this new teaching was adapted, and from where the teachings originated. Muslims adapted some Christian practices, including Lent, which was transformed into the month of Ramaḍān. Circumcision, alms and dietary practices were borrowed from Judaism (p. 11). Fatalism and the fight against unbelievers became two new doctrines of Islam. Compared with books published before Kramerius's death, the interpretation given here that Islam and its teaching were the result of local traditions and the

environment in Arabia, particularly that ritual purification, dietary laws and the prohibition of alcohol can be related to local weather conditions (pp. 8, 15), is a novelty.

Despite a generally moderate approach, the work does contain some negative stereotypes about Islam. Thus, it explains that, in order to gain new followers, Muḥammad did not hesitate to include appealing topics in his teaching, among others the possibility of having more than one wife and a vision of a paradise full of young girls and sweet fruits (pp. 7-8). It also states that, while some simple and superstitious people in Mecca were persuaded by his stories, many wise people realised that Muḥammad was a cheat with powerful ambitions. It goes on to attribute the vast expansion of Islam to violence (the word 'Islamismus' appears in this context, possibly meaning a militant form of Islam). It also contains a story about how Muḥammad delivered a sermon about war against unbelievers in a newly built mosque in Medina without even cleaning his blood-stained hands (p. 12). Passages describing Muḥammad's excessive sexual appetite, which allegedly influenced the Muslim approach to marriage, are again rather stereotypical. The pilgrimage to Mecca is described just briefly: the Black Stone on the Kaʿba gained its colour as a result of the sins of pilgrims, which was a common belief in early modern Czech travelogues. Much more detailed attention is paid to the history of politics and wars after Muḥammad's death. The next passage deals with caliphs. It mentions theological discussions in the 9th century about the origin of the Qur'an (p. 25) and has a long section on the history of the Ottomans structured according to the reigns of individual Ottoman rulers. This includes much information on political history and an especially detailed history of wars and particular battles with Christians.

The second volume offers an encyclopaedic view of the geography, administration and population of the Ottoman Empire. Rulík included in this volume a short treatise by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-92), ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire to the Ottoman court, which describes a journey from Vienna to Constantinople, and had been published in Czech for the first time in 1594. In a chapter dealing with Islam can be found a detailed passage on the Qur'an, the Five Pillars of Islam, the differences between Sunnī and Shīʿa Islam, the everyday life of Muslims, and their ceremonies and religious rituals (pp. 34-56). As the text explains, the religious teaching of Islam cannot be separated from the social and political life of the Ottoman Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hystorye Turecká contains the first account of Ottoman history, geography, religion and customs in modern Czech. It illustrates how the image of Islam changed after 1800 when the modern Czech national movement emerged. Although the role of Kramerius in this project remains unclear (the work was prepared for publication by Jan Rulík, Kramerius's former collaborator), he was very possibly involved in it before he died. The exposition here is more detailed, systematic and neutral than in his earlier works; it does not develop moralising discourses or employ many stereotypes (with the exception of topics like sexuality). Muslim-Christian relations are still represented as a part of the history of Ottoman expansion.

PUBLICATIONS

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Thomas Chabert

Thomas von Chabert-Ostland; Thomas Ritter von Chabert-Ostland

DATE OF BIRTH 1766
PLACE OF BIRTH Istanbul
DATE OF DEATH 1841
PLACE OF DEATH Vienna

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas von Chabert was born into a famous dragoman family that had settled in the Pera district of Istanbul during the 1660s. Some members of the family also served as Ottoman court physicians. In 1780, as a 14-year-old he was sent from Istanbul to Vienna, where he was educated at the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages. His expertise in Eastern languages led to his appointment in 1785 as an instructor at the academy, where he also taught French and Italian.

He became a close friend of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), author of a famous history of the Ottoman Empire, who entered the academy in 1789. Both studied Orientalism, the history and culture of the East, and from 1809 to 1818 they published an academic journal, *Les Mines de l'Orient*.

When Chabert died in 1841, the title 'von Ostland' was added to his surname in recognition of his contributions to Oriental studies. He produced important works in German, French and Italian and also translated some *tezkires* ('biographies') of Turkish poets such as Kastamonulu Latifî Çelebi (1491-1582) and Aşık Çelebi (1519-71).

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Primary

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hikayet-i ibda-i Yeniçeriyan
'The story of the founding of the Janissary corps'

DATE 1810
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Hikayet-i ibda-i yeniçeriyan ba bereket-i pir-i bektaşiyan şeyh Hacı Bektaş Veli-i musliman ('The story of the founding of the Janissary corps with the blessings of Sheikh Hacı Bektaş, founder of the Bektaşis, protector of the Muslims') is a play written in Ottoman Turkish by Thomas Chabert in the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages, Vienna, in 1810. It consists of three acts, between which Muslim religious rituals and ceremonies from the Bektaşi and Mevlevi Sufi orders are represented.

The play is based on two historical events which Chabert cites from well-known history books. The first comes from a story about Sultan Murad I (r. 1360-89), the third ruler of the Ottoman dynasty. After Müftü, the judge and religious leader, observed that the sultan did not attend the Friday public prayers as he should, on one occasion when the sultan went to serve as a witness in a trial Müftü refused to allow him to testify because he could not be accepted as a proper Muslim. The sultan admitted his fault and accepted the judge's decision, and promised to attend the Friday prayers from that time on. The second event is the sultan's establishing of the Janissary corps, which was constituted of Christian captives. They were given the name Janissary (*yeniçeri*, 'new soldier') by Sheikh Hacı Bektaş Veli (c. 1209-71), the founder of the Bektaşi order. He also blessed them so that, from that time on all Janissaries belonged to this order and were trained in the *tarikat* as well as in warfare.

The skilful manner in which these two parallel plotlines are woven in with two secrets held by the young Christian slave Abdullah creates a fine

balance between the plot-driven and the character-driven aspects of the play. Abdullah knows that rebel Christian slaves are planning to make an escape from their Turkish captivity and he also bears a great secret connected with Sheikh Hacı Bektaş. Later, he is accused of being the leader of the rebel slaves and it is also revealed that he is Hacı Bektaş's son, but even when Haci Bektaş learns of this, being a just judge, he still sentences his son to death for treachery. Sultan Murad attempts to testify to Abdullah's innocence and honesty, but his words are rejected because he has not been regularly attending the Friday prayers. Then, a Bektaşi dervish testifies about the true leaders of the rebellion and proves Abdullah's innocence. The play ends with a celebratory feast accompanied by prayers.

As Chabert states in his preface, the play was designed to appeal to an audience in Vienna who did not speak Turkish, and its primary aim was 'to teach the students of the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages the pure, rhyming and blossoming language of the Porte'. In order to do this, Chabert included portrayals of Turkish ceremonies and references to their religious institutions, traditions and values. The maturity of the play's language and the vast knowledge shown in it about Muslim traditions, manners, rituals, and particularly the ways of the Bektaşi order, make it difficult to believe that it was written by someone who was not a member of the order, let alone a Christian (Aytaş, '"Şinasi'den" önce').

SIGNIFICANCE

The secrets about Abdullah and Hacı Bektaş are Chabert's own invention, and his connection of them to the old story about Sultan Murad I is his own device. He points out that he took these two events as the axes of the plot because they enabled him to portray scenes concerned with Turkish customs and ceremonies. The topic of the play included

> everything that tells about the characteristics of the famous Janissary hearth which has ignited the fires of two fearsome revolutions of recent times, has cost the lives of Selim III [r. 1789-1807] and Mustafa IV [r. 1807-8] and has overthrown so many powers since its foundation.

This possibly suggests that Chabert and his Orientalist friends in the academy might somehow have been influenced by the Bektaşi order and found some elements in it that they thought were compatible with the ideals of the Enlightenment. This point is emphasised in the play by the role given to the young man Abdullah. On the one hand he protects Christian rebels while, on the other, he converts to Islam and becomes a member of the Bektaşi order and is revealed to be the secret son of Hacı Bektaş.

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Çetin Sarıkartal

Heinrich Friedrich von Diez

DATE OF BIRTH 2 September 1751
PLACE OF BIRTH Bernburg
DATE OF DEATH 7 April 1817
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Heinrich Diez was born in Bernburg (Saale) on 2 September 1751, according to parish records. His father was a merchant, and the family moved to Magdeburg shortly after his birth. In 1769, Diez enrolled at university in Halle (Saale) and studied law. There, he joined the Amicistenloge Constantia, a student group, and through this he developed friendships with Enlightenment figures such as Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard (1751-1828), Ludwig August Unzer (1748-74) and Jakob Mauvillion (1743-94). In 1772, Diez anonymously published his first work, *Vortheile geheimer Gesellschaften für die Welt* ('Benefits of secret societies for the world'), which argued in support of secret societies.

After graduating from university in 1773, Diez returned to Magdeburg to work in the Prussian judiciary, becoming chancellery director in 1781. During this time, he broadened his correspondence with Enlightenment thinkers, including Gottfried Benedikt Funk (1734-1814), Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803) and Christian Konrad Wilhelm von Dohm (1751-1820). He continued his publications in 1780 with the article 'Miszella für Denker' ('Miscellanea for thinkers'), published in *Deutsches Museum*.

Publications supporting freedom of the press in *Apologie der Duldung u. Preßfreiheit* ('Apology for toleration and freedom of the press', 1781), the emancipation of Jews in Prussian society in *Ueber Juden* ('About Jews', 1783), and Benedict de Spinoza in *Benedikt von Spinoza nach Leben und Lehren* and *Spinoza über Aberglauben und Denkfreyheit* ('Benedict de Spinoza: life and teachings' and 'Spinoza on superstition and freedom of thought', both 1783) soon followed. Through these works Diez contributed to significant debates in the German Enlightenment. His association with Dohm brought him to the attention of Frederick the Great (r. 1740-86), who appointed him as the Prussian *chargé d'affaires* to the Ottoman Empire in 1784.

In Istanbul, Diez learned Turkish and collected hundreds of Ottoman manuscripts. He was knighted in 1786 for his diplomatic service. In 1790, he was recalled and returned to Berlin and, in 1791, he acquired a sinecure at Kolberg Cathedral, where he translated many of his Ottoman manuscripts into German. He returned to Berlin in 1807.

In 1809, Diez published 'Ermahnungen an Islambol' ('Warnings to Islambol'), a translation of an Ottoman manuscript he had acquired in Istanbul, in the journal *Fundgruben des Orients* ('Treasure troves of the Orient'). This led to a feud with its editor, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856). Their disagreement culminated in Diez's publication of *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Litteratur* ('Nonsense and deceit in Oriental literature'), in 1815. Hammer-Purgstall responded with the publication of *Fug und Wahrheit in der morgenländischen Literatur* ('Custom and truth in Oriental literature') in 1816.

In 1811, Diez published two translations of Ottoman mirrors for princes, *Über Inhalt und Vortrag, Entstehung und Schicksale des königlichen Buchs* ('On content and presentation, origin and fates of the royal book') and *Buch des Kabus* ('Book of Kabus'), as well as the first part of a collection of translated manuscripts titled *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* ('Memorabilia of Asia'). His translations brought him to the attention of the author Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who began a correspondence with him in 1815 and also drew upon the translations for his *West-östlicher Divan* ('West-eastern divan').

Diez was named an honorary member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1814. In his final years, he worked on a translation of the Bible into Turkish, although he did not live to complete this. In his final months, the theologian Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck (1799-1877) lived with him and served as his personal secretary. Inspired by Diez, Tholuck later became one of the founders of modern evangelical Christianity through his Bible commentaries, which were also extensively translated into English.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien
'Memorabilia of Asia'

DATE 1811 and 1815
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This two-volume work is a collection of Diez's translations of manuscripts he acquired during his diplomatic service in Istanbul (its full title is *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien in Künsten und Wissenschaften, Sitten, Gebräuchen*

und Alterthümern, Religion und Regierungsverfassung, 'Memorabilia of Asia in arts and sciences, customs, habits and antiquities, religion and government collected from manuscripts and experiences'). The collection itself is now housed in the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage. The first volume, which is 314 pages long, was published in 1811 and the second, which is 1078 pages long, in 1815. Both have extensive introductions by Diez, and many of the translations themselves also have introductions written by him. The second volume has an appendix entitled *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Litteratur nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit des H. v. Hammer zu Wien in Sprachen und Wissenschaften* ('Nonsense and deceit in Oriental literature together with many hundred samples of the gross ignorance of H. v. Hammer at Vienna in languages and sciences', pp. 481-1056), which is an attack on Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), who had criticised Diez's work. Diez issued this as a separate publication in 1815.

In the preface to the first volume, Diez writes, 'All peoples [...], all in all, have as much to learn as they have to teach one another' (p. III). For him, the Christian religion was the first source of knowledge and after that came ancient philosophy, which confirmed Christian belief (p. VIII). This conformed to the humanist impulse in Europe after the Renaissance to recover ancient Greek knowledge. Diez believed this knowledge was preserved in the Islamic tradition and then passed to Europe from the 1500s onwards (p. XI). So, his reason for translating these works was to recover ancient Greek thought that he believed was preserved in the Islamic philosophical tradition. He had encountered this during his travels in Istanbul, and for this reason he translated Ottoman texts that were related to it.

Diez described himself as an orthodox Lutheran (*Altgläubiger*), and he wanted to return to an era in which faith was prized before reason and the challenges of the Enlightenment. He saw this in the way Islam was practised in the Ottoman Empire and thought that some of the answers to the crisis within Protestant Christianity could be found in Ottoman writings. So his goal was to mine Ottoman manuscripts for philosophical knowledge that could be used to bolster Protestant Christianity. While he did not accept the Qur'an or Hadith as sources of his own religion, he did think that they contained universal truths that could be used to understand the human experience. For example, in the introduction to his translation of *Vierhundert Sprüche der ersten vier Chalifen* ('Four hundred sayings of the

first four caliphs', vol. 1, pp. 4-29), he highlights the modest lives led by the caliphs even though they ruled over vast territories (vol. 1, p. 4). He argues that 'fear of God, good customs and morals in the East can be seen as the core of all true sciences' (vol. 1, p. 5). In a sense, this reflects the traditional Protestant shunning of ostentation and its focus on personal virtue.

As part of this endeavour, Diez attached particular importance to accuracy. In the preface to the second volume, he writes that the collection of manuscript translations he has brought together should serve to portray the Middle East and its inhabitants as they actually are, rather than as they have been portrayed by earlier writers (vol. 2, p. 133). He criticises previous translators of Ottoman works for translating them inaccurately and misrepresenting them, and he emphasises the great importance of travelogues from the time of the Crusades onwards, singling out the French traveller Jean Chardin (1643-1713; *CMR* 13, 522-8) as exemplary for the reliable knowledge he makes accessible to European readers (vol. 2, pp. XII-XIII).

SIGNIFICANCE

In Diez's time, there were two main approaches to the study of Islam in the German-speaking world. The first was tied to an older tradition of polemic against Islam and could mostly be found in universities. The second was more recent and tied to a more open-minded approach to other cultures that had been introduced through the Enlightenment. Diez's work was informed by this second approach, as he himself had been an important figure in the German Enlightenment before repudiating his views after he returned from Istanbul. Other German-speaking authors of the time, including Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, also took the second approach. They were interested in what the Islamic world, and especially the Ottoman Empire, could offer in terms of humanist knowledge.

This collection, along with other works by Diez, met with an immediate response from none other than Goethe himself. He corresponded with Diez and his *West-östlicher Divan* was influenced by what Diez had written. Contemporary reviews of *Denkwürdigkeiten* published in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* and the *Weiner Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* noted the accuracy of Diez's work and took sides in his feud with Hammer-Purgstall.

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Mommsen, *Goethe und Diez*

Lela Gibson

Johann Ludwig Burckhardt

Jean Louis Burckhardt; John Lewis Burckhardt;
Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Abdallah

DATE OF BIRTH 25 November 1784
PLACE OF BIRTH Lausanne
DATE OF DEATH 15 October 1817
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (Jean Louis, John Lewis) usually known as Louis, was born into a wealthy family of silk ribbon manufacturers who had been in Basel since the 16th century. His father, Johann Rudolf Burckhardt (1753-1813), was an art collector with links to the literary world, who knew Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) as well as Edward Gibbon (1737-94). Gibbon was often a guest of the family at Kirchsgarten, Rudolf's town house in Basel, which he had built in 1777. Rudolf divorced his first wife Anna Maria, née de Bary, in 1778, having had five children with her. He married Sara (1762-d. after 1817), née Rohner, in 1781. They preferred to live in Lausanne, where their second child, Johann Ludwig, was born in 1784. Subsequently the family mainly lived in Basel in Kirschgarten or, from 1794, at their rural retreat Erndthalden. Until 1798, Louis and his brother Georg had private tutors. Rudolf was an officer in the Swiss militia and was arrested for treason following the Austrian attack on Basel in 1796. The charges against him were dismissed but he was stripped of his rank and retired to Erndthalden. In 1798, Rudolf fought in the Battle of Bern against the French as a private soldier and, after the French victory, he went into exile in Germany. At this time Louis and his older brother Georg were sent for schooling to Neuchâtel, which was not then under French control (Slim, *Desert traveller*, pp. 29-41).

In 1800, Rudolf collected Louis from Neuchâtel and took him to Leipzig to study at the university, leaving behind Georg, who was subsequently imprisoned by the French. Louis spent four years in Leipzig getting into debt through gambling and extravagant living, having little awareness that the Napoleonic wars had all but bankrupted the family. In 1804, he spent a year at Göttingen University, where he seems to have applied

himself to study and was inspired by the anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840; Lane-Poole, 'Burckhardt').

In 1805, Louis lived with his mother and sister in Basel, and then, in July 1806, encouraged by his cousin Christoph Burckhardt, he went to England in the hope of obtaining a diplomatic post. Though this did not materialise, he had a letter of introduction from Blumenbach to Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), the naturalist and president of the Royal Society. Through Banks he met George Cecil Renouard (1780-1867), who had served as chaplain to the Levant Company (1804-6) and had learnt Arabic whilst in Constantinople. Burckhardt spent some time in Cambridge while Renouard was curate of Great St Mary's and, from 1815 to 1821, professor of Arabic at Cambridge University (Ansorge, 'Burckhardt in Cambridge', pp. 48-9). Knowing of Burckhardt's need for employment, Renouard suggested that he should get in touch with Joseph Banks, who was president of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. Founded in 1788, the African Association, as it was known, had over several years sent a series of men to explore the Niger River, though most of them had died or disappeared (see Sim, *Desert traveller*, pp. 47-8). The Association were now seeking to recruit a suitable person to take on this task.

Burckhardt wrote to the Association in a letter dated 21 March 1808 offering his services, and he was requested to attend a council meeting to explain his credentials more fully. His offer was accepted in May 1808 (MS Cambridge – Add. 7085, fol. 116). The committee was aware of the need for thorough preparation in order to avoid some of the mishaps of previous explorers. Accordingly, the African Association instructed Burckhardt to gain knowledge of 'geology, mineralogy, medicine, astronomy, orienteering and Arabic', leading him to spend the remainder of 1808 studying in London and Cambridge. Sixteen notebooks from this time reveal the range of topics he studied (MS Cambridge – Add. 282.1-16; Ansorge, 'Burckhardt in Cambridge', pp. 52-6; Ansorge, 'Study and travel', pp. 465-70).

On 20 January 1809, Burckhardt attended a committee meeting of the African Association where he was given his instructions, including a detailed direction that he should spend two years in Syria in order to be 'intimately acquainted with the language and manners of the Arabs', then, on arrival in Cairo, that he should 'let your appearance in that City be such as to ensure your good reception amongst Mohammedans of the Moggrebin Caravan in whose company you are to traverse the desert to Moorzouck' (MS Cambridge – Add. 7085, fols 123v-124r), suggesting, if not openly stating, that he should disguise himself as an Arab. The instructions and financial terms in the agreement made it clear that he was expected

to be absent for up to ten years (MS Cambridge – Add. 7085, fol. 125 v; see Stucky and Isernhagen, 'Vertrag', pp. 66-79).

In March 1809, Burckhardt set sail for Malta, where he adopted the name Ibrahim ibn Abdallah and started wearing Oriental dress. After two months, he sailed to Syria in order to improve his Arabic, presenting himself as 'an Indian Mohammedan Merchant who had been from early years in England', to explain his poor Arabic (letter from Aleppo, 2 October 1909, quoted in [Leake], 'Memoir', p. xi). He was often accused of being a 'Frank' (a European) and was watched by his fellow passengers. On his arrival in Aleppo, he delivered goods to John Barker, the British consul, who advised him to change his disguise because Indian traders were known to come to the Levant and his subterfuge might be discovered. He changed into Turkish dress and adopted the name Ibrahim, though without hiding his European origins ([Leake], 'Memoir', pp. xxv-vi).

For two and a half years he remained in Aleppo studying Arabic under the protection of the British consul. During this time, he collected many Arabic manuscripts, which he later donated to Cambridge University Library ([Leake], 'Memoir', pp. xlvii, lxxxix). In a letter to Joseph Banks dated 12 May 1810, he mentions that Ali Bey [el Abbassi] had passed that way two years previously. He identified him as the Spaniard [Domingo] Badía [y Leblich] and refers to him in *Travels in Arabia* ([Leake], 'Memoir', p. xxviii; see J. Loop, 'Ali Bey el Abbassi', in *CMR* 21, 510-17).

In 1810-11, he made a six-month journey to Damascus, Baalbek, Lebanon and the Hawran as he continued to improve his Arabic and further understand Islam. He found travelling east into the desert difficult because of the activities of the Muslim fundamentalist Wahhābīs, which further delayed his plans. He finally left Damascus on 18 June 1812 and arrived in Cairo on 4 September, having visited Nazareth and then proceeded along the Jordan and into the desert, finding the Nabatean city of Petra, where he sacrificed a goat at the tomb of Aaron in order to enhance his Muslim credentials ([Leake], 'Memoir', p. xlvi). A detailed account of his travels was sent to the African Association, which published it posthumously in 1822 as *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*. Whilst Burckhardt was in Nazareth, his encounter with the British traveller Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839) and her party was recorded by her doctor, Charles Meryon, who noted that Burckhardt went by the name Shaykh Ibrahim and dressed as a Palestinian peasant (Meryon, *Travels of Lady Hester Stanhope*, vol. 1, pp. 270-1).

Burckhardt's plan was to join a caravan crossing the Sahara, ideally one with pilgrims returning from performing the Hajj, to reach Fezzan and from there to make his way to the River Niger. But plague had prevented

caravans from travelling for several years, so basing himself in Cairo while waiting for their resumption he continued to travel, setting off in January 1813 and following the course of the River Nile to the south as far as Dongola before returning in March 1813 to Aswan, where he noted the ruins of the temple of Abu Simbel. He then had a lengthy stay in Upper Egypt at Esna, before setting off in March 1814 through Nubia then Ethiopia to Suakin on the Red Sea. He commented that he was following the journey, in reverse, that James Bruce had made 50 years previously (letter dated Jedda, 7 August 1814, quoted in [Leake], 'Memoir', p. lv; on Bruce, see J.A. Reeve, 'James Bruce', in *CMR* 13, 369-78). He crossed the Red Sea and arrived in Jedda in July 1814, where he fell ill with a fever, possibly malaria. In a letter to Joseph Banks from Jedda, he stated his intention to 'visit the principal towns of the Hedjaz, to perform the Hadj, or pilgrimage to Mekka, then to return to Cairo by land' (letter dated Jedda, 7 August 1814, quoted in [Leake], 'Memoir', p. lvi).

On his way to Mecca, Burckhardt encountered Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha (viceroy of Egypt 1805-48), who was based at Ṭāʾif on a campaign to defeat the Wahhābīs. The Pasha was aware of Burckhardt's connection with England and:

> thought it proper to put his qualifications as a Mussulman to the test, by directing the two most learned professors of law, then in Arabia, to examine him on his knowledge of the Koran, and of the practical and doctrinal precepts of their faith, the result was a complete conviction [...] of his being not only a true but a very learned Mussulman. ([Leake], 'Memoir', p. lviii)

Burckhardt completed the Hajj, confident that bearing the title hajji would be of great help to him in his travels across Africa ([Leake], 'Memoir', p. lviii).

On his return to Cairo in June 1815, he wrote up accounts of his travels in Nubia and Arabia, and these were published posthumously by the African Association as *Travels in Nubia* (1819) and *Travels in Arabia* (1829). Whilst in Cairo, Burckhardt read a copy of *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie*, which had been published in Paris in 1814. He noted that the veracity of the account was not to be doubted, whereas Ali Bey's poor Arabic and his travelling in pomp were injudicious. Burckhardt was sure that he would be able to add further details in his own account (letter to Anthony Hamilton, Secretary to the African Association, dated Cairo, 15 October 1816, quoted in [Leake], 'Memoir', pp. lxxi-lxxii).

In 1816, Henry Salt (1780-1827), a member of the African Association and collector of antiquities, arrived in Cairo as British consul. Burckhardt told

Illustration 3. Hajj certificate issued to Sheikh Ibraham [Johann Ludwig Burckhardt] on 1 October 1814

him about the historic monuments near Aswan and they jointly arranged for Giovanni Belzoni (1778-1823) to excavate these after he had removed the enormous bust of Rameses II from Thebes, to be shipped to the British Museum in London ([Leake], 'Memoir', pp. lxix, lxxvi-lxxviii; V. Vittorini, 'Giovanni Belzoni', in *CMR* 21, 607-12).

Burckhardt's health never fully recovered from the privations he had experienced during his travels in Nubia and Arabia and, concerned about the plague that was prevalent in Cairo, he travelled to Alexandria. He met Lady Stanhope's party at a monastery en route and travelled onwards with them. Charles Meryon reported that, while they were in Alexandria staying

with Colonel Missett, the British resident: 'As it was Ramazán, shaykh Ibrahim, in the character of a Moslem, was bound to fast [... so, arriving] at Colonel Missett's he thought he might resume his Frank habits without the risk of being detected.' While he was at breakfast, a young Turk, well-known to Shaykh Ibrahim, was admitted and caught 'the shaykh with his mouth full. Evasion or denial was useless: and this discovery, no doubt, did the shaykh great harm amongst those Moslems' (Meryon, *Travels of Lady Hester Stanhope*, vol. 3, pp. 215-18).

After spending some time in Alexandria, Burckhardt returned to Cairo and, finding no prospect of suitable caravans across the Sahara, he departed for the Sinai Peninsula. He left Cairo on 20 April 1816, reaching the convent of St Catherine in Sinai and travelling to the Gulf of Aqaba, and returned to Cairo on 14 June 1816 (letters dated Cairo 18 April 1816 and 1 July 1816, quoted in [Leake], 'Memoir', pp. lxvi-lxx). From June 1816, he remained in Cairo, writing up his notes on his encounters with Bedouins and Wahhābīs. These he sent to the African Association in October 1816, and they were subsequently published as *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* (1830).

In addition to writing up accounts of his travels, whilst in Cairo he interviewed as many people as possible who had travelled on the trans-Sahara route ([Leake], 'Memoir', p. lxxii). He also made notes on proverbs and popular sayings current in the city, which he sent to Joseph Banks in May 1817, and they were later published as *Arabic proverbs* (1830). By the same post, he also sent his notes on his journey into Sinai, which were included in *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822, pp. 457-630). In the accompanying letter, he explains that he cannot depart as the long-expected caravan from the west had still not arrived (letter dated Cairo, 18 May 1817, quoted in [Leake], 'Memoir', pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi).

In the Hajj season that year, a caravan finally arrived that was expected to set off for Fezzan in December but, in early October, Burckhardt contracted dysentery and, evidently fearing the worst, he summoned Henry Salt to write down his bequests. He left his notes and collection of Arabic manuscripts to Cambridge University Library (rather than to Basel, which remained under French control) and asked Anthony Hamilton to acquaint his mother of his death. He added, 'The Turks will take my body, I know it, perhaps you had better let them' ([Leake], 'Memoir', pp. lxxxvi-lxxxix).

Burckhardt died on 15 October 1817 and was buried in the Muslim cemetery as Hajji Ibrahim ibn Abdallah ([Leake], 'Memoir', p. lxxxix). It has never been satisfactorily determined whether Burckhardt actually became a Muslim, or whether, dying in Cairo, he wished to retain the identity in which he had lived for the last years of his life.

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John Chesworth

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Travels in Arabia and other works

DATE 1810-17
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Burckhardt's most important work for what it contains about his observations on Arabs as Muslims and their interactions with Christians is *Travels in Arabia, comprehending an account of those territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred*. It gives the first full description by a European of the Muslim holy sites in Mecca and Medina and a detailed account of the ceremonies of the Hajj, which Burckhardt performed in the disguise of a Syrian Muslim in September 1815. He wrote the notes for it while he was actually on his travels and, like his other major works, it appeared in a lightly edited form (*Travels*, 1829, vol. 1, p. v; references below are to this edition) 12 years after his untimely death. It was published by the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa in two volumes of 452 pages and 370 pages respectively, together with substantial preliminary matter and appendices.

Travels in Arabia was part of a series of reports on the main stages in Burckhardt's journeys through the Middle East on behalf of the African Association. The first to be published was *Travels in Nubia*, which appeared in 1819, an account of his journey along the Nile in 1813 as far as what is now northern Sudan. This was followed by *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* in 1822, covering the earlier journeys he made in 1811-12, while he was refining his Arabic in Aleppo. After *Travels in Arabia* came *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* and *Arabic proverbs*, both in 1830. While *Travels in Arabia* resembles these other works insofar as it also contains a detailed report of Burckhardt's travels in a part of the Arab world, it goes much further in depicting Muslim Arabs, their beliefs and practices. It also reveals something of Burckhardt's attitude towards Islam and the Arab world.

Burckhardt was writing in the immediate aftermath of the incursions into the Ḥijāz by the followers of the Muslim revivalist preacher Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703-92), spreading their doctrine of uncompromising monotheism and wiping out all opposition, followed by the response made by Muḥammad ʿAlī (1769-1849), the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt, who led a force against them in Arabia itself. Burckhardt remarks on the Wahhābīs' destruction of early Muslim remains in Mecca

and Medina as they zealously strove to abolish devotion to saints and the Prophet Muḥammad in place of God, and he also recounts a meeting with Muḥammad ʿAlī, who was in Ṭāʾif preparing his forces to ride against them.

Travels in Arabia documents his journey from Jedda, where he landed from Suakin on the western side of the Red Sea in July 1814, along the pilgrim route through Ṭāʾif to Mecca, where he performed the ceremonies of the annual pilgrimage, then on to Medina, where he visited the Prophet Muḥammad's tomb, and finally back via the port of Yanbuʿ to Cairo, where he arrived in June 1815. The first volume ends with a description of Mecca, including the holy sites, and the second begins with an account of the Hajj and all it involves. In his typically thorough way, Burckhardt lists the Arabic sources he consulted before he started (vol. 1, pp. xvii-xix) and, in the course of his account, he also refers to works by a number of European authors. These include the Armenian diplomat and scholar Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740-1807), who worked for the Swedish legation in Constantinople (*CMR* 21, 154-67; *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 270-1, 289, 408; vol. 2, pp. 49, 162, 167, 190), the German explorer Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815; *CMR* 17, 561-9; *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 78, 271; vol. 2, pp. 107, 162, 411, 412), the Spanish traveller Domingo Badía y Leblich (1767-1818), who used the name Ali Bey el Abbassi and assumed an Arab identity (*CMR* 21, 510-17; *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 270-1; vol. 2, p. 409), the Scottish diplomat and traveller in North Africa James Bruce (1730-94), who also travelled under an Arab identity (*CMR* 13, 369-78; *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 291; vol. 2, p. 124), and the French author François René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848; *CMR* 21, 168-90; *Travels*, vol. 2, p. 74), whose *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, in which he recounts a journey through the Middle East and North Africa, had only appeared in 1811, a few years before Burckhardt set out. Strangely, he does not mention the Englishman Joseph Pitts (c. 1663-c. 1739). Captured by Algerian pirates, forced to convert to Islam and taken by his owner on the pilgrimage around the year 1685, he was the first Englishman to give an account of Mecca and the ceremonies performed there. His *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans* (four editions between 1704 and 1738) contains descriptions and opinions that closely anticipate Burckhardt's (*CMR* 13, 214-19; Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia*, pp. 23-7).

Burckhardt presents a minutely detailed description of his journey, including the practicalities of his day-to-day existence, the constant dangers he faced as an infidel in forbidden territory, the frequent sicknesses that affected him, and his encounters with officials, fellow-travellers and

the inhabitants of the places he visited. These include an account of the tense days he spent in Ṭā'if with the Ottoman viceroy Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose permission he was seeking to travel on to Mecca. Muḥammad ʿAlī shrewdly arranged for him to be interviewed by the Mufti of Mecca, who was in Ṭā'if at the time and, when Burckhardt was able to recite a long sura from the Qur'an during their evening prayers, the two Muslims were (or appeared to be) reassured about him (vol. 1, pp. 130-9). At no point was his surpassing command of Arabic brought into question.

As a work of exploration and discovery, *Travels in Arabia* does not contain very much on Islam as a historical religious tradition with bodies of doctrinal and ethical teachings. While there are references to Muḥammad and the Qur'an, as well as the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, there are no discussions about the authenticity of Islam or analyses of the basis of the religious activities that Burckhardt witnesses around him in Mecca and Medina: he tends to describe without passing judgement. While he mentions Muslims everywhere in the work, he usually approaches them not as bearers of a religion but as Arabs, Turks or members of other ethnic groups and he has little explicitly to say about the beliefs behind the observances they make or the purpose of these. Neither does he give a clear indication of any personal faith of his own, apart from a brief and ambiguous aside about 'our Christian holy-land' (vol. 2, p. 74).

Despite his apparent detachment from religious motivation, Burckhardt clearly recognises the enormous importance of the pilgrimage to Muslims (vol. 2, p. 31) and, when he is in the great mosque at Mecca, he is sensitive to being among believers who feel and express intense devotion.

> The effect of the joint prostrations of six or eight thousand persons, added to the recollection of the distance and various quarters from whence they come, and for what purpose, cannot fail to impress the most cool-minded spectator with some degree of awe. (vol. 1, p. 272)

He is particularly affected by a pilgrim from Darfur catching sight of the mosque for the first time:

> He was so much struck with its appearance, and overawed by the black Kaaba, that he fell prostrate close by the place where I was sitting, and remained long in that posture of adoration. He then rose, burst into a flood of tears, and in the height of his emotion, instead of reciting the usual prayers of the visitor, only exclaimed, 'O God, now take my soul, for this is Paradise!' (vol. 1, p. 293)

On the other hand, such displays of piety do not blind him to the lukewarm commitment he witnesses among Muslims in general:

> An increasing indifference to their religion, and an increase of expense attending the journey, now deter the greater part of the Mohammedans from complying with that law of the Koran, which enjoins to every Moslim who can afford it, the performance of a pilgrimage to Mekka, once at least in his life. (vol. 2, p. 1)

This is intensified by the irreligious haughtiness he witnesses among the residents of Mecca, who he notices look down on the very individuals who give them their livelihood:

> The Mekkawys are proud of being natives of the holy city, of being the countrymen of their prophet; of having preserved, in some degree, his manners; of speaking his pure language. [...] They look upon all other Mohammedan nations as people of an inferior order, to whom their kindness and politeness are the effect of their condescension. (vol. 1, p. 371)

But he does not make much of this, as though he is describing people exhibiting characteristics that could just as easily be witnessed among Christians or the followers of any religion.

Burckhardt notes that the Meccans dislike Christians even more than they look down on other Muslims, recalling that the 'text of the Mohammedan law is precise in inciting its followers to unceasing hatred and contempt of all those who profess a different creed' (vol. 1, p. 379). But he acknowledges that Muslims ignore this injunction, as anyone would if given a good enough reason. He sets out in detail (vol. 1, pp. 378-84) how Muslims conveniently put it to one side: 'The Moslim of the Turkish empire, as far as I have had an opportunity of remarking, easily suppresses his feelings, his passions, the dictates of his conscience, and what he supposes agreeable to the will of the Almighty, at the dictates of his interest, or according to the wish or example of the ruling power' (vol. 1, p. 382).

While Burckhardt does not make any systematic attack on Islam or the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, he does reveal irritation at the inadequate arrangements for dealing with the great crowds that come together for the various observances. In his description of the gathering at Mount ʿArafāt for the sermon that is the central act of the pilgrimage, he generally describes what he witnesses without comment, though his references to the locals who treat the occasion flippantly (vol. 2, pp. 52-3) and to the confusion involved in the return from ʿArafāt to Muzdalifa, in which hundreds had been killed in past years (vol. 2, pp. 53-4), show displeasure at the lack of orderliness and decorum. This betrays what is maybe the main attitude he reveals towards what he sees in the Ḥijāz, which is distaste for a lack of appropriateness compared with what is found at home. He expresses this

most openly in his comments about the inferior architecture of the buildings that form the focus of the Islamic world and the monuments within them. At the tomb of Muḥammad in Medina he is aghast:

> When we recollect that this spot is one of the holiest of the Mohammedan world, and celebrated for its splendour, magnificence, and costly ornaments, and that it is decorated with the united pious donations of all the devotees of that religion, we are still more forcibly struck with its paltry appearance. It will bear no comparison with the shrine of the most insignificant saint in any Catholic church in Europe. (vol. 2, p. 177)

Elsewhere, he comments that the Arabs 'have little taste for architecture' (vol. 2, p. 153) and, in what could be interpreted as an instance of open snobbishness, he compares the decorations in the great mosque in Mecca with commonplace domestic ornaments in his own part of Europe:

> Those [columns] standing nearest to that part of the southern colonnade called El Rodha, are cased for half their height with bright glazed green tiles or slates, decorated with arabesques of various colours: the tiles seem to be of Venetian pottery, and are of the same kind as those used to cover stoves in Germany and Switzerland. (vol. 2, p. 163)

The comparison he makes helps readers to appreciate what he is describing, of course, but behind the simple identification of the tiles at the religious heart of the Islamic world as those used in an ordinary European kitchen there are unmistakable hints of Orientalist condescension.

Although the other works that resulted from Burckhardt's travels say much less than *Travels in Arabia* about Muslims and their relations with Christians, the details they contain contribute to the same picture. Thus, in *Travels in Nubia* he alludes to the age-old Muslim reluctance to have any intimacy with Christians:

> I have been told of several of these slaves, particularly females, so steadily refusing to abjure their [Christian] faith, when in the harem of a Mohammedan, that their masters were finally obliged to sell them, in the dread of having children born of a Christian mother, which would have been a perpetual reproach to the father and his offspring. (p. 328)

The slave is noble in her religious uprightness while the master is base in his fear of religious conventions.

Jeff Morrison calls the lofty attitude Burckhardt exhibits in this work 'clumsily judgmental' ('Forms of encounter', p. 138), shown in Burckhardt's comments on the lack of piety among Muslim Turks in a khan near Tarsus (*Travels in Nubia*, p. xvi; references here are to 1822 edition), the low level

of learning in Aleppo (p. xxvii), the double standards of faqirs in Sudan (p. 227), the great wealth amassed by religious officials (pp. 267-8) and the intensity of the desire to undertake the Hajj hinging on the availability of coffee beans for purchase in Mecca (p. xliii). Morrison observes that Burckhardt 'claims a kind of ownership of Islamic culture' and 'never reflects upon his own status as a product of an unstable culture [as a mix of Swiss, German, British and possibly Muslim identity], acting by proxy for a dominant colonial power' ('Forms of encounter', p. 141).

In *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, Burckhardt often shows clear Orientalist bias. He talks of the conduct of Christians in the churches in the Ottoman world and of the Ottomans themselves in terms that suggest that both are backward and inferior to contemporary European equivalents:

> It need hardly be mentioned here, that many of those sects which tore Europe to pieces in the earlier ages of Christianity, still exist in these countries: Greeks, Catholics, Maronites, Syriacs, Chaldeans, and Jacobites, all have their respective parishes and churches. Unable to effect anything against the religion of their haughty rulers the Turks, they turn the only weapons they possess, scandal and intrigue, with fury against each other, and each sect is mad enough to believe that its church would flourish on the ruins of those of their heretic brethren. (p. 28)

The same disdainful attitude is evident in his account of the district of Kesrouan (in present-day Lebanon):

> There is hardly any place in Syria less fit for culture than the Kesrouan, yet it has become the most populous part of the country. The satisfaction of inhabiting the neighbourhood of places of sanctity, of hearing church bells, which are found in no other part of Syria, and of being able to give a loose to religious feelings and to rival the Mussulmans in fanatisim [*sic*], are the chief attractions that have peopled Kesrouan with Catholic Christians, for the present state of this country offers no political advantages whatever. (p. 182)

The point here is that, just as in *Travels in Arabia*, Burckhardt finds fault with the people he observes not because of the beliefs they hold, either Muslim or Christian, but because they are not Europeans.

SIGNIFICANCE

Since the time of their first publication, *Travels in Arabia* and Burckhardt's other works on his years in the Arab world have both been used by travellers and scholars, and have also been enjoyed by general readers. Translations into German and other European languages soon after they

appeared, and more recently into Arabic, attest to their popularity beyond the English-speaking world. They have been called 'the foundations of all exact knowledge of the areas which [Burckhardt] visited' (Bidwell, *Travellers in Arabia*, p. 50), due in large part to the fact that they provided the first accurate and, to all intents and purposes, trustworthy accounts of places that Europeans previously regarded as the substance of fables.

The works quickly became staple sources for authors writing on the Arab world. They were used, among others, by the Americans George Bush (1796-1859) in *The life of Mohammed* (1830) and Washington Irving (1783-1859) in *The life of Mahomet* (1849), the Englishmen Edward William Lane (1801-76) in *Selections from the Kur-án* (1843), John Davenport (1789-1877) in *An apology for Mohammed and the Koran* (1869) and Richard Francis Burton (1821-90) in *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah* (1855-6), where he pays 'homage to the memory of the accurate Burckhardt' by quoting his description of the great mosque (*A secret pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, London, 2004, pp. 473-87), and the French author Bernard Carra de Vaux (1867-1952) in *La doctrine de l'islam* (1906). These authors usually employed Burckhardt's works for background colour and factual descriptions in their narratives, particularly of the Ka'ba and the great mosque in Mecca, and they treated them as authoritative accounts of places they themselves would not visit.

Recent scholarship has centred on the few biases and prejudices that Burckhardt possessed by virtue of his background and experiences of moving from one part of Europe to another but, while his judgements and the opinions he offered are maybe open to some revision, the accuracy of his descriptions of places and monuments and also of individuals and groups has stood the test of time.

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David Thomas

Johann Wolfgang Goethe

DATE OF BIRTH 28 August 1749
PLACE OF BIRTH Frankfurt
DATE OF DEATH 22 March 1832
PLACE OF DEATH Weimar

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Wolfgang Goethe was the most famous German-language poet of his time. As a young man, in accordance with his father's wishes, he first studied law in Leipzig and Strasbourg following his father's wishes, and then worked as a lawyer in Wetzlar and Frankfurt. Later, as a friend and minister of Duke Carl August of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach (1757-1828), he assumed political and administrative offices and directed the court theatre for a quarter of a century. Goethe was the forerunner and most important representative of the *Sturm und Drang* movement. His novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* ('The sorrows of young Werther', 1774) made him famous throughout Europe. In alliance with Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) and together with Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), he embodied Weimar classicism.

Among his many achievements and his deep connection with European art and literature, the global diversity with which Goethe engaged in the course of his life is often overlooked, especially his interest in Islamic works. As early as 1772, for example, he wrote an extremely critical examination of David Friedrich Megerlin's (1699-1778) translation of the Qur'an as well as fragmentary portions of a tragedy entitled *Mahomet*. This was followed by further compositions in lyrical verse and dramatic representations referring to Muḥammad.

He was not alone in his commitment; rather, it was at this time that the Qur'an began to be discovered as literature and an inspired text (Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans"'). As a poet, Goethe was thrilled that it valued the world as God's creation full of divine signs and, at the same time, taught a positive relationship to it (Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam*, p. 67). From his first encounter with the qur'anic text, he showed he was interested in the connection between poets and prophets (also a very important issue for Muḥammad concerning his prophetic status, as the Qur'an indicates), believing that both types of inspiration came from the

same source. He agreed with Herder that it was impossible to imagine that the Qur'an did not come from heaven.

Goethe began to examine Islamic texts that were accessible in translations. The full extent of his fascination with the Qur'an was revealed in July 1772, when he wrote to Herder from Wetzlar that he himself would like to pray to God like Moses in the Qur'an: 'Lord make room for me in my narrow breast', referring to Q 20:25 (Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam*, p. 26; Karić: 'Goethe, his era, and Islam', p. 107).

Goethe approached Islam as a poet and its writings as elements of 'the world's literature', a phrase he coined (Einboden, 'Genesis of *Weltliteratur*'), rather than doctrinal statements. His encounters with parts of the Qur'an were accordingly impulsive and intense. Katharina Mommsen writes that Goethe basically approached Muḥammad and his religion in a very personal way. His intimate and intense involvement made him respectfully realise that, besides the Bible, there are other scriptures that are sacred to large portions of humanity (Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam*, pp. 20-1; Karić, 'Goethe, his era, and Islam', pp. 108-9). His relationship with Muḥammad was also very remarkable. When he translated Voltaire's tragedy *Mahomet* into German, he managed not to denigrate the Islamic prophet, modifying some of Voltaire's views and adding new perspectives so that, according to Annemarie Schimmel, his German translation (and adaptation) was a kind of anti-drama to Voltaire's original (Schimmel, 'Goethe und Islam', p. 5). It may well not be coincidental that, while he was translating the *Mahomet* tragedy, Goethe spent much time with the Pietists around his Frankfurt friend Susanne von Klettenberg (1723-74).

Goethe spoke about Islam and its prophet in many circles. With his positive view and glorification of Muḥammad, he distanced himself from the many negative portrayals that were still circulating in Germany and Europe in his time (Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam*, p. 54, Karić, 'Goethe, his era, and Islam', p. 116). In his poem 'Mahomet's Gesang' ('Muḥammad's song') of 1773, he expressed his admiration for Islam and his enchantment with it by comparing it with a river flowing to God.

After this, it took a few decades for these interests to come to the fore again. Particular events, especially in the years 1813-19, led him to occupy himself more intensively than before with Oriental and Islamic sources. In autumn 1813, he received a 'mysterious leaf', a page of Arabic calligraphy, and since he was not an expert Orientalist, not having learned Turkish, Persian or Arabic, he asked Georg Wilhelm Lorsbach (1752-1816) from Jena, to translate it. The text was the last sura of the Qur'an (Q 114) and it

particularly fascinated Goethe because it addressed the theme of flight, which preoccupied him because of the Napoleonic Wars (1800-14). The question was whether it was permissible to flee from a senseless war, or whether to do so was cowardly. It was also because of this war that Bashkir troops (from Russia) allied with Prussia came to Weimar at the beginning of 1814. The Bashkirs held a prayer meeting in the Protestant grammar school, after which Goethe wrote to Friedrich Wilhelm von Trebra (1740-1819) on 5 January 1814 to say how much this impressed him:

> Since I am speaking of prophecies, I must remark that things are happening in our time which no prophet would have been permitted to utter. Who would have been allowed to announce a few years ago that Mahometan services would be held in the lecture hall of our Protestant grammar school and that the suras of the Qur'an would be muttered, and yet it has happened? We attended the Bashkir service, saw their mullah, and welcomed their prince to the theatre. (Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam*, p. 123)

A few months later, in May 1814, the publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta (1764-1832) gave Goethe a two-volume collection of the poems of the Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ in the translation by Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856). Goethe was so inspired by what he read that he was prompted to become poetically productive himself. A little later, a Leipzig art dealer offered to sell him eight Arabic, Persian and Turko-Arabic manuscripts for the library of Duke Carl August of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach. Goethe was so interested that he inspected them himself, which gave him the desire to learn some Arabic. On 23 January 1815, he wrote to Christian Heinrich Schlosser (1782 -1829): 'But what now occupies me almost exclusively I will confess to you most gladly, since I can think of you with pleasure. For I have thrown myself, with all my might and fortune, towards the Orient, the land of faith, revelation, prophecy and promise' (Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam*, p. 126). Last but not least, it should be mentioned that on his travels in the Rhine-Main regions in 1814-15, Goethe met Marianne von Willemer, herself an author who became his muse for the *West-östlicher Divan* ('West-eastern divan'). While Goethe speaks as the character Hatem in the Love Dialogues, she answers as Suleika. The *West-östlicher Divan* and the accompanying 'Notes and treatises' represent the culmination of Goethe's engagement with the Islamic world. It is also one of his last major works, published in his 70th year, about twelve years before his death.

In Goethe's life as a whole, considerable openness to various religious traditions can be discerned. His preoccupation with Islamic texts, with the Qur'an, Hadith and a wide variety of Arabic poetry is part of this great

interest and his perpetual search for inspiration (Simm, *Goethe und die Religion*, pp. 223-320).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

West-östlicher Divan
'West-eastern divan'

DATE 1819
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
The *West-östlicher Divan*, published in 1819, offers the most substantive witness to Goethe's fascination for poetical works from the Islamic world. It entails a journey back in time to the sources that breathe the 'aura of the original' and in it Goethe wants to transport himself to the East, to experience its writing and language.

The *Diwan* is divided into 12 books of poetry together with a book of *Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständnis des west-östlichen Divans* ('Notes and treatises for a better understanding of the West-eastern divan'). In 1815, he wrote to his publisher, Friedrich Cotta: 'My intention is to connect the West and the East, the past and the present, the Persian and the German in a cheerful way and to let mutual customs and ways of thinking merge' (Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*, p. 387). In accordance with this principle, each of the 12 books has a Persian as well as a German title. In its first printing in 1819 (ed. H. Birus, 2010), the collection consisted of the following books: 1. *Moganni Nameh – Buch des Sängers* ('Book of the Singer', pp. 11-25); 2. *Hafis Nameh – Buch Hafis* ('Book of Ḥāfiẓ', pp. 27-33); 3. *Ush Nameh – Buch der Liebe* ('Book of love', pp. 35-42); 4. *Tefkir Nameh – Buch der Betrachtungen* ('Book of reflections', pp. 43-9); 5. *Rendsch Nameh – Buch des Unmuths* ('Book of displeasure', pp. 51-60); 6. *Hikmet-Nameh – Buch der Sprüche* ('Book of sayings', pp. 61-7); 7. *Timur Nameh – Buch des Timur* ('Book of Timur', pp. 69-71); 8. *Suleika Nameh – Buch Suleika* ('Book of Suleika', pp. 73-102); 9. *Saki Nameh – Das Schenkenbuch* ('Book of the tavern', pp. 103-13); 10. *Mathal Nameh – Buch der Parabeln* ('Book of parables', pp. 115-19); 11. *Parsi Nameh – Buch des Parsen* ('Book of the Parsi', pp. 121-5); 12. *Chuld Nameh – Buch des Paradieses* ('Book of paradise', pp. 127-36); 13. *Noten und Abhandlungen* ('Notes and treatises', pp. 137-299).

Illustration 4. Frontispiece and title page of *West-östlicher Divan*, Stuttgart, 1819, Goethe's gift copy for Sulpiz Boisserée

Inspired by his reading of classical Persian and Arabic poetry, and especially the *Dīvān* of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ (1325-90) in the German translation by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (*Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis. Aus dem Persischen zum ersten Mal ganz übersetzt*, 2 vols, 1812-13), Goethe's own *Divan* is conceived as an eclectic intercultural dialogue. The programmatic opening poem 'Hegire' ('Migration') was composed on Christmas Eve 1814 and brings the birth of Jesus into juxtaposition with the beginning of the Islamic era through Muḥammad's migration from Mecca to Medina. In some of the books, the lyrical exchange is even dramatised, with historical and biblical identities from the 'West' and the 'East' interwoven in debate (Einboden, 'Genesis of world literature', pp. 242-3).

The verses of the *Divan* are often inspired by religious concerns. Denominational boundaries are explored and at the same time faith commitments are questioned, bringing the Christian and Islamic traditions into conversation with each other, attempting to have them meet on the same level. This becomes particularly clear in the second book, *Hafis*

Nameh – Buch Hafis, as Goethe styles himself the twin of the Persian poet and seeks to be his equal (Einboden, *Islam and Romanticism*, pp. 70-2; Bürgel, *Drei Hafis-Studien*). One of the reasons why he was so fascinated by this engagement with Ḥāfiẓ is that it enabled him to create new syntheses through polarities, to actually experience and create something new. What is particularly striking in the encounter between the two poets is that elements of cheerfulness are reinforced in Goethe's art. It is the tracing of a *heitren Bild des Glaubens* ('cheerful image of faith') that is turned towards life and the world and does not understand religion as the cultivation of sin and misery, but instead rejects it. This also applies to the relationship between the Bible and the Qur'an, or Christianity and Islam. There is a tendency to blur differences through redefinition. In his sixth book, *Hikmet Nameh – Buch der Sprüche* ('Book of sayings'), one quatrain concludes with the verses:

> Närisch, daß jeder in seinem Falle
> Seine besondere Meinung preist!
> Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heißt,
> In Islam leben und sterben wir alle (p. 65).

> 'The folly! Every man in turn
> Would still his own particular notions magnify!
> If Islam means submission to God's will,
> May we all live in Islam and all die' (trans. Edward Dowden, in Karić, 'Goethe, his era, and Islam', pp. 112-13).

But the *West-Östlicher Divan* is not only poetry. The poems go hand in hand with the *Noten und Abhandlungen*, the last part of the work, which Goethe includes as an aid to understanding the poems in the preceding books. Here, among other works, he lists eight publications by earlier travellers to the East, of which he focuses primarily on *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il Pellegrino* by Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652). In doing this, he shows that he is deliberately concentrating on authors who acquired their knowledge of the East outside academic institutions, away from the study of language and, moreover, from a time before knowledge of the East was divided into distinct subjects. As he openly declares: 'However, the author of the above poems would prefer to be regarded as a traveller, for whom it is a credit if he is comfortable with the foreign way of life, strives to adopt its language, shares attitudes and understands how to assimilate customs' (*Noten und Abhandlungen*, p. 138). It is only after this that academic specialists are mentioned.

Goethe discovered his own version of Islam primarily through poetry and the poets (including the Prophet Muḥammad) to whom he felt spiritually connected, despite the great span of time and the geographical and cultural distance that separated them.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work was received rather hesitantly during Goethe's lifetime and also for some time afterwards. It seemed foreign to many readers and – unlike other works from his pen – it was hardly discussed and studied by literary scholars. This was also due to the fact that Goethe, unusually for his time, had intensively immersed himself in the field of 'Oriental studies'. Nevertheless, there were individuals in the 19th century who read the *Divan* with enthusiasm and were inspired by it. They include Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866; *CMR* 22, 271-80), who translated the Qur'an into verse in the hope of presenting Germans with a beautiful translation, and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), who also addressed a poem to Ḥāfiẓ. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82), America's best-known essayist, followed Goethe's path, translating thousands of lines of classical Persian poetry from German sources into English over several decades in the mid-19th century, paying particular attention to Ḥāfiẓ and Sʿadī (Einboden, *Islam and Romanticism*, pp. 189-204). Karl May (1842-1912; *CMR* 22, 481-502), one of the most influential writers of the 19th century, who had a considerable influence on his readers' image of the East, created the figure of Kara Bin Nemsi, a traveller and hero who bore similarities to Goethe himself. As the 19th century ended and the 20th century began, the *Divan* received a major response from a leading literary figure in India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) in his *Payam-i mashriq* (1923).

In the second half of the 20th century, the *Divan* began to exert a cross-cultural influence or even attraction that can still be observed today in many areas of art, music and media. Beyond literary works, it has inspired monuments and music, serving more recently not only as a site of creativity, but also in diplomacy. In July 2000, the *Goethe-Hafis-Denkmal* ('Goethe-Ḥāfiẓ monument') was unveiled in Weimar, comprising two stone seats placed opposite each other, with German and Persian verses inscribed on its base. The ceremony to unveil this monument was attended by the presidents of both Germany and Iran (Einboden, 'Genesis of *Weltliteratur*', pp. 238-40). A year before this, a musical initiative inspired by Goethe's efforts was inaugurated. Aspiring to unite young musicians from Israel, Palestine and other Arab countries to promote inter-cultural dialogue

through music, this project continues today, with Goethe's work memorialised in its name, the *West-Eastern Divan Orchestra*.

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Catherina Wenzel

Jeffrey Einboden also contributed to the Significance section

Heinrich Heine

Harry Heine, Christian Johann Heinrich Heine (baptismal name),
Sy Freudhold Riesenharf

DATE OF BIRTH 13 December 1797
PLACE OF BIRTH Düsseldorf
DATE OF DEATH 17 February 1856
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Heinrich Heine was a German poet, writer and journalist. He was born the first son of the Jewish merchant Samson Heine. In addition to his parents and three siblings, his uncle, the merchant Salomon Heine, was also an important person throughout his life. After attending a Catholic school, he was intended by his family for a commercial career, but he himself had other plans. He published his first poems in 1817 under the pseudonym Sy Freudhold Riesenharf. From 1819 onwards, he studied law in Bonn, Göttingen and Berlin, graduating with a doctorate in 1825. From 1822, he was a member of the Berlin Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden ('Society for Jewish culture and studies'), which campaigned for the preservation of Jewish culture and Jewish rights. Privately, however, he decided to convert to Christianity in order to be able to work as a lawyer and avoid religious discrimination. He was baptised in 1825, but nevertheless his attempted university career in Munich failed in 1828 because of opposition from the conservative circles there.

From 1822, Heine made several trips to German cities, the Harz mountains, England, the Netherlands and Italy. What he observed inspired him to write works such as *Die Harzreise* ('The Harz journey', 1826) and *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* ('Germany. A winter's tale', 1844). Because of his Jewish origin and his political opinions, he became increasingly notorious, especially in Prussia. He went to Paris to avoid censorship and to be able to continue publishing. From 1831, he worked as a foreign correspondent in addition to writing works for German magazines that earned him a reputation as a satirist. In 1835, his writings were banned in his native Germany and also by the Vatican because of his criticism of Christianity. He married Augustine Crescence Mirat, known as Mathilde,

in a Catholic wedding ceremony in Paris in 1841. In addition to this marriage, he maintained an unrequited love for his cousin Amalia.

Heine was deeply involved in issues of his time, including matters of religion. In this, he took a position that was decidedly critical of the Church, not least because he knew from his own experience the consequences of the social exclusion of Jewish citizens, even after his conversion to Christianity. In Paris, he made acquaintances with personalities such as Karl Marx and travelled to Germany several more times. During the political upheaval in 1848/49, when he found himself in Paris, he continued to write and publish works until he died there in 1856.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Almansor. Eine Tragödie
'Almansor. A tragedy'

DATE 1821
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In his first tragedy, *Almansor* (1820-1), Heine took up the story of the Moors in Spain at the time of the overthrow of their last stronghold Granada by the 'Catholic monarchs' Isabella and Ferdinand. In addition to his sense of being excluded from society, many scholars see in the background of the play his unfulfilled love for his cousin (Pfeifer, *Heine und der islamische Orient*, p. 26). Parts of *Almansor* were printed in instalments in the journal *Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Herz und Geist* ('The companion or Sheets for heart and mind') in 1821, and it appeared in full, together with other works by Heine, in *Tragödien nebst ein lyrischen Intermezzo* ('Tragedies together with a lyrical intermezzo', pp. 129-247) in 1823 (references here follow this edition). *Almansor* was premiered in Braunschweig in the year of its publication, but it was not well received and was not staged again.

The play, which is set in Granada over a time span of about 24 hours after the Christians have taken it, unfolds in eight chapters. Against the backdrop of the tension and conflict between the Christian and former Muslim population, the main story tells of the Muslim Almansor and his love for his childhood sweetheart Zuleima. Returning from exile in Arabia, Almansor chances to meet his old servant Hassan and asks him about Zuleima, whom he hopes to marry. He is told that she and Ali, her foster-father and Almansor's real father, have converted to Christianity and taken the names Clara and Don Gonzalvo. Almansor and Zuleima were swapped as children, so that their parents could raise their ideal son- and daughter-in-law. Believing that Almansor is dead, Zuleima has agreed to marry the Spanish Christian Don Enrique. Almansor and Zuleima then meet by chance on the eve of her wedding and they reveal their love for each other and, as they talk about their beliefs, Zuleima also tells Almansor about the Christian hope and charity she has discovered since her conversion. Almansor declares that he is willing to convert in order to be with her, but when she tells him she is going to marry another man he is seized by such anger and pain that he appears to lose his mind. Almansor sees Zuleima's

baptism as a betrayal of his love and of the Muslim community. On the evening of the wedding, he and other Moors storm Ali's palace and he kidnaps Zuleima and runs off with her. When he realises that they cannot live together because of the irreconcilable differences between Christianity and Islam, he throws himself and her from a cliff to their death.

The relationship between Almansor and Zuleima represents the struggle within the Muslim community in Granada, where people find different ways to deal with oppression by the Christians. The couple's complicated family background illustrates the entangled conflict of the two religious traditions. Further, forced baptism is a frequently used motif to signify the violent Christian claim to power, which Heine is strongly against and criticises through various figures, among them Ali, who is trying to adapt to the new circumstances with his new Christian name and by marrying Zuleima off to Don Enrique, even though she was promised to Almansor. Altogether, the tragedy brings up three different possible ways of dealing with the new social structure between Christians and Muslims (which Heine would consider also applied to Jews at this time). These are: first, baptism out of fear, personified mainly through Ali and Zuleima as Moriscos, Moors who were forcibly converted to Christianity; second, exile from Spain, as is shown in Almansor; and third, as the figure of Hassan shows, underground struggle (Pfeifer, *Heine und der islamische Orient*, p. 29). As an example of the best way of dealing with the Catholic authorities, Heine depicts Almansor's standing up against the unjust rulers who force conversion upon Muslims and calling the church a torture chamber (p. 203). Nor does he accept the new Christian baptismal names of his protagonists, who are always listed with their old Muslim names. So, for example, it is always Zuleima and not Klara, except in conversations, when the characters refer to her as Klara. In this way, Heine is able to highlight an incongruity or even question the conversions of the Muslims altogether.

On one side are the Moriscos, whose continuing loyalty to their true religion is expressed by the many references they make to the Qur'an, Muḥammad and the call of the muezzin. The servant Pedrillo reveals that he is a Morisco when he declares: 'O Allah! Jesus!' (p. 234). On the other side are the Catholic Spaniards, whom Almansor associates with the ringing of bells, images of Jesus, hands clasped together and tonsured heads, eucharistic celebrations and baptisms. Heine's sympathy for the Moors develops not only through condemnations of the religious policy of the Christian conquerors of Granada, but also through satire. He depicts the Christian characters negatively, speaking dismissively about their Muslim

fellow citizens, as when an abbot calls the Moors sinners (p. 227), and as insincere and dishonest, like Don Enrique with his fake noble title and his plan to marry Zuleima in order to gain Ali's wealth (p. 177; Jäger, *Besaß auch in Spanien*, pp. 47-53). All in all, a Muslim world of day is juxtaposed to a Christian world of night, as in the first chapter, when Almansor visits his old home as the sun is setting (Pfeifer, *Heine und der islamische Orient*, pp. 33-7).

Heine never travelled to Spain himself, and his descriptions of the places and figures in the play are derived from his reading (Jäger, *Besaß auch in Spanien*, pp. 3-4). But he carried out extensive research, as is shown by the borrowing list of the Bonn library, which includes among works he read historical novels, travelogues and scholarly treatises, including *Die alten und neuen Spanier. Ein Völkerspiegel* by Ignaz Aurelius Feßler and *Geschichte der Mauritanischen Könige* by ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Zarʿ al-Fāsī in the German translation by Franz von Dombay. Heine evidently used Dombay's notes to this drama; for example, he makes a character say: 'I have laid him in the grave, but not according to Muslim custom, the face towards Mecca' (p. 187; for further examples, see Fendri, *Halbmond, Kreuz und Schibboleth*, pp. 46-51).

At the time the tragedy appeared, it was no longer novel in German literature to refer to the 'Orient'. Heine could read about Islam in Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* (1819) or the Spanish author Pérez de Hitas's Moorish novel *Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes* (1588), which was available in a French translation (Fendri, *Halbmond, Kreuz und Schibboleth*, p. 43). He also knew Anton Theodor Hartmann's 1808 translation of the Persian tale of Majnun and Layla, in which the boy goes mad when he is prevented from marrying the girl he passionately loves. Clearly there is a parallel between the main characters in the two stories.

In addition to works such as these, Heine studied the Spanish Inquisition in detail, especially the brutal methods of forcing conversion employed by Cardinal Francisco Jiménes de Cisneros (Richter, 'Historische und literarische Quellen', p. 246). He was incensed by the fact that both Jews and Moors were compelled to migrate if they refused to be baptised and that Islamic books, including the Qur'an, were publicly burned. He has Almansor say:

> 'We heard that the terrible Ximenes,
> In the midst of the market,
> In Granada –
> My tongue sticks in my mouth – threw the Qur'an
> Into a funeral pyre's flame!' (p. 147)

In addition to *Almansor*, Heine also dealt with the history of the Moors in a number of other works. Two poems, 'Almansor' (1826) and 'Der sterbende Almansor' (1847), are on the same theme and use the same characters as the tragedy, though with different plots. The first focuses more on the love theme and the second also incorporates the religious conflict. The poems 'Don Ramiro' (1817), 'Ständchen eines Mauren' ('A Moor's serenade', 1821), 'Donna Clara' (1826) and 'Der Mohrenkönig' ('The king of the Moors', 1851) are other examples.

SIGNIFICANCE

In *Almansor* and his other works mentioned above, Heine takes the side of the oppressed Muslims. His investigations into the Moorish period in Spain demonstrated to him parallels between the Muslim and Jewish communities in the 15th century and his own time, and this led him to sympathise with the Moriscos and despise the Spanish Christians who appear in the play, where the Muslim is regarded by the Christian as no more than a pagan who needs to be converted and neither side is able to understand or imagine the beliefs of the other (Tayim, 'Von Spanien ... bis nach Damaskus', p. 31). Heine himself was torn throughout his life over his religious identity, and in consequence he looked critically on the more or less equal relationship between the three monotheistic religions that Gotthold Ephraim Lessing sets out in his play *Nathan der Weise* (Kruse, 'In dem Dome zu Corduva', p. 37). As an alternative, he chose Moorish Spain, which allowed him to create a literary narrative of both the painful experiences and the fruitfulness of the interaction between Christian and Muslim protagonists. In contrast to most German Romantics, who glorified the *Reconquista* as a Christian victory, he portrayed this epoch as one of cultural decline after a period of prosperity and depicted both religions as fundamentalist (Tayim, 'Von Spanien ... bis nach Damaskus', p. 25). He thematised the suffering of the Moors as well as the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition (Jäger, *Besaß auch in Spanien*, pp. 37-40; Weber, *Der 'wahre Poesie-Orient'*, p. 82), directing his criticisms mainly at church officials. Heine used the history of the *Reconquista* to criticise the socio-political dynamics of his own time, in which Jews were also persecuted by nationalists and he also used the deaths of the two lovers to express fierce criticism of every form of religious fanaticism (Jäger, *Besaß auch in Spanien*, p. 50).

It is not known exactly why the premiere of *Almansor* was a failure. By contrast, the published text was reviewed positively in the press, by the German writers Wilibald Alexis, Elise von Hohenhausen and Adolf

Müllner among others (DHA Bd.5 5, S.396-408). The unsuccessful premiere remained, as far as is known, the only production of the play and accordingly it was known mainly as a text for reading, though it was probably performed as an opera composed by Gustav Altvater in 1901. In contrast, it has recently been praised in the Islamic world for its tolerant attitude towards Muslims (M. Fendri, 'Faszinierd von der alt-arabischen Poesie'), while scholarly interest as part of interest in relations between Judaism, Islam and Christianity has significantly increased in the 2000s.

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Caroline Sosna and Catherina Wenzel

Johann Martin Augustin Scholz

DATE OF BIRTH 8 February 1794
PLACE OF BIRTH Kapsdorf near Breslau (today Wroclaw)
DATE OF DEATH 20 October 1852
PLACE OF DEATH Bonn

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1794, Johann Martin Augustin Scholz attended the Catholic grammar school in his home town from 1804. In 1812, he began to study philology and Catholic theology at the University of Breslau. After finishing his studies in 1815, he moved to Vienna, where he took private lessons in Oriental languages and biblical archaeology from Johann Jahn (1750-1816). After Jahn's death, he moved to the University of Freiburg, where he gained his licentiate and became Doctor of Catholic Theology in 1820.

Whilst in Freiburg, Scholz became more closely acquainted with Johan Leonhard Hug (1765-1846), under whose guidance he continued his Oriental studies, focusing increasingly on the historical origins of the Old and New Testaments. In order to gain new material for this research, he decided to make a library tour through Europe. Paris was one of his focal points, as well as London, towns in Switzerland and Rome and other Italian cities. He stayed in Paris from 1819 to 1820. After official requests by Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), he received a travel grant from the Prussian minister Karl vom Stein zu Altenstein (1770-1840), which allowed him to stay and attend de Sacy's lectures on Arabic and Persian.

After finishing his dissertation under the title *Curae criticae in historiam textus evangeliorum*, Scholz was offered a professorship in ecclesiastical history and the Old Testament in Bonn. He refused it, and instead in 1820 joined an expedition to the 'Orient' led by the Prussian Lieutenant-General Heinrich Menu von Minutoli (1772-1846). Scholz first travelled with the expedition to Alexandria and Cairo and from there they trekked through the Libyan Desert to the oasis of Siwa. When the party returned to Cairo, Scholz sailed eastwards along the coast. He left the expedition on 5 January 1821 and travelled alone through the Sinai to Palestine and Syria. The Greek War of Independence prevented him from returning through the Ottoman Empire so he travelled to Greece. After visiting

many monasteries and libraries searching for manuscripts, he returned to Wroclaw via Trieste and Vienna. This journey became the main event of his life. A colleague at the Catholic faculty later wrote in his memoirs:

> From his many and far journeys, he brought along a rich treasure of experiences, which he shared freely with others. […] It was especially pleasant to listen to him when he talked about the adventures he went through with the Bedouins during his travels. And when he decked himself with one of the turbans he had brought from Arabia in order to be more visible, he put his listeners in a most merry mood. (Martin, *Zeitbilder*, 170-1)

After his return, Scholz was appointed extraordinary professor for the exegesis of the Old Testament at the University of Bonn. He took holy orders in October 1821 and returned to Bonn for the winter semester of 1821-2. He was appointed full professor on 9 August 1823 and for several years worked on a new critical edition of the New Testament, which was published in two volumes between 1830 and 1836. The foundation for this revised edition was the papers he had gathered during his travels in the 'Orient' and his European library tour, among them some Arabic translations of the New Testament. He used more observations from the Near East in his *Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie* ('Handbook of biblical archeology', 1834). This was the first new Catholic textbook in this area after his teacher Johann Jahn's book, which had been published around 1800.

In September 1836, Scholz was named canon of Cologne, but theological differences led to a delay and he only assumed the position in 1838. His last major work was *Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments* ('Prolegomena to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament'), published in three volumes between 1845 and 1848. It was overshadowed by a work with the same title from his teacher Johann Leonhard Hug published at the same time.

Throughout his life, Scholz was more of an exegete than a theologian or Orientalist. Again and again, he undertook expeditions to view manuscripts in the libraries of the European capitals in order to come closer to the original texts of the Bible. On his last journey to Paris, he caught a severe cold from which he died when he returned to Bonn.

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Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium, die libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palästina und Syrien

'Travels in the countries between Alexandria and Paraetonium, the Libyan desert, Siwa, Egypt, Palestine and Syria'

DATE 1822
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In 1822 Scholz published his travel writings in a book 311 pages long (its full title is *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium, die libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palästina und Syrien in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*, 'Travels in the countries between Alexandria and Paraetonium, the Libyan Desert, Siwa, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in 1821'). As sources, Scholz used his own diary and the letters he had sent to his mother and uncle in Breslau during the journey (these are no longer extant). In a short prolegomenon he defends his research methodology, particularly with regard to his notation of place names in Arabic (*Reise*, 1822 edition, pp. III-IV). In the first 37 pages, he describes his journey from Trieste to Alexandria, on through the Libyan Desert and back to Egypt, and then through Sinai to Palestine and Syria. From there, he went to Jaffa and finally to the Ionian Islands on the way back to Trieste. He states on the first page that he went on this journey spontaneously and therefore did not carry any research 'aids' such as instruments or older travelogues (p. 1). For part of it he was a member of Heinrich von Minutoli's expedition.

This account of his journey is followed by chapters arranged thematically. First, he gives a description of the landscape around Lake Mareotis west of Alexandria, including its topography, ruins, inhabitants and their lifestyle, geological conditions and animals and plants (pp. 37-75). He follows the same pattern in the sections on the oasis of Siwa (pp. 75-88) and the area around Qara (pp. 88-92). Then, he goes on to describe Alexandria and comments on the government in Egypt, the life of Coptic Christians, the Jews of Africa and the city of Cairo (pp. 92-124). He next describes the natural history of Palestine and Syria (pp. 127-45), before going into

more detail about the antiquities and ruins of Palestine, Galilee, Samaria, al-Karak and Jerusalem (pp. 145-92).

In the next major section, Scholz describes the Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land, especially the Catholics, Greeks and Armenians, including the differences between their respective rites and the disputes between them (pp. 192-225). After a short description of the Easter festival in Jerusalem, he gives a political description of Syria (pp. 236-53) and statistics for Nablus and Jerusalem, the latter of which he describes in more detail (pp. 253-80). In the penultimate section, he describes the Arabic dialects of Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Palestine and how they are related linguistically (pp. 280-97). He concludes with observations on illnesses in the Near East, especially those affecting women, and provides a 'general characteristic' of the inhabitants of Palestine (pp. 297-305). Even this brief summary demonstrates that Islam and the Muslims were not a distinct field of research during the journey. His main emphasis was on proving the authenticity of the Bible and on the discovery of particularly old manuscripts in order to come closer to the original biblical text.

Since the Bible does not mention Islam or Muslims, they were of little interest to Scholz. Nonetheless, they appear in several contexts, though generally speaking it is difficult to identify them. He simply calls the inhabitants of Egypt, Palestine and Syria 'Orientals' in contrast to the 'Franconians' (Europeans), and it is often not clear whether he means Muslims, Jews or Christians. A typical example is: 'All Orientals share the tendency towards superstition' (p. 295).

For Scholz, this was a journey through time into the biblical past. He was convinced that life in the East was essentially identical to life in the times of the early Israelites, so that, in addition to written and archaeological sources, the Bible researcher's own observations of the customs of Eastern people would help him to understand the Bible better:

> A tool not less helpful are the customs and practices that are still practised in these regions. The remark has often been made that the journey into these regions takes you back not only to the times of the existence of the Hebrew state but even to those of the Patriarchs, so closely are the customs of the nomads and partly also those of the residents repeated in all aspects of domestic life. (*Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, Bonn, 1834, pp. 338-9)

A review of Scholz's critical new edition of the New Testament from the 1830s shows that he was not alone in his opinion that a journey to the 'Orient' would be like travel through time for a better understanding of

the Bible. The reviewer wrote: 'Certainly, one can expect something substantial for the exegesis of the Old Testament from a man who knows the Orient, the cradle of history, from his *own* experience' (M. Schmalhofer, *Handbüchlein der neuesten Literatur des Katholizismus*, Schaffhausen, 1840, p. 27).

When Islam first appears in Scholz's account it is as an obstacle to his journey. During his trek into the Libyan Desert, it is Bedouins who 'distress [his company] with phrases that identify them as Mohammedans but are abhorrent to Christians' (p. 21). If as a Christian you join a caravan led by a Muslim, 'you must not respond to his abuse and can never threaten him without danger' (p. 26). It is also necessary to hire a shaykh for good money who can 'offer and return the Mohammedan greeting Salam Alaikum' (p. 28). Scholz also mentions a 'ghafar', a special levy to be paid by all travellers in Syria and Palestine, and describes in detail several difficult experiences in which he was afraid for his life (pp. 126, 230-6). But he makes distinctions. Among the Muslims of the caravan by which he travelled from Cairo to Palestine, '[I] learned to appreciate the good-naturedness of the Orientals and fared [...] more happily than during boring conversations in Italy' (pp. 21-2). He often experiences Muslims as an impediment to his studies. He is allegedly pelted at with stones in Alexandria when he wants to use his expertise to assist during excavations or wants to conduct excavations of his own. The residents of Alexandria generally have no interest in the antiquities of their city and Scholz refers to an incident in which 35 papyrus scrolls that had just been discovered were simply burnt by 'Arabs' (p. 94).

In the ethnographic sections of the book Scholz often discusses Islam, such as his account of the Bedouins in the Libyan Desert, where their religious observance is only one alongside other more mundane aspects (pp. 66-8). Scholz emphasises on the one hand that the Muslim Bedouins have 'contempt' for infidels but on the other that their daily religious practices are rather lax. He also describes how the shaykhs regularly visited the members of the expedition and how he was able to barter for some manuscripts. In contrast, he describes the population of the Siwa oasis quite differently: 'They follow very strict Mohammedan laws and hate all non-Mohammedans to a greater or lesser extent. We had to experience this hatred as well. None of their shaykhs visited us during the time of our stay' (p. 83). From this he draws the conclusion that there are both strict and easy-going Muslims. He is very critical of the Muslims in Syria, who allegedly actively pursue Christians, though this has happened only in the

last couple of years because earlier '[Christians and Muslims] had been on familiar terms and often forgot their religious differences'. Nowadays, however, Muslims would 'look down haughtily on Christians, and the slightest slur would have the sorriest results for the latter. Woe to the Christian who lays hands on a Mohammedan' (p. 219). However, despite all the differences between Muslims and Christians, Scholz also gives examples of mutual help. On one occasion, a group of Catholics were stranded in Gaza without any belongings and they turned to the local Greeks, but the Greeks chased them away with the words: 'They should die like dogs, they are worse than the Mohammedans' (p. 210). Then, when a Muslim woman heard about their plight, she sent them food and clothes.

Competition between the Christian churches in the Holy Land, and especially in Jerusalem, is of more importance to Scholz than the differences between Christians and Muslims. He regards the Muslims in Egypt with particular favour and emphasises that, as an infidel, he was not allowed to enter some mosques, but also mentions that the Egyptian clerics answered all his questions in detail. For example, he was able to gather information from them about the amount and circumstances of pious bequests for the financing of mosques, and also discussed with the clerics where a Muslim should conduct his prayers during festivals, though this is the only theological discussion about Islam that he refers to (p. 119). He applauds the fact that there are committees in Egypt, for example in Alexandria, that mediate in disputes between Mohammedans and 'Franconians', though the two groups generally live together 'very peacefully' (p. 98).

He includes accounts of Muslim places of pilgrimage. For example, he describes a cave on Mount Carmel called 'the school of Elias', which is guarded by a Muslim cleric. He writes: 'During my sojourn in this place, many [Mohammedans] came there, prayed at the door, then in the middle and finally close to the lamps, and finished their prayers by kissing the flags' (p. 151). In his description of the city of Jerusalem, he goes into detail about the local mosques and especially the Temple Mount (pp. 276-8). He does not think much of the dervishes, who apparently walk around 'stark naked' and may rape Christian women and beat men with impunity (pp. 295-6), though he knows these stories only from hearsay.

Overall, Scholz is open towards some Muslims in spite of his own difficulties with them and harmful rumours about them. His impartiality, sometimes even imprudence, manifests itself especially with regard to the clergy. His travelling companion Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg (1795-1876) reports:

> Today, our companion Dr Scholz has been negotiating again a lot with the religious heads of the Arab tribes, has been trading manuscripts from them and has brought us close to grave danger with his reckless fervour. An old, very devout shaykh with a silver-white beard was very interested in the fact that a Christian like Mr Scholz could read fluently from the Qur'an and still be a Christian, and was eager to find out about his printed Arabic books, several of which he carried with him. Unfortunately, Mr Scholz pulled out a Christian Arabic book and gave the very beginning of the text itself to the shaykh to read. However, the shaykh continued and soon encountered several invectives against the Mohammedans, who were called infidels and heathens. (Ehrenberg, *Naturgeschichtliche Reise*, pp. 108-9)

Nonetheless, this candour opened many doors in Cairo to Scholz and he writes about the opportunities for research there: 'The greatest haul of Arabic literature could be made in the libraries of some shaykhs. Their treasures and the ease with which transcripts can be obtained will always make Cairo important to the friend of Arabic literature' (*Reise*, p. 119). He is generally very impressed by the erudition of the Muslim clergy – more so than by the education of Christian priests (p. 295). He observes that a 'learned Greek [...] could never understand the writings of his forebears without preliminary studies', 'yet the Arab could understand those of his own ancestors, whereof I have often convinced myself amongst the Bedouins in Egypt and Syria and the population of cities and towns in both provinces' (pp. 280-1). Scholz admires how the Arabs read the works of Muslim authors and comment on them. At the same time, the Arabs are astonished at his knowledge of these authors and their works, since he is not a Muslim himself (p. 281).

Scholz is unusually interested in Arab and Islamic ruins. On the part of his journey from Alexandria through the Libyan Desert he first records a mosque at six hours distance from Abusir, and includes in his travelogue a rough map he has drawn. He writes: 'An inscription above the front door contains some proverbs [verses] from the second sura of the Qur'an. The shape of the letters and the building style do not allow it to be dated later than the 15th century' (p. 52). On his journey in Palestine, he records not only buildings and Crusader castles but also remains of the ruins of Arab towns, for example a village called *Dura bey Ghelil* (p. 149). Scholz's archaeological studies of Islamic buildings set him apart from his travelling companions.

At the end of his travelogue, Scholz provides a comparison between 'Occidentals' and 'Orientals'. He emphasises the 'contrast' in everyday life between these two worlds, where 'we [the Occidentals] have many needs,

the Orientals very few' (p. 303). This makes the 'Oriental', and therefore the Muslim, tougher and stronger than the European, who is 'as soft' as his 'household pets'. Quite generally, 'the Oriental is more law-abiding, he never steals' whereas 'the Occidental [is] more deceitful' (p. 304). Despite this, the Occident has two advantages: a living religion that is more than simple obedience to rules and 'wise natural and positive laws'. Furthermore, the form of government in Europe is better than the 'tyranny' of the Near Eastern countries and there are enlightened rulers such as the Prussian King Frederick II (r. 1740-86) and the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740-80), who are unknown in the 'Orient'. Ultimately, it is clear for Scholz: 'With us, the urge towards a great civilisation is dominant, with them the tendency towards barbarism' (p. 305).

Following the first edition of 1822, Scholz's work also appeared elsewhere. It was published in 1823 in three parts in *Neues Journal für die neuesten Land- und Seereisen*, vols 19 and 20, repeated in *Magazin der neuesten Reisebeschreibungen in unterhaltenden Auszügen*, vols 43 and 44.

Scholz also mentioned his journey in other works. While he was still travelling home, he sent a first account from Trieste on 24 July 1821 to both the Prussian Ministry of Culture and the Academy of Sciences. Even here, he mentions the difficulties created by the people of the 'Orient' for his research and remarks that the superstition 'of the people [opposed] every investigation, especially those through excavation' (Löppenberg, '"Schätze für die Bibelkund"', p. 226). In doing this, he must have been trying to preempt any criticism of the results of his research.

In 1825, Scholz published a list of 'necessary improvements' to his travelogue in his *Biblisch-Kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Palästina und im Archipel, in den Jahren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes des N.T.* This consisted mostly of corrections to misprints, but also supplements and corrections to several Arabic letters and names.

SIGNIFICANCE

Initially, Scholz's travelogue was received positively in Germany. The very year after it was published the Orientalist Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller (1768-1835) referred to it in his *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde* (vol. 1.1, Leipzig, 1823). According to Rosenmüller's assessment,

> the account by a learned German theologian of his journeys to those countries for which his studies had made him, as it were, native, deserves special interest simply for the author's personality. This is increased by the fact that the news contained in this current travelogue is the most recent that can be obtained with regard to the countries named in its title'. (p. 104)

Reviews in leading professional journals also soon appeared. One in the *Leipziger Literaturzeitung* noted that 'in Egypt, the Franconians live very peacefully with the Mohammedans and disputes between them are settled quickly and to the satisfaction of both parties by a committee especially formed for this purpose' (*Leipziger Literaturzeitung* 258 [16 October 1822] 2059-64, p. 2060). However, another reviewer in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* regretted that Scholz did not prepare himself sufficiently for his travels and did not have the opportunity to make a real 'voyage of exploration', and he also finds fault with Scholz's accuracy in transcribing inscriptions and Arabic words. His verdict is withering: 'Instead of this sloppy and useless information, the reviewer wishes for the greater glory of German literature that it would have been left out completely' (*Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 35/36 [1823] 273-83, p. 274). No further reviews appeared after this negative criticism.

In Austria, reactions to the book only came after a delay. The first review was published in 1830 in a combined article on more than 40 travel accounts by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), himself a diplomat and Orientalist who specialised in the Ottoman Empire. He wrote: '[…] yet his [Scholz's] work necessitates a large warning sign pointing out the spelling of his Arabic names, which are written only as heard and without any consideration of the correct orthography and grammatical derivations' ('Reisen ins osmanische Reich [Schluß]', *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 50 (1830) p. 68). Since Scholz's travelogue was the first publication about Heinrich von Minutoli's expedition, his work was also commented on in the travelogues written by Minutoli himself and by Ehrenberg, both of whom took a rather critical view. The editor of Minutoli's travelogue, Ernst Heinrich Toelken (1786-1864), wrote that the 'printed and estimable account of Professor Scholz […] differs so significantly from those remarks that were directly written down daily during the trek itself with regard to the specification of names and places' (Minutoli, *Reise zum Tempel*, pp. XIII-IV). Ehrenberg's criticism also referred to the Arabic spellings of names and places (*Naturgeschichtliche Reisen*, pp. IX-X).

An English translation of Scholz's travelogue was published by Sir Richard Philips in London in 1822, at the same time as the German edition. It evidently went unnoticed among the English scholarly community because in the first review to appear in England, published as late as 1827, the reviewer claimed that '[Scholz's] works have not passed beyond the German language' (*The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record* 1 [1827] 362-74, p. 362), though he assessed Scholz's works as 'the most important discoveries of modern times' (p. 362). Concerning Scholz's accounts of religious and cultural manners in the

Near East, the reviewer points out that 'other writers have already treated of them circumstantially' (p. 363) and he accuses Scholz of not knowing anything about the Arab history of the region (pp. 364-5). Nevertheless, he emphatically commends Scholz's representation of the Bedouins as one of the best since Johann Ludwig Burckhardt's (1784-1817) travelogue.

Today, Scholz's work on the historical geography of Palestine (Goren, *'Ziehet hin und erforscht das Land'*, p. 63) is still appreciated. By contrast, with regard to Islam and the people of the 'Orient', Ulrike Stamm has recently pointed out that Scholz's 'unstructured text, consisting of loosely compiled clichés' is full of 'highly disparaging and Eurocentric passages', and she judges that the travelogue is 'a fairly typical example of a large number of contemporaneous accounts about expeditions that were of limited scientific value' ('German expediton', pp. 67-8). Yet renewed analysis of the work with regard to Islam and the Oriental way of life might lead to new results. Scholz's efforts for an Islamic archaeology have not been appreciated by any reviewer or by any later scholars. His travelogue could yet contain new discoveries in Egypt and the Near East.

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Löppenberg, '"Schätze für die Bibelkunde"'

Ingo Löppenberg and Jens Peters

Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck

DATE OF BIRTH 30 March 1799
PLACE OF BIRTH Breslau
DATE OF DEATH 10 June 1877
PLACE OF DEATH Halle

BIOGRAPHY

Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck was born the son of a goldsmith in Breslau and was the only one of his children to attend secondary school. Even during his school days, he developed a great interest in books about distant countries and discovered a passion and talent for languages. His surviving diary entries show that, even at the age of 16, he could write well in more than a dozen languages, including the biblical languages, Arabic and Bengali. In 1816, he graduated from high school with a speech on Islam. Although it has not survived, its title, 'How the Arabs influenced European education', indicates that he had a lively academic interest in the relationship between Europe and the Islamic world at an early age.

In the same year, Tholuck began studying philology at the University of Wroclaw with the aim of improving his Arabic language skills. One of his favourite Orientalists was Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817), who made him his assistant and also encouraged him to turn his study from Arabic to Christianity. Through Diez, Tholuck also got to know Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz (1757-1843) and with him the pietist revival of which Tholuck was to become a great leader later in his life. With Diez, Tholuck worked on several manuscripts from the Islamic world and also a translation of the Bible into Turkish. As early as 1819, he was offered a professorship in Oriental languages, though he was unable to take it up for health reasons. Although theology had become his main discipline, he continued research on the East and also on translation work. His thesis, *Ssufismus, sive Theosophia Persarum pantheistica*, makes this particularly clear. It gained him his doctorate, even though it lacked several formal elements and received harsh criticism from a number of scholars, including the Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), who concluded that he not only lacked the most important sources for this study but also had not understood the system of Sufism, and the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who declared that he could not find any theological merit in the thesis.

In 1825, Tholuck travelled to England for the first time to give a lecture to the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (LSPCJ), in which he criticised rationalist theology and the general character of theology in Germany. Although he used his stay to search through and copy rare Arabic manuscripts, he vehemently argued before the society that Christianity should not be taught at universities as one religion among many but as the only true way of salvation for all humankind. At the same time, it was this trip and the sources he discovered that enabled him to complete his *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik* ('Collection of flowers from Eastern mysticism') and *Die speculative Trinitätslehre des späteren Orients* ('The speculative Trinitarian doctrine of the later East'). His fascination with other religions, countries and cultures was interrupted by constant inner turmoil, which was accompanied by the fear of losing his faith. Ultimately, his interest in the East never completely disappeared, but only his publications on it.

With the beginning of his career as professor at the Faculty of Theology of the Vereinigten Friedrichs-Universität in Halle in 1826, Tholuck turned to church history, biblical exegesis, dogmatics and Christian moral teachings, though this did not prevent him from continuing to collect and translate Arabic manuscripts, or from travelling to Islamic countries to practise his language skills and to learn about and participate in religious rites. In 1839, at the start of his work as a university preacher, he published his last study on Islam, *Die Wunder Mohammed's und der Character dieses Religionsstifters* ('The miracles of Muḥammad and the character of this founder of religion'), a 27-page essay with a strongly apologetic character, which speaks of Muḥammad as a 'pseudoprophet' and rejects his miracles. In 1826, Tholuck became dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Halle. He remained in this position for 50 years, during which he brought pietism back to Halle in a modified form of revivalism. He died in 1877 after a serious illness.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Blüthensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik 'A collection of flowers from Eastern mysticism'

DATE 1825

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German, with some Latin

DESCRIPTION

Tholuck's *Blüthensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik* (in full, *Blüthensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik nebst einer Einleitung über Mystik überhaupt und Morgenländische insbesondere*, 'A collection of flowers from Eastern mysticism together with an introduction to mysticism in general and Eastern mysticism in particular') is divided into a preface, a 52-page introduction dealing with general and Eastern mysticism, and a 283-page main section containing translations of Eastern, mainly Sufi, poems with commentaries by Tholuck himself. His sources were Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts from the Royal Library in Berlin, of which he had made copies in 1818 and 1819 and which he used in his dissertation. He addresses his translation not only to academics but also to general readers.

Tholuck initially suggests that Christianity and Islam are on the same level, though he is not able to maintain this as the work progresses. Depending on the source he is using, he paints a picture of common ground between the two, a relationship between them but also a radical contrast. Increasingly, the East becomes typified as Islamic and the West as Protestant Christian. The criterion for discussing and evaluating Islam is always his own revived Protestant Christianity.

While Tholuck characterises the West as reason and the East as emotion, he emphasises that both are necessary for a knowledge of God and even that emotion is the more important. Here Islam, and more specifically

Sufism, is held up as the teacher of rational Christianity, though this is only the past faith, a mystical Islam that, like mystical Christianity, no longer exists. In doing this, Tholuck follows the contemporary current of German Romantic Orientalism, which drew a picture of the East in its past expression as better, more beautiful and purer than the present.

A decisive factor in the work is Tholuck's focus on Sufism. While he considers the outer shell of normative Islam as inadequate because of its strong focus on laws, doctrines and customs, it is the purest mysticism, profound and spiritual, that he tries to depict in *Blüthensammlung*, contrasting this with the familiar image of logical, rational Islam, and also with Christianity. The result is that Islam is subordinated to Christianity, as well as to Sufism. The Qur'an lacks mystical elements, but the Hadith literature compensates for this. Interestingly, Tholuck argues that only because of this outer shell could the profound, highly developed form of Sufism, which goes beyond pure feeling, come into being.

If Tholuck recognises Eastern mysticism as a model, it is against the background of his criticism of and aversion to the spreading rationalism he sees within theology. In his time, faith, emotion and religious experience as ways to God and as forms of Christianity were strongly contradicted by the logic and reason of the historical-critical method, which considered the truths of the New Testament, such as the life of Jesus, as unhistorical and called into question the whole of Christianity. Tholuck's emphasis on the function of the East as a model must always be seen against this background. In order to protect and preserve religion, and especially Christianity, he turned his back on academic thought and method and instead devoted himself to feeling and direct experience. He stylised the East into a picture in which religion was still alive precisely because of its *Gefühlspantheismus* ('emotional pantheism') which had not lost its power and influence. If he emphasises aspects of Islamic mysticism, which he recognises as beautiful and positive, they are always as pointers to Christianity: what is positively emphasised in the East is, at least in part, missing in the West.

The East thus served Tholuck as a means of criticising rationalism by creating a counter-image that showed the way to God and the connection with the divine not through reason but through emotions and religious experiences. However, the East and its poetry faded behind the purpose for which Tholuck used them. In contrast to the Orientalism of his time, he did not draw the picture of an exemplary other that had no similarities

to the European and should always be thought of as completely opposite. Rather, in *Blüthensammlung* the Eastern, and more specifically the Sufi Muslim, became a close relation to Christianity possessing teachings that could be enriching to the West. And so Tholuck tried to find a respectful, even dignified way of dealing with Eastern poems, but he ultimately failed because of his regularly repeated assertions that, for all the beauty and wisdom in the East, nothing was comparable to Protestantism.

SIGNIFICANCE

During Tholuck's lifetime, *Blüthensammlung* received little recognition. Although Goethe read from it to his friends and had a copy in his library, and Hammer-Purgstall commended it, Tholuck's efforts aroused little public interest. His work was rarely read and it soon became lost in the multitude of new translations of the works it gathered together.

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Die speculative Trinitätslehre des späteren Orients 'The speculative doctrine of the Trinity in the later East'

DATE 1826
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German, with some Latin

DESCRIPTION

Die speculative Trinitätslehre des späteren Orients (in full, *Die speculative Trinitätslehre des späteren Orients. Eine religionsphilosophische Monographie aus handschriftlichen Quellen der Leydener, Oxforder und Berliner Bibliothek*, 'The speculative doctrine of the Trinity in the later Orient. A monograph on the philosophy of religion from manuscript sources in the libraries of Leiden, Oxford and Berlin') was published in 1826. In its 76 pages, Tholuck analyses various (so-called) Islamic doctrines of the Trinity, their origins and their connections with other religions, traditions and philosophies.

He begins by explaining his motivation for studying the sources he has chosen, as well as the Islamic doctrine of the Trinity itself. He claims that, in his time, there has been a close connection between Europe and Eastern philosophy because the 'Western world' has turned to methods and ideas from the East. This has happened unconsciously and without precise knowledge in the West of the origins and interests of Eastern philosophy, with too little work on sources and no intensive study of the nature of Eastern philosophy. He wants to counter this and pave the way for further research.

Die speculative Trinitätslehre is difficult to interpret and appears to be an internally inconsistent work of translation, interpretation and comparison. Through lack of sources on Asian theosophy, Tholuck proposes the problematic thesis that the religions of Judaism, pagan cults, Christianity and Islam mingled with Eastern gnosis, with the result that Eastern ideas can be detected within them. This is problematic not only because the very vague Western term 'Eastern' is difficult to define, but also because, before conducting proper analysis or having the necessary information to hand, Tholuck has made the assumption that the Abrahamic traditions contain 'Eastern' ideas. Furthermore, as he acknowledges that the Qur'an denies the Christian doctrine of a triune Deity, he concedes that the doctrine as found in Islamic texts cannot be traced back to this source, but instead of taking Christianity as the source of the Islamic doctrine of the Trinity

and thus Islam as an imitation, he claims that both traditions are independently based on the same earlier ideas. By doing so, he achieves two things. On the one hand, Christianity and elements within Islam emerge as being related and similar and neither appears to be superior, while it is assumed that religions are influenced by and interact with surrounding cultures and must be living and incomplete systems. On the other, the origins he suspects are present in Eastern and neo-Platonic philosophy emerge as being older than the Abrahamic religions. Before examining *Die speculative Trinitätslehre* in more detail, it is important to establish the meaning of 'the East' in Tholuck's writings.

In Tholuck's thought, as in Orientalism in general, the 'East' has very blurred boundaries and the term 'Eastern' may be used as a synonym for Muslims and Islam. But Tholuck envisages an 'earlier' Orient that existed independently of the three Abrahamic religions and might still exist fragmentarily in these religions, particularly Islam. This was because Islam spread through parts of the Eastern countries and thus became a part of the East.

This idea of earlier and later Easts means that there was a relationship between early religious and philosophical teachings and the three Abrahamic religions. Traces of supposedly Eastern conceptions in the Abrahamic religions are to be found in their profound teachings about God and creation – mostly in abstract images of God – but on the other hand they have also absorbed very negative elements in the form of heresies and pantheism as integral characteristics. Accordingly, Tholuck considers unspecified heretical practices in the historical religions to be remnants of the Eastern influence on the religions. This means that particular religions need to be purified of their negative aspects and that separating them from the 'Eastern gnosis' would supposedly make them pure Christianity, Judaism or Islam. The East is therefore indirectly accused of contaminating the historical religions.

The East as pantheistic and heretical, but also spiritual and profoundly religious, has left its traces in Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and emerges as the root of Christian Europe and also of Judaism and Islam. The result is an image of a branching family tree that includes not only the three Abrahamic religions but also the religions and philosophies of the earlier East. Islam seems to cross boundaries: it is part of the East, but is also separated from it by its relatively young age and its close ties to the other Abrahamic traditions.

The *speculative* within the title of the work refers to philosophy, indicating that Tholuck focuses primarily on those religious doctrines of the

Trinity that can be defined philosophically as opposed to purely mystical, emotional and experiential currents within Islam, on which he mainly focuses in *Blüthensammlung*. Nevertheless, *Die speculative Trinitätslehre* also deals with Sufism and declares it to be a profound part of Islam.

Tholuck divides Islam into three streams: orthodox belief, which adheres strictly to what is said in the Qur'an; mysticism, which focuses on Eastern thought and combines religious techniques with Islamic teachings in order to reach the divine; speculative thinking, which uses philosophical techniques and also foreign philosophies, but is or could be related to mysticism. Although he is aware that Islam denies the idea of a doctrine of the Trinity and criticises Christianity for it, he assumes that something of this nature can nevertheless be found in Islam. In order to do this, he turns to Greece, which is not part of the East even though it is a part of the Ottoman Empire, and argues that Greek philosophy became intimately connected with Islamic religious thought in the early Islamic period just as it had earlier in Christianity, so that the two faiths exhibit parallel features that make the Christian West and the Islamic late East appear like two siblings in competition. So, for example, Muḥammad can be seen as a wise poet, though also as someone who wanted to perform miracles but was unable to do so and therefore turned to politics and building an empire.

As Tholuck sees it, the traces of the doctrine of the Trinity in Islam were the product of contention with Eastern philosophy and also with Neoplatonism. He claims he has found more than three different forms of the doctrine in the works he has examined, which could be assigned to orthodox believers, religious philosophers and mystics, all of them attempts to discern diversity within the divine unity. There is first the mysterious primal ground (God), second, God's awareness of a desire within God to enter into relationships and thereby lay the foundation of multiplicity, and third, the genesis of the multiplicity of creation in an external existence. In another way of expressing this diversity, the second stage is Muḥammad or the prophetic light, and the third stage is humans who come into existence through his mediation. In this scheme, Tholuck sees Islam deriving concepts from Greek philosophy and particularly Plato's world of ideas, with dependence also on the Jewish Kabbalah. He draws fewer connections to Christianity, but suggests that Christianity and Islam are influenced by the same philosophies and teachings.

Tholuck's writings are deeply ambivalent in general, and this becomes particularly clear in *Die speculativen Trinitätslehre*. Despite emphasising kinship between Judaism, Christianity and Islam, he continually lapses

into apologetics and becomes entangled in contradictory statements about East and West, philosophy and theosophy, Islam and Christianity. In the end, he loses sight of what he actually wants to achieve with his work, which is to clear the way for an intensive and honest study of Eastern philosophy and Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

No later authors refer to *Die speculative Trinitätslehre*, Tholuck's third investigation of the East, except Karl Barth, who mentions it only once, and it has not been studied further. Even his contemporaries did not show interest in it, and it has been almost completely forgotten.

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Jacqueline Jüling

Johann Adam Möhler

DATE OF BIRTH 6 May 1796
PLACE OF BIRTH Igersheim, Würzburg
DATE OF DEATH 12 April 1838
PLACE OF DEATH Munich

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Adam Möhler, theologian and ecumenist, was born in Igersheim on 6 May 1796 to a wealthy innkeeper. He first studied at the *Gymnasium* in Mergentheim from 1808 to 1813 and then moved to Ellwangen to study theology at the lyceum. In 1817, the lyceum was moved to Tübingen following the decision of King Wilhelm I of Württemberg (r. 1816-64) that the Protestant and Catholic faculties of theology should both be located at the university. Möhler continued his studies there, taught by Johann Sebastian von Drey (1777-1853) and Johann Baptist Hirscher (1788-1865).

In 1818, Möhler studied in the Roman Catholic seminary at Rottenberg and was ordained in September 1819. He served as curate in Weilderstadt and then in Riedlingen in Württemburg. In 1821, he returned to Tübingen as a tutor at the Wilhelmstift *Gymnasium*, where he made a study of classical Greek history and philosophy. He was then appointed as a private lecturer in church history at the university in Tübingen, and given a government stipend, which allowed him to spend a year travelling to visit leading universities in Germany and Austria before taking up the appointment.

Möhler's meetings with Protestant theologians on this journey, including Gottlieb Jakob Planck (1751-1832) in Göttingen, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780-1846) in Berlin, and Johann August Wilhelm Neander (1789-1850) in Heidelberg, served to shape his understanding of denominational differences and theological issues, whilst strengthening his 'Catholic consciousness' (Weitlauff, 'Möhler, Johann Adam').

At Tübingen, Möhler lectured in Church history as well as canon law and apologetics. In 1825, he published his first book, *Die Einheit in der Kirche oder das Prinzip des Katholizismus, dargestellt im Geiste der Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* ('Unity in the Church or the principle of Catholicism. Presented in the spirit of the Church Fathers of the first three centuries') and in 1826 was appointed as an associate professor *errnant*

(associate). In 1827, he published his second book, *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit im Kamfe mit dem Arianismus* ('Athanasius the Great and the Church of his time in its struggle against Arianism'). During these years, he was offered posts at Freiburg and Breslau, though he turned them down. In 1828, he was awarded a doctorate based on his publications and appointed professor and member of the academic senate.

In 1832, he published *Symbolik oder Darstellung der dogmatischen Gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten nach ihren öffentlichen Bekenntnisschriften* ('Symbolism or exposition of the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced by their public confessional writings'). It was widely read, with five editions published in six years, and prompted many responses including one from Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860), the head of the Protestant faculty of theology at Tübingen, who was vitriolic in his attacks against it.

This made it difficult for Möhler to remain in Tübingen. The Prussian government tried to persuade him to go to Bonn, whilst his friend Johann Josef Ignaz von Döllinger (1799-1890; *CMR* 22, 181-9) helped him to obtain a post in New Testament exegesis in Munich, which he accepted in 1835. He began with a course on Paul's Letter to the Romans, then added courses on Church history. In 1836, he caught cholera, from which he recovered, but his health subsequently broke down, with influenza and then pleurisy leading to heart problems. In a bid to regain his health, he spent time at Merano in the Tyrol. In early 1838, the king of Württemberg bestowed on him the Order of St Michael and appointed him as dean of Würzburg Cathedral. However, he died in Munich on 12 April 1838, before he was able to take up the post.

After Möhler's death, Döllinger published a collection of his essays, which had originally appeared in the journal *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*. Entitled *Möhler's gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze* (1839), this included *Über das Verhältniss in welchem, nach dem Koran Jesus Christus zu Mohammed und das Evangelium zum Islam steht* ('On the relationship in which, according to the Qur'an Jesus Christ stands to Muhammad and the Gospel to Islam'), on which see below.

In 1840, Francis Xavier Reithmayr (1809-72), Möhler's colleague at Munich, edited his lecture notes, *Patrologie, oder, Christliche Literärgeschichte* (Robertson, 'Memoir', pp. cxv, cxvii).

Möhler can be seen as a major 19th-century theologian who helped to shape the development of theology with his emphasis on the study of sources, both scriptural and historical, as well as the 'two eyes of theology', philosophy and history (Weitlauff, 'Möhler, Johann Adam').

In 1957, the Archbishop of Paderborn, Lorenz Jaeger, founded the *Institut für Konfessions- und Diasporakunde*, renamed in 1966 as *Johann-Adam-Möhler-Institut für Ökumenik* in acknowledgement of Möhler's role in raising awareness of ecumenism.

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John Chesworth

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Über das Verhältniss in welchem, nach dem Koran Jesus Christus zu Mohammed und das Evangelium zum Islam steht

'On the relationship in which, according to the Qur'an Jesus Christ stands to Muḥammad and the Gospel to Islam'

DATE 1830
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This work was first published in 1830 in the *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, in which articles by Möhler regularly appeared (its full title is *Über das Verhältniss in welchem, nach dem Koran Jesus Christus zu Mahommed und das Evangelium zum Islam steht. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der künftigen Schicksale des letzteren gegenüber dem Christentum*, 'On the relationship in which, according to the Qur'an Jesus Christ stands to Muḥammad and the Gospel to Islam. With special reference to the future fate of the latter in relation to Christianity'). In its 79 pages it comprises an introduction and three chapters.

In the introduction (*Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, pp. 3-5; trans. Menge, pp. 1-3), Möhler says that, as he has witnessed recent political changes in the East, he has wondered whether these might effect changes in religion, leading to a new resurgence of indigenous Christianity and to the possibility that Christianity might 'breathe into the Asiatic States a new, and at the same time, a milder and a higher spirit' (p. 4; trans. p. 2). This has prompted him to examine afresh the teachings of the Qur'an on Christianity and particularly the relationship between Christ and Muḥammad and between the Gospel and Islam. While he does not specify what these political changes are, he presumably has in mind recent successive Ottoman defeats during the Greek War of Independence (1821-9) and in particular the destruction of an Ottoman fleet by a united British, French and Russian force at the Battle of Navarino in 1827.

In the first chapter (pp. 6-21; trans. pp. 3-14), Möhler examines what he calls the 'external relations' between Jesus and Muḥammad and the Gospel

and Islam, by which he means the historical relationship between the two religions as this is portrayed in the Qur'an. He begins by establishing that, like other founders of religions, Muḥammad (whom he refers to without discussion as the author of the Qur'an) sought to establish his new faith on earlier historical foundations. Since Judaism and Christianity were both present in the Arabian Peninsula, he looked on them as its forerunners. He claimed that his coming was foretold in their scriptures but, when prophecies about him could not be found, he declared that they had been corrupted. Muslims in later times attempted either to prove this or to show that the prophecies were still there, citing the Paraclete verses in John, the parable of the workers in the vineyard in Matthew 20:1-16, where those hired at the end of the day represent the Muslims, and Deuteronomy 33:2, 'The Lord came from Sinai and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran', where the three mountains stand for the three religions (p. 13; trans. p. 8).

Since Muḥammad asserted that Christ had announced his coming, in the Qur'an he referred to Christ as a prophet and to the Gospel as the word of God, though he denied Christ's divinity as well as the doctrine of the Trinity. His acknowledgement of the Gospel as divine, however, faced him with a difficulty, because he was obliged to attribute to Christ many of the unique characteristics recorded in the Gospels. In fact, he went as far as to say that Christ would come again at the end of time, though all this was to enhance his own status, because Christ's main purpose was to announce the coming of Muḥammad and to yield everything to him at the end of time.

In the second chapter (pp. 21-56; trans. pp. 14-38), Möhler examines 'internal relations' between the two faiths, by which he means the relationship between them as two traditions of religious beliefs. This can take the form of either 'co-ordination', in which case they both lead to the same results with only minor differences between them, or 'sub-ordination', in which case Christianity is 'of mere temporary authority' because it will be replaced by Islam (p. 21; trans. p. 14). In some verses, the Qur'an states that the different religions are willed to exist by God and are all equal, while in other verses it places Islam above Christianity and other religions. There is no reliable way of judging between these contradictory views, though it cannot be accepted that Muḥammad expressed himself differently to suit different occasions because all that is known about his piety and humility militates against such an explanation. The best explanation is that, in the first years of his prophetic career, he thought of Islam as a national Arab

form of faith. It was only in the seventh year of the *hijra*, when he sent letters to rulers of other nations, that he began to conceive of it as universal in scope. This was when he began to issue directives that identified Islam as distinct from other faiths and led to his relegating Christianity to a subordinate position. It was also when he presented himself as superior to Christ, though he gave no evidence in the form of prophecies or miracles to support this.

In the third part of the treatise (pp. 56-81; trans. pp. 38-57), Möhler discusses the future prospects for Christianity in the Islamic world. He is convinced that, because the Qur'an attaches such high authority to the Gospel, 'through the authority ascribed to the latter, it will overthrow its own' (p. 56; trans. p. 39). As soon as Muslims can read the Gospel, they will see that Islam is no more than a preparation for Christianity, and Christian missionaries will be able to build on what the Qur'an teaches to introduce Muslims to a fuller form of faith. In addition, since in Islam religion and the state are so closely connected that each is dependent on the other, with the current decline of the Islamic state (Möhler does not refer to any particular instance but must be thinking of the weakness of the Ottoman Empire), a decline in the religion may also be expected. Alternatively, if attempts are made to renew structures within the state, these will have destructive effects on the religion of Islam, while the more Muslims are encouraged to think about their religion the more they will see its internal contradiction between being intended for Arabs alone and being a universal religion: 'The universal in it, must destroy that which is particular' (p. 73; trans. p. 51).

Finally, when compared with Christianity Islam is limited both conceptually –

> the monotheism of Islam does not satisfy philosophizing reason, and [...] it must be rejected, whenever we talk of the imaginableness or unimaginableness of a certain idea concerning God. That the Deity is one person, is just that, which is altogether unimaginable, thoroughly irrational, and contrary to all true speculation. That God has not become man, is just that, which is contrary to reason

– and also practically: 'Every one knows, that with perhaps the exception of poetry, Islam is no friend of the arts and sciences' (pp. 74-5; trans. p. 52). Whereas Christianity encourages openness in human endeavours, Islam imposes limits and discourages new ideas. An example is polygamy, which Muslim men defend as permitted in certain climates without considering

whether Muslim women accept this. In polygamous marriages men regard women as commodities and mutual giving in love is absent.

Throughout the treatise, Möhler discusses the Qur'an frequently (though he shows no knowledge of Arabic), accessed through the translations by Lodovico Marracci (1612-1700) and George Sale (1697-1736). He makes use of the Latin-French edition of Abū l-Fidā"s (1273-1331) *Annales Muslemici*, Barthélemy d'Herbelot's (1625-95) *Bibliothèque orientale* and Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's (1740-1807) *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, and he engages with a number of European scholars, often correcting or disagreeing with them. He is confident that Christianity represents the norm with which other religions should be compared, to the extent that it liberates individuals to realise their fullest potential and because the rationality of the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation is self-evident (see the quotation above from pp. 74-5; trans. p. 52). His arguments bear the character of speculative theorising that has not been tested in live debate.

A noteworthy feature of the treatise is the generally unbiased way in which it treats Muḥammad. Möhler accepts that he was sincere in his belief that he was a prophet and recognises his fairness towards followers of Judaism and Islam. Although he regards the Qur'an as Muḥammad's own creation, the Prophet may not have produced it consciously (he does not think Muḥammad was an epileptic but compares him to groups such as Montanists and Quakers, p. 48; trans. p. 33), and uses it as a reflection of the development of Muḥammad's self-understanding.

SIGNIFICANCE

As a piece of writing intended for a general audience, this treatise does not enter into details of the relationship between Christianity and Islam. It makes clear that Islam was Muḥammad's own creation, which he presented as the historical continuation and fulfilment of Judaism and Christianity. It also judges Islam to be inflexible because it is by its own nature too closely tied to the political structures of states to develop, so it must decline as they do. In this respect, Möhler maintains earlier Christian attitudes, though he locates the fault of Islam not in any malevolent force but within the religion's very nature.

The thesis does not appear to have caused much immediate reaction, whether in its original or translated versions. Maybe its arguments are too schematic and theoretical to be persuasive, betraying a naivete about the future decline of Islam and the resurgence of Eastern Christianity that was

not only unlikely but also never materialised. But it is farsighted and open-minded in its recognition of pious sincerity in both Muḥammad and the Qur'an, showing a level of respect that anticipates the brief paragraphs on Islam in the 'Declaration on the relationship of the Church to non-Christian religions' (*Nostra aetate*) issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1965 (M. Tworuschka and U. Tworuschka, *Die großen Religionsstifter. Buddha, Jesus und Muhammad – ein Vergleich*, Stuttgart, 2018, pp. 19-20).

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David Thomas

Daniel Schlatter

DATE OF BIRTH 27 August 1791
PLACE OF BIRTH St Gallen, Switzerland
DATE OF DEATH 31 December 1870
PLACE OF DEATH St Gallen

BIOGRAPHY

Daniel Schlatter was born in St Gallen. His father, Salomon, was a linen merchant, and his mother, Helena, came from an influential family in the town. He had an aptitude for languages and regularly accompanied his relatives on their travels throughout Europe, which led to a great fascination with the East and Islam. Following the family tradition, he first became a merchant but in 1816 he enrolled in the Basel Mission to become a missionary, though after a very short time he left this for unknown reasons and returned to work as a merchant in St Gallen.

In 1822, Schlatter travelled east, initially without a fixed destination, driven by a philanthropic urge to help people who were not as privileged as himself. His main aim was to find an 'uncivilised' people whom he could help in their daily lives. In Marienburg (Prussia), Mennonites drew his attention to the German Mennonite settlement of Molotschna near the Sea of Azov in Novorossiya (New Russia). He travelled there and met the influential Mennonite agricultural reformer Johann Cornies (1789-1848), who became his friend. From Cornies' home town of Ohrloff (now Orlove, Ukraine), Schlatter explored the area and made the acquaintance of the Nogai Tatar Ali Ametov and his family, who lived in the village of Burkud on the Molochnaya River, and he stayed with them for almost three months. There are indications of financial support from the Basel Mission for this first journey, even though Schlatter had no formal connection with the society (*The Baptist Magazine* 16 [1824] pp. 490-1).

The following summer, Schlatter returned to Burkud. He moved in with the Ametov family and stayed with them for three years (1823-6). He became Ametov's servant and a part of their lives, working in the fields, helping with the household and looking after the children. Ali Ametov became a close friend, and Schlatter accompanied him on his many domestic and community duties. It was during this time that he gained a deep insight into the way of life and customs of the Tatars, as well as their

Muslim faith. Schlatter mastered the Tatar language and usually dressed in traditional Nogai clothing.

On his return to Europe in 1826, Schlatter sought financial support to settle permanently in Russia. For this purpose, he became financially indebted to a number of Mennonites, including Cornies (see Staples, *Transformation*, pp. 158-9; 187-90). He even applied for a position as a missionary with the British Baptist Missionary Society, but was rejected. It is said, rather unspecifically, that his views on some parts of divine truth were the reason for this (*The Baptist Magazine* 19 [1827] p. 344). Schlatter did return to Burkud a third time in 1827, but had to cut short his stay after a few weeks due to a serious illness. Back in Switzerland, he took a job as an accountant and, in 1830, on the advice of friends, published *Bruchstücke aus einigen Reisen nach dem südlichen Russland* ('Shards from some trips to southern Russia'), which he dedicated to his Tatar friend Ali Ametov.

After a brief marriage to Marie Meyer, who died in 1832, Schlatter married his cousin Henriette, who came from a very devout Pietist branch of the Schlatter family. Throughout his life, Schlatter felt a deep connection with Ali Ametov and his family, indicated by the fact that he named his son from his first marriage (born in 1830) Abdullah, after Ametov's eldest son. Even 20 years after Ametov's death in 1831, when Abdullah Schlatter was in Istanbul, he kept in touch with Ali Ametov's children.

German Pietism had a strong influence in Schlatter's family. He himself was born into the Reformed Church but left it in 1840. This decision dated back to 1826, when he was in a deep religious struggle after his three-year stay with the Nogais (see Staples, *Transformation*, pp. 45-9). He sympathised with the Baptist Church, but as far as is known, he never joined it. Although many publications refer to him as a Pietist missionary (see Jehle, 'Schlatter, Daniel'; Wolff, *Missionary journal*, p. 215; 'Nogai Tatars', p. 172), he was careful to emphasise in public that he was not travelling as a Christian missionary but as a layman (Schlatter, *Bruchstücke*, p. 66). The British-German missionary Joseph Wolff (see *CMR* 17, 200-9) published a letter Schlatter wrote in 1823, which testifies to his lively communication with several Basel missionaries working in Shusha in the Caucasus (see also *CMR* 22, 169-75, on August Heinrich Dittrich, whom, according to Staples, *Transformation*, p. 58, Schlatter also knew). In this letter, which was addressed to Felician Zaremba, Schlatter wrote that he was 'very happy' to live 'as a layman among the Nogay Tartars' (Wolff, *Missionary journal*, p. 216). Furthermore, in his short biography of Schlatter written in 1826, Cornies stated that Schlatter had never proselytised among

the Nogais and had no connection with any missionary society (Staples, *Transformation*, pp. 49-50). Despite denying that he was a missionary, Schlatter was a sincere believer in the Christian faith (see several letters in Staples, *Transformation*, pp. 45-9; 50-1; 72-4). While never officially evangelising, he did try to persuade the Ametov family to lead a more cultured and civilised life, which in his eyes could only be achieved through conversion to Christianity.

At the age of 75, Schlatter left Switzerland to make a pilgrimage to Palestine. Four years later, on 31 December 1870, he died in his home town.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bruchstücke aus einigen Reisen nach dem südlichen Russland, in den Jahren 1822 bis 1828
'Shards from some trips to southern Russia, in the years 1822 to 1828'

DATE 1830
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Schlatter published *Bruchstücke aus einigen Reisen nach dem südlichen Russland, in den Jahren 1822 bis 1828. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Nogayen-Tataren am Asowschen Meer* ('Shards from some trips to southern Russia, in the years 1822 to 1828. With a special focus on the Nogai-Tatars on the Azov Sea') in St Gallen in 1830; a second, almost unaltered edition appeared in 1836. Schlatter describes in it the three journeys he made to the Sea of Azov, a shelf sea connected to the Black Sea to the north-east of the Crimean Peninsula. The book contains 475 pages of text and an appendix of 20 pages, as well as 15 illustrations and a map. The illustrations show Tatar men and women in everyday situations, as well as examples of Tatar handwriting and the Tatar-Arabic alphabet. The text is divided into five parts: the first journey (pp. 1-44), the second journey (pp. 45-336), various excursions (pp. 337-418), the third journey (pp. 419-75), and an appendix (pp. 476-96). The chapters on the first and third journeys contain mainly travel descriptions. Schlatter, who travelled entirely overland, provides detailed information on the conditions of travel in Eastern Europe.

In contrast, the chapter on the second journey is a detailed ethnographic description of the Nogai Tatars, who were Sunnī Muslims. In this chapter, Schlatter provides over 250 pages of detailed information on countless aspects of the Nogai Tatar way of life. He deals with history and social structure, physical constitution and character, language, writing, calendar and currency, economy, animal husbandry and agriculture, clothing, women and marriage, food, drink and festivals, housing and landscape.

Of great importance is the description of the Sunnī faith of the Tartars (about 40 pages). Schlatter discusses the following topics: religion in general (pp. 138-42), words of the Qur'an (pp. 142-9), Islam (pp. 149-54), prayer (pp. 154-8), fatalism (pp. 158-61), sacrifice (pp. 161-3), Ramaḍān (pp. 163-5),

Bayram festivals (pp. 165-7), a number of religious customs (pp. 167-70), mullahs or 'priests' (pp. 170-2), pilgrims (pp. 172-5), polygamy (pp. 235-7).

Schlatter's depiction of Tatar Islam testifies to his knowledge of the religion and, compared with many contemporary publications, is relatively free from typical Christian polemics. He gives a detailed and complete account of the doctrines of faith (*īmān*), moral teachings (*dīn*), the creed and the Five Pillars of Islam. The characteristics of the differences between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs are also accurately described (pp. 138-42).

In the section entitled 'Words of the Qur'an' (pp. 142-8), Schlatter presents various passages of the Qur'an translated into German. However, he neither makes clear that these are actual translations rather than paraphrases, nor does he give their verse numbers. Whether Schlatter translated them himself or used a published translation remains unclear, though he evidently did not use the German translations by David Nerreter (1703), Theodor Arnold (1746), David Friedrich Megerlin (1772), Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (1773) or Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti (1798).

In this section, Schlatter collects verses from various suras and arranges them into themes. The presentation of Muslim monotheism and the representation of Allāh seem particularly important to him because he gives a comprehensive picture of Allāh's characteristics (e.g. Q 2:83, 2:178 and 57:3), which takes up four pages (pp. 142-5). He also lists important verses on the nature of the Qur'an itself (Q 3:3) and the position of women (Q 2:223), and collects verses on the treatment of Jews and Christians (Q 5:51) and on the rejection of Christ's divine sonship (parts of Q 4:171). Also significant is a long section on paradise (e.g. Q 47:15), with a pronounced focus on the virgins promised to believers (Q 37:48-9, 55:56-8, 78:33).

On the one hand, Schlatter presents qur'anic themes that are extremely important from a Muslim perspective, such as Islamic monotheism, while on the other, he concentrates on topics that would be very well received in European contexts (paradise, virgins) because of their striking difference from Christian teachings. Interestingly, he completely omits the subject of prophethood. He refrains from mentioning either the prophets known in Christianity (Adam, Moses, Abraham) or Muḥammad, while the role of Jesus Christ in the Qur'an is only mentioned in connection with his being son of God (Q 4:171), and verses that refer to Mary and the crucifixion are omitted.

According to Schlatter, the Qur'an contains many edifying passages, but most of them are borrowed from the Bible and ignored by Tatars, while

negative verses dominate Tatar exegesis and have a great influence on their interpretation of Islam (p. 149). Moreover, Islam suppresses people's sense of morality. For him, morality consists of love for one's Creator and one's fellow human beings, while Islam teaches people to focus on their own individual salvation and well-being. Moreover, the Muslim belief in God's predestination of events (fatalism) has made the Tatars resigned to their fate and therefore lazy, unwilling to take risks and not very innovative. On the other hand, Schlatter admires the uncomplaining acceptance of fate among the Tartars and contrasts this with the supposed godlessness of many Christians in Europe (pp. 158-60).

The question of the potential success of Christian mission among Muslims is of particular interest to Schlatter, and the fragmentation of the Christian community is for him a major obstacle to successful evangelisation. A people such as the Nogai, who lived side by side with a variety of Christian communities such as Mennonites, Armenians, Greeks and Russians, will find it difficult to recognise Christian unity. Thus, schisms are as harmful to Christianity as they are within the Muslim community. In addition, Schlatter identifies the omnipresent Orthodox iconodulism in the Russian Empire as the greatest obstacle to the successful conversion of the Nogais (pp. 150-2).

Schlatter proves to be an accurate observer of the religious life of the Tatars. An outstanding example is his description of the practice of prayer (pp. 154-8). He names the five daily prayers by their local terms, identifies who is obliged to pray and why, and observes the process of ritual ablution. He then gives a precise account of the process for determining the direction of prayer, the placing of the prayer rug, and the exact sequence of prayers and movements, before adding a translation of *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* (Q 1). With great sensitivity to gender differences, he then describes the various tasks to be performed during Ramaḍān (pp. 163-5). He is keen to emphasise that women bear the greater burden during this time, as they are responsible for caring for children and the elderly and for preparing evening meals during the fasting period.

Surprisingly, Schlatter's view of polygamy is very nuanced (pp. 235-6). He shows that Tatar polygamous marriage is first and foremost an economic matter rather than a religious one. Since the Qur'an stipulates that each wife should be adequately provided for, only a few men can afford more than one wife. In contrast to the eroticised European idea of a harem, he describes cohabitation as an appropriate division of domestic tasks between the wives. He concludes that according to Tatar marriage principles, polygamy causes less social tension than Christians would expect.

For the Tatars, there is no distinction between their ethnic identity and their religion: a Tatar must inevitably be a Muslim. On the other hand, Schlatter makes a clear distinction between religion and national custom. For this reason, he considers the Tatars to be a basically civilised people, but one that is culturally dragged down by Islam (pp. 65-6).

Schlatter started writing his book after his return to Switzerland and could not rely on notes because he had to leave them behind in Russia, though a report written by Johan Cornies in 1825 served as a useful source for his account of the Nogai Tatars. Schlatter had taken this report to Switzerland in 1827 to see if it could be published but in Europe it was judged as 'not, in any way, appropriate for printing' (Staples, *Transformation*, p. 158). The 35-page report bears some structural similarities to the *Bruchstücke* (Staples, *Transformation*, pp. 457-93), though Schlatter did not copy any parts of the text verbatim, apart from a list of Tatar settlements. Moreover, many of his chapters go far beyond Cornies' statements and are much more detailed. It is obvious that Cornies describes the same aspects of Islam as Schlatter, though it must be remembered that Schlatter himself could have been an important source for Cornies' account. By 1825, Schlatter had been living with the Nogais for more than a year and, at the same time, had a close relationship with the Mennonite. In the end, even though Schlatter was inspired by Cornies' report, he does not acknowledge his work as a source anywhere in the *Bruchstücke*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Schlatter himself attested that his work enjoyed great financial success. It sold well abroad, for example in Germany, and it was also distributed in Russia (Staples, *Transformation*, pp. 191-2).

The book is an extraordinarily dense, almost ethnographic description of Tatar life. It is remarkable in attesting to the fact that Schlatter did not judge the Tatars by European moral standards, but tried to judge them by their own moral principles (p. 98). He avoided typical stereotypes about the Tatars that were familiar in Europe and even tried to refute some of them (Hotop-Rieke, *Ikonografie*, pp. 286-7). His descriptions of daily life and religious practice have little in common with the prejudices of other contemporaries about the supposedly thieving and murderous descendants of Genghis Khan.

Although Schlatter leaves no doubt that Islam is harmful to the moral and cultural development of the Tatars, he tries to present not only Tatar culture but also the religion from an internal perspective as far as possible. In doing so, he avoids classic Christian polemical arguments against Islam,

and his selection of qur'anic verses demonstrates a deep understanding of key aspects of the faith.

Schlatter's life and book ultimately testify to a remarkable friendship and a very respectful relationship between a European Christian and a Tatar Muslim.

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Benno Herr

Abraham Geiger

DATE OF BIRTH 24 May 1810
PLACE OF BIRTH Frankfurt am Main
DATE OF DEATH 23 October 1874
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Abraham Geiger was born into a traditionally observant Jewish family. Both his father and brother were rabbis. He entered the local Jewish religious school (*heder*), where he prepared to enter university. By all accounts, he was prodigious in his learning and, against the wishes of his family, he decided to enter the University of Heidelberg, before transferring to the University of Bonn. He subsequently received his doctorate from the University of Marburg.

At university, Geiger read Oriental languages and literature, with a focus on Arabic and Islam. This was not uncommon for young Jews at the time, given their knowledge of Hebrew, the legal structures of rabbinic Judaism, and the imagined florescence of Judaism under medieval Islam. Geiger gradually became acquainted with other young Jews inspired by the tenets of the Enlightenment and their application to Judaism. This group went on to play a leading role in non-religious or cultural Judaism, which included engaging in a social-scientific study of Judaism and the Jewish people. This was part of the development of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism'), the harbinger of modern Jewish Studies. Since Jews had historically lived in either Christian or Muslim lands, the project was necessarily comparative. This milieu produced many Jewish scholars who subsequently went on to play a formative role in the emerging fields of qur'anic studies, among them Gustav Weil (1808-89) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921).

Despite the fact that Geiger had all the potential to be a leading figure in the developing fields of Islamic and qur'anic studies, as a Jew he was forbidden by the state from taking up a teaching position unless he first converted to Christianity. This was not an option for the young Geiger so, in 1833, he was ordained as a rabbi and went on to serve in congregations in Wiesbaden, Breslau, Frankfurt am Main and Berlin. Despite being a pulpit

rabbi for the rest of his life, he remained active as a scholar and continued his academic publications primarily through the scholarly journals he founded and edited, including *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie* ('Scientific Journal of Jewish Theology', 1835-9) and *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* ('Jewish Journal for Science and Life', 1862-75). These journals became important vehicles for the publication of Jewish scholarship, chiefly historical and theological studies, as well as discussion of contemporary events.

Most of Geiger's attention focused on Judaism, with the aim of adapting the religion to the modern world. He located the essence of the faith in its ethical monotheism, and contended that this represented its essential gift. In this regard, he sought to show Judaism's central influence on Christianity and Islam, which he regarded as two monotheistic traditions responsible for universalising the inherently Jewish idea of ethical monotheism.

Geiger published only one work on Islam and it played a crucial role in the formation of modern Islamic studies. The rest of his work was devoted to the reform and liberalisation of Judaism in Germany.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?
'What did Muḥammad take from Judaism?'

DATE 1833
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

When he was a doctoral student at Marburg, Geiger submitted an essay in Latin for a competition sponsored by the University of Bonn's Faculty of Philosophy. The competition was devoted to the topic *Inquiratur in fontes Alcorani seu legis Mohammedicae eas qui ex Judaiso derivandi sunt* ('An inquiry into the sources of the Qur'an or Muḥammadan law that were derived from Judaism'). Geiger won the competition, and his essay secured for him a doctorate from Marburg in June 1834 under the directorship of Georg Wilhlem Freytag (1788-1861). The following year, Geiger enlarged and translated his dissertation from Latin into German, and published it 'at the author's expense' with the title *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? Eine von der Königlichen Preussischen Rheinuniversität gekrönte Preisschrift*. The work comprises 222 pages.

For Geiger, language was instrumental in ascertaining affinities between religions in close geographical proximity. As a new religion develops, he argued, it must connect itself to the ideas and claims of earlier traditions. The subsequent adoption of technical terms from these traditions enables the adherents of the new religion better to understand the new message. Such a 'borrowing' allows those associated with developing the new religion to proselytise effectively among those familiar with the earlier tradition or traditions.

He argued that the message of Islam was successful because its prophet, Muḥammad, was able to take and recast terms familiar to Jews and Christians. Therefore, the key to contextualising Islam, as he saw it, was to understand religious texts within their immediate historical, intellectual and social contexts. In order to do this, his methodology was to take Arabic technical terms, such as *tābūt* ('ark'), *tawrāt* ('torah'), *janna* ('garden') and *sakīna* ('divine presence'), and to demonstrate how they were derived from Hebrew and Aramaic words. He believed that, if he could do this, he could effectively show how Islam 'borrowed' from Judaism. This, of course, was also part of the larger theme that ran throughout all his work,

namely, that Judaism was the source for both Christianity and Islam. As he saw it, since the ushering in of hitherto unknown religious concepts is always marked by the introduction of new terms to express them, and as the Jews in Arabia, even when they were able to speak Arabic, kept to the Rabbinical Hebrew names for their religious concepts, so words that, from their derivation, are shown to be not Arabic but Hebrew, or better still Rabbinic, must prove the Jewish origin of the concepts they were used to express (1833 edition, pp. 44-5).

There are, to be sure, a number of problems with this thesis, primarily the fact that Geiger could not demonstrate that semantic similarities were tantamount to 'borrowing', especially since the two languages, Arabic and Hebrew, are intimately related to one another. That similar roots exist in both languages can, in other words, be explained in other ways. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that there were many Christians and Jews in the Arabian Peninsula at the time of Muḥammad and Arabs would certainly have been familiar with certain of their ideas, some of which would inevitably have played a role in Muḥammad's new message.

This idea of showing how Judaism was the source of Islam played a role in the book's fairly quick translation into English. F.M. Young, 'a member of the Ladies' League in Aid of the Delhi Mission', decided to translate it because she believed it would aid in the proselytisation of Indian Muslims. She notes in her Translator's Preface:

> I undertook to translate this Prize Essay by the Rabbi Geiger at the request of the Rev. G.A. Lefroy, the Head of the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, who thought that an English translation of the book would be of use to him in his dealings with the Muhammadans. The Rev. H.D. Griswold of the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore has very kindly put in all the Hebrew and Arabic citations for me, and has also revised my translation. (*Judaism and Islam*, p. xxvii)

SIGNIFICANCE

Geiger's work is one of the earliest scholarly European studies to take Islam and Muḥammad seriously. Although today it might simply be classified as a typical work of 'Orientalism', in many ways it broke the mould and played a significant role in establishing the field of Islamic studies *per se*. It remains significant for a number of reasons. For one, Geiger argued that the Qur'an was a text like any other and, as such, should be studied using the various tools that 19th-century source criticism provided. This meant that the scripture of Islam, and by extension Islam itself, could and should be studied in the same manner that other Western works and texts

(including the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament) were examined. Unwilling to accept the Qur'an as a pastiche of hastily put-together and largely incomprehensible sayings, as the traditional Orientalist narrative had it, Geiger attempted to demonstrate the manner in which it generated meaning.

Within this larger context, Geiger was interested in the Qur'an not to undermine the early Islamic community, as so many contemporary Orientalist accounts were, but to understand its creation and development. In doing this, the work was revolutionary as it provided a new way to understand the origins of Islam that did not draw on the idea that the Qur'an was simply the sum of its borrowed parts and that Muḥammad was a self-serving, lascivious or power-hungry leader. Instead, Geiger portrays him as a religious *Schwärmer* ('enthusiast') with noble aims:

> It is by no means imagined that we regard Muḥammad as a deceiver who deceived intentionally, and with a well-weighted consideration of each step as to whether or not it would help him toward his aim of deluding others. Wahl regards him in this light. On the contrary, we must guard ourselves carefully against such an opinion, and look upon it as a sign of persistent prejudice and total misunderstanding of the human heart. Muḥammad seems rather to have been a genuine enthusiast who was himself convinced of his divine mission, and to whom the union of all religions appeared necessary to the welfare of mankind. (*Was hat Mohammed*, pp. 35-6; *Judaism and Islam*, pp. 24-5)

This reframing of the perception of Muḥammad as a dangerous and power-hungry heretic to a sincere religious enthusiast paved the way for a new scholarly interest in him as a major historical protagonist, and in the Qur'an as an important document of religious expression. In this respect, Geiger claimed that Muḥammad had been treated too harshly in European scholarship, which he argued was unwarranted from the perspective of an enlightened non-ideological treatment of Muslim sources.

Reviews were overwhelmingly positive. H.L. Fleischer (1801-88), the leading German Arabist of the second half of the 19th century, wrote, 'I give my sincerest thanks to Dr. Geiger for the wealth of new and valuable data gleaned from his book' ('Über das Arabische in Dr. Geigers Preisschift', col. 49). The great scholar of Semitism, Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), remarked that the book was 'an epoch-making work whose findings rapidly became the common stock of scholarship' (*Geschichte des Qorāns*, ed. F. Schwally, Leipzig, 1938, p. 208).

Though Geiger's work was primarily directed at Jewish-Muslim relations, he was at the same time critical of all those Christian Orientalists

who had a low opinion of Islam and even more of Judaism. The work, in sum, presents Islam and its prophet in a relatively sympathetic manner.

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Aaron W. Hughes

August Heinrich Dittrich

DATE OF BIRTH 15 February 1797
PLACE OF BIRTH Furstenau, Sachsen
DATE OF DEATH 9 July 1855
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

August Heinrich Dittrich was born the son of a farmer and initially received private lessons from his brother, Johann Heinrich Dittrich. After attending the grammar school in Freiberg, he studied law and philosophy in Leipzig from 1816 to 1819 and then entered the employment of a minister of state, Detlev Graf von Einsiedel, as a tutor. He lived in Pietizt, and then in Brießnitz a.d. Elbe near Dresden. Pastor Roller from Lause impressed him very much and he experienced a conversion while reading the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5. This experience changed his life. He decided to share the grace he had received with other people.

Dittrich went to Basel on 4 January 1820 and joined the Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft Basel ('Basel Evangelical Missionary Society'). At that time there was already an exchange between members of the Christentumsgesellschaft ('German Christian Society') in Dresden, the Missions-Hülfsverein ('Dresden Mission Aid Association') and the Basler Missionsgesellschaft ('Basel Missionary Society'; E. Alex, *Fünfzig Jahre der Missionsthätigkeit im Königreiche Sachsen*, Dresden, 1869, pp. 10-36). This was followed by a period of study in Paris, where Dittrich learned Arabic and Turkish. He then moved to Cambridge to learn Persian and Armenian. He was ordained in Basel on 18 June 1821 and, in 1824, he married Marie Eleonora Klemm (1798-1881).

From 1817, German settlers from Württemberg, who were expecting the second coming of Jesus Christ, had been establishing themselves in villages in the Caucasus. This movement served as an impetus for the Basel missionaries to become active around the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea and in the Caucasus so that Tatars and Muslims could hear about true Christianity from pious Germans (Waldburger, *Missionare und Moslems*, p. 76). A mission centre was to be established in Astrakhan, and to this end Dittrich and Felician Martin Graf von Zaremba (1794-1874) were sent to Russia. They first had to obtain permission for missionary work and

were personally received by Tsar Alexander I (r. 1801-25) in St Petersburg on 10 April 1822. The Tsar promised his protection and laid down rules for their activities, allowing them to carry out missions among the heathen and Muslim inhabitants of Asiatic Russia (*Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* 9/3 [1824] p. 376). Converts would not be allowed to stay in areas where there were many Muslims or that were in the sphere of influence of the Orthodox Church (A. Damianov, *Die Arbeit der 'Deutschen Orientmission' unter den türkischen Muslimen in Bulgarien nach den Quellen im Dr. Johannes-Lepsius-Archiv*, Münster, 2003, pp. 43-4). On these conditions, their missionary work in Astrakhan in the Caucasus began on 20 July 1822.

In addition to pastoral care of the Christians in the German colonies, the 'revival' of Orthodox Christians and mission among the Muslim peoples were also included as goals. The Baselers intended to work among various denominations and religions in the area of the Caucasus as well as in Persia. The churches located in these regions were seen as bridges between themselves and Muslims. The *Neunter Jahresbericht der evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel*, vol. 9, 1824 states:

> In the work of reviving the ancient Oriental Churches, which are scattered in Asia Minor and Persia round to the mouths of the Indus, as well as up to Syria and Palestine in Muḥammadan states, and which need and expect from the Church of the West the same salutary assistance which it earlier owed them before the age of the Reformation and as a means of preparation for the same, this work of Christian brotherly love leads [...] in the appropriate way to the preparation and dissemination of all those Christian means of enlightenment which are placed in the hands of the Church of Christ in order to gain unhindered access to Muḥammadan countries for the Kingdom of Christ. (p. 388)

This intended revival of Christianity among Armenian Christians was set in motion by teaching them to read and write in their native Armenian language. Armenian children in Shusha were taught in specially founded schools so that they could learn to read the Bible. In this way, the Basel missionaries contributed to raising the level of education among the Armenian population in the Caucasus. They also founded a printing press and established provision for medical care in Shusha, east of Yerevan. Dittrich's observations can be found in *Kurze historische Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes des armenischen Volkes* ('A brief historical account of the present condition of the Armenian people', St Petersburg, 1831). What was special in Shusha was that the preaching of the Gospel

among Muslims was becoming increasingly central to the mission's activities. So, when Dittrich worked in the town between 1823 and 1833, he gave particular attention to Islam, for example, by addressing the Tatar Muslims directly in a series of lectures which were published in German translation by the Basler Missionsgesellschaft (*Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* 1830/3, 445-50).

Within a few years, further writings by Basel missionaries on the subject of Islam were published and translated into various languages such as Tatar-Turkish and Persian (*Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* 1834/3, Beilage IV, 474-82). Among them, the works of Karl Gottlieb Pfander, especially *Mīzān al-ḥaqq* ('The balance of truth'), stand out (see the entry in *CMR* 24). In Christine Schirrmacher's listing of Pfander's works there is some confusion. She states that Pfander's *Mīzān al-ḥaqq* was written in German in 1829 and was not published, and it was the Armenian translation that was published in Moscow in 1831 (Schirrmacher, *Mit den Waffen des Gegners: christlich-muslimische Kontroversen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1992, pp. 394-5). But this is not the case. It can be shown that this Armenian work was *Hamaṙot k'nnoutiun K'ristoneakan hawatoc' ew Mahmetakan kroni, yašxarabaṙ lezui šaradreal yumemnē hogesirē i pēts parzamtac'* ('Brief examination of the Christian faith and the Mahomedan in the vernacular, written by a clergyman for the use of the simple-minded'), which Dittrich wrote in the years 1829-30. In the fifteenth *Jahresbericht der Basler Missionsgesellschaft* ('Annual report of the Basel Missionary Society'), Dittrich reports: 'May 25. Yesterday [...], I completed in the Armenian vernacular the writing on Christianity and Muhamedanism on which I have been working since October; and my heart rejoices that I can now return to the translation of the New Testament' (*Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften* 1830/3, p. 401). Dittrich also mentions here his translation into Armenian of *Surp Awetaran əst Matt'èosi* ('The Holy Gospel according to Matthew'), which was printed in Moscow in 1831 and comprises 158 pages, as well as the complete New Testament, also printed in Moscow in 1834: *Nor ktakaran teaṙn meroy Yisusi K'ristosi əst harazat naxni t'argmanut'ean handerj hawatarim bac'ayayout'eamb i hasarakac' lezowi* ('The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ faithful and according to the former translation with explanations in the vernacular'). This edition comprises a total of 1251 pages, with two text versions of the Old Armenian and Eastern Armenian dialect juxtaposed in two columns.

In 1833, Dittrich moved from Shusha to Tbilisi in Georgia to be pastor of the Lutheran congregation there. From 1839 he worked as a preacher and teacher in the town of Gattschina, south of St Petersburg, and from 1839 in the German-Finnish-Estonian parish. He finally went to Moscow on 23 March 1840 as first preacher in the St Michaelis parish. From 1842, he was a member of the ecclesiastical consistory. During this time, he published Martin Luther's *Small Catechism with explanation and biblical proofs* (*Der Kleine Katechismus*), which was printed in several editions in Moscow (1845-61).

Dittrich remained pastor of St Michaelis Church and a member of the consistory until his death in 1855.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vergleichung der Bibel mit dem Koran
'Comparison of the Bible with the Qur'an'

DATE 1835
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Dittrich's *Vergleichung der Bibel mit dem Koran* (in full, *Vergleichung der Bibel mit dem Koran, als Anweisung für armenische Christen, wie sie sich gegen Mohamedaner zu verhalten haben. Verfaßt zu Schuscha, an russisch-persischer Grenze, von den deutschen aus Basel hin gesandten Missionarien, Mit einer Vorrede von Missionar Zaremba*, 'Comparison of the Bible with the Qur'an, as instructions for Armenian Christians on how to behave towards Muslims. Written at Shusha, on the Russian-Persian border, by the German missionaries sent there from Basel, with a preface by missionary Zaremba') of 1835 is closely related to his *Hamaṙot k'nnoutiun K'ristoneakan hawatoc' ew Mahmetakan kroni* of 1831. This Armenian work, which comprises 271 pages and was printed in the Moscow printing house of the Armenian Lazaryan Seminary, was addressed to Armenian Christians in the Caucasus. The Basel missionaries asked to be better informed about the teachings of Islam as well, so that they too could present arguments against the Muslims. *Vergleichung* is, therefore, 'an announcement of this instruction to Armenian Christians, illuminating and exposing Mohamedanism, a certain simple expression of the missionaries' abhorrence of all hypocrisy and of everything that is dishonest' (*Vergleichung*, p. 6).

The Armenian work contains 43 passages from the Qur'an in Arabic in Armenian letters printed in one column with a translation into Armenian in a second column. Following these, the passages are also given in Arabic (p. 35). The abridged German edition, *Vergleichung der Bibel mit dem Koran*, published four years later, contains a preface (pp. 3-6) by Dittrich's colleague Felician Zaremba, who refers back to the earlier version: 'Then the missionary August Dittrich edited this condensed outline in detail in vernacular Armenian; and in this way a 20-sheet tract was printed in 1831, which, it is to be hoped, is now circulating among the Armenians in many copies, to great blessing' (p. 3). Like the Armenian original, the German version, which is 61 pages long, also contains 43 passages from the Qur'an. Staff of the Basel Missionary Society in contact with Muslims in

the Caucasus had been asked to compile their observations on Islam, and Dittrich took these into account when he wrote the polemic against Islam.

The German version was intended for a Western Protestant readership as well as for missionaries elsewhere: 'It will also be beneficial if this goes to other countries where missionaries are working for Mohamedans. It will promote the mutual exchange of experiences' (p. 6). Zaremba and Dittrich see that Armenian and German Protestant Christians are closely aligned against the 'heresies' of Islam. On the basis of Jeremiah 51:7 and Genesis 10:3, they argue that the two peoples have been chosen by God to lead a spiritual campaign: 'It is as if in Jer 51:27, where the names Ararat and Minni or Minnaeans go to Armenians [...] and Askenas (Gen 10:3) go to Germans' (p. 5).

Vergleichung der Bibel mit dem Koran contains an introductory chapter (pp. 7-35) consisting of five untitled sections: the Great Commission in Matthew 28:16-20 (p. 7); the appearance and teaching of Muḥammad as a false prophet (pp. 7-9); a remnant remains faithful to God – Europeans as preachers of the gospel (pp. 9-11); the special role of the Armenian people as missionary links between the Basel missionaries and Muslims, together with a compilation of 91 passages from the Old and New Testaments that demonstrate that God's salvation can only be achieved through the revealed words of true prophets and apostles, together with 39 passages from the Old and New Testaments and 17 passages from the Qur'an which show that Islam is false (pp. 11-19).

The first main chapter is concerned with the Prophet Muḥammad (pp. 35-7). By listing qur'anic verses, apparently translated by Dittrich himself, it shows: that Muḥammad did not perform any miracles; that he sinned; that he was born a pagan not a Muslim; that his actions, particularly his many marriages, show he was of questionable character. The second main chapter deals with the Qur'an (pp. 37-40), which is unworthy of God, as is shown by the depiction it gives of paradise and the cruelly coercive character it attributes to God. The third chapter is about the spread of Islam by force, as well as contradictions between Islamic and Christian teachings, free will and the death of Jesus Christ.

In the third main chapter, qur'anic passages are adduced to prove that the Bible remained unaltered until the time of Muḥammad (p. 41). The fourth main chapter brings together a number of passages from the Qur'an (pp. 42-61) that deal with particular issues in the Bible and defences against the accusation that the Bible has been falsified. Finally (pp. 57-61), the Armenians to whom the work is addressed are advised to pray with and for all Muslims:

> Besides speaking, explaining, giving books, exhorting, let us especially pray for them (which European Christians already do a lot), pray fervently that the Lord will open their eyes and soften their hearts, take away from them curses, judgement, blindness, impenitence! Let us be patient, for the Lord has patience, who could easily send punishment and destruction. But we ourselves are sinners. (p. 60)

SIGNIFICANCE

While the work follows the long polemical tradition of using the scripture of the other faith to prove the errors in that faith, it is an example of a particularly thorough study of the Qur'an and dextrous use of it. It appears to have been based on the assumption that it was possible to argue Muslims out of their beliefs.

There is no indication that the work was used by other missionaries or by scholars elsewhere, though further research may show that it did influence other approaches to mission.

PUBLICATIONS

August Dittrich, *Brevis disquisitio de fide Christiana et religione Mohammedica ad usum mitteratorum linguan Armena riviti conscripta*, Moscow, 1831 (Armenian text with Latin title, *Hamaṙot k'nnoutiun K'ristoneakan hawatoc' ew Mahmetakan kroni, yašxarabaṙ lezui šaradreal yumemnē hogesirē i pēts parzamtac'*)

Missionaries of the Basel Mission [August Dittrich], *Vergleichung der Bibel mit dem Koran, als Anweisung für armenische Christen, wie sie sich gegen Mohamedaner zu verhalten haben. Verfaßt zu Schuscha, an russisch-persischer Grenze, von den deutschen aus Basel hin gesandten Missionarien, Mit einer Vorrede von Missionar Zaremba. Zur Mittheilung an den abendländischen Christen abgedruckt*, Basel, 1835 (German abridgement); 7449AAAAcAAJ (digitised version available through Google Books)

Hacik Rafi Gazer

Christian Gottlob Barth

DATE OF BIRTH 31 July 1799
PLACE OF BIRTH Stuttgart
DATE OF DEATH 12 November 1862
PLACE OF DEATH Calw, Germany

BIOGRAPHY

Christian Gottlob Barth was born into a long-established Pietist family in Stuttgart on 31 July 1799. From 1817 to 1821, he studied Protestant theology at the University of Tübingen. He then served as curate in various parish communities and, from 1824, as pastor in the small village of Möttlingen in the Black Forest. In 1828, he founded the Calwer Missionsblatt. In 1838, he moved to Calw and founded the publishing venture, Calwer Verlag, through which he published numerous works concerning the Basel Mission, including Bible stories for children, Bible commentaries for adults, world and church histories, mission treatises, hymns and poems.

As a theologian rooted in the Württemberg pietism of J.A. Bengel and F.C. Oetinger, Barth vehemently defended the biblical faith against theological rationalism as represented by David Friedrich Strauss (1808-74) and his book *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* ('The life of Jesus, critically edited', 1835-6). For Strauss, the Gospels contained no historical facts, but are only mythical narratives. Barth answered with his polemical treatise *Die Mythen des Lebens Jesu. Auszüge aus 'Haiat ul Kulub'* ('The myths of the life of Jesus. Excerpts from "Life of the hearts"') in 1837, drawing upon the 17th-century Persian work *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (1628-99). Barth also dealt with Islam as part of his promotion of the mission in *Die allgemeine Weltgeschichte nach biblischen Grundsätzen* in 1837, which was translated into English in 1840 as *General history: briefly sketched on scriptural principles*. In this work he devoted a short chapter to Islam under the title 'Mohammedanism' (pp. 186-90). Here, after a brief account of Muḥammad's life, he states that the best parts of the Qur'an are its moral precepts. By his great maxim, 'There is but one God, and Muḥammad is his prophet', Muḥammad did not mean to deny that Moses and Christ were also sent by God, but he regards them as merely paving the way, incomplete without the fulfilment introduced by Muḥammad himself. Muḥammad placed his teaching in the same relationship to Christianity as Christianity had to Judaism.

Nevertheless, for someone like Barth, who was so committed to Christian mission, Islam was basically a 'false religion' for which he saw no future. In 1845, he was awarded the Dr. theol. h.c. by the Theological Faculty of the University of Greifswald for his work for the dissemination of the Christian faith and as a collector of natural history exhibits.

In the last two decades of his life, Barth worked mainly as a missionary preacher and as a manager of the Calwer Verlag in Calw. He died on 12 November 1862.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Mythen des Lebens Jesu
'The myths of the life of Jesus'

DATE 1837
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
Ḥayāt al-qulūb ('The life of hearts') is a collection of traditions about the life of Jesus, the son of Mary. It is a Persian translation of an Arabic text contained in *Biḥār al-anwār* ('The oceans of lights') by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (1627-99), one of the most extensive collections of Shīʿī Hadiths in the Islamic world (comprising 110 volumes in the printed edition of 1956-74 in Tehran). Barth received excerpts from it in German translation from Felician Martin von Zaremba (1794-1874) of the Basel mission, and used them to refute David Strauss.

The short work comprises only 42 pages (its full title is *Die Mythen des Lebens Jesu. Auszüge aus 'Haiat ul Kulub, oder Geschichte Muhameds, beschrieben nach der Schiitischen Tradition von Muhamed Bachir'; Nebst einem das 'Leben Jesu von Dr. Strauss' betreffenden Anhang*; 'The myths of the life of Jesus. Excerpts from "Haiat ul Kulub, or History of Muḥammad, described in the Shiite tradition by Muhamed Bachir". With an appendix, the "Life of Jesus by Dr. Strauss"'). The foreword (pp. 3-4) states Barth's polemical intention, summed up in his use of a military metaphor to express the effect he wanted to achieve: the short treatise was to be like an arrow in a battle, achieving with a single shot more than many shots that miss the mark. This is followed by excerpts from *Ḥayāt al-qulūb* (pp. 5-26), without any introduction or explanation of what it is about, where it came from or who translated it.

This main part is divided into 11 sections, each assigned to the person who transmitted the sayings within it, following the method of Hadith literature. Barth presents the examples as a means of comparing truly mythical accounts of Jesus with the accounts in the Gospels.

1. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī narrates that the Archangel Gabriel breathed onto Maryam. This led to the conception of Jesus that same night and she gave birth to the Christ child the next morning. The time of her pregnancy was nine hours.

2. Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, called al-Bāqir, the fifth Imam, mentioned that, at the time when God had decided Christ

should be born from Mary, the Archangel Gabriel came down in the form of a young man and dropped his saliva on her. She immediately conceived Jesus, who was then born on the same day.

3. From Sayyed ibn Ṭāwūs's book of prophecies, the Shīʿī scholar Ibn Bābawayhi tells the story of the visit of the three wise men from the east. These pagans had followed the star until they reached Mary and offered gold, frankincense and myrrh as gifts to Mary's son.

4. It is narrated by Wahb ibn Munabbih concerning the miracles of Jesus, that once it happened that fifty thousand sick persons were healed by Jesus and that he brought four dead people back to life. These were his friend Lazarus, the son of a widow, the daughter of a noble man and Noah's son Sem.

5. Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the second Shīʿī Imam, said that Jesus reached the age of 33 years, then God raised him up to heaven from where he will descend in Damascus and kill the Antichrist.

6. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir, the fifth Shīʿī Imam, recalled the wisdom of the seven-year-old Jesus to a teacher at school by describing how he explained the meaning of the letters of the Arabic alphabet.

7. The Imam Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir reported that the 12-year-old Jesus had already worked miracles, such as blessing empty jugs which then filled with water, and bringing a dead boy back to life so that he could bring his murderer to justice.

8. Abū ʿAlī Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (or al-Ṭabarsī) reported how Jesus sent his messengers to spread his teachings and described miraculous healings performed by the apostles in the name of Jesus.

9. The Prophet Muḥammad reported that his brother Jesus worked miracles in a city by changing the face of an old woman back into a young and beautiful face.

10. An unnamed Muslim saint reported that God showed Jesus the world in the form of an ugly woman with beautiful clothes, a metaphor for a world that kills people every day.

11. Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mūsā l-Riḍā, the eighth Imam, related that the question of falsifying the Gospel was discussed in a public debate between al-Riḍā himself, a king and a Christian scholar named Chaselik (Catholic). They reached the conclusion that the evangelists had made false statements about Christ.

The second part, the *Anhang* (pp. 27-44), comprises an examination of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* and the concept of myth on which it is based. The intention is that the reader should compare the Shīʿī traditions given in the

earlier part with the New Testament and recognise that the Islamic stories are completely unrealistic. These are true myths that should be subjected to criticism, while the Gospel does not contain such mythical accounts.

SIGNIFICANCE

Barth was not interested in Islam as such but made use of these Shīʿī Hadiths in his rejection of Strauss's criticism of the Gospels as myth as part of the theological controversy between Pietists and rationalists in Wurttemberg. Not much later, the Arabic texts were made available in large numbers in an English translation from the Persian by James L. Merrick, *The life and religion of Mohammed as contained in the Sheeâh traditions of the Hyât-ul-Kuloob* (Boston MA, 1850).

Barth did not return to any Islamic topic in any of his later writings, which focused on the Christian story particularly as it could be retold for children. The closest he came was in *Die allgemeine Weltgeschichte nach biblischen Grundsätzen*, published in 1837 (it was translated into English by R.F. Walker in 1840 as *General history, briefly sketched, upon scriptural principles*), where he somewhat alarmingly commented: 'Western Asia is suffering under disquietudes, which the approaching fall of Mohammedanism brings with it' (pp. 457-8). *Die Mythen des Lebens Jesu* was not used by later writers and appears to have been quietly forgotten.

PUBLICATIONS

Christian Gottlob Barth, *Die Mythen des Lebens Jesu. Auszüge aus 'Haiat ul Kulub, oder Geschichte Muhameds, beschrieben nach der Schiitischen Tradition von Muhamed Bachir'*, Stuttgart, 1837, repr. London, 2018, 2022; 011627906 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

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Roland Pietsch

Ignaz von Döllinger

Johann Josef Ignaz (von) Döllinger

DATE OF BIRTH 28 February 1799
PLACE OF BIRTH Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg
DATE OF DEATH 10 January 1890
PLACE OF DEATH Munich, Bavaria, German Reich

BIOGRAPHY

Ignaz Döllinger – von Döllinger from 1860, when he was ennobled – was a leading Catholic Church historian of the 19th century. He developed from an apologetic defender of the Catholic Church ('the Ajax of Ultramontanism') into a pioneer of ecumenical dialogue and ecumenism. As a historically grounded, critical voice, he inspired broadly-based protests against the dogmas of papal infallibility and jurisdictional primacy that were promulgated at the First Vatican Council in 1870, and he became the *spiritus rector* of the Old Catholic movement.

Johann Josef Ignaz Döllinger was the eldest child of Ignaz Döllinger, a professor of medicine, and Therese Schuster. He grew up in Würzburg, where he started to study theology. He continued at the University of Bamberg and, in 1823, after ordination into the Roman Catholic priesthood and a curacy in the Frankish Markt Scheinfeld, he was appointed professor of Church history and canon law at the lyceum in Aschaffenburg. He obtained his doctorate in 1826 and in the same year was appointed extraordinary professor of Church history and canon law at the University of Munich, moving on to become ordinary professor in 1827. His doctoral dissertation, entitled 'Die Lehre von der Eucharistie in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten' ('The teaching about the Eucharist in the first three centuries', 1826), was an indication of his interest in the early centuries as a vital and authoritative period in the life of the Church. In his research for this, he maintained a historical approach and a theological conviction that ran as a thread consistently through his historical and theological work.

In his long life of almost 91 years, Döllinger followed an impressive academic, ecclesiastical and political career: In 1835, he became an extraordinary member of the Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften ('Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences'), moving on to become an ordinary

member in 1843. He developed an extensive network both locally in Munich in the circle around the philosopher Franz von Baader (1765-1841) and later the circle around Johann Josef Görres (1776-1848), and also more widely through his publications and his correspondence with other scholars, pupils, politicians and family members. He was twice elected vice-chancellor of the University of Munich.

In 1839, Döllinger was made a canon of St Cajetan's Collegiate Church in Munich and, in 1847, *Hofkaplan* ('court chaplain') and *infulierter Stiftspropst* ('mitred collegiate provost'), thus becoming the second most senior cleric in the Kingdom of Bavaria. Like other professors of his time, he also followed a political career, both in the Bayerischer Landtag ('Bavarian State Parliament', 1845-7, 1849-51) and in the Deutsche Nationalversammlung ('German National Assembly') in Frankfurt (1848-9). He was known for his discerning views concerning the political and ecclesiastical questions of his time, including among many others the emancipation of the Jews, the freedom of the Church and the end of the papal states.

In his first years as a professor, Döllinger was entrusted with the continuation of the publication of the *Handbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte* by Johann Nepomuk Hortig (vol. 1/2 1835), following this up a little later with his own *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (2 vols, 1836-8). Up to the year 1850, he wrote in defence of the Church: like Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838; *CMR* 22, 147-54), he used Protestant reformers' own arguments against them (*Die Reformation, Regensburg, 1846-1848*); his 'sketch' of Martin Luther (published in 1851 in *Wetzer-Welte Kirchenlexicon* and reprinted after his death in 1890) had a longstanding impact on the Roman Catholic reception of Luther into the middle of the 20th century. His change in later life towards a more positive attitude regarding Luther, which is visible in several of his shorter writings, was understandably not well received in Roman Catholic circles, except among Old Catholics.

In his works, Döllinger implemented the developing historical-critical method and became a leading representative of a 'German' Catholic historical-critical school over against a 'Roman' Catholic school, whose adherents had studied in Rome and followed the neo-scholastic method. This division became more and more visible in the 1860s, especially at the gathering of Catholic scholars in Munich, the so-called Münchener Gelehrtenversammlung (1863). Döllinger opened this gathering with a lengthy speech in which he used the image of the two eyes of theology, historical and speculative, which are both needed. Gatherings such as

these were soon afterwards made subject to the permission of the local bishop, and in fact the Münchener Gelehrtenversammlung was the only gathering of its kind to be held.

Döllinger was a prolific author, and many of his works were translated into other languages. As a Church historian, he had plans to write a history of the *cathedra Petri*, though he never did, but he did write *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters* ('Fables of the popes in the Middle Ages', 1863), in which he addressed the function of fables and forgeries in the growing power of the papacy. From 1869 onwards, he wrote his famous letters under the pseudonyms 'Janus' (1869) and 'Quirinus' (1870), using them to express doubt about the legitimacy of the advance towards the infallibility of the pope and his primacy in matters of jurisdiction. In this way, he became the leading public voice against the new dogmas of the First Vatican Council. He was excommunicated in April 1871 by the archbishop of Munich, after which he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Oxford (1871), was elected vice-chancellor of the University of Munich for the second time (1871/2) and became president of the Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (1873).

In 1872, he began to give lectures in Munich on the 'reunion of the churches' and, in agreement with the Old Catholic movement, in 1874 and 1875, he initiated the Bonner Unionskonferenzen ('Bonn Union Conferences'), at which Old Catholics, Orthodox, Anglicans and Protestants were present. These conferences, which focused on central questions of religion, started from the shared common ground of the Early Church and employed a modern ecumenical approach that was characterised by trust that all those participating would remain faithful to apostolic tradition, the understanding of 'reunion' as restoration of relationship not a 'return' to one 'mother church', and approaching divisive questions in a theologically grounded rather than polemical way. In his lectures on the reunion of the churches, Döllinger was able to build on earlier work in which he had described and analysed churches and church families (*Kirche und Kirchen*, 1861). In his evaluation of the role of the papacy and the Western attitude of supremacy in the conflicts that had led to the schism between East and West, he became increasingly critical. In the last years of his life, he published a series of major works (some together with his colleague and friend Franz Heinrich Reusch, 1825-1900), the last entitled *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters* ('Contributions to the history of sects in the Middle Ages', 2 vols, 1889), for which he had collected archival

sources for several decades. His three volumes of lectures at the Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften eloquently sum up his extensive knowledge.

Döllinger was a supporter of clerical celibacy (he had fought against his father to become a priest), although, after the synod of the German Old Catholic Church issued a general dispensation from this discipline in 1878, he remained in critical and loyal connection with the church. After his death, he was buried at the Südfriedhof in Munich by the Old Catholic priest and professor Johann Friedrich, a longstanding friend.

Whereas within the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht and also among Anglicans and Orthodox, Döllinger's role as a leading historical thinker and ecumenist was always highly appreciated, his role as *Wegbereiter* ('pioneer'), a theologian who paved the way for new developments in theological thinking, was only recognised within the mainstream Roman Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Muhammed's Religion
'The religion of Muḥammad'

DATE 1838
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Döllinger first gave *Muhammed's Religion nach ihrer inneren Entwicklung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker. Eine historische Betrachtung* ('The religion of Muḥammad according to its inner development and its influence on the life of nations. A historical reflection') as a paper at a public meeting of the Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften to commemorate the 79th anniversary of its founding. It was his maiden speech as a new, extraordinary member of the Academy. In print, it is 147 pages long.

This was not the first time that Döllinger had written on Islam. Volume 1,2 of *Hortig's Handbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte*, which Döllinger authored, already contained a lengthy chapter of 90 pages on the personality of Muḥammad, the Qur'an and its teachings, as well as the relationship of Islam and Muḥammad to Judaism and Christianity, the spread of Islam and the life of Christians under Muslim rule. Contemporaries such as Döllinger's biographer Johann Friedrich criticised the 'disproportionately long treatise on Islam and its spread' (*Döllinger*, vol. 1, p. 407), while the German Orientalist Hartmut Bobzin (1946-) considers it the lengthiest passage in a book on 'Church history' known to him ('Döllingers Sicht des Islam', p. 459). In the second, *verbesserte* edition of Döllinger's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (Regensburg, 1843), this chapter is reduced to no more than three pages (pp. 68-70).

Muhammed's Religion is more a historical than a theological work. It shows that Döllinger was familiar with the relevant scholarly literature of his time, especially French publications. He might have had at least some knowledge of Arabic, but he got help with this from one of his students, Daniel Bonfatius (von) Haneberg (1816-76), later abbot of St Bonifaz in Munich and a good friend, who was an Orientalist and could assist with translating manuscripts. Döllinger's interest in the topic is shown in several reviews from his hand, books on the theme in his rich personal library, and many handwritten notes and references in his papers (Doellingeriana, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).

The treatise on *Muhammed's Religion* was not Döllinger's last word on Islam. After he became president of the Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1873, he dealt with topics related to Muḥammad and Islam in several of his academic lectures, among them 'Über Religionsstifter' (1883) and 'Die orientalische Frage in ihren Anfängen' (1879). The broad range of his interests in historical topics such as the Crusades, and in contemporary questions such as the role of the British colonialists in India and Afghanistan, included sharp analyses of the strength of Islam. He revised the idea he broached in *Muhammed's Religion* that Islam would soon disappear, and in his later writings after 1873 he clearly foresaw it gaining strength in its fight against colonial rule.

Going back to Döllinger's early writings on Muḥammad and Islam in the 1830s, here he was clearly influenced by Johann Adam Möhler, with whom he shared a great mutual appreciation shown by Möhler's move from Tübingen to Munich under Döllinger's influence and Döllinger's editing of Möhler's works after the latter's early death. In 1830, Möhler published an article in the *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* entitled 'Über das Verhältniss in welchem, nach dem Koran Jesus Christus zu Mohammed und das Evangelium zum Islam steht' ('On the relationship in which, according to the Qur'an Jesus Christ stands to Muḥammad and the Gospel to Islam'). The image of Muḥammad he presents in this is ironical, possibly explained by the fact that he wrote it directly after the Greeks had won independence from the Ottomans and established a monarchy with a king from the Bavarian royal family. Döllinger agrees broadly with the assessment that Möhler gave here but in his paper he is more polemical.

Muhammed's Religion contains 89 sections. It comprises a detailed account of Muḥammad as a person, the religious context of Arabia before the coming of Islam, the expansion of Islam and its historical and contemporary characteristics, and finally a summary and comments about the future development of Islam.

Döllinger opens with some remarks that hint at his opinion of Muḥammad and his attitude towards him: 'Since the beginning of the world, no other mortal has ever exercised such an immeasurable influence on the human race in religious, moral, and political matters as the Arab Muḥammad.' Despite this, Muḥammad's spirit was 'locked up within narrow barriers' and his religious foundations were 'poor in ideas', even though the 'simple and unbreakable net of his teaching' was to be wrapped around millions of souls and its roots were to penetrate their innermost thoughts (Regensburg edition, p. 3).

With Christian readers in mind, Döllinger compares Islam with Christianity. His comments are not impartial and include sharp observations. For example, he argues that while Christianity knows 'tradition', which he defines as a living, uninterrupted consciousness of the teachings of the Christian faith throughout its history (p. 9), Islam knows 'traditions', the sayings of Muḥammad, which were handed on by his wives, first successors and followers and afterwards rigidly applied. Here, Döllinger identifies the different hermeneutical approaches and methods of interpretation in the two faiths, using terms about Islamic method such as *starr* ('rigid') *Prokrustesbett* ('Procrustean' bed'), which reveal what he thought about the intractability of Islamic teachings and leave little doubt about his preference for Christianity.

Döllinger describes social and political aspects of Islam, observing that all Muslim political power emanates from religious power, whereas there is in Western Christianity a disconnection between the religious and the secular. He considers the inferior status of women in Islam as 'one of the darkest sides of this religion' (p. 20), noting that there are few, if any, Muslim equivalents to Teresa of Avila, Catherine of Siena and Catherine of Genoa, who, through their teachings, expanded the Christian knowledge of God (p. 22). In Islam, he can only identify the 13th-century female Shah Turkan, who showed herself to be a cruel ruler (p. 24), and Zubayda, the wife of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who caused the city of Tabriz to be rebuilt and undertook charitable work (p. 25). His comments here echo a common 19th-century theme in European criticisms of Islam, that women were habitually kept in an immature state (see e.g. Emilie Loyson-Meriman's comments about the need for education for Muslim women in her *To Jerusalem through the lands of Islam among Jews, Christians and Muslims*; *CMR* 17, pp. 386-8).

Döllinger discusses the role of caliph, the attempts made by a number of dynasties to institute reforms, and the place of Islam in Persia and the Ottoman Empire. He devotes particular attention to the various 'Muslim sects and heretical parties' in Islam (p. 80), and to theological questions such as the transmigration of souls, dualism, pantheism, the interpretation of the Qur'an and mysticism. He also notes influences from Gnosticism and Manichaeism as well as from historical encounters between East and West in the High Middle Ages (pp. 128-30), and he cannot see Islam as any more than a place of 'spiritual quarantine in which peoples were sealed off from the contagion of such corruption [from heresies], waiting for better times and the blowing of purer winds' (p. 140).

At the end of his study, Döllinger turns to the future prospects of Islam (pp. 140-7) and judges that it has not exerted any constructive influence:

> But let us now ask what lasting creations Islam has produced, how much it has done for the refinement of the spirit and customs of the nations. […] Its power has always shown itself more in destruction and tearing down than in planting and founding, in calling forth and developing new creations. (p. 142)

Whereas for Möhler it was the national religious element within Islam that hindered its becoming a true universal religion, for Döllinger, it is its lack of inner strength and its spiritual poverty that prevented this.

Muhammed's Religion is in its essentials an account of the historical development of Islam and its impact on the life of nations, based on a broad knowledge of sources and scholarly literature. One of Döllinger's main concerns is to make comparisons between the teachings and religious practices of Islam and of Christianity, a feature that affords instructive insights into his theological views about, for example, the role of tradition, the clergy and religious institutions and structures, gender, and the relationship between Islam and Judaism.

SIGNIFICANCE

Döllinger's study of Islam was part of his broader interest in religions and their various forms and structures. In this respect, he understood Islam primarily as part of the history of the Christian Church, which is why he examined it in relation to Christianity and was clear about which was the better alternative. In taking this approach, he was continuing the long-standing Christian tradition that derived from John of Damascus in the 8th century, who concluded his *De haeresibus* with an acerbic attack on 'the heresy of the Ishmaelites'. In this work, Döllinger is an apologist who shows that he is familiar with traditional polemics against Islam and approaches it from the vantage point of cultural superiority.

Muhammed's Religion was not only read in German-speaking countries but also elsewhere, including in Italy and Britain, where Döllinger was called 'one of the most eminent divines of Germany' (*The Dublin Review* 7/13 [1839] 98-121, p. 100). It was used by the Polish bishop Józef Pelczar in *Ziemia Święta i islam* ('The Holy Land and Islam', 1875; *CMR* 22, 708-16), and Döllinger's contention in it that Islam was in decline came in for criticism from the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (*CMR* 22, 294-306).

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Friedrich, *Ignaz von Döllinger*

Angela Berlis

Hermann von Pückler-Muskau

DATE OF BIRTH 30 October 1785
PLACE OF BIRTH Muskau, Saxony
DATE OF DEATH 4 February 1871
PLACE OF DEATH Branitz (Cottbus), Brandenburg

BIOGRAPHY

Hermann Ludwig Heinrich von Pückler-Muskau was born in 1785 at Schloss Muskau in Upper Lusatia, the first of five children of Count Carl Ludwig Hans Erdmann von Pückler-Muskau-Groditz (1754-1811) and his wife, Countess Clementine of Callenberg (1770-1850). He attended various educational institutions before he started studying law in 1801 in Leipzig, but cut his studies short to join the Garde du Corps in Dresden as a lieutenant, though he had to flee from there in 1804, heavily in debt. Three years later, he set out on a four-year journey that led him through Switzerland, France and Italy.

When his father died in 1811, Pückler inherited the Muskau estate. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the estate passed from Saxony to Prussia. King Frederick William III elevated Pückler to the rank of prince in 1822 and accepted him into the Prussian army in 1824, where he was given the rank of colonel in 1826. In 1815, he started to design a landscape garden following the English model, which attracted international attention. Two years later he married Lucie, nine years his elder and the divorced Countess von Pappenheim. The park devoured almost her entire fortune. To avoid selling Muskau, the couple then formally divorced, so that Pückler could look for a wealthy bride. Starting in 1826, he spent three years in England on this search, though he also made an extensive study of landscape gardens and parks in England, Ireland and Wales. His journey led to literary success inasmuch as his travelogues *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1830) and *Tutti Frutti* (1834) became bestsellers and secured his future.

Pückler showed particular interest in the East at an early age. Between 1818 and 1820, he applied for a position as Prussian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, but without success. In 1834, he went on another journey that lasted six years. The destination was originally the United States, but instead he went from Marseille to Algiers, Tunis, Malta, Athens, Crete, Alexandria and Cairo. In Cairo, he acquired several slaves, among them two 11 or 13 year-old Abyssinian girls whom he called Ajiamé and Machbuba,

the latter of whom accompanied him as his mistress back to his homeland, where she died in 1840. Pückler returned to Muskau via Jerusalem, Cyprus and Constantinople, again recording this so-called 'Oriental journey' in several volumes of travel writing.

Despite his literary successes, in 1845 Pückler had to sell Muskau. Together with Lucie, he moved to Branitz, also part of his father's legacy, where again he began to create a landscape garden. Alongside Muskau and Branitz, Pückler had a major impact on the design of Babelsberg Park, Ettersburg, Neuhardenberg, Wilhelmsthal, Altenstein and the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. After Lucie's death in 1854, he left Branitz and travelled around for another two years. On his return to Branitz, he started to build two earth pyramids in Branitz Park, one of which, situated in a specially created lake, was to serve as his burial place. He was buried there after his death in 1871, and in 1884 Lucie's body was also transferred to the pyramid.

Pückler exerted tremendous efforts to achieve his elaborate self-display, which included all aspects of his life: his parks and writings, but also his entire existence from his clothing up to his extraordinary funeral. His lively correspondence provides an excellent insight into his time. He exchanged letters with many important figures from politics and society, science and art, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Heinrich Heine, Rahel Varnhagen and Bettina von Arnim.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Semilasso in Afrika
'Semilasso in Africa'

DATE 1836
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
In *Semilasso in Afrika* (its full title is *Semilassos vorletzter Weltgang, Zweiter Theil: Semilasso in Afrika. Aus den Papieren des Verstorbenen. 1. Abtheilung: Algier. 2. Abtheilung: Algier, Bougie, Bone. 3. Abtheilung: Biserta, Tunis. 4. Abtheilung: Reise in's Innere des Königreichs Tunis: Sauwan, Keruan, Sfax, Susa. 5. Abtheilung: Land der Beduinen: Die alten Städte Sufetula, Colonia Scillitana, Hydrah, Thugga, Sica Veneria u.s.w. Tunis; Schluß.*, 'Semilasso's penultimate walk on earth, Second part: Semilasso in Africa. From "Papers of the dead man". Section 1: Algiers; Section 2: Algiers, Bougie, Bône; Section 3: Biserte, Tunis; Section 4: Journey into the interior of the Kingdom of Tunis: Sauwan, Kairouan, Sfax, Sousse; Section 5: Bedouin country: the ancient cities of Sufetula, Colonia Scillitana, Hydrah, Thugga, Sica Veneria etc, Tunis; End') Hermann von Pückler-Muskau describes the first part of his so-called 'Oriental journey' in 1835, which included Algiers, Tunis and the region around. It is the sequel to *Vorletzter Weltgang von Semilasso: In Europa*, which focuses on his journey from Muskau via Paris to Marseille. The work was published under the pseudonym *Semilasso*, which Pückler explicitly employs as an alter ego and means 'half-Oriental', and is made up of different types of composition including letters to various people, entries from a travel journal, a chronicle and several poems (Baum, 'Fürst Pückler', p. 101).

When he arrives in Algiers, his first point of contact with the so-called 'Orient', Pückler is particularly struck by the town's minarets. Throughout

his journey, he shows special interest in mosques, but he never receives permission to visit one. His recourse is to describe the main mosque in Kairouan in great detail, quoting his valet Mustapha's report. From this he concludes that Gothic architecture originated from Arab architecture (*Semilasso in Afrika*, 2013, p. 34).

Pückler calls the population of North Africa 'Barbaren' or 'Barbaresken' and the region 'Barberei' or 'Berberei', which is a blending of the Greek term for barbarian and the ethnic category of Berber. He divides the population by race into Turks, Arabs, Moors, Berbers, Bedouins and Blackamoors. In doing so, he claims to refer to the categorisation published by a certain 'gentleman' of St Léon, according to whom the cradle of the human race was to be found in the countries lying between Persia and Egypt.

> One is led to the conjecture by the discovery of several laws of physical order; namely, that the loss, in the specific gravity of the bones and muscles, shows in all individuals their relative distances from the original type. Since, then, the specific gravity is with none so great as with the Arabs, so also no other race possesses in so high a degree the remaining normal attributes; and it appears, therefore, that the Arab is the original man, and, of all the Arabs, probably the natives of the countries between Syria and Egypt: whence it follows, that with the Arab of this region it would be possible, by means of the variety of soil and climate, to produce all the races on the globe, in the same manner as, setting out from the same point, and using the same methods, it is possible to produce every variety of the horse. (*Semilasso in Africa*, 1837, vol. 2, pp. 46-7)

In the first part of his work, Pückler makes no mention of anything concerning religion. However, this changes towards the end of the second volume, when he declares that he has been accused of hypocritical religiosity and claims that he is not an enemy of God just because he criticises religion. 'God and the world are, at least for earthly capacities, two very different things. We find in the world much that is stupid, evil – nay, disgusting; and in religion itself, which appears the nearest thing to God in the world, there exist the most disgraceful disorders' (*Semilasso in Africa*, 1837, vol. 2, p. 50).

Pückler identifies Islam, the 'Muhammedan religion', as fanaticism and relates it closely to boundless despotism and cold-blooded cruelty. Yet, as he sees it, recent events, especially the taking of Algiers by the French, have operated powerfully and the 'spirit of progression' has seized even the Muslims and, 'almost against their own will', is carrying them forward towards a new civilisation. So, they are beginning to receive 'the advantages of Christian civilisation'. For Pückler, a major problem was the union

of 'church' and 'law' in Islam: 'Their legislators are well aware that this union is the surest, perhaps the only bulwark of despotism' (*Semilasso in Africa*, 1837, vol. 2, pp. 146-50).

In the third volume, Pückler goes into Islam and its history in detail. He describes Muḥammad as a soldier and statesman who, through a new faith, succeeded in uniting the wild hordes of wandering Arabs into one empire.

> Founded upon tyrannical despotism and refined sensuality, this religion gave free play to passions – nay, even required from the faithful, revenge, intolerance, and force. [...] The Koran, that remarkable union of confidence and absurdity – of victorious eloquence and imposture, proceeding from the highest principle of the unity of God, and weaving around a whole tissue of deception, was in its truth and its falsehood the wonderful implement with which Muhammad attained to unbounded dominion, and his successors for centuries kept possession of it. (*Semilasso in Africa*, 1837, vol. 2, pp. 170-1)

The local Muslims, however, have become increasingly negligent in observing their ancient customs. As Pückler puts it, they are less sanitary than the Jews and drink lots of wine. They despise Christians more than Jews because Christians are powerful and are to be feared, whereas Jews have no protector and live under oppression. Nevertheless, it is the Jews who are active in Africa as well as in Europe. The currency is under their control, and they regulate the value of money (*Semilasso in Afrika*, 2013, pp. 360-4).

Despite this, Pückler is pleased by the administration of justice because of 'its simplicity, brevity, and promptitude, as well as the small number of laws, which are all contained in the Koran, in the "Assina" [*Sunna*, traditions], and thirdly in the "Inferences" deduced from them' (*Semilasso in Africa*, 1837, vol. 2, pp. 182-3). Compared to the Prussian court system, the poor will benefit more from this, and it will be quicker and less expensive. Judging from the result, he conjectures, one would be inclined to give this mode of justice preference over the more refined and complicated Prussian system. In addition, Islamic despotism may have its advantages compared to Christian liberalism:

> Where that despotic violence steps in, which is the essential characteristic of the Mahometan religion, as liberality is of the true Christian, that is to say, among the rulers themselves, do crimes become the order of the day. Among the people they are less frequent than in Europe among what are called Christian nations. [...] One may, besides, feel assured that the progress of civilisation will introduce milder manners even among the governors; and the history of Europe shows us sufficiently, that in the Middle

> Ages, when we stood at the same grade of civilisation, crimes were just as frequent in the region of the throne; and sometimes even of a more hideous character. (*Semilasso in Afrika*, 1837, vol. 2, pp. 189-90)

At the end of his work, Pückler writes that he could imagine no nobler or more rewarding task than that of a young prince, who was made king of North Africa when the Ottoman Empire fell:

> He would enjoy the high fortune of leading a noble people to a nobler state of existence, of seeing a land which nature has enriched with all that is valuable to man, and which through man's negligence and fury is now nine-tenths desert, become every day more flourishing and magnificent under his sceptre; [...] But his reign must begin with the iron age, that of despotic monarchy; and death, either for himself, or thousands and thousands, who must not terrify him: his jubilee might perhaps celebrate in a golden age, under liberal institutions. They who would begin civilization here, with falsely understood humanity and effeminate mildness, are fools. (*Semilasso in Africa*, 1837, pp. 268-9)

SIGNIFICANCE

Semilasso in Afrika was published in five quarterly issues while Pückler was still in Algiers. Varnhagen von Ense was responsible for the publication, but his influence on the text is not as yet clear (Baum, 'Fürst Pückler', p. 101). Along with Heinrich Heine (see *CMR* 22, 117-25), Pückler was one of the most widely read German authors of the Vormärz period (characterised by an increasing interest in political and social topics in the decades leading up to the 1848 March Revolution in the states of the German Confederation). However, literary historiography has long assigned him the place of a dilettante – though this view is now being revised. Special attention is drawn to his interplay of roles and masks and his design of the Orient as a stage for action and scenery (Polaschegg, 'Pücklers Orient', p. 185). The Orient functions as a critical mirror that Pückler holds up to the Occident (Baum, 'Fürst Pückler', pp. 106-7).

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Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich
Egypt under Mehemet Ali

DATE 1844
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Like his other travel writings, Pückler wrote *Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich* (unless otherwise stated, the 1985 edition is used in references below) under a pseudonym (its title in full is *Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich. Vom Verfasser der Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Erster Theil: Unter-Aegypten. Zweiter*

Theil: Ober-Aegypten. Dritter Theil: Nubien und Sudan, 'From the realm of Mehemed Ali. By the author of "Letters of a dead man". First part: Lower Egypt. Second part: Upper Egypt. Third part: Nubia and Sudan'). Unlike *Semilasso in Afrika* and other travel reports he wrote, the work does not consist of letters but is written as a continuous travel journal. It was published after his return to Europe in 1844.

Pückler visited Egypt in 1837 and travelled up the Nile to Khartoum, mostly in the company of Mehemed Ali Pasha (Muḥammad ʿAlī, r. 1805-48), governor of the Ottoman province of Egypt. As the title suggests, Mehemed Ali is the main subject of the travel report. In the introduction, Pückler gives a short but very pointed evaluation of the pasha, whom he repeatedly compares to Napoleon. Mehemed Ali

> has given to the East the germ of a new epoch of civilisation. True, it is only a germ [...] for, let us remember that the Mussulmans – standing quite out of Europe, in respect to the influences of civilisation – are, in the thirteenth century of their Hegira, almost in the same mediaeval position as we were after the lapse of the same number of centuries from the appearance of our Divine Prophet. (*Egypt under Mehemet Ali*, 1845, vol. 1, p. xiv)

In addition to many other merits, Pückler notes that Mehemed Ali had fettered fanaticism and exercised greater tolerance in religious matters than was found in many Christian states. He protected Christians in a way that was hard for many Muslims to accept. Pückler even quotes him as saying that the Egyptians knew that Egypt had once been the first land in the world – an example to all others – but now it was Europe's turn. In time, perhaps, enlightenment might again have its seat here (*Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1). When Pückler knew Mehemed Ali, the Pasha was still rising in power. By the time he returned to Europe and published his travel report, however, the Pasha's power was already declining, which Pückler explains in the introduction. According to Pückler, Mehemed Ali had introduced higher education and growing numbers of European customs and traditions to Egypt. Thus, the people were beginning to believe that they were in need of more foreign influence and that nothing but a blending with European civilisation could help them achieve a new re-organisation of their own, and thus a more secure and happy internal state than they had hitherto enjoyed under any Muslim government. The direct supremacy of European powers had hence been deemed desirable to provide directly what Mehemed Ali could only give indirectly and imperfectly. That was why, when the English and Germans turned against Mehemed Ali in Syria, the people welcomed them with open arms

(*Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, vol. 1, p. 21). In such circumstances, it would be quite easy for a European power to exploit any 'Oriental' people. 'If then a mutual salutary penetration of the educational elements of both parts of the world [the East and Europe], which have been divorced for so long, takes place, this will infallibly lead to a major epoch in history as in the general progress of humanity' (*Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, vol. 1, pp. 22-3).

Pückler describes Mehemed Ali as being dissatisfied with the religious hierarchy because they played a large part in decision-making and exercised a dangerous influence on the state in general. If a reform was to succeed, it would be of more help to the East than to the rest of the world, just as the Christian world was reformed by Protestantism (*Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, vol. 2, pp. 295-6).

Pückler marginalises Islam, but also other religions such as Judaism and Christianity. He concentrates exclusively on ancient monuments such as temples and pyramids, and writes almost nothing about contemporary religions. Even in the case of ancient Egypt, he refuses to reconcile the chronology of the Egyptian royal dynasties with the chronology of the Bible.

> Our time, which no longer has a truly positive faith and will have to create it again from new material, should not give up the only gain it has left – namely, the essentially critical spirit, which knows how to rise above outdated prejudices of all kinds to the extent that, while it understands how to honour the historical past and what was necessary at the time, it only sees it as a futile and pathological effort to re-warm the Orthodox faith. (*Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, vol. 2, p. 344)

Pückler does pay attention to some mosques, though this is only to compare them to Gothic churches. These representations from the 'heroic ages of the cross, as well as those of the crescent' either originated from the same source, he theorises, or the Gothic style was derived from the Arab-Moorish (*Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, vol. 1, pp. 156-7).

SIGNIFICANCE

Even during his travels through Egypt, articles that Pückler wrote were published in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*. These shaped the later reception of *Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich*, but it could not continue the success of his earlier publications, even though its portrayal of Mehemed Ali caused some sensation. Many claimed that Pückler was a biased observer and depicted Mehemed Ali too positively because the latter loaded him with presents and favours (Peuckert, 'Der Schriftsteller Hermann Pückler-Muskau', p. 58).

The Abyssinian slave called Machbuba, whom Pückler acquired in Cairo, also attracted particular attention. Her age is indicated differently, at about 11 or 13 years. She accompanied Pückler as a mistress, but in society he also passed her off as a foster daughter and a princess. She died of tuberculosis in Muskau in 1840. The relationship was quickly romanticised by Pückler's niece and biographer, Ludmilla Assing-Grimelli (Friedrich and Neuhäuser, '[…] und wie interessant', p. 27-8). Even today, Pückler's relationship with Machbuba is often depicted as a romantic love story, although the descriptions in the travelogue show that he treated her as a slave and an object with which he adorned and dramatised himself (as he did with horses that he acquired in Egypt). Recently, Kerstin Volker-Saad has pointed out that in his depiction Pückler in fact condenses various female slaves into one figure, a very young woman who undergoes a process of emancipation during his journey (Volker-Saad, 'Das Rätsel der Machbuba').

Overall, the evaluation of Pückler's writings in relation to Orientalism in the way it is understood by Edward Said varies. Most scholars describe his travel writings as ambivalent. On the one hand they particularly emphasise his method of describing people and things on the basis of close observation and empathy (Friedrich and Neuhäuser, '[…] und wie interessant', p. 21). On the other hand, they accuse him of holding a decidedly colonialist view (Hamann, 'Neuer Sinn im Orient', pp. 192-1). Racism, which is also present in his writings, has not yet been addressed at all.

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Ulrike Kollodzeiski

Ida Hahn-Hahn

DATE OF BIRTH 1805
PLACE OF BIRTH Tressow, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 1880
PLACE OF DEATH Mainz

BIOGRAPHY

In her time, Ida Hahn-Hahn was a widely read author best known for her novels and travelogues. The reading public often referred to her as the 'German George Sand'. She was born in 1805 to Karl Friedrich von Hahn-Neuhaus (1782-1857) and Sophie Louise, née von Behr (1783-1857). Her father's expensive passion for theatre meant that the family branch Hahn-Neuhaus, from which she descended, was never well off. As a teenager, Ida was interested in literature and read the works of Lord Byron.

In 1826, she was forced by her family to enter into a marriage of convenience with her cousin Friedrich von Hahn-Basedow (1804-59). Her later name as a writer – Hahn-Hahn – and her coat of arms with two cocks referred to the two branches of the family, Hahn-Neuhaus and Hahn-Basedow, even after their divorce in 1829, when she lived with the widowed Baron Adolf von Bystram (1792-1849) and did not marry again. Hahn-Hahn's disabled daughter Antonie (1829-56) from the marriage with Friedrich von Hahn was nursed by a Berlin friend. In 1836, Hahn-Hahn had an affair with Heinrich Simon (1805-60), a supporter of political liberalism, a political conviction that she rejected but, ultimately, she did not cease living with Bystram, who encouraged her to travel, write and publish. In 1835, 1836 and 1837, Hahn-Hahn published books of poetry. From 1838, beginning with *Aus der Gesellschaft* ('From society'), she published a new novel almost every year and, from 1840, beginning with *Jenseits der Berge* ('Beyond the mountains'), travelogues as well. Her most important work from this creative period is *Gräfin Faustine* ('The Countess Faustina'), a novel on the attempt at and partial failure of female emancipation, with autobiographical reminiscences and intertextual allusions to Goethe's *Faust*. *Gräfin Faustine* was published in 1841 and was well received. It is said of its heroine that, for most of her life, she light-heartedly went her own way. The Orient and Oriental customs are repeatedly addressed in the novel and the heroine undertakes an Oriental journey 'down the Danube to Constantinople, Greece and Palestine'. On the one hand, the situation

Illustration 5. Ida Gräfin von Hahn-Hahn

of the protagonist and that of European women in general is compared to that of Oriental female slaves and, on the other, the heroine is characterised with the help of allusions to the Orient. The Oriental journey is the last in Countess Faustina's life and is especially valued by her because, in the course of it, she is convinced she has found the sources of early history.

Hahn-Hahn travelled in the East in 1843-4. Like Countess Faustina, she first travelled down the Danube to Constantinople, then, among other places, to Smyrna, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem, Gaza and Cairo. Her *Orientalische Briefe* ('Letters from the East'), published in 1844, written in the form of letters to her relatives and friends, contains numerous direct observations of everyday life in the countries she visited, though it should be noted that her statements are shaped by her European viewpoint and – not only from today's perspective – burdened by racist stereotypes.

Encounters with other denominations and religions during her travels probably inspired Hahn-Hahn to question her own Protestant confession. In addition, the March Revolution of 1848 and the death of her life partner Bystram in 1849 shook her and made her question her earlier life. She became a Roman Catholic in 1850 and followed her spiritual mentor, Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811-77), when he moved to take up his new position as bishop of Mainz. In 1851, she justified her change of denomination in her polemical publication *Von Babylon nach Jerusalem* ('From Babylon to Jerusalem'), which caused much controversy among

her contemporaries. In the title, Babylon stands for her past and Jerusalem for her hoped-for future. The work contains repeated allusions to Hahn-Hahn's travels, especially to the Eastern journey, and to Judaism and Islam. At one point, she asks rhetorically whether one might have the courage to imagine that 'abstract speculation' (in philosophy) or the communist system had more life to it than Islam.

The reason she gives for her trip to the East is that she wanted to get to know the world as God had created it and as man had made it – a desire that is perhaps comparable with Countess Faustine's conviction that she had found the sources of early history in the Orient. After a futile attempt to become a novice in the congregation of Notre-Dame de Charité du Bon-Pasteur in Angers in western France (the archives of the monastery record her 'lack of vocation'), Hahn-Hahn returned to Mainz in 1853 and founded the Mainz branch of the Order, which was opened in 1854, and she lived in this monastery but never became a nun herself. Up until her death in 1880, she wrote numerous novels with a Catholic orientation, beginning with *Maria Regina* in 1860 and terminating with *Wahl und Führung* ('Choice and leadership') in 1878, which were very successful in Catholic circles. In addition, Hahn-Hahn engaged in charitable work. A part of her literary estate is kept at the Fritz Reuter-Literaturarchiv, Berlin.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Orientalische Briefe
'Letters from the Orient'

DATE 1844
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Ida Hahn-Hahn's *Orientalische Briefe* were published in Berlin in 1844 in three volumes (383, 346 and 406 pages long, respectively), covering August-October 1843, October-November 1843 and December 1843-April 1844. An English translation by Samuel Phillips (1814-54) appeared the following year in one volume published by J.C. Moore, London, and in three volumes under the title *Letters of a German countess; written during her travels in Turkey, Egypt, the Holy Land, Syria, Nubia, etc., in 1843-4*, published by Henry Coleburn, London. It was based on the diary-like letters she had written to her relatives and friends in Germany during her Oriental journey in 1843 and 1844. Together with her life partner, Baron Adolf von Bystram, she first travelled down the Danube to Constantinople, then to Smyrna, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem, Gaza and Cairo, among other places. Her published letters, which are dedicated to her mother, Sophie Louise von Hahn-Neuhaus (1783-1857), refer to everyday life in the countries she visited as well as to sights, mosques, Muslim congregational prayers and Islam in general. They also include some more extensive reflections on the history of some of the countries she visited. In her book, the Orient stands for the past and origins, the Occident for the present.

In a letter written to her mother in June 1844, which she uses as a kind of foreword in the first volume, Hahn-Hahn makes it clear that her mother should not expect enjoyment from her letters but 'teachings and revelations'. From Vienna, she writes to her mother on 22 August 1843 (vol. 1) that she awaits to see 'how the Orient is reflected in the eye of a daughter of the Occident', showing that here she is aware of her Western perspective on

the Orient, an awareness she does not show everywhere in what she writes. In contrast, other remarks she makes are aimed at religious tolerance. So, in her letter of 7 September (vol. 1), in which she first describes a Muslim praying and then reflects on whether all ways of practising religion – at least with regard to monotheistic religions – are of equal value: 'Does not the Catholic kneel like the Mohamedan? Does not the Protestant read like the Hebrew? Is not genuflection, like a prayer book or a hymn book, an expression of the same devotion, turned towards the same God?' But her letters from the days that follow show less tolerance. Here, she describes the veiled Turkish women by the 'heavenly waters' in Constantinople as lifeless and clumsy, among other attributions (8 September, vol. 1), and distinguishes the female slaves of colour at the slave market by using the stereotype of a difference in 'races' (14 September, vol. 1); she considers the Christian religion to be the most perfect (16 September, vol. 1).

In addition to her account of observing a Muslim at prayer in the 7 September letter (vol. 1), there are many other descriptions of the Islamic religion and worship, e.g. of dervishes, congregational prayers, alms, pilgrimage and the Muslim confession of faith in her letter of 16 September, *Laylat al-Qadr* (8 October, vol. 1), the caliphs (9 October, vol. 1), the Wahhābīs (2 November, vol. 2), Jerusalem as a city of Jews, Christians and Muslims (4 November, vol. 2), the religious significance of Cairo (9 December, vol. 3), djinns (13 February 1844, vol. 3) and relations between Easterners and Europeans (1 March, vol. 3). Remarkable within the first volume are Hahn-Hahn's observations of places inaccessible to men, so in a hamam (14 September, vol. 1) and in the harem of Rifát Pasha in the letter to her brother of 22 September (vol. 1). In her description, she deconstructs the contemporary male fantasies of the harem as a place of eroticism and beauty as seen, for example, in contemporary paintings. It is also to be mentioned that, in her letter of 17 September 1843 (vol. 1), Hahn-Hahn describes how she got to know her fellow author Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872) and visited Hagia Sophia together with him and his companions.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ida Hahn-Hahn's *Orientalische Briefe* were widely received in her time, as were all her publications. After she had begun writing for a predominantly Catholic readership in 1850, the year of her conversion to Catholicism, the interest of the reading public in her pre-Catholic publications gradually waned because, among other things, her conversion was understood as a betrayal of her former principles, though in the course of growing interest

in literature by women of the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in their travel writings, attention to Hahn-Hahn's works increased again in the later 20th century.

Initially, research looked especially at the emancipative potential of *Orientalische Briefe* and emphasised how unusual it was at the time for a woman to travel so far – in a boy's suit (14 October, vol. 2) – and then to report on it, and in doing so, as in the description of the harem, for example, to be able to report from her own experience, unlike men of her time. In addition to the undoubted emancipatory significance of the *Orientalische Briefe*, more recent research has noted its European and sometimes racist view of the East. Among the more recent research approaches, that taken by Kathrin Maurer should be noted in particular. It shows the extent to which Hahn-Hahn's view of the East is shaped by panoramic paintings that were popular at the time, which suggested an 'all-encompassing perspective' on their objects.

The numerous descriptions of religious practices and everyday life in *Orientalische Briefe* are interesting not only from a literary point of view, but also in terms of cultural history and religious studies. But one also should consider the ethnocentric view and anachronistic remarks that no longer corresponded to the current situation even at the time of publication. Ulrike Brisson ('Discovering Scheherazade') has, *inter alia*, drawn attention to this by pointing out that Hahn-Hahn's remarks about intrigues and killings of women and children in the harem in her letters of 9 and 22 September 1843 (vol. 1) refer to the 16th century and not to her own time.

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Sabine Gruber

Friedrich Adolf Strauss

DATE OF BIRTH 1817
PLACE OF BIRTH Elberfeld
DATE OF DEATH 1888
PLACE OF DEATH Potsdam

BIOGRAPHY

Friedrich Strauss came from Elberfeld, the centre of the new, deeper piety on the Lower Rhine. The son of the Lutheran revivalist preacher Gerhard Friedrich Abraham Strauss (1786-1863), he was born on 1 June 1817. From 1836 to 1842, he studied theology in Berlin, where his father had been appointed fourth royal court and cathedral preacher in 1822. His licentiate thesis dealt with the Old Testament prophet Zephaniah and his prophecies directed towards Jerusalem (*Zephaniae Vaticinia*, 1843). Strauss was ordained as an assistant preacher at Berlin Cathedral in 1843. A travel grant from the cathedral foundation enabled him to travel in the East for one and a half years (1844-6). He was accompanied by his cousin, fellow student and later professor of church history, Wilhelm Ludwig Krafft (1821-97).

Strauss travelled from Greece to Egypt and Lebanon in the style of a pilgrimage and educational journey. During his three-month stay in Egypt, he had the opportunity to observe Islam as well as religious and cultural conditions in the Islamic East. In the accounts he wrote of his experiences and reflections, he strove to avoid rash and one-sided judgements. His companion Krafft later published a work on the cartography of ancient and contemporary Jerusalem (*Die Topographie Jerusalem's*, Bonn, 1846), in which he praised Strauss for his rich knowledge of history, archaeology and Eastern languages.

A highlight of Strauss's stay in the East was spending Easter 1845 in Palestine, which had only recently returned to Ottoman rule. Here, the Anglican-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem, which had been endowed shortly before in 1841 by the king of Prussia and the Church of England, attracted his close attention. Strauss met with the new bishop, Michael Salomon Alexander (1791-1845), and his staff, and thus explored the beginnings of Protestant church activity in the city. He was also commissioned by Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782-1867) in Basel to investigate

the possibility of setting up a brotherhood of missionary journeymen of the St Chrischona Pilgrim Mission, as in Jerusalem. Back in Berlin, in 1847 Strauss established a commemoration of the Jerusalem celebration (21 January), which had been initiated by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV (r. 1840-61) in 1843 to mark solemnly the entry of the first Anglo-Prussian bishop Alexander into Jerusalem.

After his return, Strauss took up the post of divisional preacher with the 2nd Guard Division in Berlin and was appointed private lecturer in practical theology at Berlin University. In 1859, he became a garrison preacher and was appointed associate professor. Lastingly impressed by his experiences in the East, Strauss became involved with the Jerusalem bishopric and the Protestant school and the missionary work associated with it. This was initially directed towards the Jewish population and later, under the aegis of the second bishop Samuel Gobat (1799-1879), mainly towards the Christian Arabs in Palestine. When charitable institutions followed, they focused on the Muslims. As a result, more schools, orphanages and hospitals were founded throughout the Middle Eastern region. In 1870, Strauss went to the Garrison and Court Church in Potsdam, where he also served as superintendent from 1871.

In addition to his practical theological writings, his tireless journalistic work for the Jerusalem Society, which he initiated in December 1852 and of which he was secretary, is particularly noteworthy. In 1857, he founded the Society's journal *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande* ('Latest news from the East') and edited it until 1886. In the journal, he collected reports, information and contributions about the German Protestant congregations in the Middle East and about the progress of the Protestant work developing in Jerusalem and in the area of the diocese in schools, hospitals, orphanages and congregations. The reports also concerned the coexistence of religions.

In 1861, Strauss and his brother Otto, a licentiate and divisional preacher in Berlin, published a richly illustrated account of Middle Eastern countries under the title *Die Länder und Stätten der Heiligen Schrift* ('The countries and sites of the holy scriptures', 2nd edition, 1877). These new developments were also incorporated into the subsequent editions of the travelogue *Sinai und Golgatha. Reise in das Morgenland*, which became one of the most popular Palestine travel books of its time and was reprinted eleven times by 1882. For a whole generation of spiritual pilgrims to Jerusalem, reading the book virtually replaced the journey there.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sinai und Golgatha. Reise in das Morgenland
'Sinai and Golgotha. A journey in the East'

DATE 1847
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

The first edition of *Sinai und Golgatha. Reise in das Morgenland* was published in Berlin in 1847. It comprised 439 pages and included two drawings by Ernst and Max Weidenbach showing Mount Sinai and Jerusalem with the Temple Mount, the two eminences of the title. The six chapters take the reader to Greece, Egypt and the Upper Nile, Sinai, Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine, onwards to Syria and Lebanon and homewards via Constantinople. Strauss's travelogue is an early testimony to the travel literature that increasingly focused on the Middle East from the second third of the 19th century onwards. Egypt and Palestine, the two countries where he spent most time, were countries of biblical history. He even named his book after the two sites of God's revelation in the Old and New Testaments. His visits there were clearly in line with his religious desire

and they form the emotional high points of the book. For the theologian and revivalist, however, it was not enough to stop at just looking. For him, Bible study and travel experience led to a practical and charitable commitment to the Protestant Church in the Middle East.

In the preface, Strauss informs his readers that, when he visited the places that formed the setting for the biblical story, he found that what he saw pricisely conformed with the biblical accounts. Furthermore, he found literal fulfilment of biblical prophecies in the customs of the people he visited and in the conditions in their countries. With these words, he addressed a church-going Protestant readership with whom he intended to share his enthusiasm.

Strauss designed his travel book loosely as a diary, but added reflections on the significance of biblical places and supplemented them with historical and religious explanations. In doing so, he showed himself to be a good observer rather than a critic: when he presented personal impressions and religious observations, he refrained from premature judgements and confessional polemics. This was especially true of his descriptions of Islam and the Eastern churches. Descriptions of landscapes, observations of nature and remarks on customs and traditions served as a basis for his interpretation from a revivalist theological point of view, which was guided by the enduring truth of the biblical text, which he was convinced should be interpreted not only spiritually, but also with regard to the present and future of the earthly Jerusalem. With this view, he held to the realist understanding of the Bible of the revivalist movement, which had initiated the rediscovery of the Holy Land at the beginning of the 19th century. Christian longings for pilgrimage and end-time ideas played a new role, especially concerning the biblical lands and the city of Jerusalem and so his publication was intended to encourage a church readership to support charitable and missionary endeavours. Where appropriate, Strauss dealt extensively with the indigenous churches – including Greeks, Copts and Maronites – as well as Judaism and Islam.

The stay in Cairo and Strauss's personal encounters gave rise to a long description of Islam and he received further impressions from Muslim companions and hosts during the Nile journey and a caravan trip through Sinai. He respectfully describes the religious devotion of some Muslims, the chanting of the muezzin and prayer freely practised in public. He also observes religious songs and phrases and witnesses Muslims' respect for the Qur'an, which exceeded anything comparable among Christians for the Bible in his homeland. Very clearly and without distortions, he presents the basic features of the Islamic religion to his readers in a systematic

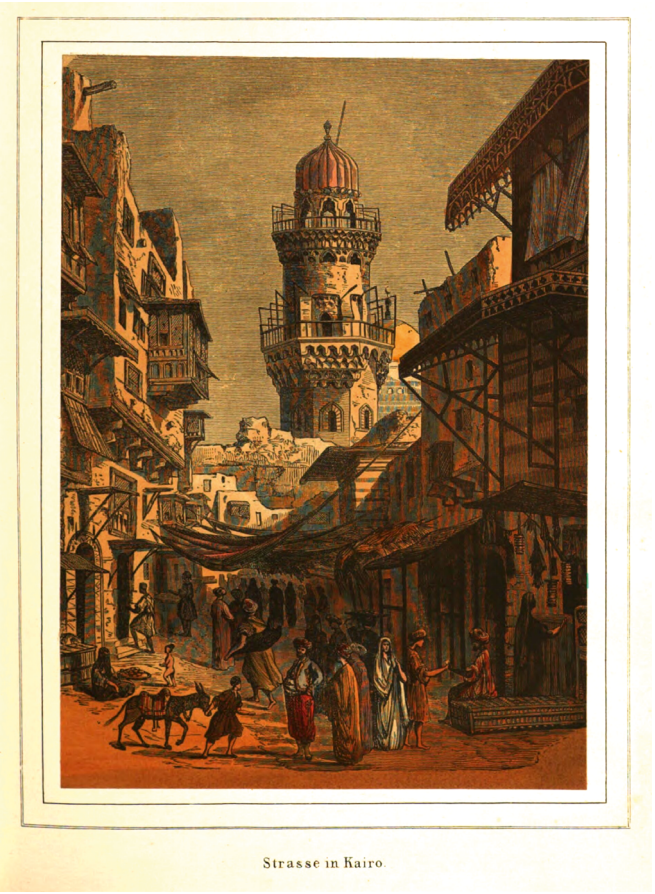

Illustration 6. 'Strasse in Kairo' from the illustrated edition of *Sinai und Golgatha*

section (pp. 55-64): the revelation of God in the Qur'an and the position it gives to Christ, the religious practice and spread of Islam, the course of congregational prayer and the furnishings of a mosque, the importance of Mecca and the main holidays, the position of women and the Islamic school system.

He concludes critically by noting how much Islam is in decline and how religious indifference has spread, especially in Egypt. As a religion of attaining salvation through works, Islam lacks the idea of redemption that is developed in the New Testament. Here, Strauss sees a wide field for future Christian mission, though this can only be done by the Protestant

Church because Muslims would find only unadorned Protestant places of worship and their simple services familiar and acceptable.

However, the aim of his book is not to talk about mission among Muslims, but rather to convey the poor conditions in which the rural population live and the lack of education and Bible knowledge among the Christians he meets. To his mind, the local churches should be strengthened first and reform efforts, educational work and preaching promoted among them, and after this outreach to the rest of the population will arise of its own accord. Strauss also seeks an answer to the question of how Christianity was defeated by Islam in the 7th century. As he does so, familiar stereotypical explanations emerge, namely that the churches in the East were lost in doctrinal disputes at the time when Islam originated and were weakened as a result. Moreover, under the long rule of the Mamlūks and Ottomans, education and culture declined, so that the Eastern churches could not participate in the progress of the Church in the West.

To classify the overall situation, Strauss refers to the Bible's timeless categories of promise and fulfilment, curse and judgement, which he believes he can apply without question to the countries of the Bible and their people. His journey proves to him that the places he has visited correspond to descriptions given in the Bible, that peoples and customs have hardly changed and that the conditions he perceives are a shocking testimony to the fulfilment of scriptural prophecies. And he is convinced that salvation and blessing will come in the way the Bible teaches. He hopes for blessings wherever he can report on the successes of Anglican and American missionary societies that were already active in the Middle East where indigenous churches were opening up to reform processes, educational institutions were being established, Jews were being converted and individual Muslims were converting to Christianity.

Strauss's explanations are to be understood as an attempt to place his observations and perceptions in an interpretive framework that was familiar to him. With regard to Jerusalem especially, he hoped for the fulfilment of the biblical promises for Zion in the near future. In his eyes, the foundation of the Jerusalem bishopric by England and Prussia in 1841 was a first step in which the German Protestant Church and its missionary work had to be involved.

SIGNIFICANCE

From the second third of the 19th century, travel to countries in the Middle East, especially Palestine, increased. In particular, the second half of the

19th century saw the peak of a wave of travel writing, which can be seen as the expression of renewed interest in the area. This period also saw the beginnings and spread of missionary activity in the Middle East from Europe and North America. In the travelogues that were written, both the countries visited and the methods of mission are explained in great detail as the authors express their emotions on visiting the sites described in the Bible. Strauss's travelogue is a particularly expressive example of this.

Strauss made his journey an experience of faith. His report testifies to the fascination felt by a young theologian influenced by the spiritual revival in Christianity and its literal understanding of the Bible on seeing the countries it describes with his own eyes and, at the same time, his sincere interest in and fundamental curiosity about the countries and their people. Readers were able to participate in both travel adventure and religious experiences. Encounters with unknown Christian denominations and other religions were integral parts of this.

In the explanatory chapters, where Strauss gives factual information about Islam, Judaism and the Eastern Churches (almost like an early *Baedeker* guidebook), he is very reticent with evaluations and judgements. Here, he may have indirectly promoted an undistorted perception of Islam among his Christian readership.

This travel book contributed greatly to awakening interest in the Middle East and the Holy Land in Germany and northern Europe. The vividness of some of its descriptions, its Bible-derived language and sensitive style, which was influenced by revivalist piety, found a particularly favourable readership among Protestants. Even if the Palestine traveller and explorer Titus Tobler (1806-77) was disparaging about the book's turgid language and uncritical view of the Bible (*Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae*, Leipzig, 1867), it is worth noting that it was re-issued eleven times between 1847 and 1882 and was also translated into many European languages.

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Frank Foerster

Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer

DATE OF BIRTH 10 December 1790
PLACE OF BIRTH Pairdorf near Brixen, South Tyrol (Bressanone, Italy)
DATE OF DEATH 25/26 April 1861
PLACE OF DEATH Munich

BIOGRAPHY

Fallmerayer, the son of a poor Tyrolean peasant, attended school at the *Gymnasium* in Brixen and went on to study, between 1801 and 1813, at the Theologische Fakultät in Salzburg and at the Bavarian University, then in Landshut, where he developed a special interest in the classics. He served in the Bavarian army for five years from 1813 to 1818, devoting his spare time to the study of Oriental languages such as Turkish and Persian. After entering the civil service as a teacher in Landshut (1821), he published two groundbreaking books on the history of the Empire of Trabzon (1827) and the history of medieval Morea (2 vols, 1830-6), establishing his scholarly renown in what was later to be known as Byzantine Studies. Philhellenists, however, resented his assertion that there was no genetic connection between the Greeks of Antiquity and contemporary Greeks, the latter being, in his opinion, the descendants of Slavs and Albanians who migrated into Greece in the Middle Ages.

Fallmerayer's teaching career ended when he met Count Alexander Osterman-Tolstoi, a Russian expatriate whom he accompanied on a journey through the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy) that lasted three years (1831-4). He returned to Munich and was appointed a member of the Bavarian Academy in 1835. In 1839, he began publishing a series of articles in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, which dealt with his travels and political or historical issues. His second journey to the East (1840-2) took him to the Lower Danube, the Black Sea region, Mount Athos and Greece. Three years later, he decided to republish a revised collection of his articles in his *Fragmente aus dem Orient* (1845).

In 1847-8, he undertook a third journey to Greece, Trabzon, Asia Minor and Palestine, but broke off his travels as he received the news that he had been awarded the chair of history at the University of Munich. As it turned

out, however, he never took up this position. Having been elected to the National Assembly in Frankfurt, he fled to Switzerland after the downfall of the German revolution in 1848. A general amnesty allowed him to return to Munich in 1850, where he spent the last ten years of his life as a man of letters without any official position except his membership in the Academy. He continued publishing scholarly and journal papers and developed an interest in the history and language of Albania. Although the political and cultural climate had now changed and become highly conservative, Fallmerayer remained faithful to the radical Enlightenment ideals that had guided him in his youth. His penchant for sharp-tongued polemics got him into serious trouble as early as 1851.

Towards the end of his life, Fallmerayer regretted not having produced any major work (in his opinion) and sought to remedy this with a comprehensive collection of his publications. He died on the night between 25 and 26 April 1861 before he could complete the revision of the texts. His *Gesammelte Werke* were posthumously edited by his friend G.M. Thomas in the same year.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Fragmente aus dem Orient
'Fragments from the East'

DATE 1845
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
Fallmerayer published his *Fragmente aus dem Orient* in 1845. It consists of two volumes of 344 and 512 pages, each containing eight chapters. The first 13 chapters describe his second journey to the Black Sea region and the eastern Mediterranean, following the stopping places of his trip (1840-2), while the remaining three chapters discuss the question of the 'Slav element in Greece' and review works by other authors. Some of the chapters had previously been published individually in the newspaper *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*. Fallmerayer claimed that the articles

were based on his travel notes, and that press censorship had mutilated the text on account of the numerous political asides they contained. By reprinting them in an uncensored form, he wished to restore his original political message, insisting in the preface that they should be read against the backdrop of developments in Germany, the revival of Catholicism in Bavaria, and the geo-political situation in Eastern Europe. A comparative analysis, however, leads to the conclusion that Fallmerayer did not rely on his diaries but rewrote his articles to a large extent with the help of copious borrowings from other works.

Religion is an important topic in Fallmerayer's *Fragmente* and regularly appears in his descriptions of places (Constantinople, Trabzon, Trnovo, Thessalonike, Larissa and so on), though his personal stance is difficult to define precisely because his attention is almost exclusively devoted to the political, social and economic impact of religion. He displays no interest whatsoever in doctrinal discussions and refers to the spiritual dimension of religion only on rare occasions.

In most instances, Fallmerayer depicts religion in terms of religious practices and mentalities. He explains this with the blank statement that the Ottoman Empire knows no separation of state and religion: religion is therefore simply omnipresent in politics, life and everyday activities (e.g. vol. 1, p. 266). Moreover, Fallmerayer's strongly anticlerical leanings lead him to view institutionalised forms of religiosity, such as the practices of dervishes in Constantinople (vol. 1, pp. 28, 266-7), with remarkable mistrust. He stresses that Muslims and Christians in the East share an Oriental mentality that sharply contrasts with the restlessness of Westerners, who – as he puts it – are generally despised for their weakness, libertine excesses and clumsiness, and are particularly abhorred, especially by Muslims, for their lack of piety. In his view, Muslims and Eastern Christians share a common indifference to higher education and historical research, which he especially criticises with regard to the Orthodox monasteries he visited.

While he underlines the diversities among Christians in the East, he also points out disparities among Islamic communities, observing that Muslims in the Black Sea region are much more committed to tradition than in Constantinople, and that, although Muslim 'fanaticism' is omnipresent, it becomes increasingly apparent the further one travels from the capital city.

In spite of their inferior social status, Christian priests profit enormously from the backing of Muslim authorities. Conversely, religious practices ascribed to Muslims, such as extended fasting, are also held in high esteem by the Christian hierarchy. He suggests that the underprivileged

position of women in some Christian communities results from Muslim influence, whereas in other places women are freer and more visible in public. In this respect, Fallmerayer draws parallels between Islam and Roman Catholicism, identifying in both cases the wish to control and oppress women as a central aspect of their religious practice (vol. 1, pp. 58-61, 276-7). Although the average *Osmanlı* prides himself on being Muslim and tries to avoid Christians as far as possible, Fallmerayer can cite many areas of interreligious contact, such as Christian pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary in which Muslim women also join (vol. 1, pp. 179-80), or Christian women's convents producing goods for Muslims in return for protection (vol. 1, p. 117).

On the whole, Fallmerayer's opinion is ambivalent towards both Christians and Muslims. Although he repeatedly indicts the 'fanaticism' and hypocrisy of Muslims, he makes it quite clear that he sees more positive qualities among them than among Eastern Christians. The latter may be ardent believers, but they are also miserly, pitiless, hard people, whereas Muslims behave compassionately and humanely towards the poor and delight quite innocently in displaying their wealth. Primarily, however, he admires the Ottoman Empire for its pragmatic use of power and wealth and wishes that it could be strengthened as a bulwark against Russia and pan-Slavism.

With the publication of *Fragmente*, Fallmerayer entered the stage as a political journalist. One of his most important goals was to dispel the unrealistic conceptions of Western philhellenists about the origin and character of modern Greeks. After his academic treatment of the subject in his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* ('History of the Morea Peninsula in the Middle Ages', 2 vols, 1830-6), he strove to convince the public with eyewitness accounts. Here, he emphasises to his readers that, thanks to his language skills, he has acquired a firsthand understanding of things in the eastern Mediterranean that vastly surpasses the bookish knowledge of his critics.

In the course of his life, Fallmerayer changed his views about Russia and the Slavs, but to the very end he clung to his aversion against Romantic philhellenism and 'sentimental politics inspired by novels' (revised edition [1877], p. 143). As an author, he identified with the *Fragmente* so much that he called himself a 'fragmentist' in later publications.

SIGNIFICANCE

Fallmerayer's *Fragmente* are less travelogues than early examples of journalistic foreign correspondence that foreshadow the accomplishments of

great reporters in the 20th century. His stated intention frankly to present what he saw or heard is a basic principle of modern reporting. Fallmerayer's eagerness to improve his language skills and his mastery of colloquial Turkish are undeniable, but a modern evaluation points to certain limitations that impeded his grasp of grammatically more elaborate texts (Kreiser, 'Fallmerayer'). His positive remarks about the Ottoman Empire prompted the sultan to award him a decoration in 1848, which he received with deep gratitude. For Fallmerayer's German contemporaries, his idea that Ottoman Islam and Eastern Christianity shared a common mentality was certainly unusual; still more so was his opinion that Byzantium lived on in the Ottoman Empire. In the long run, the *Fragmente* have received a place in German literary history mainly on the strength of their outstanding descriptions of vegetation and landscapes, while Fallmerayer's political and religious observations soon came to be considered specialist matters. From a present-day perspective, however, these very aspects of his articles make them a valuable source on the entangled history of religions in the eastern Mediterranean before the catastrophes and revolutions of the 20th century. They provide a measure of context for the understanding of relations between Christians and Muslims at the time, albeit seen through the highly subjective lens of a somewhat eccentric observer.

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Neue Fragmente aus dem Orient
'New fragments from the East'

DATE 1840-41, 1847, 1851
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Fallmerayer's *Neue Fragmente aus dem Orient* ('New fragments from the East') were published in 1861. Comprising 408 pages, they form the first volume of his *Gesammelte Werke*, posthumously edited in three volumes by his friend G.M. Thomas. The *Neue Fragmente* contain, among other contributions, an article on the theological schools of Cairo and the dissemination of Islam, dating from 1851 (pp. 39-52), seven articles on Fallmerayer's third journey to the eastern Mediterranean in 1847 (pp. 256-338), and nine essays dating from his second journey in 1840-1 (pp. 339-408).

Fallmerayer's *Neue Fragmente* are, for the most part, mainly political commentaries on the situation in the eastern Mediterranean and they devote much less attention to religious aspects than his previously published *Fragmente*. Where he does mention religion, he follows the same tendencies as in the earlier work. Thus, he praises Islam as a champion of human reason in contrast with the dogmatic intricacies of Christianity, or disparages Anatolian Christians as uneducated, uncouth and base-minded. The last article on his third journey offers an admiring description

of the festivities that the sultan organised in Constantinople for the circumcision of 8,000 boys (pp. 314-16).

Two essays dating from his second journey treat specifically religious issues, but not their spiritual aspects (pp. 380-5, 391-6). Here, Fallmerayer discusses the staunch resistance of traditional Muslims, especially the ulema, to reformist plans to strengthen the sultan's position by giving the 'infidels' more political rights and influence. In his judgement, although projects aimed to improve the political situation of Christians revealed a deplorable weakening of Ottoman power on the international stage, they were condemned to failure for reasons inherent in the empire itself: the fierce self-confidence and self-righteousness of Muslim Turks and the demographic evolution with a steadily diminishing Christian minority.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Fallmerayer's *Neue Fragmente* lies in its concise overview of his political opinions within which the context for understanding relations between Muslims and Christians is subsumed.

PUBLICATIONS

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Claudia Märtl

Friedrich Bodenstedt

Friedrich Martin Bodenstedt; Friedrich von Bodenstedt

DATE OF BIRTH 22 April 1819
PLACE OF BIRTH Peine, Lower Saxony
DATE OF DEATH 18 April 1892
PLACE OF DEATH Wiesbaden

BIOGRAPHY

Friedrich Bodenstedt was born into modest circumstances which he himself regarded later as restricting, often even paralysing. Little is known about his childhood and youth. In 1837, after an education as a tradesman, he followed a friend who wanted to become an officer in Moscow. It is not known how he earned his living during his first years in the Russian capital. He himself later claimed that he studied literature and languages between 1837 and 1840 at several German universities, though this cannot be verified. Nevertheless, after learning Russian and successfully passing the official teacher's examination, in early 1841 he became a private tutor in the household of Prince Galitzin (1794-1866). In consequence, he made the acquaintance of General Alexander von Neidhart (1784-1845), then governor of Moscow. When von Neidhart was appointed governor general and commander-in-chief of the Caucasus in 1842, he invited Bodenstedt to accompany him to Georgia. Bodenstedt declined, but a few months later he accepted a position as a French teacher at the state high school in Tiflis (Tbilisi).

Bodenstedt assumed his teaching position in February 1844 and remained in Georgia for 18 months. He employed as a teacher of Turkish/Azeri and Persian a certain Mirza Schaffy (Mirzə Şəfi Vazeh, 1792 or 1794-1850), who hailed from Ganja in present-day Azerbaijan, where his father had been master-builder to the last khan. He had received a classical education, which included the study of the Qur'an as well as the acquisition of Arabic and Persian – his mother tongue was Azeri (Azerbaijani Turkish) – and an introduction to Oriental literature and poetry. Mirza Schaffy developed a critical stance towards the religious establishment in his native town, which he regarded as paralysed in its dogmas. He became friends with Mirzə Fətəli Axundov (1819-78), an author and thinker who

is regarded as an early protagonist of Azerbaijani 'Enlightenment literature'. According to Axundov, it was Mirza Schaffy who dissuaded him from becoming a cleric, and it is not unlikely that Axundov's own critical views on Islam were influenced by his fatherly friend (Heß, 'Mirzə Şəfi Vazeh und Friedrich von Bodenstedt', pp. 162, 164). Mirza Schaffy was very happy when in 1840, most likely with the support of Axundov, he was able to escape from the 'captivity of Ganja' and assume a position at a state school in Tiflis as a teacher of the 'Tatar' language. The private lessons attended by Bodenstedt and often also other 'students' at Mirza Schaffy's *Schule der Weisheit* ('school of wisdom') resembled more a literary salon than a classical language class.

Through Mirza Schaffy, Bodenstedt became acquainted with Turkish and Iranian poetry, and also with the general attitude to life that prevailed in Muslim circles. His encounter with the Azerbaijani scholar exercised a great influence on the young German writer. *Die Lieder des Mirza Schaffy* ('The songs of Mirza Schaffy'), although its authorship is heavily disputed, made Bodenstedt an international celebrity for a while and, to judge by the number of editions, the most successful German poet of his time.

When in 1844 General von Neidhart was dismissed from his post, Bodenstedt lost his mentor and protector and, in 1845, he decided to bid farewell to the Caucasus, returning to Europe via the Crimea, Anatolia and Greece. Back at home, he earned his livelihood mainly as a journalist and began to work up for publication the rich impressions and material he had collected during his time in the Caucasus. The first fruits were *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* ('The peoples of the Caucasus and their struggles for freedom against the Russians', 1848), in which he described the Russian war in the Caucasus and the resistance of the Muslim mountain-people against Russian aggression. In 1850, he published his personal reminiscences of the time spent in Georgia under the title *Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient* ('A thousand and one days in the Orient'). The book also contains more than several dozen poems allegedly authored by Mirza Schaffy and translated by Bodenstedt. These were also published separately, heavily augmented, in 1851 as *Die Lieder des Mirza Schaffy* ('The songs of Mirza Schaffy').

Bodenstedt's works attracted the attention of the art-loving King Maximilian II of Bavaria (r. 1848-64), who in 1854 invited him to Munich, where he was appointed professor of Old English literature and also gave lessons in Slavic languages and literatures. In 1866, he moved to Meiningen, the capital of the duchy of Saxe-Meiningen, where he became the director

of the court theatre for a couple of years and was ennobled for his services. After postings in Altona and Berlin, he finally settled in Wiesbaden in 1878 and lived there until his death in 1892. Although he was hailed as 'the most important representative of Oriental poetry' among German authors in a contemporary handbook on German literature (R. König, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1879, p. 642), interest in and appreciation of his work was already dwindling during his lifetime and he is today a mostly forgotten author.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen
'The peoples of the Caucasus and their struggles for freedom against the Russians'

DATE 1848
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Bodenstedt describes the aim of this book (its full title is *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte des Orients*, 'The peoples of the Caucasus and their struggles for freedom against the Russians. A contribution to the newest history of the East') as to give a historical appreciation of peoples who are barely known in Europe, to describe their lives, languages and customs as well as their struggle against the 'Russianness' ('Russenthum') that is aggressively intruding upon them (*Die Völker des Kaukasus*, 1848, p. VII). While the German reader was aware that the Russians had been fighting a bloody war in the Caucasus for decades, there was no idea of 'when and with what right Russia [had] started this fatal war' and Bodenstedt wanted to answer these questions (p. VIII). He had started to collect the material for his study during his time in Russia and Georgia, and first drafts were penned in Tiflis. After his return, he continued work in Munich and finalised the book during the summer of 1847 (p. XII), using the material he had brought back with him, including his diaries, together with information he found in several German libraries. Drawings from his sketchbook were used to illustrate the work (p. XII), which he published in Frankfurt during the Year of Revolution of 1848.

Die Völker des Kaukasus comprises two 'books'. The first, 'The Caucasus and its inhabitants' (pp. 1-262), provides geographical, ethnographic, historical and statistical information on the peoples who populate Cis- and Transcaucasia, while the second, 'The sages of the Caucasus and their struggles for freedom' (pp. 263-510), contains a political and (military) historical depiction of Russian wars and rule in the Caucasus from the annexation of Georgia in the early 19th century up to the year 1842. Particular appraisal is given to the leaders of the mountain people, Ghāzī Muḥammad (1795-1832, r. 1828-32), Hamza Bek (1789-1834, r. 1832-4) and especially

Imam Shamil (1797-1871, r. 1840-59), to whom Bodenstedt dedicates two of the 12 chapters of the second book (ch. IX, pp. 411-35; ch. XI, pp. 469-89), which also contains an excursion into the religion of the mountain people (see below). In an appendix (pp. 515-50), Bodenstedt adds a depiction of the Caucasian struggle in 1840-2 by the German writer Aurelio Buddeus (1819-80), who had shared his manuscript with Bodenstedt and given him permission to use it at his discretion (p. 514). A short 'final consideration' provides an 'overview of the Caucasian state of things from 1842 to the most recent time' (pp. 551-72), until the end of 1846. Regarding its style, the work is 'a case study and at the same time a historical treatise in the best tradition of story-telling' (Fleischer, 'Introduction', p. 6).

Bodenstedt bases his work on information obtained, among others, from high-ranking Russian officers and officials (p. 180), 'who had an interest to see the Caucasian situation highlighted by an impartial foreigner' (pp. XI-XII). Apart from a few weeks spent in some Russian fortresses on the coast of Abkhazia on his way back to Europe in 1845, Bodenstedt had not personally visited the scenes of the Caucasian war. In Abkhazia, he witnessed 'negotiations with the chiefs of the Ubychs and Dshigheti' (p. 190). A week at the fortress of Ardiller helped him to become informed 'about the current situation of the Circassians' and 'to wipe off preconceived wrong opinions' (pp. 193-4).

The title of his study itself reveals Bodenstedt's position on the conflict it describes, which he sees as a fight between 'the downtrodden [*geknechtet*, because they were still in transition between barbarism and civilisation] Muscovites and the chivalrous mountain people of the Caucasus' (p. 306), while throughout the book Bodenstedt harshly criticises the Russian aggression against the Caucasian peoples. He turns the introductory chapter of the second book (pp. 265-309), 'in which the author tries to illustrate Russia's position towards the peoples of the Caucasus' (p. 265), into an unforgiving verdict on the Russian Caucasus policy. When speaking about the real reasons and aims of the war, he vehemently refuses the arguments put forward by Félix Fonton, who had composed an apologetic work at the Tsar's request in which he glorified the Russian campaigns in the Caucasus (*La Russie dans l'Asie-Mineure, ou campagnes du maréchal Paskévitch en 1828 et 1829, et tableau du Caucase envisagé sous le point de vue géographique, historique et politique*, Paris, 1840). For Bodenstedt, there is no doubt that the events clearly show 'the always vivid striving of Russia to expand and grow in all directions', in which it is guided 'in its violent operation' by no 'law other than that of the strongest' (p. 272). The claim that Russia would have come to the help of its 'co-believers in

Georgia' simply 'out of Christian love' to support the Georgians against 'the cruel persecutions' they had to endure from the hands of 'the unbelieving Muslims' (p. 273) is debunked as cheap propaganda (pp. 273-6). It is only too obvious that 'the claw of greed' would stick out 'from the cloak of Russian charity' (p. 274). Likewise, Bodenstedt criticises the missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church among the mountain peoples (pp. 88-9). In Ossetia, 'the sublime doctrine of Christ' would have been 'thrown over the people with shirts, infused with brandy and paid for with silver roubles' (p. 236).

Bodenstedt's heartfelt sympathy is with the 'peoples who have preserved their freedom despite all the Russians' efforts' or who wait – momentarily subdued by Russian superiority – for the 'opportune moment' to throw their chains off in revenge. 'These peoples deserve their freedom because they strive fervently for possession of it' (p. 305). At the same time, the peoples 'who are leaning more or less towards Christianity' have become more open to Russian influences and have adopted 'Slavonic slavedom' ('Slaven- und Sklaventum'), including the loss of their independence and characteristics. Hence, 'the doctrine of Muḥammad serves for the Chechens and their co-religionists as the holy pledge of their indelible hatred of the Russians' and as guarantor of their identity (p. 92).

For Bodenstedt, the opponents of the Russians in the Caucasus and the Arabs of Algeria in their resistance against the French are 'two fresh and vivid little people' who 'rise up from the womb of Islam and resist with armed hand two of the mightiest states of Europe', during a time when 'Persia and the giant Ottoman Empire were sinking towards their political torpor and the might of the once world-shattering crescent seemed nearly broken' (p. 265). The 'power and persistence' shown by both movements earn his admiration (p. 266).

According to Bodenstedt, the Muslim beliefs of the mountain people of the Caucasus were 'moulded into new forms' by Imam Shāmil (pp. 102-3). The overcoming of the 'old quarrel' between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, which was replaced by 'an apparently enduring union or at least [mutual] toleration of both sects', is regarded as one of the most remarkable features of this process (pp. 125, 327, 470). The reasons for the rapprochement are seen in the violence exercised against both by the Russians, the joint hatred of all mountain people for the Russians and 'the timely, invasive reforms of the ingenious murshid', that is, Imam Shāmil (p. 126).

The third chapter of the second book, entitled 'The Sufis and the murids, or the connection between Sufism and the new religious sect established in Daghestan' (pp. 325-38), is entirely dedicated to the religious belief

of the mountain peoples which, as the title indicates, in Bodenstedt's understanding is a form of 'Sufism, modified according to the needs of the moment' (p. 327). He underlines 'which important role the religious element plays in the history of the Daghestanian struggles for freedom'. It forms 'the most powerful incitement for the joint expression of power' shown by the Caucasians and deserves 'a place in history' (p. 325).

Bodenstedt grounds his remarks about the 'Daghestanian doctrine' and its 'close relation' with Sufism on a Russian source (pp. 327-8), but also on some works of Western origin, most notably A. Schmölder's *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1842). Also based on Western literature, Bodenstedt adds 'furthermore a short presentation of the four stages of spiritual life [...] which the Sufis must pass through according to their teachings to reach the highest vision of God' (pp. 335-8), which 'is the spring from which the warlike Uléma of Daghestan have drawn their enthusiasm and their new doctrine' (p. 334). This part of the work also contains some terms written in an awkward Arabic script, perhaps by Bodenstedt's own hand.

The 'belief of the fathers' invoked by the religious leaders of the mountain people is, in Bodenstedt's understanding, based on two basic laws: 'freedom in all respects' on the one hand and 'war against the unbelievers and the carrying out of the "Scharyat" (*sharīʿa*)' on the other (pp. 340-1). He is full of praise for the leader of the Caucasian peoples, Imam Shāmil, who 'does not fight for promotion or awards, or to trumpet a victory report through the newspapers in Europe; he merely fights to preserve the freedom and belief of his people and to take revenge on his enemies' (p. 428).

In his observations and explanations, Bodenstedt is not entirely free of a certain conceited feeling of Western superiority. But it is worth noting that his cultural and civilisational criticism is not directed against the Muslim protagonists of his narrative but against European Russia, to which he denies any right to act as the taskmaster of other peoples because of its insufficient state of development. He warns: 'Woe to those who are condemned to become disciples of such teachers' (p. 266), and states: 'Indeed, one could not think of a more sorrowful drama than to see these strong and vigorous peoples wasting away under the blight of Russian civilisation' (p. 305). When Bodenstedt laments 'the ignorance and crudeness' of many Muslim men of religion, this does not come with an arrogant or accusing undertone but is explained by their limited access to education, for which there are many reasons (p. 103). He acknowledges that the 'nobility' (the nobles) of the mountain people possess 'a kind of scholarly education' and often speak, beside their mother tongue, Persian and Arabic (p. 126). And when he observes among most of the Caucasian peoples a 'most rampant

corruption of morals', this has no religious connotation as he refers to Muslims and Christians alike (p. 211). When he compares the characteristics of the two opposing ethnic and religious parties to the Caucasian wars, Bodenstedt – believing that he is in full accord with 'all impartial travellers' – argues 'that four vices [...] – fraud, falsehood, thievery and gluttony – are to be found in Russia more often and at a higher degree than in all other countries of Europe', while – again supposedly supported by the testimonials 'of all explorers of the Caucasus' – 'honesty, veraciousness, loyalty and moderation' would be 'prominent characteristics of the Circassians' (p. 307). This generally positive view of the Caucasian peoples is also found in the little pamphlet by Aurelio Buddeus (mentioned above) that Bodenstedt added to his work. Buddeus expresses his esteem for the 'enemies' in the Caucasus, praises their virtues and compares their behaviour to the heroic acts of the Christian warriors during the period of the Crusades (p. 523).

The first edition of Bodenstedt's work on the Caucasian people enjoyed 'large distribution and laudable appraisal by the most distinguished contemporary Orientalists' and was exploited for 'chapbooks and textbooks' (Bodenstedt, 'Introduction' in *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, 2nd edition, 1855, p. X). The acute worsening of the situation in the East caused by the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 compelled him to prepare a 'second, completely revised edition augmented by a treatise on the Eastern Question' (1855) in which he aimed to show that 'the new complications are in closest connection with the old ones, are a natural continuation of them and can be traced back to the same reasons' (p. IX).

SIGNIFICANCE

The topicality of the subject – the Crimean War and the continuation of the Russian military campaigns in the Caucasus which only came to an end in 1864 – created some interest in *Die Völker des Kaukasus* abroad. In 1854, when the British writer Sir Frederic Charles Lascelles Wraxall wanted to translate into English a 'pamphlet' written by the German author Friedrich Wagner on 'Shamil as commander, sultan and prophet of the Caucasus' (*Schamyl als Feldherr, Sultan und Prophet des Kaukasus. Schilderungen der Völker und Länder Kaukasiens*, Leipzig, 1854), he discovered

> that Dr. Wagner's work did not furnish that guarantie of solidity which could alone render it acceptable to the English reader, [so] I was compelled to add copious extracts from Friedrich Bodenstedt's splendid book, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, which has, indeed, been a source of inspiration to all recent writers on the Caucasus, not excepting Dr. Wagner himself. (Wagner, trans. Wraxall, *Schamyl. The sultan, warrior and prophet of the Caucasus*, p. VII)

A complete French translation of the 1855 edition appeared in 1859 in Paris but, with the Russians' final victory in the Caucasus, interest in the topic faded so quickly that *Die Völker des Kauskasus* was not incorporated in Bodenstedt's *Gesammelte Schriften*, which appeared in 12 volumes between 1865 and 1869. Only recently have two reprints of the 1848 original been published in Germany.

The work is remarkable insofar as Bodenstedt hails a partly religiously motivated war of Oriental peoples against the claims to power and rule of a European nation during a period when belief in the superiority of the West had become a core component of Western thought and intellectual life. Bodenstedt's elation about the Caucasian peoples has to be understood against the background of the political situation in Germany. Written in the final stages of the *Vormärz* era (a time of heightened interest in political and social matters) and published in the revolutionary year 1848, the work reveals Bodenstedt's sympathy for the revolutionary and nationalistic movement in his fatherland. Andreas Fleischer regards Bodenstedt as the 'main initiator' of the 'misunderstanding' developed by the well-known German historian Johann Gustav Droysen (1808-84) 'which sees in the struggle of the Caucasian murids a war of independence according to the Western European model' (Fleischer, 'Introduction', p. 19).

The information Bodenstedt had assembled about the beliefs of the Caucasian peoples was taken as expert knowledge and repeated – almost uncritically – by other contemporary authors (Fleischer, 'Introduction', pp. 7, 21), despite the fact that it did not derive from primary sources and that Bodenstedt was not a scholar with a relevant academic background. Indeed, the British traveller and writer John Frederick Baddeley (1854-1940) argues in his classic *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus* (London, 1908, p. 287) that Bodenstedt's book, 'though containing much that is of interest, is full of mistakes and rendered quite untrustworthy by his blind hatred of Russia'. However, Bodenstedt was certainly not filled by 'blind hatred' of Russia, let alone of the Russians, with whom he maintained friendly personal relations in Moscow and the Caucasus. He admired Russian literature and contributed with his often highly praised translations to making it better known in Central and Western Europe. But he utterly despised Russia's violent imperial and colonial policies and the presentation of them as altruistic and culture-forming, and benefitting the subdued peoples.

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Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient
'A thousand and one days in the East'

DATE 1850
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

The time Bodenstedt spent in Transcaucasia provided the impetus for another book, which reflects more on his personal experiences and impressions. Published in 1850 under the title *Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient* ('A thousand and one days in the East'), he regards it as a 'poetical and animating complement to those writings, whose aim embraced essentially

the ethnographical, statistical, and historical relations, civil and military, of the countries between the Black and the Caspian Seas' (*The Morning-Land*, vol. 1, p. 246). Bodenstedt's aim is to present 'living scenes' as he saw them, with 'the eye of the poet' (*Tausend und Ein Tag*, 1865, p. XI). Poetry, for Bodenstedt, is the key to looking into the heart of a people, to learning about it and developing a truly human interest in it, much more 'than the enumeration of wild fights and raids' (p. 33). He thus inserted 51 poems, some of them extensive, into his travel book (for a listing see *Tausend und Ein Tag*, 1850, pp. VII-VIII), which gives the work its special character. Most of these poetical pieces are ascribed to Mirza Schaffy, Bodenstedt's teacher of the Azeri Turkish and Persian languages in Tiflis. Schaffy is the second protagonist of *Tausend und Ein Tag* and the depiction of the *Schule der Weisheit* ('school of wisdom'), as the lessons were called, occupies considerable space. In these meetings, which were sometimes also attended by other foreigners, Schaffy provided Bodenstedt not only with basic language training in Azeri Turkish and Persian, but also with an introduction to Eastern poetry. In case of linguistic difficulties, Russian served as an intermediary language. These meetings were also where Bodenstedt and his teacher discussed matters other than literature and gained insight into each other's worldview.

Religion was not a matter of great concern for Bodenstedt, either historically or theologically. But he took a keen interest in the daily lives of the people, which were partly characterised by tradition and religion. For example, he considers several times 'The women in the Orient', as one chapter of *Tausend und Ein Tag* is entitled (*Tausend und Ein Tag*, 1853-4, vol. 2, pp. 284-97). At first sight, it seems he is prone to following typical Western stereotypes of a voluptuous harem world and the slave-like position of Oriental women. On closer inspection, however, some particularities are discernible, which derive not from Islam but from the 'custom and convention of the homeland' (p. 287). Among the wrongs he notes, 'the abuse of polygyny' is the worst; it 'is the source of all evil as it does not allow a proper family life to develop and by that deprives the state of its best and most stable foundation' (p. 295). But this only applies to women whose husbands enjoy a certain level of prosperity. By contrast, the life of poor women, who cannot afford to employ any household help, does not differ much from that in Germany: 'The allotment of poverty looks very much alike everywhere' (p. 286). Bodenstedt concedes that the Qur'an contains a few positive regulations with regard to the position of women in society. 'According to the rules of the Qur'an each woman owns her own property which she can use at her free will. Actually, marriage does not make the woman a slave to the husband, but she can sue or even leave

him should he violate her in her rights, which are precisely defined in the Qur'an' (vol. 3, pp. 357-8).

The accusation that 'Bodenstedt clearly saw himself in a superior position with respect to the people he encountered and described' (Berman, *German literature*, p. 155) cannot be upheld in the light of a thorough reading of *Tausend und Ein Tag*. As in *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, so in *Tausend und Ein Tag*, Bodenstedt is critical of the policies of the Russians and their assumed superiority over the Caucasian peoples (1853-4 edition, vol. 1, pp. 13, 213-14, 216; vol. 2, p. 23; vol. 3, pp. 149, 180-4), often employing irony and satire when, for example, he is debunking Russia's colonial aims in the Caucasus (vol. 3, pp. 294-5) or portraying locals who had 'nestled themselves under the dazzling yoke of Russian epaulettes' and become outwardly westernised (vol. 1, pp. 216-20, 239-41). Likewise, he does not paint a positive picture of Russian Christianity (vol. 3, pp. 180-4), but depicts it as part of the system of oppression and exploitation that dominates Russian society, 'because the poorer a man is in Russia, the bigger is the cross he makes and carries' (vol. 3, p. 188). A brief statement on the 'sense of decency' in different cultures (vol. 2, pp. 153-4) does not reveal any feeling of European superiority. Bodenstedt's conclusion describes exactly how he saw and understood the world around him: 'The limited mind is always mainly inclined to smile at what extends beyond its own narrow horizon; the wider the view, the milder the judgment' (vol. 2, p. 154).

SIGNIFICANCE

Tausend und Ein Tag received a positive reception and was reprinted as early as 1853-4 in an augmented and revised edition of 3 volumes. Bodenstedt not only extended and re-arranged his narrative, but also significantly increased the number of poems inserted (compare the listing of the poems in the first edition of 1850 with those of the revised edition of 1853, vol. 1, pp. XI-XII; vol. 2, pp. VII-XI; vol. 3, pp. VII-VIII). In 1865, it was incorporated into Bodenstedt's *Gesammelte Schriften* ('Collected writings'), which comprised 12 volumes (Berlin, 1865-9), and this was repeated in 1891. The two editions of *Tausend and Ein Tag* published in the 20th century are selections.

The little attention Bodenstedt pays to religion and his balanced and restrained stance mean that *Tausend und Ein Tag* is not a remarkable work with regard to Muslim-Christian relations. Its importance lies rather in the fact that it serves as the context of Mirza Schaffy's songs and provides some information about the life and character of Mirza Schaffy, who was to become the most popular 'Muslim' in the German-speaking world for several decades in the 19th century.

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Die Lieder des Mirza Schaffy, mit einem Prolog von Friedrich Bodenstedt

'The songs of Mirza Schaffy with a prologue by Friedrich Bodenstedt'

DATE 1851

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

While *Tausend und Ein Tag* met with a positive reception, the poems of Mirza Schaffy pleased readers' tastes even more. Enlarged by additional pieces and introduced by a 'prologue' by Bodenstedt, they were published

Illustration 7. 'Friedrich Bodenstedt und Mirza Schaffy'

separately in 1851 as *Die Lieder des Mirza Schaffy* ('The songs of Mirza Schaffy'). The book became one of the greatest successes in German publishing history. Kurth-Voigt and McClain have counted 172 editions in German up to 1925 ('Friedrich Bodenstedts "Lieder des Mirza Schaffy"', p. B 387). Ammann mentions that the 1917 edition was the 264th (Ammann, *Östliche Spiegel*, p. 17), but this is clearly a mistake; it was in fact the 165th edition, comprising copies 263,000-267,000 of the overall output. The last edition so far – labelled as the 170th (copies 281,000-285,000) – appeared in 1984 in Heidelberg. In 2019, *Die Lieder* (based on the Leipzig edition of 1924) were made part of a trilingual German-Azeri-Russian publication which is designated Mirza Schaffy's complete works.

Die Lieder were translated into all the main European languages soon after they first appeared, making Bodenstedt – at first only regarded as the translator – a literary celebrity. Although he sounds a little pompous when he says that 'the songs and sayings of Mirza Schaffy have far and wide brought joy, consolation and animation to cottage and palace' ('Mirza Schaffy im Liede', p. 245), this does reflect what happened; the songs were read and appreciated by crowned heads and common people alike.

While it was not of importance for the general readership, the question of authorship soon became an issue of concern for some scholars. As early as 1854, the well-known Orientalist Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861), to whom Bodenstedt had dedicated *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, remarked in a very positive, even enthusiastic review of Bodenstedt's writings:

> It should not astonish anyone if the *Lieder des Mirza Schaffy* are also counted among Bodenstedt's own creations. From this lustrous rope of pearls at the utmost ten or twelve belong originally to the 'wise man of Gandschä'; everything else has been produced by Bodenstedt's own genius. (Fallmerayer, 'Friedrich Bodenstedt', p. 2555)

Efforts by the Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch (1827-94) and the Orientalist Adolph Bergé (1828-86) to discover more about Mirza Schaffy's poetry in its original form ended with a clear result: none of his contemporaries in Transcaucasia remembered Bodenstedt's teacher (who had died in 1852) as a poet and, apart from a few ephemeral verses, no trace of his alleged poetic works could be discovered. Such doubts about the authorship of *Die Lieder* forced Bodenstedt in 1872 to acknowledge that 'these poems have originally seen the light of day in the German language' ('Mirza Schaffy im Liede', p. 245) and were authored by him, while Mirza Schaffy had not been 'a real poet' (p. 264). Although the question of their authorship is of secondary importance, the poems in *Die Lieder* remain connected with the real Mirza Schaffy, a Muslim teacher in the distant Caucasus, and have been regarded, if not as his original words, then at least as influenced by him and as a reflection of his thinking.

Praising 'wine, women, and song', topoi well-known in Oriental poetry, as well as that of other cultures, *Die Lieder* are regarded as an example of anacreontic poetry, endorsing a hedonistic way of life. Although put into an Oriental, exotic frame by the prologue, most of the poems do not carry a deeper Oriental bearing, either in content or in form. Bodenstedt's aims in composing the songs are hinted at in the 'epilogue', in which he says: 'To banish all trouble, / (The weeds of the spirit) / To lessen all sorrow, / To soothe ev'ry anguish, / Is work of the poet' (*Songs of Mirza Schaffy*, p. 227).

In a few poems, reference is made to matters of faith. Regarding divinity, Bodenstedt assumes a pantheistic view by conceding the existence of a 'breath divine' in everything: 'O'er mountains, sea and river / A breath divine doth go, / Making the depths to shiver, / Making the heights to glow' (p. 38). He praises God as the Creator, making Mirza Schaffy sing:

> Twas Allah made the sun to glow / As far as eye can wander, / And made the beauteous rose to blow / In flow'ry meadow yonder. / He spoke, and mountains rear'd them high / To gaze o'er land and ocean; / He made the wind to rush and sigh / With ever changing motion. / He gave the birds their feathers choice / And made the sea to glisten – / To me his wisdom gave and voice, / To ye – / ears that ye listen. (p. 120)

Religion and religious learning, as these are defined, practised and propagated by the religious establishment, received unconcealed criticism and are mocked and satirised:

> The schools and mosques all crumbling / Should sink its flood within: / There should be no more humbling, / No sorrow more, no sin. / I straight would give ye freedom / Who now in bondage smart; / I straight would turn to water / All science and all art, – / Sink them for one short hour, / to rise with fresher power, / Renew'd in every part. (p. 64)

In addition to criticism of the clerical establishment, belief in the afterlife connected with the preaching of sacrifice in this world is particularly exposed to Mirza Schaffy alias Bodenstedt's harsh criticism:

> Take heed, my friend, that thy young life thou / stain not! / And that which Allah giveth thee, disdain not! / Thy heart close not to love's sweet revelation, / Thy lips with other than vine's juice, profane not / Sweeter reward than of love and wine / For all thy trials here thou canst attain not. / Whence of all earthly gods adore these highest, / And guard that others thou to adore here deign not! / List not their voice who speak of bliss to come, / Suff'ring themselves they live tho' they complain not! / What tho' old Mufti threaten us with Hell, / Dull, Sages, ye your ears and list such strain not! / Myself, Mirza Schaffy, in Mufti's presence, / Would rede him doff his gown and longer – / feign not. (pp. 57-8)

The belief in a reward that can only be received in the hereafter is confronted with a life-affirming worldliness revolving around the fixed points of 'wine, women and song', as is clearly reflected in *Mein Lehrer ist Hafis, mein Bethaus ist die Schenke* and *Ich glaub' was der Prophet verhieß*: 'My teacher is Hafiz, the tavern my church' and 'I believe what the Prophet promised' (pp. 47-8, 161).

The worldly and political authorities that abuse religion in close cooperation with the religious hierarchy, whom they use as a tool in their exercise of power, do not escape critical treatment: 'He is as wise as are his brethren all, / The wearers of the gown and hood to-day: / He knows how ready aye the mob to – crawl, / And – profits of their dullness as he may!' (p. 78).

It is important to mention that Bodenstedt never resorts to any comparison between Islam and Christianity, though he criticises the latter for its missionaries, whom he calls the gloomy preachers of the Gospel who speak of hell. But the only one he could ever have trusted would have been Ḥāfiẓ (pp. 153-4).

In 'Frage und Antwort' / 'Question and Answer' (*Die Lieder* [1851], pp. 156-8; *Songs of Mirza Schaffy*, pp. 175-7), Russia's triumph over the Muslim Tartars is not given a religious connotation, as so often happens in European, especially Russian, literature. Every form of religious fanaticism and violence is explicitly rejected:

> They think to merit Heaven, / Who scold their fellow creatures; / With rage their veins are swollen / And hate hath marr'd their features. / Wielding their murd'rous weapon / They faith and penance claim, / And think that God in Heaven / Will further thus their aim. / No longer, oh, my brethren, / Think so of him above! / Know: hate, it is ungodly, / And godly only – love. (p. 163)

SIGNIFICANCE

Die Lieder should be interpreted as an expression of Bodenstedt's dissatisfaction with the situation in Germany after the failed revolution of 1848, which clearly had his sympathy. Despite visible criticism of the religious and political establishments, the poems do not bear any of the traces of revolt that are so dominant in *Die Völker*, but instead preach escape into the idyllic world of 'wine, women, and song'. Where they deal with issues of faith, the approach is not so much hostile to religion as anti-clerical. There is no criticism of any specific religion, and none is depicted as superior; Mirza Schaffy/Bodenstedt's poetical broadsides are directed against sanctimonious religious praxis, the empty promise of reward to be gained only in the afterlife and the religious establishment and structures.

The distinctive feature of *Die Lieder* is that they were regarded as the genuine expression of the thoughts and views of a contemporary Muslim, Bodenstedt's teacher Mirza Schaffy. Given the enormous popularity the poems enjoyed for several decades, it would not be wrong to acknowledge that Schaffy was the best-known contemporary Muslim in the German-speaking world during the second half of the 19th century. And – this is important to highlight – he was not seen as the exotic and strange other, living in a world of different concepts and notions, but as someone with whom the German reader felt a deep affinity and congeniality. This cannot be explained only by the fact that the poems were in fact written by Bodenstedt as, from all we know about Mirza Schaffy, it is clear that he shared the views expressed in *Die Lieder* and had provided Bodenstedt at least with a strong stimulus. In times of a growing trend to believe in European superiority and otherness, Mirza Schaffy appears as a man who shared the same values as his Western readership, based on a long tradition of Oriental writing, especially poetry.

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Muhammed. Ein Zwiegespräch
'Muḥammad. A dialogue'

DATE 1852
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In 1852 Bodenstedt published a first volume of poetry that he declared was entirely his own. This anthology contains a poem entitled 'Muhammed. Ein Zwiegespräch' ('Muḥammad. A dialogue'), which had already been published earlier that year in *Deutsches Museum*, a journal for literature, art and public life, typical of the periodicals aimed at the educated middle class at the time. In the poem, which is 130 lines long, Bodenstedt and Mirza Schaffy feature as the protagonists of a dialogue that revolves around the Prophet of Islam and reflects his personality and his deeds. For his part, Bodenstedt sees in Muḥammad a great historical personality, who came to the fore as an admonisher and initiator (p. 254 in *Gedichte*, which is also cited in the references that follow), and he regards Islam as a religion that has the capacity to create a culture. In Mirza Schaffy's eyes, however, the Prophet of Islam is nothing but a 'destroyer' (p. 254) and a 'murderous prophet' (p. 255), who clouded the thinking of the wise and the foolish (p. 254). Bodenstedt sees Hafis (Ḥāfiẓ), Saadi (Saʿdī) and Ferdowsī (Firdawsī), the great Persian poets of the mediaeval Islamic period, as examples of cultural blossoming under Islam (p. 255), but Schaffy does not recognise any influence of religion upon them (p. 255). For instance, Hafis only became a poet after he had left 'the fortress of the mosque' (p. 255), and rather than the Qur'an being his inspiration, 'the whole world became his revelation' (p. 256).

Mirza Schaffy turns particularly against the aspect of violence he associates with the religion of Islam and its founder: 'Those who are killing for the ways of God, are for me a target of anger, hatred and ridicule …' (p. 257). Islam grew 'in blood' and can only exist 'through blood'; once peace is established it will lose its strength (p. 259). These words of Mirza Schaffy put Bodenstedt in a thoughtful mood and he hopes that 'other Christians' will also consider them (p. 259).

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem shows that Bodenstedt was not fully free from the discourses of his time about the work and life of Muḥammad. It reflects two main strands: the founder of a culture-constituting world religion versus the

violent and destructive power-hungry politician. That Bodenstedt assigns the role of the critic to Mirza Schaffy does not correlate with what is known about his teacher's attitude towards Islam. Schaffy was critical of the religious establishment and the abuse of religion for political reasons or personal advantage, as is clear from a statement of Bodenstedt himself in which he says that Schaffy was not 'an enemy of religion' but possessed 'a clearly pious mind, led a truly edifying life, was tolerant, compassionate and peaceful and directed his sarcasm only against those who abused religion in an impertinent way for worldly ends' ('Mirza Schaffy im Liede', p. 247). He respected the regulations of the Qur'an, with the sole exception of drinking wine (which he only did when he could be sure not to cause any offence). Bodenstedt was certainly aware of this contradiction, and it might explain why he did not include the poem in the collections associated with Mirza Schaffy. In addition to this, the poem's negative presentation of Islam as a violent and destructive religion conflicts starkly with Bodenstedt's attitude as expressed in *Die Völker des Kaukasus* or *Tausend und Ein Tag*.

Of all Bodenstedt's works, it is only this poem that presents criticisms of Islam and its founder and so it is not correct to accuse Bodenstedt of habitually adopting a negative stance towards Islam, a position he questions at the end of the poem, as Issa Chehabi claims ('Friedrich Bodenstedts Verdeutschung', p. 17) without providing any arguments in support.

Nothing is known about the reception of the poem. It was incorporated into another anthology of Bodenstedt's old and new poems, *Altes und Neues* (1859), but the fact that it was selected for re-printing and that it had also been published separately prior to the first edition suggests that the author assigned some importance to it.

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Chehabi, 'Friedrich Bodenstedts Verdeutschung der Hafisischen Lieder'

Bodenstedt, 'Mirza Schaffy im Liede und in der Wirklichkeit'

Carsten Walbiner

Heinrich Abeken

Heinrich Johann Wilhelm Rudolf Abeken

DATE OF BIRTH 19 August 1809
PLACE OF BIRTH Osnabrück
DATE OF DEATH 8 August 1872
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Osnabrück in 1809, Heinrich Abeken studied Protestant theology and philology in Berlin from 1827 to 1831 and graduated with the Licentiate exam (similar to a doctorate). An educational journey took him to Rome, where he initially worked as a tutor for the children of Christian Carl Josias (von) Bunsen (1791-1860), the Prussian envoy to the Holy See.

In 1834, he was appointed preacher at the Prussian legation chapel in Rome. The disputes between the Prussian state and the Catholic Church on the question of mixed marriages, as well as the duty of running the Protestant hospital in times of cholera and tuberculosis, weighed heavily on him. In 1841, King Frederick William IV (r. 1840-61) sent him with Bunsen to London to negotiate with the Anglican episcopate and the British government the planned establishment of an Anglican-Prussian joint diocese in Jerusalem. This communal diocese was to strengthen the position of Protestantism in the Orient.

In gratitude for the success of these negotiations, the king rewarded Abeken with participation in the Prussian expedition to Egypt (1842-5) under the leadership of Richard Lepsius (1810-84). That expedition now belongs to the so-called 'founding myth' of Egyptology in Germany. Abeken also collaborated with Lepsius in scientific matters (Frischbier, 'Heinrich Abekens Bedeutung', pp. 139-45). When the first bishop of the joint diocese died unexpectedly, Abeken was sent to Jerusalem and remained there until 1846.

After his return from Palestine, Abeken was appointed to the Prussian legation in Rome. In April 1848, he took a position in the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; soon after he became the secretary of the legation, and later legation councillor.

Abeken became the most important councillor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's (1815-98) right-hand

man in the 1860s, earning him the nickname 'Bismarck's pen'. During the long absences and travels of the Prussian King Wilhelm I (r. 1861-88), Abeken was his preferred companion and represented Bismarck to him. A very special relationship of trust developed between the king and Abeken, which proved itself especially during the difficult negotiations in Bad Ems in the summer of 1870 and during the Franco–Prussian war of 1870/1. However, when Bismarck, as a Protestant, sought to diminish the influence of the Catholics through the so-called 'Kulturkampf', an open conflict arose between the Chancellor and Abeken.

Abeken died in Berlin in 1872.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Das religiöse Leben im Islam
'Religious life in Islam'

DATE 1854
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Heinrich Abeken delivered the lecture *Das religiöse Leben im Islam* ('Religious life in Islam') in Berlin on 27 February 1854, as part of a series of events of the Evangelischer Verein für kirchliche Zwecke ('Protestant Association for Church Purposes'). The text, which is 50 pages long, was published in the same year by Wilhelm Schultze in Berlin.

The King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, was in the audience. That he should attend such a long lecture from beginning to end and later thank the lecturer personally caused a stir, though the special relationship between him and Abeken undoubtedly influenced what Abeken said. Abeken had been a preacher at the Prussian legation to the Holy See in Rome in the 1830s and, as a Protestant, he had been in an exposed position there, put under extra tension by the so-called Cologne turmoil, the first major clash between the Prussian state and the Catholic Church, in which the problem of inter-denominational marriages was just one among many issues at stake. Abeken addresses this conflict in his lecture cautiously but openly as an example of the fundamental conflicts between state and church.

The direction and emphasis of the lecture cannot be fully grasped without taking into account the Crimean War (1853-6) and quarrels inside the Prussian Union associated with it. The Crimean War was an outcome of the so-called 'Eastern question'. The major European powers were concerned with exerting political and economic influence on the Ottomans, and it was generally accepted that they played a protective role for non-Muslims within the empire, who made up around a third of the population (excluding Egypt). The immediate cause of the war, if not the fundamental reason, was the quarrel between Orthodox and Catholic monks in Jerusalem about the use of the Christian holy sites. The Sublime Porte, the formal protector of the sites, rejected the tsar's claim that he should be protector, so, in July 1853, Russian troops marched into the Danube principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, both tributaries of the Ottoman Empire. Prussia tried to remain neutral, and Abeken did the same in his lecture by not explicitly addressing the denominational differences within Christianity but instead contrasting an ideal form of Christianity with Islam. By making this comparison, he also met the king's need for guidance in religious debates. The overall aim was to embed the Ottoman Empire into the architecture of pan-European security.

Abeken's account of Islam was based on his experiences in Egypt and Palestine during the Prussian expedition to Egypt in 1842-5 and the knowledge he had acquired there. In a letter to Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen in 1845, he wrote that he was investigating the origins of Islam: 'I am practising Arabic all day long and hope to lay a foundation on which to build by Easter' (Hedwig Abeken, *Heinrich Abeken. Ein schlichtes Leben in bewegter Zeit*, p. 116). He was also interested in the Arabs before the time of Islam, particularly the question of whether they had already taken up teachings

from the Old Testament or whether these became known to them only through the Jews who were living in the Arabian Peninsula at the time of Muḥammad (Frischbier, 'Heinrich Abekens Bedeutung', pp. 144-5).

The question raised by Abraham Geiger in his study about Muḥammad's knowledge of Judaism, published as *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Bonn, 1833; English trans. *Judaism and Islam*, Madras, 1896), drew much attention and was hotly discussed at the time (see *CMR* 22, 163-8). Geiger saw Muḥammad not as the founder of a religion but as a reformer whose work and mission was based on Judaism. Contrary to Geiger, Abeken emphasised the role of the *ḥanīf*s, neither Jews nor Christians but monotheistic seekers of God, who could be regarded as precursors of Islam within pre-Islamic Arab paganism (Q 3:67, 3:135). The lecture has almost no footnotes, making it difficult to find references, but Abeken refers to the Qur'an, to Carl Rudolf Peiper's *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande, oder Deutsch-Morgenländische Frucht- und Blumenlese* ('Voices from the Orient, or the German-Oriental fruit and flower harvest', 1850), and also to Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*, which probably also inspired the impressions described by Abeken at the beginning of his lecture. The following structure provides an overview of the lecture's contents.

1. Introduction, hermeneutical considerations, and observations on Muslim society derived from his travels (pp. 3-7).

2. The externals of the religious life in Islam: Words and everyday language, visible actions and ritual gestures (pp. 7-10); Fasting (pp. 10-11); Pilgrimage (pp. 11-13); Almsgiving (pp. 13-15); Prayer (pp. 15-18) (four of the Five Pillars that Abeken categorises as outer aspects of religion); Festivals and rituals (pp. 19-25).

3. The inner religious life: Faith in one God – first part of the Creed (pp. 26-30); The Prophet Muḥammad as messenger of God – second part of the Creed (p. 31); Incarnation of God (pp. 31-5); Redemption and reconciliation (pp. 35-6); Trinity (pp. 36-7); Church, Kingdom of God, the Dervish orders (pp. 37-41); Religion and state in Christianity and Islam (pp. 41-4); the influence of Islam on intellectual life in the arts and sciences (pp. 44-7); the Qur'an, and the impossibility of reformation in Islam (pp. 47-50); summary (pp. 50-2).

Abeken first describes his impressions of the East, showing that he had first-hand knowledge. This is followed by a hermeneutical reflection on the difficulties of understanding and depicting religious life in a foreign religion and culture when it is hardly possible to do justice to the manifold currents and phenomena of one's own faith of Christianity. It has come as a great challenge to him 'to bring closer and make more comprehensible

the inner core and context of the religious and thus also of the moral life of the peoples of Islam' (p. 6). This emphasis on the inner life anticipates the development of the comparative study of religions, which follows precisely this method of taking the inner life as a universal *tertium comparationis*, on the basis of which religions can be compared with one another. It is quite conceivable that Abeken's close relationship with Bunsen is reflected here. Bunsen, for his part, was in lively dialogue with Max Müller (1823-1900), the great proponent and founder of the comparative study of religions (Bobzin, 'Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen', pp. 81-4).

Abeken's description of the interweaving of religion and everyday life in Islam deserves special mention. His remarks are based on the Five Pillars of Islam, and here it is noticeable that he very precisely distinguishes social and gender-specific differences, for example in fasting and in pilgrimage. He emphasises that women are often treated degradingly and are subordinated, and that they hardly have a public role. Moreover, as mothers and mediators of religion, they are more inclined to be superstitious. Abeken describes Muslim religious life as primarily outward or superficial. For example, circumcision is a purely outward celebration; marriage is only a contract that can be easily cancelled by the husband and divorces are therefore common; children only learn the creed by rote. In this respect, the actual religious element of the faith only becomes apparent at the end of life, in funeral ceremonies, burial and mourning rites. The lecture attributes these purely outward manifestations of religious life to the fact that, since the Muslim year follows the lunar cycle, the religious festivals, most obviously the small and great Bayrams, wander through the seasons and thus 'every relationship to nature' is missing. He criticises and dismisses the practices of the dervishes with their ecstatic dances and *dhikr* as wild barbaric ceremonies.

Various attributions can be recognised here, each of which is associated with corresponding evaluations. Islam is qualified as pagan as also is Catholicism, while Protestantism is rated higher than both as the pure religion. While Abeken's presentation of the outer religious life is structured according to the Five Pillars of Islam, he deals with the inner religious life in the second half of the lecture entirely by comparison with Protestantism (pp. 26-52). This shift in the comparative perspective is to be understood as a reaction to the controversial theological disputes that were taking place at the time between Catholicism and Protestantism, or within the Protestant-led Prussian state between Lutheran Orthodoxy and the rationalist currents within the Prussian Union, and in general between a Christianity that was in retreat and an accelerated secularising world. In

a way, Abeken constructs the ideal type of an inner religious life, which is based on ideas of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and serves as a guideline.

At the beginning of this part, he talks about faith in the one God (pp. 26-30). He emphasises that Muḥammad brought the teaching of this one invisible God to the Arabs and took them away from idolatry and, by filling them with enthusiasm, made conquests possible. It was a youthful powerful upswing that overcame the old, stultified forms of the Christianity of the time, which Muslims regarded as tritheistic and therefore pagan. And by rising out of paganism through faith in God, Islam became a moral religion (pp. 29-30). Surrendering to the will and power of the one God, however, created a habitus that would show itself as fatalism, as 'surrendering to fate'. The second part of the Muslim Creed makes Muḥammad the second centre of religion, though he always emphasised that he was no more than a human being. Abeken does not repeat the usual polemical accusations that Muḥammad was a liar or a fanatic, but rather refers to qur'anic verses that emphasise his ordinary humanity, such as Q 1; 6:50; 3:144; 2:177. Since Abeken does not quote any of the German translations available at the time (Arnold, Megerlin, Boysen, Wahl, Ullmann, Rückert), it could be that he made these translations from Arabic himself.

In Abeken's view, Islam lacks a real mediator. He ignores the function of the Qur'an in the overall system of Islam as a divine communication and emphasises the absence of any idea of Incarnation. In this, he recognises the fundamental characteristic and at the same time the problem of religious life in Islam in the tension between the deep faith in one God on the one hand and the denial that this God could become incarnate on the other (p. 32). This tension, he says, brings further gaps to light, such as the missing picture of the divine, the face of the loving human being, or the look Jesus directed at women and the feminine, whereas Islam was clearly focused on the masculine. Further, the transfiguration of suffering and pain is also missing, as Muḥammad did not reveal his inner struggles to his disciples. Every thought of redemption and reconciliation is missing, just as the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, is completely absent. Therefore, human renewal is impossible.

The same conclusion is reached on the basis of the study of communal life, as Abeken diagnoses an absence of priesthood, church or sacraments. In remarks obviously addressed to the king, he emphasises that the lack of any idea of church has a powerful effect on the relationship between religion and state in Islam. He outlines this relationship roughly as follows:

Since in Islam church and state, or the head of religion and the head of state, coincide in one person, and the law of the Qur'an is the law of the state, the regions of Islam seem to have been spared 'those often shattering and often disruptive struggles between church and state'. But, at the same time, they miss 'one of the most powerful impulses that always stimulates life anew and does not let it ossify' (p. 41).

Towards the end of his explanations, Abeken comes to the Qur'an, which he describes accurately and in accordance with the state of research around 1850. He calls it a 'mixture':

> There is a wealth of poetry, of sublime, often creative imagination, often also of great elevation of the mind to religious views, besides a mixture of the most fabulous, absurd stories preached as historical and religious truth! There is rule and order for most relationships in life, as far as they could be found in those simpler circumstances; there is morally severe exhortation and prayer, sometimes clothed in likeness and parable, sometimes in simple, powerful word; there is blessing next to curse, next to deeply moving invitations to practise love and mercy the most ardent fanatical hatred of the enemy. (p. 48)

Following this, he identifies differences between the Qur'an and the Bible, chief among them that the comfort, strength and consolation that the Bible provides is missing from the Qur'an. A reformation such as took place in Martin Luther's time would therefore be unthinkable in Islam with recourse to the Qur'an. This is once again an important hinge in the lecture because the considerable commitment of the king of Prussia in the East is based on the conviction that the future of both Jews and Muslims lies in the acceptance of Christianity. At that time, Jerusalem was chosen by Prussia and Britain as the centre for missionary work and as a possible nucleus for further Christian work in the world of Islam. At the beginning of the 1840s, Frederick William IV had commissioned Abeken to assist the Prussian extraordinary envoy Christian Carl Josias Bunsen in negotiations with the episcopate of the Anglican Church for the establishment of a joint Anglican-Prussian diocese in Jerusalem. In this respect Abeken links in with this favourite project of the king and the hope associated with it. This hope was based on the fact that Islam was a 'preparation and preliminary stage of future progress' (p. 51), by spreading the faith in the 'one God with his moral influence' (p. 51) and so helping to prepare a 'future outpouring of the Holy Spirit' (p. 52). Thus, it is finally decided in the unfathomable counsel of God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Heinrich Abeken's view of Islam had a direct influence on the religious-political agenda of the German *Reich*, where the relationship between religion and politics was different from that in the (Sunnī) Islamic world. He was appointed to the Prussian Foreign Ministry in 1848 and, in 1853, was appointed Privy Legation Councillor. He was one of Otto von Bismarck's closest and most important colleagues and was often employed by him to write official letters, which is why he was also known as Bismarck's pen. His lecture on *Das religiöse Leben im Islam* is of great interest in this respect, but his depiction of Islam is significant for two other reasons as well, first because it reflects his experiences during the imperial expedition to Egypt, as well as his collaboration with Lepsius, and second because he was involved in both Rome and Jerusalem in finding solutions to religious and denominational conflicts. As a theologian and politician, he had no concepts other than Christian ones. For him, the depiction of Islam also meant a political assessment of the Ottoman Empire and an answer to the question of how much Germany could and should support the sultan in Constantinople.

Abeken's lecture is an important historical document from the era of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. The subject of religion was extremely conflictual both in domestic and foreign policy. The Protestant diocese in Jerusalem, which had been aspired to for so long, had also caused many conflicts. Abeken uses the Islamic religion to order, mirror and negotiate subtleties in the king's religious policy as well as to justify the Protestant mission in the Middle East.

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Catherina Wenzel and Wolfgang Frischbier

Heinrich Barth

DATE OF BIRTH 16 February 1821
PLACE OF BIRTH Hamburg
DATE OF DEATH 25 November 1865
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

The German geographer and explorer Heinrich Barth grew up in central Hamburg, together with two brothers and two sisters. His father had worked as a butcher but also became a successful investor in maritime trade. Barth was given a higher education than his parents and attended the well-reputed Johanneum school. From childhood, he was known as a dedicated and talented student of foreign languages and as interested in antiquity. At the age of 18, he enrolled at the University of Berlin to study philology and geography. He graduated in 1844 with a dissertation on the mercantile history of the eastern Mediterranean, for which he had travelled the length of Italy to Sicily. His dissertation was supervised by the classical philologist August Boeckh (1785-1867) and the famous geographer Carl Ritter (1779-1859). A second research trip took him as far as the North African coast via the Middle East. Using his findings during this journey, Barth submitted his *Habilitation* dissertation on the Ancient Mediterranean. Following Ritter, he engaged in an interdisciplinary form of historical geography in which he combined analyses of texts, archaeology, languages and ethnographic observations.

Failing at that time to obtain an academic position as a professor in Berlin, Barth agreed to conduct an exploratory journey across the Sahara on behalf of the British government. The expeditionary group also included the British missionary James Richardson (1809-51) and the German astronomer and geologist Adolf Overweg (1822-52). In 1849, the expedition crossed the Sahara Desert from Tripoli and reached Lake Chad. His fellow travellers died from tropical diseases, with the result Barth headed the remaining expedition and travelled with his African servants and hired guides across the central Sahel to Timbuktu in Mali. He arrived back in London in 1854.

He wrote up his report of the expedition in five large volumes in both German and English, but he was no longer required by the British

government and, furthermore, abolitionist missionaries in Britain spread rumours claiming that he had tolerated and practised slavery in Africa. They were referring to his under-age African servants, two of whom, Abbega and Dorugu, he brought with him to Europe. The Church Missionary Society eventually took them to its English mission centre, baptised them and trained them as Christian missionary teachers, before they were eventually shipped back to West Africa.

Disappointed by this Christian opposition, Barth returned to Berlin in 1858. His hope of replacing Ritter as full professor of geography was not realised. Instead, he was appointed adjunct professor in 1863 and acted as president of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin. He died only three years later. His writings include theses, travel reports, samples of African languages and correspondence with colleagues and institutions.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika 'Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa'

DATE 1857-8
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Heinrich Barth's travel report, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika. Tagebuch seine im Auftrag der Britischen Regierung unternommenen Reise* ('Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa. Being a journal of an expedition undertaken under the auspices of H.B.M.'s government, in the years 1849-1855'), is a voluminous and detailed work of 3,500 pages originally published in five volumes. Written in an objective academic style, it follows the expedition chronologically. Barth edited his own handwritten travel journals after his arrival in London, and thus managed to produce the English and German versions simultaneously.

Barth's journey was almost entirely through Muslim parts of Africa. Being fluent in Arabic and African languages such as Hausa, he regularly conversed with his servants, hosts and informants, together with traders and pilgrims. He was especially interested in the history, learning and theology of Islam. From his perspective, Judaism, Islam and Christianity overlapped in their most important beliefs and myths and so he neither avoided religious debates with African Muslims nor did he convert to Islam or consistently pretend to be a Muslim. Despite claims that he did this, he himself only told caravan traders before reaching Timbuktu

that he was a Muslim from Istanbul (*Travels and discoveries*, vol. 1, p. xviii, vol. 4, p. 316; references throughout are to the English translation). He held that 'Islamism and Paganism are constantly arrayed against each other in open or secret warfare' (vol. 1, p. xi) in Saharan and Sahelian Africa and, like European missionaries, he considered local African religions backward and intellectually uninteresting. However, unlike most missionaries, he admired African Muslim scholarship. From his Muslim colleagues he adopted the interpretation of the contemporary wars in the Sahel as expressions of Muslim-pagan antagonism rather than applying a more political, ethnic or social reading of the conflicts.

In the Sahel at the time of Barth's travels, there were a number of emirates and sultanates following puritan and ascetic Sufi variants of Islamic statehood. He was welcomed by the sultan of Sokoto in Northern Nigeria, but in Timbuktu in Mali he faced intolerance and became caught up in the competition for power between Touaregs, Kunta leaders and the new Islamic state of Massina. Ahmad al-Bakkay, the Kunta leader and scholar, gave him protection but in a way he also took him hostage (see especially vol. 4). When he was accused of unbelief by Muslim authorities, he would start theological conversations about the Christian and Muslim ideas of God's unity, shared rituals and beliefs and hierarchies of prophets. In response to a Malian chief's scepticism, his own view was 'that we were nearer to each other than he thought, and might well be friends, offering to each other those advantages which each of us commanded' (vol. 4, p. 498). Barth tried to impress and surprise African scholars with his knowledge of the Qur'an and Muslim scholarship, at the same time assuring his European readership that he had always 'defended the pure principles of Christianity against those of Islám' (vol. 1, p. xviii).

Barth's estimation of the new jihadist states in the Sahel was ambiguous. On the one hand, he often faced severe distrust from pious Muslim scholars in the rulers' courts but, on the other, he admired their consistent puritanism as a progressive force in Africa. Thus, he calls the leaders of the Hamdallahi in Mali, who threatened that he would have to leave the country, un-Islamic bigamists and fanatical moralists (vol. 4, p. 516), though at the same time he considers their strict Islam a good step towards monogamous marriage. Although the Sokoto jihadist rulers and scholars had welcomed him without hostility, he regarded them as depraved compared with the allegedly more authentic leaders of Massina. Barth adored the rigid Muslim legal systems, even though they might threaten his enterprise in Africa.

He regarded the Muslim leaders of Hamdallahi as enemies of Christianity, based mainly on hearsay from al-Bakkay and others, who feared Massina military expansion. Al-Bakkay styled himself as a protector of Christian visitors, mainly to win support from the British against French colonial expansion and their destruction of Muslim states as far as the Senegal River, and portrayed the Massina as elite dangerous jihadists who were liable to kill a Christian who entered their capital. But the Arabic correspondence between al-Bakkay and his former allies from Massina told a different story. They were offended not so much by the fact that the Christian Barth was travelling across the Sahel as by al-Bakkay's hiding such an important person in his camp instead of officially informing the Massina ruler of his presence and petitioning for accommodation from him.

Barth became friends with many influential Muslim scholars. In his numerous discussions with them about differences between Christians and Muslims, his standpoint is clear: both Christians and Muslims tend to overemphasise superficial points of difference instead of focusing on fundamental and shared elements. From time to time, he feels insulted by being called a *kāfir* ('unbeliever'), which he always rejects vehemently because, in his view, Muslims and Christians both believe that God is one. From his personal and religious point of view, he cannot see any reasons why he, as a Christian, should not join in Muslim prayers. He only rejects invitations to do so in fear of the reaction in Europe.

In consequence of the respectful relationship he enjoyed with the political and scholarly elite, Barth has been styled a non-colonialist traveller full of 'understanding of and affection for the people among whom he lived' (Kirk-Greene, 'Exercise in empathy', p. 25). It has further been argued that he applied this 'empathy, the gift of easy friendship with Africans of all ranks' (Kirk-Greene, 'Exercise in empathy', p. 35) and his 'understanding of mentalities' (Schiffers, *Heinrich Barth*, p. 97) very rationally in order to turn Africans into subjects of academic studies. But this is by no means beyond dispute. Barth treated them as informants who were able to explain to him their past and present.

Barth obviously preferred a more scholarly Islam because he considered himself an equivalent scholar longing for academic discussions with his African counterparts. However, he also respected the practices and taboos of his servants and guides who followed more local interpretations of Islam. Unlike other European travellers, Barth never complains about regular breaks in the journey for prayers or the wish of his servants to make a detour to an important burial of a Muslim saint. Indeed,

he takes part in celebrations of Muslim festivals and his Muslim servants tolerate Christian holidays. Barth accepts their polygamy and condemns together with them the consumption of alcohol whenever it is encountered. Scholars and servants alike often attempt to convert Barth to Islam, which he usually takes not as a hostile act but as an invitation for theological debate.

By the time he undertook his African journey, Barth was familiar, if not intimate, with Islam as a result of his Mediterranean travels and his knowledge of Arabic and the history of Islam. Further south, in West Africa, when he was confronted with non-Muslim African communities, Islam – its practices, beliefs and myths – served especially as a cultural home for him, having discourses with which he could easily engage. Both his personal familiarity with Islam and his broad academic curiosity fuelled the intellectual exchange between a German Protestant and African Muslims, between Christianity and Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Barth's positive and respectful appraisal of Islam must be considered in the context of Enlightenment Orientalism and the scientific exploration of Central Africa around 1800. Explorers who wanted to reach Africa via the Arab world, such as Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, Carsten Niebuhr and Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (on Niebuhr, see *CMR* 17, 561-9, on Burckhardt, see *CMR* 22, 89-105), were all Arabists who admired Islam and were willing to see in it similarities with Christianity (or even to convert). In addition, such predecessors of Barth as these were convinced of their purely academic aim in travelling and accepted foreign or royal patrons and financiers without any ado. Barth, not caring too much about the Christian missionary and British national and colonial impetus of his African expedition either, was eager to defend his scholarly freedom. But times had already changed over the first half of the 19th century, so he already faced tendencies towards nationalism, colonialism, racism and missionary ideology. Barth was one of the last academic travellers of this kind, right before African expeditions became projects of direct subjugation and conquest by European states. In contrast to missionaries and many colonial officials, he certainly believed in a civilising progress for Africa, but he did not see why Islam – and especially the recent puritan jihadist elites – should not foster such progress in the Sahara and the Sahel.

Unlike the works of the explorer Hugh Clapperton (1788-1827; see 'European travellers to Central-West Africa', in *CMR* 19, 179-94, pp. 181-7), who had travelled through the same regions in the 1820s, Barth's travel journals

were not just reports, but also nuanced and scientific interpretations of geography, history, economics and culture, based on sceptical consideration of various sources and well-argued hypotheses. These include estimations of Islamic sciences (*tawḥīd*, *fiqh*), the history of Islam and Islamisation in North and West Africa, and the concept of peaceful relations and trade between Christian and Muslim states. Moreover, Barth's descriptions also document local Muslim rituals across the Sahara and the Sahel in the mid-19th century and regional political disruptions over the question of how to negotiate with Christian colonisers in a not-yet colonised African society. As result, Barth's journal conveys more than he had intended.

Despite its broad academic outcome, Barth's series of volumes was considered too long and too sophisticated for a wide readership. Compared to more exciting and shorter accounts of African expeditions, his journal was only circulated and translated for academic purposes, and even the more popular two-volume edition did not improve this scanty reception. His interest in Islam, more specifically, provoked Christian missionaries to spread rumours about Barth approving the so-called 'Muslim' slave trade and engaging in it himself.

During the period of German colonialism in Africa, Barth was almost forgotten and his non-nationalistic and Islamophile approach was not accepted. Only in the era of decolonisation, from the 1960s onwards, did Africanists and Islamic studies scholars rediscover and honour his work. In some Africanist publications, his tolerance and interdisciplinary research methods served as a model. Particularly in Timbuktu, the friendship between al-Bakkay and Barth is praised as evidence for the possibility of peaceful Muslim-Christian relations against the Islamist terrorism present in most Sahelian states today.

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Schiffers, *Heinrich Barth*

Stephanie Zehnle

Heinrich Barth's letters

DATE 1839-65
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Barth wrote numerous letters to friends and colleagues, of which about 1,650 are known. In many of these, he referred to Islam and its relationship with Christianity as well as 'paganism' in Africa. He emphasises in his letters from Timbuktu that he actually intended to proceed to Hamdallahi, the capital of the Massina Empire, to introduce himself to its ruler, but that Ahmad al-Bakkay prevented him from doing so. Al-Bakkay was eager to counter Massina's claims about suzerainty over Timbuktu and wanted to display his own power as the most influential scholar in that city.

> It had been my intention to address my respects to their Prince, but having made this place, which it was the express & only desire of Government I should reach, my first & principal aim, after having fortunately reached it, I have learned here, that the Sheikh, into whose protection I have given me, would be offended by my paying a visit to that Prince, while the fanatism of his subjects would if not endanger greatly my situation, when amongst them, at least make it all but intolerable. For these Fullan, who call their brethren of Sokoto 'Infidels' and have threatened them with teaching them Islam themselves, think themselves the only true Moslem's; amongst other things they have smoking a capital crime. (National Archives, FO 101/36, Barth to Lord Clarendon, 2.10.1853)

In emphasising that the rulers of Sokoto were Fulbe like those of Massina, Barth clearly did not regard it as an ethnic conflict but as a genuinely religious one. For him, al-Bakkay stood for a mature, enlightened Islam, whereas the rulers of Massina were fanatics, and his own task was to familiarise 'these fanatical people with European ideas' (National Archives, FO 101/36, Barth to G.J. Herman, 15.12.1853).

Barth was generally very suspicious of the motives of Christian missionaries, and not only because of their false accusations that he was involved in the slave trade during his African expedition. His reasons were more fundamental: that Christian missionaries did not have any business in Islamic regions. He was worried about the future of India after the great insurrection of 1857 and he wrote to his brother-in-law, Gustav Schubert, a captain in the Kingdom of Saxony army, that it would be difficult for the British to reorganise themselves, because he feared 'the missionaries will not leave them any freedom but will alienate the whole population'. He

thought that the insurrection occurred because the British had provoked the Muslim population of India 'to the extreme' (*bis zum Äußersten*), and this would have repercussions in Africa (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Nachlass Heinrich Barth 10, Barth to Schubert, 11.9.1857).

In 1860, he gave a lecture in Hamburg, which clearly contained the trace ideas of a book he intended to write but this was prevented by his early death. In this, he speculated that if Egypt, which under the dynasty founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī (r. 1805-48) had made itself virtually independent of Ottoman rule, joined forces with the Wahhābīs in the Arabian Peninsula, the Islamic world might recover its position as a major power. He usually found Muslim leaders in North Africa lacking in energy and spirit, which he thought was largely due to the despotism of the Ottomans but, under an energetic ruler such as Muḥammad ʿAlī, this might change (Barth, *Das Becken des Mittelmeeres*, pp. 30-1). Barth's view that the Islamic world contained within itself resources for regeneration stood in contrast to the imperialist and colonialist assumptions of his time about the decadence of the Islamic world and the need for outside intervention.

In an article published in the journal *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* in 1864, Barth expressed the hope that the French would be wise enough to proceed circumspectly in West Africa ('Afrikanische Beiträge', p. 526). He saw a real possibility that the establishment of French power could be an opportunity for a 'mutual balancing of the true fundamentals of the Christian and Muslim doctrines'. Both religions had much in common, such as 'divine grace and compassion, God's omnipotence and providence, and for humans the duty of charity and altruism'. He wondered why Christians did not draw on a central principle of Islam which led to scholarly knowledge, namely 'the admiration of God's magnificent [...] creation'. The French should foster interest in knowledge among the 'nobler' Muslims by founding an Arab university. If in this university 'men with enlightened opinions like Monsieur [Ernest] Renan' (see *CMR* 21, 378-93) were to teach the fundamentals of the Christian and Muslim faiths, Muslims would be able to find a different appreciation of Christianity than hitherto.

When his brother-in-law picked up this idea and speculated whether even a synthesis of Christianity and Islam into a new common religion could be possible, Barth answered cautiously. Although he thought a better understanding between the religions was important, he was in favour of diversity and warned against attempts to create artificial homogeneity, which could not work 'because in the end it will only splinter up into a multitude of opinions and sects' (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Nachlass Heinrich Barth 9, Barth to Schubert, 12.7.1864). If

the French wished to be successful in their conquest of West Africa, it could only work by attracting Muslim scholars to the scholarly aspects of Christianity. Otherwise, enlightened Muslims like Ahmad al-Bakkay and others could not be won as allies of the French. He proposed that they should 'meet the Arabs and Muslim Negroes with a pure reception of their simple but magnificent principles and with a full appreciation of the great part the Arabs had in our development' (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Nachlass Heinrich Barth 9, Barth to Schubert, 22.5.1865).

SIGNIFICANCE

Barth's correspondence is currently housed in a number of public and private collections. The letters are a valuable complement to his published works, since his statements in these often go beyond what he says in his books and they offer clarifications. The letters are of special interest to researchers on Barth's views about Muslim-Christian relations, as well his attitudes and opinions of Africans he met.

Barth's letters and articles and notes in various geographical journals in Great Britain, France and Germany have hitherto been used only randomly and rarely. The new edition of his correspondence (see heinrich-barth.ub.uni-due.de) will allow for a systematic analysis of his letters in future research.

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Christoph Marx

Heinrich von Maltzan

Heinrich Eckhard Carl Helmuth von Maltzan,
Reichsfreiherr zu Wartenberg und Penzlin

DATE OF BIRTH 6 September 1826
PLACE OF BIRTH Dresden, Kingdom of Saxony
DATE OF DEATH 22 February 1874
PLACE OF DEATH Pisa

BIOGRAPHY

Heinrich von Maltzan was born into the Tarnow branch of the noble von Maltzan family. The inheritance of his father's fortune in 1851 enabled him to pursue his passion for travel. Having studied Oriental languages alongside the more traditional route of a law degree in Munich, Heidelberg and Erlangen, his preferred destinations were the barbary states of North Africa and the Middle East. In addition to several journeys in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, he also visited Syria and Palestine, Abyssinia and different parts of the Arabian Peninsula.

Maltzan published several travel books of his own and in addition edited the manuscript of Adolf von Wrede's account of his travels in Hadramawt. Whereas the majority of his works are devoted to serious research and contain appendices of, for example, the Punic inscriptions in Sardinia or North Africa as well as grammars and vocabulary lists of Arabian languages, two in particular, *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka* ('My pilgrimage to Mecca', 1865) and *Sittenbilder aus Tunis und Algerien* ('Genre pictures from Tunis and Algeria', 1869), feature more literary contents, such as genre pictures, atmospheric or humorous sketches, anecdotes and personal impressions, mostly designed to illustrate local, inevitably meaning Muslim, culture. From an academic point of view, his observations on Sardinian culture and society, his studies of the Phoenician heritage (inscriptions) in North Africa and of the southern Arabian dialect of Mehri are most notable. His successful book on a 'pilgrimage' to Mecca undertaken in 1860 had lasting influence in shaping German attitudes towards the Muslim world, as many subsequent editions and reprints testify. His was the first widely read account of the culture and rituals of the Hajj and of Mecca's cityscape and society.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka
'My pilgrimage to Mecca'

DATE 1865
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Though several of Maltzan's books offer insights into Muslim culture, arguably the most impactful and revealing is *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka. Reise in der Küstengegend und im Inneren von Hedschas* ('My pilgrimage to Mecca. Travels in the coastal regions and interior of the Ḥijāz'). Divided into two volumes, the work chronicles his journey in 1860 from Tunis to Mecca (vol. 1) and his stay in the holy city to complete the prescribed rites of the pilgrimage (vol. 2). The nine chapters in vol. 1 (377 pages in the first edition, which is used here) chronicle the stages from Algiers to Mecca, often in the diary style of conventional travel descriptions. The factual information on climate, geography, people, means and conditions of transport up the Nile, across the Nubian desert and then the Red Sea is, however, frequently interspersed with conversations and anecdotes from within the travelling party. These are often designed to identify contradictions in the travellers' attitudes and behaviour, for example when long uplifting religious instruction from the spiritual leader of the group and a young relative's attempt to smuggle a port prostitute on board the ship are juxtaposed to great effect, and local lore, particularly as it pertains to Islam, is elaborated at length as rooted in pagan superstition.

Chapters 10-21, which make up the second volume (373 pages), follow the six days of prescribed pilgrimage activities in Mecca itself. These sections are interspersed with impressions of life in the hostel and then the host family where the narrator finds accommodation, with descriptions of

rowdy crowds, general disorder and blatant profiteering during the rituals and – here the traveller's voice comes to the fore – the account of personal reactions to the events witnessed and shared, such as his disgust at having to kiss the Black Stone together with thousands of fellow visitors. The last few pages narrate Multzan's hasty departure and lucky escape in the face of detection. Apart from the mention of an English ship boarded in Jedda, details of his return journey are not provided.

The key word of the title *Wallfahrt* ('pilgrimage') and an episode at the beginning of the narrative connect the enterprise to Richard Francis Burton's (1821-90) accomplishment of the same feat some seven years earlier. Burton's narrative had not been translated into German in its entirety, but in 1861 the well-known geographer Karl Andree had published a report on Burton's journey. Maltzan's publication aimed for, and achieved, a wider popular appeal by offering more personal and colourful insights into life in Mecca, Muslim religion and Hajj culture. In Maltzan's narrative, adventurous and salacious elements are foregrounded; they displace almost completely Burton's emphasis on self-discovery and cultural immersion.

The fear of detection is the main provider of suspense. The common trope of using dissimulation, namely, disguising as a Muslim so as to gain access to the holy sites, is here developed into an elaborate ruse. Maltzan claims that he bought the identity of a Tunisian hashish smoker, obtained documents in his name from the French authorities and set out on the journey via Malta and Alexandria to join one of the frequent pilgrimage groups setting out from Egypt. The first volume prepares the ground for what is to come by introducing readers to the (alleged) characteristics of a Muslim mentality, forms of piety and social interaction; the experience in and of Mecca itself then serves as confirmation of expectations raised – namely that Muslim culture, as displayed in its essential rituals and on its quintessential site, is hollow, tedious, superstitious and hypocritical. Manifestations of Muslim devotion, such as the architectural ensemble of the Kaʿba, and practices such as worship rituals with all its paraphernalia, reveal, or so the argument goes, the true nature of Islam as simultaneously immature and decadent, contaminated by pre-monotheistic beliefs and local folklore, or ignorantly appropriated from Judaism and antique cults. These views derive their persuasiveness from the posture of intimate cultural knowledge gathered from the close interaction within the pilgrim group and the host family in Mecca. Many details of domestic rancour caused by polygamy, of drug dens, slavery, prostitution inside as well as outside marriage, and suggestions of homosexuality, have a decidedly voyeuristic character; the attendant sketches and anecdotes more often

than not aim at ridiculing the persons involved and with them the entire belief system and way of life they espouse. Maltzan thus blends familiar Orientalist tropes regarding harem decadence and licentiousness with scathing criticism of the alleged commercialisation of all aspects of religious life, including the prescribed rituals.

At the end of the book, Maltzan inserts suggestions that the entire journey was the product of the imagination of the (perhaps fictitious) person who lent him his identity. In a subsequent publication, his edition of Adolph von Wrede's *Reise in Hadhramaut* (1870), he cites literary devices like the ones he himself uses in his Mecca book as indicators that invented travel reports only claim to be authentic – hence engaging in an elaborate game with the status of truth and fiction, of religious intoxication and drug deliriums. This might coalesce with a recent assertion that his diaries reveal he could not have been in Mecca on the dates he claims (Freitag, 'Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan's "My pilgrimage to Mecca"'). Be that as it may, the dubious status – not deciphered until very recently – does not diminish the impact and significance of the volume as a staggering record of discursive denigration.

SIGNIFICANCE

This publication marks the first chronicle of a German Christian's visit to Mecca that targets a general, non-specialist audience and manages to popularise specific tropes in the perception of Islam as they are discernible at that religion's most emblematic location. While referencing the genre of serious, scientific exploratory travel writing, the composition and tone of the work aim at entertaining audiences through adventure, vivid description and salacious detail at the expense of its object. The vantage point of the (ostensibly) intimate observer, skilfully staged by the author, conveys an air of immersion and participation that makes the content and evaluation even more persuasive.

The book is located at a juncture in German engagement with overseas and foreign cultures, the inception period indeed of German colonialist ambition. Reaching Mecca by outwitting all defences against foreign intrusion is here conceived as on a par with spectacular feats of discovery, for example in the interior of Africa, such as accessing Timbuktu, locating the sources of the Nile or traversing the continent. The danger of detection provides the suspense that in other writings of exploratory travel is generated by natural disasters, hostile natives, wild animals or disease. The tenor of Maltzan's Mecca book espouses the same colonialist logic, namely that the Christian European's very ability to overcome all possible obstacles

in itself evidences the superiority of Western civilisation, justifies interference and corroborates the claim to mentorship. While Germany did not entertain designs to annex any of the regions traversed by Maltzan, it aimed at asserting political influence and integrating the Middle East into geo-political strategies. The German instrumentalisation of Islam by prompting the Ottoman sultan into a proclamation of jihad against the central powers' enemies during World War I stands in a tradition evinced by Maltzan's characterisation of Islam as an inferior, immature culture.

Maltzan focuses exclusively on Muslim culture. However, an inter-religious dialogue can be seen unfolding through the book because the derogatory evaluation of this culture is firmly based on implicit assumptions regarding the superiority of Christian beliefs and practices. When Muslim religious practices are derided as composite, utilitarian or transactional, superficial, hybrid, ostentatious and concurrently hypocritical – intermingled with unsavoury practices of a sensual or indulgent nature – an assumed ideal of (Protestant) purity, solemnity, earnestness and virtue becomes apparent as a hidden yardstick against which the opposite is defined as 'other'.

In popular fiction, most notably in the works of Karl May (1842-1912), the best-selling author whose adventure novels shaped the German imaginary of the overseas for more than a century (*CMR* 22, 481-502), the depiction of Islam as characterised by fanaticism, infantilism (denoting civilisational backwardness), tediousness and cunning, shows clear echoes of Maltzan's accusation of greed and desire for material and sensual gratification. Indeed, Maltzan has been identified as one of May's major sources for his Oriental novels (*Durch die Wüste*, 1881; see Fortas, 'Karl May und Heinrich von Maltzan'). Chief among these tropes is the belief that a hollow 'fanaticism' is the overriding characteristic of Muslim culture. In a popular imaginary, secrecy and hypocrisy, sensuality and commercial egotism discredit the religion and the commensurate culture. In Maltzan's discourse, reaching Mecca is anything but a 'pilgrimage'; it is in fact an act of conquest.

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Florian Krobb

Friedrich Rückert

Johann Michael Friedrich Rückert

DATE OF BIRTH 16 May 1788
PLACE OF BIRTH Schweinfurt, Franconia
DATE OF DEATH 31 January 1866
PLACE OF DEATH Neuses, Coburg

BIOGRAPHY

The Romantic poet and Orientalist scholar Friedrich Rückert was the eldest son of Johann Adam Rückert, a lawyer, and his wife Maria Barbara. After *Gymnasium* in Schweinfurt, he studied law, languages and literature in Würzburg and Heidelberg (1805-9) and then in Jena, where he completed his *Habilitation* with the essay *Dissertatio philologico-philosophica de idea philologiae* (Jena, 1811). He taught briefly in Jena and then at various schools until 1814, when his first collection of poems, *Deutsche Gedichte*, was published under the pseudonym Freimund Reimar. It included sonnets against Napoleon, reflecting current tensions in Europe.

He worked on the *Morgenblatt* newspaper in Stuttgart from 1815 to 1817, then travelled to Switzerland and Italy, spending most of 1818 in Rome. On his way back to Germany, he met Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) in Vienna and stayed for a year studying Persian and Arabic with him.

He was based in Coburg from 1819 to 1826. In 1821, he married Luise Wiethaus-Fischer (1797-1857), with whom he had five sons and two daughters. His son Heinrich (1823-75) edited several of his father's posthumous works.

As well as writing poetry, Rückert also engaged in some journalism and translation. Like many of his generation, he read Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* and responded with his *Östliche Rosen*, published in 1822, poetry inspired by the *dīwān* of the Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ. Goethe wrote favourably about the collection ('Östliche Rosen von Friedrich Rückert', *Über Kunst und Altertum* 2/2 [1822] 38-40). His celebrated translation of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī of Baṣra, *Hariris Makamen*, appeared in 1826.

The same year, with help from Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Rückert was appointed professor of Oriental languages at Erlangen University, teaching Arabic and Persian as well as Sanskrit; it is reported that he

knew up to 30 different languages. He continued to publish his poems, with *Gesammelte Gedichte* appearing in six volumes between 1834 and 1838. During this time, he also published *Morgenländische Sagen und Geschichten* (1837), *Erbauliches und Beschauliches aus dem Morgenland* (1836-8), *Brahmanische Erzählungen* (1839) and the six-volume *Die Weisheit des Brahmanen* (1836-9). A translation of part of the Persian poet Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāma* was published as *Rostem und Suhrab. Eine Heldengeschichte in zwölf Büchern* (1838), and a full translation appeared posthumously (*Firdosis Königsbuch* [*Schahname*], 3 vols, Berlin, 1890-5). Then, in 1846, Rückert published his rendering into German of *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa*, an anthology of early Arabic poetry (*Hamâsa, oder die ältesten arabischen Volkslieder, gesammelt von Abu Temmâm, übersetzt und erläutert*, Stuttgart, 1846). Rückert translated other poetical works written in a number of Eastern languages, though they often only appeared posthumously.

In 1840, Rückert was drawn into the court of Frederick William IV (r. 1840-61), King of Prussia, mainly because of his reputation as a poet, and was made a privy counsellor whilst lecturing at the University of Berlin. He found both posts 'uncongenial to his nature [… and] discharged them reluctantly and with a certain impatience' (Taylor, 'Friedrich Rückert', p. 33).

When the king was asked to point Rückert out to a guest at a banquet, he said, 'That broad-shouldered boor with his elbows on the table, eating a hunk of bread, that is your poet!' (Müller, *Auld lang syne*, p. 79). With the king's permission, he only taught in the winter semester, spending the summers in Coburg. The philologist and Orientalist Max Müller (1823-1900) studied Persian with Rückert and gave a pen portrait of him. When studying in Berlin, Müller approached Rückert:

> When I called on the Professor to enter my name for his lectures on the 'Gulistan', a Persian poem, he received me very coldly. He was indeed the broad-shouldered giant whom the Duchess had described to me. He wore a long dressing-gown, and his hair, parted in the middle, was hanging wildly about his temples. (Müller, *Auld lang syne*, p. 80)

Müller succeeded in persuading Rückert to teach him:

> Whatever may have been said about Rückert as a professor, he was more useful in his informal teaching than many learned professors who year after year read their lectures to large admiring audiences.
>
> 'I cannot teach you Persian,' he used to say, 'I can only tell you and show you how to learn it. I learnt everything I know by myself, and so can you. We will work together, but that is all I can do.' (Müller, *Auld lang syne*, p. 82)

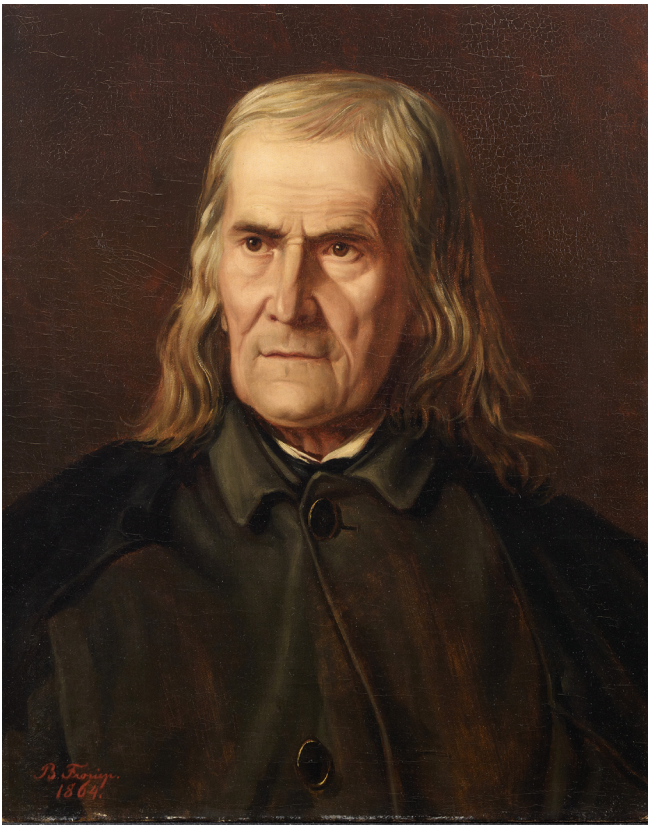

Illustration 8. Friedrich Rückert

His poems were set to music, with at least 120 settings by a number of composers including Johannes Brahms, *Gestillte Sehnsucht*, Gustav Mahler, *Kindertotenlieder*, *Rückert-Lieder*, Franz Schubert, *Du bist die Ruh*, and Robert and Clara Schumann, *Liebesfrühling*.

Rückert returned to Coburg permanently in 1849, living on his farm at Neuses, where he continued to write and translate. His verse translation of the Qur'an, *Der Koran. Im Auszuge übersetzt*, was published posthumously in 1888.

Rückert was widowed in 1861 and died at Neuses in 1866.

An extended obituary in the *Atlantic Monthly* remarked that he was the last of the 'minor gods on the higher slopes of the Weimar Olympus', linking him to Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff, Heinrich Heine and Johann Ludwig Uhland (Taylor, 'Friedrich Rückert', p. 33).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Der Koran. Im Auszuge übersetzt
'The Qur'an. Translated excerpts'

DATE 1888
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In 1823, when Rückert was working as a journalist, he remarked to his friend Count August von Platen (1796-1835) that he was attracted to attempting a translation of the Qur'an and that 'the peculiar layout of rhyme and assonances of the original looks good enough' (Schimmel, *Friedrich Rückert*, p. 92). Some passages of the Qur'an translated by him

appeared in the footnotes of 'Aus Nisami's Iskandername (Alexanders-Buch)' in *Frauentaschenbuch für das Jahr 1824* (pp. 415-96), which was edited by Friedrich de la Motte-Fouqué, with von Platen's involvement. Comparison of these with the posthumous 1888 edition of his translation shows some similarities, but they are not identical.

In his introduction to the 1995 edition of the translation, Hartmut Bobzin writes about the versions of the Qur'an that were available to Rückert.

> In May 1827, Rückert borrowed a Qur'an in folio format in Erlangen, which must have been the one by Marracci or a Russian print that goes back to an initiative of the Russian Tsarina Catherine II and was intended for the Muslim subjects of former Turkish or Tatar territories. Rückert certainly borrowed this Qur'an, first printed in St Petersburg in 1787. (Bobzin, 'Friedrich Rückert und der Koran', pp. XX-XXI)

He continued to translate parts of the Qur'an and, in 1836, he wrote to a publisher that it was not quite finished yet, that 'The music isn't quite over yet and also the broth of notes are yet to be completed' (Schimmel, *Friedrich Rückert*, p. 93), which seems to refer to perfecting the rhymes in his translation and perhaps his wish to complete the annotations. During the 1840s, whilst Rückert was based in Berlin, he signed a contract with Reimer to produce a poetic version of the Qur'an.

Rückert was studying the Qur'an intensively in 1836, two years after the publication of Gustav Flügel's *Corani textus Arabicus* (Leipzig, 1834; Bobzin, 'Friedrich Rückert und der Koran', p. XXI). He translated large sections into German, making extensive notes and adding remarks about the meaning of the text, but the work had not been completed when he died in 1866. About 20 years later, his family, through Felix Dahn (1834-1912), a law professor and historian who also came to the fore as a popular nationalist writer, 'gave the manuscript to August Müller, Professor of Oriental Languages at Albertus-Universität Königsberg with a view to publication' (Müller, 'Vorwort', p. v). *Der Koran. Im Auszuge übersetzt* ('The Qur'an. Translated excerpts') was published in 1888, comprising the 'Vorwort' ('Foreword') by August Müller, dated 21 December 1887 (pp. v-vii), the 'Einleitung' ('Introduction', pp. 1-20), the suras of the Qur'an in German poetic form (pp. 23-427), and 'Anmerkungen' ('Notes', pp. 429-550).

Müller's 'Introduction' gives a brief outline of Muḥammad's life and the revelations of the Qur'an, providing a systematic digest of the content in the suras in order to give the reader an overview in advance. It is unclear how much of this is based on Rückert's notes or organised by Müller himself. Müller indicates that Rückert chose the poetic passages

very deliberately, avoided repetitions and tended to omit legal and political passages (p. 15) and he considers that, overall, Rückert succeeded in capturing the religious meaning and effect.

> In any case, the rhythmic prose in which the translation is written throughout is a stroke of genius on the part of the poet: the speech thus acquires an elevated tone, which the original owes to its structure, and is able to come far closer than a pure prose translation to the impression which the Koran must evoke in the solemn recitation of religious use. (p. 16)

Müller regrets that the shorter suras at the end of the Qur'an in particular have not been translated and shows how Rückert composed 'doctrinal aphoristic sayings' (*Lehrsprüche*) from some of the verses, which he also lists at the end of the introduction. These include one on Q 5:53 [48], with which, in a way resembling Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's 'ring parable' in *Nathan der Weise*, he encourages mutual tolerance among the followers of the monotheistic religions. Rückert included this verse translation to the aphoristic sayings which he sought to make particularly instructive to the readers.

> Wir haben jedem Volke sein Gesetz gegeben
> Und eine Laufbahn für sein Streben.
> Hätt' es gewollet Gottes Macht,
> Er hätt' Ein Volk aus euch gemacht.
> Allein, dass er euch prüf' im Leben,
> Hat er Besondres euch gegeben.
> So eilet nun im ganzen Chor
> Einander euch im Guten vor.
> Zu Gott ist euer aller Fahrt.
> Da wird euch werden offenbart,
> Worüber ihr uneinig wart.
>
> (We have given every nation its law
> And a pathway for its endeavour.
> Had God's power willed it,
> He would have made one nation of you.
> Only that He might test you in life,
> He has given you special things.
> So now hasten the whole choir
> One after another for good.
> To God is your journey.
> There it will be revealed to you,
> What you have disagreed about.)
> (Q 5:53 [48], 'Einleitung', p. 19)

When Hartmut Bobzin compared Müller's 1888 edition with Rückert's manuscript he found that:

> Müller did not work carefully. His text contains misreadings and distortions of meaning; sometimes the meaning is even reversed. Müller made a number of 'improvements' by harmonising. He changed passages according to parallels that are identical in Arabic. (Bobzin, 'Friedrich Rückert und der Koran', p. XXVIII)

Even though all the suras are listed, ten of the shortest are not translated: 69, 71, 78, 85-7, 89, 98-9 and 104. Their names and numbers are given with 'see Notes', but there it is explained that this sura has not been translated. The remaining suras begin with name, number and an indication of whether they were revealed in Mecca or Medina, as in the Arabic original, though many of the longer suras are incomplete, with the more legal passages missing. Bobzin commented that Rückert 'attempted a poetic rendition of the Qur'ān that simultaneously observed the philological standards of the time, but not in the form of a complete translation' ('Translations of the Qur'ān').

Annemarie Schimmel wrote of the translation, 'Rückert felt with a poet's instinct the poetic power and beauty of sections of the text and attempted to render them in such a manner that the original character – whether strongly poetic or prosaic – remained preserved' (quoted by Bobzin, 'Translations of the Qur'ān').

The Notes indicate Rückert's knowledge of Islam but reveal little of his attitude towards it other than a desire for accuracy in explaining the meaning of a passage. Examples of this can be seen in his comment on Q 3:41-2 [46-7], where he explains that Jesus 'speaks to the people in the cradle, as Jesus did according to the "Infancy Gospel"; cf. 19:31', and 'He says it is! that's it. cf. Psalm 33:9' (p. 441, citing Q 3:42 [47]); also in Q 112, where he notes that the 'confession of unity is directed against Christians and is one of the most revered religious formulas' (p. 550). It appears that he approached the 'Holy Book' of the Muslims with an open mind and invited his readers to do the same, displaying an attitude that can also be seen in a poem from his collection *Die Weisheit des Brahmanen* ('The wisdom of the Brahmin', Leipzig, 1838):

> [...] Komm, Sohn, und laß uns unbefangen, ohne voran,
> Abzuurteilen, auch urteilen übern Koran.
>
> Wohl eine Zauberkraft muß sein in dem, woran
> Bezaubert eine Welt hängt, so hängt wie am Koran.

Laß näher treten uns und zusehn zauberfrei,
Ob es in Wahrheit nur ein böser Zauber sei.

Ob nicht in dieser Form auch eine Offenbarung
Des ewigen Geistes sei, für unsern Geist zur Nahrung.

(Come, son, and let us also judge the Qur'an impartially,
without prejudice.

There must be a magic power in that on which
Enchanted a world hangs, as it hangs on the Qur'an.

Let us come closer and observe without enchantment,
Whether in truth it is only an evil spell.

Whether in this form it is not also a revelation
Of the eternal spirit, for our spirit to nourish.)
(*Die Weisheit des Brahmanen*, vol. 4, p. 120)

SIGNIFICANCE

The 1773 Qur'an translation by Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (1720-1800) and its 1828 revision by Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760-1834), which at the time it appeared represented the latest and most modern translation in German, was still slanted towards a polemical, church-influenced view and assessment of Muḥammad's person and message. Rückert refers to Wahl's translation and commentary several times in the notes to his translation, mostly showing critical distance from his polemical view (Bobzin, 'Rückert und der Koran', p. XIII; Friedrich Rückert, *Der Koran*, p. 491). Alastair Hamilton also emphasises the new approach that Rückert's translation represents: 'It is the first to be completely independent of [Ludovico] Marracci. Rückert adheres far more closely to the original, avoids paraphrases and catches the allusive ambiguities. He stands in the vanguard of the modern translators of the Qur'an' (Hamilton, '"To rescue the honour of the Germans"', p. 209).

Der Koran. Im Auszuge übersetzt is the outcome of the best attempt so far by a German translator to reflect the poetical qualities of the original Qur'an. The fact that Rückert was able to achieve this was partly due to his intensive study of ancient Arabic poetry. Bobzin writes,

> that this literary genre, which was already extremely popular and highly developed among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times [...] is also regarded by

> Muslim scholars as extremely important for the Qur'an, is shown by the fact that all important classical Qur'an commentaries refer to the vocabulary of ancient Arabic poetry. Rückert's translation of the Qur'an is so unique above all because it is closely modelled on the original in style, rhythm and linguistic sound and is masterfully adapted to it. (Bobzin, 'Der Koran in Franken', pp. 32-3)

It not possible to detect any great impact of the translation on shaping views about Islam. The interpretation of the text itself was obviously something Rückert was not really interested in, although he felt compelled to effuse a 'broth of notes' over his poetical translation.

Anne-Marie Schimmel observes that 'Rückert's translation is the only German transmission that has something of the style and allows you to feel the spirit of the original' (*Friedrich Rückert*, p. 93). In this she agrees with David Heinrich Müller, who wrote that he was influenced by Rückert's translation because it 'attempts to reproduce a part of the Qur'an poetically with all literal fidelity' (*Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1896, p. 20; see *CMR* 22, 350-4).

In the introduction to his 1995 edition of Rückert's work, Bobzin speaks about the gap that Rückert filled with his literary translation as the first attempt to do justice in German to the poetical style of the Qur'an. It is notable that Bobzin's edition is now in its fourth published revision of Rückert's text (making five editions in all, including Müller's original), indicating an on-going interest in Rückert's achievement. Rückert's work is admired by Muslims in Germany because the German poetic rendering is regarded as being closer to the Arabic than other translations (reported verbally to the contributor).

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John Chesworth

Maximilian I of Mexico

Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph Maria von Österreich;
Maximiliano de Habsburgo

DATE OF BIRTH 6 July 1832
PLACE OF BIRTH Vienna
DATE OF DEATH 19 June 1867
PLACE OF DEATH Santiago de Querétaro, Mexico

BIOGRAPHY

Maximilian is remembered as ruler (r. 1864-7) of the Second Mexican Empire (1862-7), which was established during the second French intervention in the country. The grandson of Emperor Franz I of Austria (r. 1804-35) and the brother of Franz Joseph I (r. 1848-1916), he was Archduke of the empire, Admiral of the navy (1854-61) and Viceroy of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia (1857-9). He was married to Princess Charlotte of Belgium.

During the French intervention in Mexico, conservatives proclaimed the Second Mexican Empire in 1863 and offered Maximilian the crown, which he accepted. When the French troops withdrew in 1867 after they faced resistance from Mexican republicans, he decided to remain without them and fight for what he regarded as his. He was defeated, arrested and executed the same year.

As a young man, when he still lived in Austria, Maximilian travelled in Turkey, Spain, Tangier, Gibraltar, Algeria, Albania, Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon, and made friendships with Muslim leaders such as the Egyptian viceroys Saʿīd Bāshā (r. 1854-63) and Ismāʿīl Bāshā (r. 1863-79), and the Ottoman statesman Mehmed Emin Âli Paşa. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and built a friendly relationship with the custodians of the Christian Holy Places. He was also able to acquire the greatest collection of Egyptian antiquities of the time, known as the Miramar Collection, consisting of 1930 pieces. He acquired this (some authors maintain that it was given to him) in 1856 during a visit to Saʿīd Bāshā.

One of the most urgent matters for Maximilian after he arrived in Mexico was to seek internal and international recognition of his regime, from the Muslim Ottoman and Persian Empires as well as elsewhere. He

sent Pablo Martínez del Río and General Leonardo Márquez Araujo (see *CMR* 19, 530-4) to the court of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76) in Istanbul, with the aim of establishing a Mexican consulate and convent in Jerusalem. However, after the withdrawal of the French troops who had supported him and the consequent need to make budgetary adjustments, this no longer proved possible.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mein erster Ausflug. Wanderungen in Griechenland
'My first excursion. Wanderings in Greece'

DATE 1862
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This work contains Maximilian's impressions from his journey to Greece, Anatolia – particularly Smyrna – and the Adriatic coast in 1850. It was first published in Vienna in 1862 for limited circulation, and later in Leipzig in 1868. This edition is 256 pages long. An English translation, by A.M. Lushington entitled *On the wing* was published in London in 1868, and a Spanish translation by Eduardo A. Gibboa was published in Mexico City in 1873 under the title *Grecia y el Asia Menor*. This is the edition used here. In this memoir, the young Austrian prince, only 18 years old, reveals some of his impressions of Muslims, which in general are that they are extreme in their religion. He deduces this from their attitudes, behaviour and actions, including their reliance for knowledge on the Qur'an alone, their contentious insistence on the propagation and defence of their religion, their intolerance towards other religions, and their social and cultural practices derived from their religion. Even in the 'fanatical eyes' of a Muslim praying in the mosque in Smyrna, Maximilian identifies a characteristic gesture (p. 190). He also points out that Muslim worship, unlike Christian, seems cold and uninteresting due to the absence of an altar (he is referring to the Eucharist).

Although by the 19th century fears of Islamic expansion no longer had a place in Europe, in the palace of Âli Paşa in Smyrna the young prince takes up this old theme. Thus, he argues that the palace is made of wood in order to be temporary, 'since [the Muslims'] particular vocation is to spread the Qur'an throughout the Universe with blood and fire, so that truce and not peace with the Christians is what they have decided for now' (p. 226). He also refers elsewhere to this same savage and despotic image of Islam, such as when he recalls the massacre at Corinth during the Greek War of Independence, and he defends armed reprisals by Christians: 'In Corinth, [...] the scenes of cruelty were the most horrible: the Muslims slaughtered the defenceless, and in return the victorious Greeks killed them' (p. 71).

The most impactful moment of the journey was Maximilian's visit to the slave market in Smyrna, where he could not fail to notice the unsanitary conditions in which slaves were kept (although elsewhere he praises personal hygiene in the Islamic world). Most of them were black, although he also saw what appeared to be a Circassian or Georgian female slave. Despite acknowledging that Muslims' treatment of their slaves is similar to the treatment of servants in Europe, he concludes that 'the appalling misery is in the primitive state of these men, and only civilisation can give you help' (p. 200). In other words, he invokes both colonial power and the philanthropy of Christian missions as a remedy.

SIGNIFICANCE

Mein erster Ausflug was Maximilian's first work. He left it out of the later compilation of his works because he thought it too immature, though in the tragic circumstances of his death it gained publication. While it contains nothing original about attitudes towards Islam, it is useful for understanding the Orientalist conception of Muslims that was current at the Austrian court.

PUBLICATIONS

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Aus meinem Leben, Reiseskizzen. Aphorismen, Gedichte
'From my life. Travel sketches, aphorisms, poems'

DATE 1867
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

These memoirs of Maximilian consist mainly of accounts of journeys in the Mediterranean and Atlantic in his youth, between 1851 and 1860. He visited countries and territories such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Madeira, Algeria, Albania, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands and Brazil. The first edition in German was published in Vienna in 1862, limited to 50 copies for his friends and family. In 1863, he commissioned Baron Münch-Bellinghausen to produce a new edition for the public. This was published in 12 volumes in 1867, after his death (the number of volumes is explained by the use of the Gothic font). A French translation by Jules Gaillard was published in Paris in 1868 in two volumes, under the title *Souvenirs de ma vie: mémoires de Maximilien*, and an English translation in three volumes by Richard Bentley was published in London also in 1868 under the title *Recollections of my life*. Spanish translations of both the French and English translations were published in Mexico City in 1869, two years after Maximilian's execution, under the titles *Memorias de mi vida*, translated by José Linares and Luis Méndez from the French translation by Gaillard, and *Recuerdos de mi vida. Memorias de Maximiliano*, translated by Lorenzo Elizaga, from the English translation by Bentley. The translation by Linares and Méndez is used here.

The 19-year-old Maximilian expressed his admiration for Moorish houses in Seville, though he was most impressed by the Alhambra in Granada (so much so that in his palace of Miramar and later in Mexico he tried to reproduce its style). Even so, despite its beauty Islamic architecture represented for him 'Muslim sensuality [...] the splendour and brilliance of oriental despotism' (*Recuerdos de mi vida*, 1869, vol. 1, pp. 122, 127). Unaware that most of the Alcázar complex in Seville was built or renovated by Christian rulers and *mujédar* artisans after the Christian reconquest, he says of it:

> Its sensuality, which plays such a great role in Muslim life, has left its mark on this wonderful building. [...] It seems that the spirit of the ancient caliphs inhabits those places, and the centuries have not been able to erase

> the enchanting creations of his dreamy and fantastic imagination. The Alcázar is a magnificent royal tent, whose elegant columns enclose superb brocades from Damascus, tapestries from India and veils of marvellously woven lace. (vol. 1, pp. 122, 124)

Against this, revealing memories of the two Ottoman sieges of Vienna and the influence of Austrian Orientalism, he observes:

> Islam allows its believers only temporary habitations [...]: the ideal of the Mohammedan is that of conquest without rest until the sword of the Prophet has completed the conquest of the world. (vol. 1, p. 129)

In 1852 Maximilian visited Algeria. There he found the perfect embodiment of his vision of the savage and barbarous Islamic world that was in the process of being civilised by Christian European colonialists. Algiers, the 'little Paris' on the coast, contrasted starkly with the ancient Moorish highlands, while the 'beautiful ladies of the Champs Elysées' stood out from 'the black woman [...] wrapped up like a corpse' and 'the rich Jewess adorned with gold' (vol. 2, pp. 6-7), who represented 'a symbolic picture of this dirty lazy [Muslim] East, [...] whose expression is that of prostration and tenacious fatalism' (vol. 2, p. 11). In Algeria he also travelled into the desert, rode with Bedouins and witnessed the enactment of a battle, an ostrich hunt, a camel race and women dancing. For him, the colonisation of Algeria was a sacrifice on the part of the French to civilise Africa, which was 'a richly-endowed continent [...] uncultivated, which wants hands' (vol. 2, p. 24) to produce, that only colonial civilisation could provide. On the other hand, his Romantic outlook becomes evident as he shows a kind of empathy with the locals, who were once wild but free and with honour, but are now subdued and with their dignity reduced.

In 1853, Maximilian visited Albania on a mission to support Albanian Catholics. In his memoir he portrays the Catholics as a kind of noble savage who were unable to 'restrain the perfidious and cunning race of the Mohammedans' (vol. 2, p. 46). He records complaints such as the excessive tributary demands from the Ottoman state and the prohibition against building churches (dating back to the *Pact of 'Umar* in the early Muslim centuries), so that the people were forced to celebrate mass in hovels. In a display of rhetoric, he equates the difficulties of the Albanian Catholics with the persecution suffered by the first Christians, thus identifying the Ottoman Muslims as Pharisees or pagan Romans.

Although Maximilian hardly refers to Islamic doctrine and practice in these memoirs, he hints at an unevolved Islam, barbarian, fanatical and

repressive towards Eastern Christians. It follows that the colonial project was a civilising liberator of Muslim despotism, not only for Christians but also for Muslims themselves, especially women and slaves.

The core of the ideas about Muslims that can be seen in the work lies in the Orientalist stereotypes conceived in the context of Austrian imperial culture. Byron, Scott, Washington Irving, the *Thousand and one nights* and Horace Vernet's (1789-1863) orientalist paintings are referred to throughout the work, although Maximilian's influences were not limited to them.

SIGNIFICANCE

Throughout his travels through Andalusia, Algeria and Albania, Maximilian's impressions about Islam and Muslims reveal the contradictions between his Romanticism and his dedication to colonial cultural mission. As a Romantic, he was impressed by the Islamic aesthetics of the Alhambra and the Alcázar, as well as by the Algerian desert Bedouins' *fantasia* performance, their pride and freedom. However, he also believed in the ideals of civilisation, human progress and well-being as these were understood by Western minds. By 'orientalising' Muslims, in other words by stereotyping them as backward, savage or despotic, Orientalist thinking legitimated the colonial project, turning it into an agent of what it regarded as civilisation, wealth and well-being.

This work also makes it possible to understand the underlying political ideals that motivated Maximilian's acceptance of the Mexican crown as well as his social policy towards the Mexican working classes and indigenous peoples, even though they were not Muslims.

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V. Quirarte, 'El primer Maximiliano. Retrato del viajero como joven noble'

Felipe Amalio Cobos Alfaro

Immanuel Hermann Fichte

Immanuel Hermann von Fichte

DATE OF BIRTH 18 July 1796
PLACE OF BIRTH Jena
DATE OF DEATH 8 August 1879
PLACE OF DEATH Stuttgart

BIOGRAPHY

Immanuel Hermann Fichte, created von Fichte by King Wilhelm I of Württemberg (r. 1816-64) in 1863 for his merits as professor at Tübingen, was the son of the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and is mainly known as the editor of his father's works. Following studies at the University of Berlin, where he attended lectures by Georg Willhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), he taught at *Gymnasium*s in Saarbrücken (1822-6) and Düsseldorf (1826-36), before becoming professor of philosophy, psychology and education at the University of Bonn (1836) and then the University of Tübingen (1842). In 1824, he married the widow Wilhelmine Silly (1784-1862), daughter of the entrepreneur Anton W. Faber. He retired to Stuttgart in 1875 and died there in 1879.

As a philosopher, Fichte can be classified as a speculative theist. His chief concern was a deeper understanding of faith and the authentic experience of 'unadulterated truth', which meant that 'to understand and fully recognise something can only mean to experience it' (*Über Gegensatz, Wendepunkt und Ziel*, 1832, p. ix). Together with Moriz Carrière (1817-95) and Christian Herrmann Weisse (1801-66), between 1837 and 1847 he was editor of *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie*, later renamed *Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung* (1852-1918). The purpose of this journal was to refute radical criticism of Christianity, mainly that initiated by David Friedrich Strauss (1808-74) in *Das Leben Jesu* ('Life of Jesus', two vols 1835, 1836). Alongside Weisse, Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801-87), Hermann Lotze (1817-81) and others, Fichte represented a bridge between the metaphysical tradition and new ideas based on the thought of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Thus, in his later *Anthropologie, die Lehre von der menschlichen Seele* ('Anthropology, the doctrine of the human soul', 1856) and *Psychologie, die Lehre vom bewussten Geiste des Menschen*

('Psychology, the doctrine of the conscious human mind', 2 vols, 1864, 1873) he worked out a doctrine that linked the human spirit with the spiritual realm of the universe and the all-embracing primordial Spirit or God, who revealed Himself in and through finite spirits as the fundamental will of love. Thus, Fichte asserted, knowledge of God could be attained through experience (*Der neuere Spiritualismus, sein Werth und seine Täuschungen* ['The newest spiritualism, its worth and its deceptions'], 1878, p. 76). His reflections on the relationship between Christianity and Islam are set within the context of this concept of religious experience. In particular, his conception of the divinely gifted genius as leader to a higher world determined his interpretation of Muḥammad and the Qur'an: 'The great historical geniuses of the world, from whom every movement and every progress in history has demonstrably originated, could only have an effect by awakening what was related and homogeneous to them in the minds surrounding them and in this way infecting them themselves through a kind of spiritual infection [...] which those subordinate spirits would not have found the strength to generate independently from themselves.' This ability was 'a gift from the Deity' (*Psychologie*, vol. 1, § 33 and 34, pp. 115-17).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

'M. Carrière, Strauss, Weisse über das "Charakterbild" Jesu. Mohammed und die Weltstellung des Islam'
'Carrière, Strauss, Weisse on the "character picture" of Jesus. Muḥammad and the position of Islam in the world'

DATE 1869
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Islam does not feature very much in Fichte's thought, apart from a few references in relation to Christianity. His attitude towards it is most clearly expressed in his essay 'M. Carrière, Strauss, Weisse über das "Charakterbild" Jesu. Mohammed und die Weltstellung des Islam nach den Ergebnissen neuerer Forschung. Mit Bezug auf M. Carrière, *Die Kunst im Zusammenhange der Culturentwicklung und die Ideale der Menschheit*' ('Carrière, Strauss, Weisse on the "character picture" of Jesus. Muḥammad and the position of Islam in the world according to the results of recent research. With reference to Carrière, *Art in the context of cultural development and the ideals of humanity*'). This is a wide-ranging discussion of portrayals of the characters of Jesus and Muḥammad in recent European scholarship with reference to vol. 3, section 1 of Moriz Carrière's five-volume *Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Kulturentwicklung und die Ideale der Menschheit* ('Art in the context of cultural development and the ideals of humanity', 1863), a study of the development of artistic expression in Christian antiquity and early Islam. The essay was first published in 1868 in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, a journal aimed at a general readership and dealing with a range of subjects, including the spiritual life, and it was quickly republished in 1869 in Fichte's *Vermischte Schriften*, where it is 33 pages long (references below are to this latter publication).

The article is divided into two parts. In the first (pp. 188-202), Fichte briefly explains how Carrière traces the artistic expression of Christianity as a development from the physical forms of ancient Greece and Rome and the moral ideals of Judaism, ancient philosophy and Indian religions into poetical forms. The point he centres on in this part – and he acknowledges this as a digression – is that Jesus's imaginative and poetic utterances show

he was more than the human individual that David Friedrich Strauss portrays in *Das Leben Jesu*, where Strauss argues that 'Christianity is the construction of a human, the product of a subjective, and incidentally highly respectable, mood of mind' (p. 195). The history of early Christianity is the story of the triumph of Jesus's spiritually inspired teachings and 'the gradual victory of Christianity over the Old World in the fundamentally changed view of earthly life and the transformation that also arose from this for art' (pp. 201-2).

In the second part of the article (pp. 202-21), Fichte turns to Islam and the prophethood of Muḥammad. He briefly recounts how Muḥammad emerged from the religious 'chaos' of Arabia, 'uniting the national spirit and at the same time purifying religious life' (p. 203), and he argues that, irrespective of the religious influences upon him, Muḥammad was 'convinced – indeed his own teaching found its culmination point in this – that one could not "think up" a religion' (pp. 204-5). Fichte assesses and rejects Aloys Sprenger's view that Muḥammad was a hysteric and he agrees with Gustav Weil that he was 'really a prophet and in truth a sincere and deeply religious person, not because, but in spite of, being afflicted by "nervous crises"' (p. 211). The core of his teaching was surrender to God in this life and concern for future salvation (p. 212), and in this he regarded himself as part of a line of *Gotterleutete* ('God-inspired individuals', p. 213).

Despite this, the great emphasis on the power of God in Islam militates against human enterprise: 'Everything [in the East] is left to the providence of God, to incomprehensible fate. The necessary result is immobility, letting things happen, mental and moral stagnation' (p. 217). Christianity is entirely different in nature from this because it has the potential for continuing renewal. In fact, it is 'the general religion of humanity' (*die generelle Menschheitsreligion*, p. 218) of which the Qur'an only provides a variant form. It is Christianity, not Islam, from which new religious growth will come.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this brief account, Fichte follows other 19th-century German scholars in emphasising the positive elements in Muḥammad's prophetic ministry and acknowledging the political success of Islam. He regards traits in Muḥammad that were routinely condemned as moral failures as no more than human weaknesses and the expansion of Islam through military conquest as necessitated by the needs of the time. He appears to accept Muḥammad as an authentic prophetic figure, though he constantly

implies that Christ is superior. Ultimately, he sees the overwhelming emphasis on God's will in Islam as a stifling influence on human activity and explains the current low state of the Islamic world as an inevitable consequence of this.

The article shows how a conscientious scholar attempted to perceive the presence and influence of the divine in human affairs, in both Christianity and the wider world. Its significance lies in its attestation to the importance of Islam among scholars who sought to defend beliefs in the world as God's creation and the presence of God within it.

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Immanuel Fichte, 'M. Carriere, Strauss, Weisse über das "Charakterbild" Jesu. Mohammed und die Weltstellung des Islam nach den Ergebnissen neuerer Forschung. Mit Bezug auf M. Carriere, Die Kunst im Zusammenhange der Culturentwicklung und die Ideale der Menschheit, Dritter Band, Das Mittelalter. Erste Abtheilung: Das christliche Alterthum und Der Islam, Leipzig, 1868', *Deutschen Vierteljahrsschrift* 123 (1868) 1-29

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Stefan Koslowski

Jacob Burckhardt

DATE OF BIRTH 25 May 1818
PLACE OF BIRTH Basel, Switzerland
DATE OF DEATH 8 August 1897
PLACE OF DEATH Basel, Switzerland

BIOGRAPHY

Jacob Burckhardt is widely regarded as one of the most important historians of the 19th century. His studies of the Italian Renaissance and ancient Greek civilisation are still landmarks in the field of cultural history. The son of Basel's chief Reformed pastor (*Antistes*), he studied Protestant theology for two years but, after an acute crisis of faith in 1838, he devoted himself to the study of history and art. Both became for him sources of almost metaphysical consolation and certitude that thought or spirit (*Geist*) and culture (*Bildung*) would persist, despite the erosion of the old European order in the wake of the French Revolution. His teachers at the University of Berlin in 1839-43 included Leopold von Ranke, Johann Gustav Droysen and Franz Kugler. Though he was briefly swept up in the liberal expectations of the 1840s (*Vormärz*) during a semester at the University of Bonn, Burckhardt's experience of the Swiss Civil War or *Sonderbundskrieg* (1847) cemented his doubts about political emancipation and participation and gave his concern with individual freedom a considerably more conservative character.

After a short stint at the University of Zurich (1855-8), Burckhardt took up professorships in history and art history at the University of Basel, which he held until his retirement in 1886 and 1893 respectively. A dedicated and inspiring teacher, he made the education of the Basel youth, at both the university and the local high school (*Paedagogium*), his main mission. The amount of research, especially of primary sources, that went into his seminars and lectures is staggering, and his notes for these formed the basis for major posthumous publications, notably *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* ('The history of Greek civilisation', 1898-1902) and *Historische Fragmente* ('Historical fragments', 1929). The three books that made him famous in his lifetime all appeared in a relatively short period early in his career: *Die Zeit Constantin's des Großen* ('The age of Constantine the Great', 1853), *Der Cicerone*, a guide to the art treasures of Italy (1855), and *Die*

Kultur der Renaissance in Italien ('The culture of the Renaissance in Italy', 1860). Convinced that narrative, political history only dealt with superficial, evanescent events, Burckhardt chose to focus instead on cultural history and to provide cross-sections (*Querschnitte*) of past civilisations that revealed the more significant (and enduring) spiritual essence of an age or a people. Possibly his greatest achievement, the lectures 'On the study of history', first delivered in 1868/69 and posthumously published as *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* ('Reflections on history', 1905), offer unusually incisive and memorable comments on the role of political as well as religious crises, individual agency and modes of thought in the historical process. They represent a powerful challenge to the teleological accounts of history as rational progress presented by Hegel and Marx and to the veneration of the state in the histories of Ranke and the Prussian School. More recently, he has been hailed as an early practitioner of global history (see Osterhammel, *Jacob Burckhardts 'Über das Studium der Geschichte'*).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jacob Burckhardt on Christian-Muslim relations

DATE 1860-85
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Jacob Burckhardt is traditionally perceived as an outspoken critic, indeed a detractor of Islam and the Muslim Arab world. According to the Swiss historian Aram Mattioli, the plethora of Islamophobic judgements in Burckhardt's writings reveal a narrow and deeply prejudiced Eurocentrism. For the Oxford Orientalist Albert Hourani, Burckhardt stands in a long tradition of Western intellectuals who regarded Islamic civilisation not only as less advanced than modern Europe, but also as a regression from what had gone before. These assessments should be challenged, or at least relativised. They overlook important – in part unpublished – statements and simplify a complicated, multifaceted picture. To be sure, Burckhardt was no admirer of Islam, like Goethe or Hegel – or his erstwhile Basel colleague Friedrich Nietzsche. Most of his judgements are critical, many fundamentally negative. In his lectures on 'The history of the Middle Ages' (published as 'Mittelalter', 1882), he openly states that 'with its austere religion, its poor art, its forcibly restricted poetry, and [...] always tyrannical statecraft', Islam is 'predominantly loathsome [*antipathisch*]' to the European eye (*Historische Fragmente*, ed. M. Bischoff, 1988, the edition used here, pp. 41, 67-9). It is a 'puny' and 'bleak' religion, he writes, that hardly justifies the 'diabolical arrogance' of its followers (*Über das Studium der Geschichte*, ed. P. Ganz, 1982, the edition used here, p. 305).

At first sight, Burckhardt appears to consider Islam a kind of antithesis of everything that constitutes Europe's greatness, that is, individual freedom, spontaneous creativity and cultural diversity. If Europe, for Burckhardt, is an abiding 'hearth of many forms of life' in which 'everything spiritual comes to expression', Islam represents 'one-sidedness' and 'simplicity' (he calls Muḥammad a 'radical simplifier'). Its doctrines are 'firm and rigid', and it forces the peoples it subjugates into a 'deep, extended spiritual bondage'. The ascendancy of Islam represents 'one of the greatest

victories of bigotry and triviality' (*Historische Fragmente*, pp. 64-5, 68), while the 'arbitrary despotism' of the caliphate, Burckhardt remarks in the lectures 'On the study of history', is the 'inevitable' product of Islam itself. 'Holy war and eventual world conquest' are the very *raison d'être* of Islam, which does not tolerate any alternative political or religious forms (*Über das Studium der Geschichte*, p. 128). In the famous first chapter of *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Burckhardt had already called the merciless oppression and exploitation of the Sicilian population by the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II (r. 1220-50) 'truly Mohammedan' and attributed these actions to Frederick's 'intimate knowledge of the Saracen states and their administration' (*Die Kultur der Renaissance*, ed. K. Hoffman, 1988, the edition used here, pp. 4-5).

The principal reason for Burckhardt's rejection of Islam, however, is its deleterious effect on culture (*Kulturwidrigkeit*). In Islamic literature, he notes, form takes precedence over content; the dramatic genre is underdeveloped; there is 'no comedy' to speak of, but a marked tendency to turn every narrative into a parable. The only visual art that has blossomed to any degree under Islam is architecture; because of the prohibition against representations, sculpture and painting 'barely exist at all'. The Muslim's knowledge of history is 'pathetic', because he is indifferent to 'everything beyond the Islamic world' and everything to do with Islam becomes a 'matter of sectarian bias'. Burckhardt sometimes explains these intellectual and cultural limitations with reference to the rigid monotheism of Islam, for all the arts and sciences, he writes, are 'pantheistic' by nature. At other times, he attributes them to its theocratic amalgamation of religion and state. In European history, these two forces (*Potenzen*), religious and political power, remained largely separate and frequently balanced each other out, which allowed a third force, culture, to flourish. What enabled the Italian Renaissance, for instance, was the stalemate between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. Not so in the Islamic world, where the fusion of religion and state fatefully crushed all cultural production (*Über das Studium der Geschichte*, pp. 304-6).

The statements quoted above, however, need to be taken alongside other remarks in Burckhardt's oeuvre, which suggest a considerably more nuanced assessment of Islam, one that cannot easily be reduced to assertions of Muslim inferiority and European superiority. These remarks display serious interest on his part, grudging recognition and even genuine admiration. They are born out of a surprisingly deep knowledge, for a European historian, of Oriental studies. Burckhardt was familiar with

the writings of Gustav Weil (1808-98), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1865), Adolf Friedrich von Schack (1815-94) and Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930). He knew William de Slane's (1801-78) translation of Ibn Khaldūn's (1332-1406) *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale* ('History of the Berbers', 4 vols, 1852-6) from which he quoted lengthy excerpts, as well as the works of al-Ṭabarī (839-923), al-Shahrastānī (1086-1153), Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233) and Mirkhond (1433-98). He read the *Liber peregrinationis* (1288) of the Dominican priest Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (1243-1320), one of the leading experts on Islam in the Middle Ages, who had travelled as a papal missionary through Palestine, Syria, Armenia and Iraq. He even had a reading knowledge of Arabic. As a young student of history in Berlin, he had begun – at Johann Gustav Droysen's (1808-84) suggestion – to learn the language at a time when he still considered specialising in the history of the Middle East. Ultimately, his language skills were not sufficient to enable him to study the sources in the original. Nevertheless, as he would tell his nephew Felix Staehelin (1873-1952) half a century later and not without pride, he had read a whole sura of the Qur'an and an entire tale of the *Arabian Nights* in Arabic.

More positive, or at any rate more nuanced, comments on Islam can be found not only in Burckhardt's lectures on 'The history of the Middle Ages', but also in the 'History of the revolutionary age', 'On the study of history', the 'Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy' and in the public lecture of 1869/70 entitled 'The travels of the Arabs'. In the lengthy, unpublished 'Parenthesis on Islam' of 1885 (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv 207, 131), Burckhardt describes the Arabs as a 'witty and resilient people with an immense sense of selfhood, both as individuals and tribes'. Quoting Riccoldo, he calls them *maximi elemosinarii* ('the most generous almoners') and praises their hospitality, charitable institutions, dignity and general humanity. He speaks highly of the Persian poet Sa'dī and his 'recommendation of justice, mildness, mercy towards widows and orphans' (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv 207, 131, Parenthese nach 67, Islam n, verso). He shows particular fondness for the dervishes, whose ability to 'rise above the fetters of existence' and to embrace more than a 'merely external conception of religion' allows them to reach the highest levels of mystical existence, making them comparable to 'angels and miracle workers' (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv 207, 131, Parenthese nach 67, Islam n). Their faith is neither trivial nor fanatical, but deep and original and compatible with 'a devotion to philosophy' (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv, Beiblatt zu Islam bbb, verso).

Scattered remarks in the lecture manuscripts (kept in the Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv, Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt) and published books indicate that Burckhardt was by no means blind to the cultural achievements of the Islamic East. 'Here and there', he remarks, Islam allows for 'cultural excellence', albeit 'within its own bounds' (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv 207, 131, Beiblatt zu Islam dd, verso). Arab architecture, for example, displays 'spirit and splendour' (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv 207, 131, Islam t, verso). In *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Burckhardt repeatedly hints at a kind of synergy and mutual fructification between the cultures of early modern Italy and what he calls 'Mohammedanism'. The Italians of the Renaissance knew and admired, he writes, 'the significant cultural achievements of the Muslim peoples' (*Kultur der Renaissance*, p. 361). Burckhardt even suggests that 'Mohammedan models' were the inspiration not only for the emergence of the violent states of the 14th century, but also for the development of the modern individual. He prefaces his remarks on the formation of the 'self-reliant personality' with the observation that this process had also taken place within the general political powerlessness of the 'Mohammedan states'. Among the despotically oppressed city dwellers of the 'Islamite world', he remarks, the manifold 'manifestations of private life probably flourished all the more strongly and diversely' (*Kultur der Renaissance*, pp. 100-1). Burckhardt attributes to the Islamic state and its rulers precisely those qualities – total ruthlessness and utter unpredictability (*Garantielosigkeit*) – that acted as the catalysts for individualism at the courts of Italian tyrants. Mockery and wit thrived against a backdrop of political unfreedom in early modern Italy just as they did in the caliphate. The literary genre of satire prospered as a 'refuge' for individual liberty and independence (*Über das Studium der Geschichte*, p. 101). Thus, no less than 'old Europe', the Islamic world provided at least a potential space for two of Burckhardt's most cherished values: individuality and spirituality.

For Burckhardt, Islam's most admirable feature, however, is its durability. The 'extraordinary thing' about Muḥammad's foundation of Islam, he writes in the lectures on 'The history of the Middle Ages', is that its success long outlasted his own lifetime and became the beginning of something 'still viable today', including a new chronology. Muḥammad's decision, after his flight (*hijra*) from Mecca in September 622, to make this event the zero hour of the new Islamic calendar, is the 'height of arrogance', Burckhardt observes (*Historische Fragmente*, p. 65), but also a brilliant strategic manoeuvre: 'That is the way to do it', he notes enthusiastically in his lecture manuscript, because it cements the independence of Islam

and creates a religion that 'will last until the day of resurrection' (Jacob Burckhardt-Archiv, 'Übersicht der Excerpte aus Tabari' d, recto et verso). On the political level as well, everything in Islam is done to 'ensure the unity and continuity of power' (Jacob Burckhardt, *Neuere Geschichte 1450-1598*, ed. H. Bermer et al., Munich, 2016, p. 277). For this reason, Burckhardt sharply disagrees with the Catholic theologian and church historian Ignaz von Döllinger (1799-1890; *CMR* 22, 181-9), who believed he had discovered germs of decline in the overly rigid dogmas of Islam (see Johann Joseph Ignaz Döllinger, *Muhammed's Religion nach ihrer innern Entwicklung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker*, Regensburg 1838). *Pace* Döllinger, Burckhardt soberly points out that Islam has 'held on for a desperately long time' (*Historische Fragmente*, p. 64). Its supposed rigidity and 'one-dimensionality' are not the seeds of its undoing, but the very basis of its lasting success. It is precisely the 'extreme flattening of religious doctrine' (*Briefe*, vol. 1, p. 256), the uniformity of Islam, which Burckhardt himself has condemned elsewhere, that accounts for the permanence of Muḥammad's work. Durability, continuity, permanence: these are central values for Burckhardt, who once said of his revolution- and crisis-ridden age that 'the historical ground had been pulled out from under its feet' (*Briefe*, vol. 2, p. 210). If continuity was the decisive criterion, then one had to wonder whether the reactionary, despotic Islamic states were not better equipped to meet the challenges of modernity than liberal, progressive Europe. This is the question Burckhardt puts to Döllinger: 'Does Islam persist [...] because it excludes progress?' (*Historische Fragmente*, p. 66).

Burckhardt here touches on what he considers the fundamental weakness of European civilisation, namely its self-destructive susceptibility to the 'optimistic' belief in progress, at least since the French Revolution. Islam, by contrast, 'completely ignores' the modern Western obsession with progress. It looks with disdain on the rule of law and the 'unconditional advancement of material acquisition and the traffic of goods' (*Historische Fragmente*, p. 66) – and therein, he believes, lies its potential superiority vis-à-vis the West. Unlike the stable despotic regimes of the Near East, the constitutional states of modern Europe sooner or later degenerate into what he contemptuously calls the democratic *Kopfzahlstaat* (literally: 'head-count state'), that is, a political system defined by blind, mechanical majority rule, which Burckhardt regarded as a deadly threat to 'the culture of old Europe' (*Briefe*, vol. 2, p. 210). Such observations seem far removed indeed from any facile assertions of European superiority.

SIGNIFICANCE

It would be wrong to consider Burckhardt's praise for the stability and durability of Islam as a mere inversion of more traditional, 'Orientalist' evaluations of East versus West. His vision is more comprehensive, more dialectical. For him, ultimately, the Islamic Orient is neither a model for nor a mortal enemy of Europe, but rather a productive counterpart, a kind of constant sparring partner: 'If we were to take Islam out of the historical equation', he remarks, we would lose the many enriching influences it brought to the West 'as an opponent' (*Historische Fragmente*, p. 1). Confrontations with Islam allowed, indeed forced, the European nations to think of themselves as a 'cultural whole' and a 'spiritual community' (*Über das Studium der Geschichte*, pp. 130-1). For Burckhardt, European identity and Europe's eventual global hegemony were brought into being as much by Muḥammad as by Charlemagne. 'The Mongols', he muses with reference to their invasion of Europe in the 13th century, 'would have come anyway, and it is hard to imagine what they would have done to a non-Islamic Middle East and Europe' (*Historische Fragmente*, p. 1). Islam, then, not only enriched Europe, but also protected it. Burckhardt's comments, to be sure, are still *sub specie occidentis*. But they display a surprising willingness to overcome personal bias and to incorporate Islam into his Western vision: as a counterpart, catalyst and constant of European civilisation.

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Martin A. Ruehl

Daniel Bonifaz von Haneberg

Daniel Bonifaz (Bonifatius, Bonifacius) von Haneberg;
Bonifaz von Haneberg; Daniel Haneberg

DATE OF BIRTH 16 June 1816
PLACE OF BIRTH Lenzfried (near Kempten, Allgäu, Germany)
DATE OF DEATH 31 May 1876
PLACE OF DEATH Speyer

BIOGRAPHY

Daniel Bonifaz von Haneberg was born Daniel Haneberg into a farming household in 1816. As a boy, he showed a prodigious ability to acquire foreign languages. Besides Latin and Greek, which were taught at school, he taught himself Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic and Persian, to which he added Sanskrit, English, French, Italian, modern Greek and Chinese at Munich University from 1835 to 1839, where he pursued Catholic theology, philosophy, and Oriental studies. On 13 August 1839, he received his doctorate in Catholic Theology and was ordained priest at Augsburg on 29 August. That same year, at the age of 23, he also obtained his *Habilitation* (a post-doctorate degree qualifying a person for a professorship) and was awarded a lectureship in biblical oriental languages in the Theological Faculty of Munich University. On 20 October 1840, he was appointed an *Außerordentlicher Professor* (comparable to an associate professor) of Old Testament exegesis, followed by promotion to the rank of full professor on 28 March 1844. He quickly won fame as one of the luminaries of the Theological Faculty at Munich University alongside Ignaz von Döllinger (1799-1890; *CMR* 22, 181-9), who had been his mentor as a student and now became his colleague, friend and companion in scholarship. He was close to the Catholic writer and intellectual Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), one of the figureheads of Romanticism in Germany, with whom he temporarily lived under the same roof.

In 1850, Haneberg joined the Benedictine Order in the newly-founded St Boniface Abbey in Munich, and was given Bonifaz (Bonifatius) as his monastic name. Only four years later, in 1854, he was elected abbot. Under his guidance, the monastery experienced a phase of rapid growth, while he managed at the same time to be a prolific writer of biblical textbooks,

biblical commentaries and learned papers. An Old Testament scholar by profession, he also had a keen interest in the history of religions, and to this end he studied Islam in detail, concentrating particularly on Arabic manuscripts owned by the Bavarian State Library, his monastery and himself. In 1850, he published his *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhamedaner im Mittelalter* ('Treatise on the system of schools and teaching among the Muḥammadans in the Middle Ages'). In his *Erörterungen über Pseudo-Wakidi's Geschichte der Eroberung Syriens* ('Disquisition on Pseudo-Wāqidī's history of the conquest of Syria') of 1860, he examined matters of historicity and particularly problems concerning the identification of toponyms in this medieval pseudepigraphical work of Muslim historiography. In his *Das muslimische Kriegsrecht* ('The Muslim law of warfare') of 1871, he attempted to provide a comprehensive account of Muslim laws and customs covering Holy War (*jihād*). Another focus of his interest was Hinduism and its sacred literature, the Vedas, which he regarded as a witness to primordial forms of religion in general.

In 1866, King Ludwig II of Bavaria (r. 1864-86) honoured Haneberg's achievements as a scholar and church leader by ennobling him, adding the prefix 'von' to his surname. Several dioceses attempted to appoint him as a bishop, but were opposed by the Curia in Rome, which resented Haneberg for his closeness to Döllinger and for his reluctance to endorse the dogma of papal infallibility, passed at the First Vatican Council (1869-70). In 1872, however, the Bavarian government succeeded in securing the pope's approval for Haneberg to be elevated to the episcopate of Speyer, an office he held until his death in 1876.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhamedaner im Mittelalter
'Treatise on the system of schools and teaching among the Muḥammadans in the Middle Ages'

DATE 1850
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This booklet, comprising 37 pages of text, is based on a lecture delivered at a session of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (its full title is *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhamedaner im Mittelalter, in der öffentlichen Sitzung der k*[*öni*]*gl*[*ichen*] *b*[*ayrischen*] *Akademie der Wissenschaften zur Vorfeier des Geburtsfestes S*[*eine*]*r Majestät des Königs am 27. November 1850 bruchstückweise gelesen*, 'Treatise on the system of schools and teaching among the Muḥammadans in the Middle Ages, delivered in parts on 27 November 1850 at the public session of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences dedicated to the preliminary celebration of His Majesty the King's birthday', indicating that on the actual day only selected portions of the text were delivered). It endeavours to provide a comprehensive overview of the educational system followed in the Muslim world during the Middle Ages.

At the beginning, Haneberg underscores that in the first centuries of Islam, the educational system was not regarded as falling within the oversight of the state, but arose entirely out of private initiatives with no fixed syllabus. It consisted of two tiers. Elementary schools, which were

almost exclusively religious in character, imparted to pupils familiarity with the Qur'an and taught them to read it and recite it by rote, and to write, while institutions of higher education covered an increasing variety of subjects. From law, they expanded to medicine, philology, mathematics and philosophy. The religious basis of this range of academic disciplines was guaranteed by instruction and learning being centred on the mosque, which, apart from being a place of worship, served a number of other purposes, among them hosting learned debates and lectures that were open to the public. As a particularity of Islam, Haneberg highlights the frequent journeys made by scholars within the vast Islamic world, creating a lively and swift intellectual exchange across enormous geographical spaces. Students, in turn, travelled to faraway places in order to hear famous teachers, assisted by having Arabic as a common language. A main field of investigation was the Hadith, the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, whose sayings and deeds served as guidelines for religious behaviour. Philological studies focused on the language of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, whose dialect, being the idiom of the Qur'an, was considered standard Arabic. Whereas religious teaching had to be legitimised by demonstrating its conformity with tradition, teaching in other fields was uninhibited by such restriction.

Haneberg adds a detailed description of the methods, organisation and funding of medieval Muslim higher education. In his view, the Muslim educational system went into rapid decline from the 15th century onwards, when the primary concerns of the teaching class increasingly shifted towards matters of status and prestige, stifling intellectual originality and the spirit of enterprise.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this account, Haneberg repeatedly reveals a sense of admiration for the Muslim educational system during the Middle Ages, and he exhibits his readiness to celebrate the cultural achievements of a religion that Christians had, for many centuries, perceived as a lethal threat. While it does not touch directly on Christian-Muslim relations, his study may be read as an effort to point out to his contemporaries in the then highly fragmented Germany, and in the entire Western world, the enormous advantages that a huge, linguistically homogeneous geographical space may hold for the advancement of scholarship and, as a consequence, for the well-being of humankind, a shared religious mindset notwithstanding, as long as the free, unhindered flow of ideas is secured.

PUBLICATIONS

Daniel Bonifaz von Haneberg, *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhamedaner im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1850, repr. Reading, 1992, London, 2022; bsb10336316 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Das muslimische Kriegsrecht
'The Muslim law of warfare'

DATE 1871
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This 77-page study, divided into 10 chapters, provides a comprehensive overview of Muslim laws and customs governing holy war (*jihād*). Ch. 1 briefly points out foreign influences in Muslim law and its application. For the management of their spoils, the early Muslims adapted the Persian model of chancelleries, and for arranging juridical prescriptions in coherent systems they drew inspiration from Greek philosophy. Ch. 2 lists Haneberg's sources in the form of medieval Muslim treatises (primarily the *Hidāya*, the digest of Ḥanafī jurisprudence by the 12th-century scholar Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī) and modern European monographs. Ch. 3 summarises the foundations of Muslim law on warfare, namely the injunctions in the Qur'an (which Haneberg ascribes to Muḥammad as author) to conquer the entire world and convert all humankind to Islam, or else to annihilate the infidels and turn the adherents of the monotheistic religions (Jews and Christians) into tribute-paying vassals. These instructions were greatly expanded in collections of the sayings of the Prophet and his successors assembled from oral tradition, which extolled the merits of those involved in jihad. As Haneberg saw it, the rewards of Paradise especially promised to those who were martyred in combat went a long way in motivating Muslims to engage in Holy War.

Ch. 4 details the rules regulating the conduct of war and the execution of apostates from Islam, ch. 5 discusses the distribution of booty and the treatment of prisoners and ch. 6 turns to peace treaties, an option in the case of unsuccessful campaigns, though such treaties amounted to no more than allowing armistices, which were to be revoked as soon as

circumstances allowed, because Muslims as a matter of principle could never make final peace with infidels. Ch. 7 describes the legal status of subjugated Jews and Christians (*dhimmī*s), their rights and duties. Their inferior position, financial burden through taxation and exclusion from higher office formed an efficient incentive to encourage conversion to Islam. Ch. 8 provides examples of the practice and the rates of the poll tax (*jizya*) and the tax on property (*kharāj*), as well as other taxes such as the poor rate (*zakāt*) and the use to which this should be put. The tributes paid by the *dhimmī* population contributed significantly to the funding of holy war. Ch. 9 elucidates the treatment of property in captured territories. The concluding chapter presents the Arabic text of the *Wiqāya*, a medieval manual on the law on warfare compiled around 1280, according to Codex ar. 316 in the Bavarian State Library, preceded by Haneberg's German translation.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this work, Haneberg gives his readers an idea of the theoretical basis for the Muslim practice of spreading the faith through warlike means. Even though he treats a topic that was fairly delicate from a Christian perspective, his narrative is not polemical in tone.

PUBLICATIONS

Daniel Bonifaz von Haneberg, *Das muslimische Kriegsrecht*, Munich, 1871; 57522126 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

Hermann-Josef Stipp

Moritz Wilhelm Lüttke

DATE OF BIRTH 30 April 1838
PLACE OF BIRTH Eickel (today, part of Herne in Nordrhein-Westfalen), Germany
DATE OF DEATH 27 March 1909
PLACE OF DEATH Wernigerode

BIOGRAPHY

Moritz Lüttke's name does not feature in any major lexicons of German writers or missionaries; biographical details about him are scattered in various sources. Heiko Schulz (*Aneignung und Reflexion*, p. 34) admits to having no biographical information on him, while information provided by I.A.H.A. Lashin is unreliable (no sources given, mistakes in other historical details). Very basic details are provided in *Pfarrerbuch der Kirchenprovinz Sachsen*.

Born in 1838, Lüttke studied Lutheran theology at the University of Bonn and Erlangen. As a candidate for a degree, he obtained a travel and study grant from *Dorner-Bach-Stiftung* and visited Scandinavia in the summer of 1863, researching the situation of the Lutheran churches there. His report was published as *Kirchliche Zustände in den skandinavischen Ländern Dänemark, Norwegen, Schweden* (Elberfeld, 1864) with a foreword by Wilhelm Ludwig Krafft (1821-97), a theology professor in Bonn. The report included several pages on the thought of a new Danish religious philosopher, Søren Kirkegaard (1813-55).

On 1 April 1863, Lüttke became a member (*Freibruder*) of Rauhen Haus in Hamburg, an organisation founded by Johann Hinrich Wichern initially to take care of orphaned children, which later developed into an internal mission among German Protestants aiming at the re-Christianisation of society and at building a living people's church (*Volkskirche*). He was ordained priest in the Lutheran Church on 9 April 1865 and appointed parish priest (*Pfarrer*) to the Lutheran congregations in Alexandria and Cairo in May 1865. He was the second pastor to serve in this mission (founded in 1857) of the Lutheran Church of Prussia. The French-speaking Protestants in Egypt, who had no minister, joined his congregation and services were conducted in French and German.

Lüttke returned to Germany in the autumn of 1872. He was initially appointed to the pastoral team of the Lutheran parish in Schkeuditz, a

town between Leipzig and Halle ('Pastor in Cursdorf' and 'Diaconus in Schkeuditz'), then in 1883, as 'Oberpfarrer und Superintendent' in Schkeuditz. He served there until his retirement on 1 October 1903. He married Elisabeth Krause on 8 October 1877, and the couple had two children.

Lüttke's report on the Lutheran churches in Scandinavia and his books and articles on Egypt and Islam appear to be his only publications He died in Wernigerode, south of Braunschweig, in 1909.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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M.W. Lüttke, *Aegyptens neue Zeit*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 418-19

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aegyptens neue Zeit
'Egypt's new era'

DATE 1873
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

A two-volume monograph, *Aegyptens neue Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte des Gegenwärtigen Jahrhunderts, sowie zur Charakteristik des Orients und des Islam* ('Egypt's new era. A contribution to the cultural history of the present century, as well as to the characteristics of the East and

Islam'), is dedicated to Friedrich Wilhelm, Crown Prince of the German Empire and Prussia, commemorating his visit to Egypt in 1869. The introduction consists of two parts (one dated 'Alexandria, May 1872', the second 'Schkeuditz bei Halle a/S., March 1873'). The manuscript was apparently ready for publication in 1872 but Lüttke does not give any specific reason for the delay. In the second part of the introduction, he acknowledges the appearance of another book on Egypt (H. Stephan, *Das heutige Aegypten: ein Abriss seiner physischen, politischen, wirthschaftlichen und Cultur-Zustände*, Leipzig, 1872) and expresses his conviction that the two works will complement each other. In fact, Stephan's book focuses more on political and socio-economic issues than on religion.

This book, divided into two volumes, entitled 'People, life of the people and the dynasty' and 'Political system and national administration. The Europeans in Egypt. Islam and Christianity', coming to 524 pages in total, was Lüttke's first literary engagement with the issues of contacts between Christians and Muslims. Although only the third part of the second volume deals directly with the situation of Muslims and Christians in Egypt, it covers a substantial 223 pages (pp. 287-510, including the appendix). This part of the book is divided into four further sub-sections. The first contains a description of Islam in Egypt (pp. 289-333), the second is on the Copts, the indigenous Christians (pp. 334-78), and the third contains descriptions of Christian groups from outside Egypt with a focus on the German Lutheran Church and its attitude towards the others (pp. 379-440). Here Lüttke describes the Greek Orthodox Church and its splinter group united with Rome (the Uniates), the Armenians, Maronites and 'Surianer' (Catholic migrants from Syria, p. 397) and their contacts with the Roman Catholics, the Roman Catholic Church, and finally the Protestant Churches comprising Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians and the German Lutheran Church. The fourth section is devoted to Christian missionary endeavours and the future of Egypt (pp. 441-78). Lüttke states that only the Roman Catholics and the Protestants are involved in missionary activities, which are addressed not only to Muslims but also to the Copts. Some space is devoted to the mission to the Jews conducted by two missions based in London and Edinburgh, which he does not name. Finally, he engages with the impact of this missionary work on the Coptic Church and on Islam, and muses on its fruits in Egypt and the extent to which Egypt is ready for it. The Appendix (pp. 479-510) contains a comparison of the two oldest Christian and Muslim architectural monuments in Old Cairo, the Coptic Church of St Mary and the Amr Mosque.

Lüttke describes the current situation of Islam in Egypt as he observes it (pp. 289-333). The tone of his writing is not polemical, but his perception of Islam and Muslims is rather negative. Acknowledging briefly Islam's cultural and scientific achievements and its rapid spread across the Middle East and North Africa, he perceives the Islam of his time as completely stagnant. While the fulfillment of religious duties is supposed to be inspiring, seen at closer range these duties are empty rituals with no personal contact with God, making Islam open to fanaticism and superstition (amulets, fear of evil spirits, belief in fatalism etc.). The current situation in Egypt curbs fanaticism but does not eradicate it. All that initially gave Islam its driving force has become a stifling restraint. In Lüttke's view, Islam has no future. It is still spreading in Africa and Asia but no 'internal renewal' is possible. Islam cannot bring any hope (deliverance) to non-Muslims. The real questions to be asked are how, when and by whom or what will Islam be overcome and eliminated, and how can Muslims be freed from the suffocating grip of the faith (p. 331).

Lüttke is certain that only Christianity can bring deliverance, though only that form of Christianity that 'preached the pure Gospel' because Eastern Christianity has lost its power and has closed itself to external influences. Lüttke's description of the Coptic Church (pp. 334-78) focuses on presenting a religious community that has resisted the pressure of Islam but has closed itself off and become completely sealed off from wider influences, mirroring in a way the fanatical and superstitious attitude of the Muslim majority. By doing this, it has made itself completely irrelevant and unappealing to Muslims. He underlines that the Orthodox Churches have never perceived the importance of the missionary task, which is a further sign of their spiritual apathy. He admits that Western Christians in Egypt conduct their missionary work mainly among the Copts, as all the initial attempts to reach out to Muslims have failed. Several factors have contributed to this failure: the stubbornness of Muslims, their fanatical adherence to traditional religious beliefs and ritual forms (they resemble the Jews in this regard), a sense of superiority over Christians that has been maintained from the beginning of Islam, and the fact that, from Muḥammad's time onwards Muslims have never encountered 'a real, pure Christianity' but only its mutated forms (pp. 441-3).

Asking about the results of Christian missionary endeavours, Lüttke considers the appropriateness of the means and the amount of energy that has been put into this task. He admits the meagreness of current results but expresses hope for the future as decades-long work among the Copts

has finally started yielding fruit. He hopes that the European impact on the Islamic world, with Egypt being a special case of its intensity, will provide a breakthrough into the closed spiritual and cultural world of Islam. In Lüttke's view, the Islamic world in its current state bears a surprising resemblance to the Greek and Roman world in Antiquity and will share the same fate in its encounter with Christianity. Lüttke hopes that this will take not centuries but only decades.

SIGNIFICANCE

There is no indication that Lüttke studied Islam in any formal way. His perspective shown in *Aegyptens neue Zeit* is clearly that of a Christian minister-missionary. In his book, he repeats the patterns he had earlier devised as a student when he wrote on the situation of the Lutheran Churches in Scandinavia. Although he wrote it while he was still working in Egypt, where he was as a representative of the Christian missionary establishment, its tone resembles a report written by a visitor, a careful observer of everyday life. He is critical of Islam and hopes that its grip on the local population will finally be broken, though his views avoid polemic.

It seems that the subject of Christian-Muslim relations attracted Lüttke's interest to study it further and led him to write a series of articles for *AMZ* (possibly in response to the call given by Karl Plath in the first issue of the journal – see the entry on the journal in *CMR* 22, 620-37 – or by invitation from the journal's editor Gustav Warneck).

As no studies of Lüttke's description and analysis of the situation in Egypt can be found, it is difficult to say what impact his book had among German-speaking readers. Only one edition has appeared but it has been re-published twice in recent years as a 'forgotten book'. Maibritt Gustrau (*Orientalen oder Christen? Orientalisches Christentum in Reiseberichten deutscher Theologen*, Göttingen, 2016, p. 248) mentions that Carl Ninck (1834-87), a Lutheran pastor who wrote about his journey to the Holy Land in early 1884 (published as *Auf biblischen Pfaden. Reisebilder aus Aegypten, Palästina, Syrien, Kleinasien, Griechenland und der Türkei*, Hamburg, 1885) recommended Lüttke's book to travellers to the Middle East.

PUBLICATIONS

M. Lüttke, *Aegyptens neue Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte des Gegenwärtigen Jahrhunderts, sowie zur Charakteristik des Orients und des Islam*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1873; repr. Norderstedt, 2016; London, 2019; H.afr. 600-1/2 (digitised version available through *MDZ*)

Der Islam und seine Völker
'Islam and its peoples'

DATE 1878
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
This book (its full title is *Der Islam und seine Völker. Eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, 'Islam and its peoples. A sketch of religious, cultural and contemporary history') is 187 pages long, consisting of three parts preceded by a short introduction and concluded by brief remarks on the situation of Christian peoples under Ottoman rule, with particular attention to the laws newly proclaimed by the sultan (pp. 181-7). Part I (pp. 4-30) deals briefly with the history of Islam, while part II (pp. 31-84) presents an overview of the basic teachings of Islam. Part III (pp. 85-180), entitled 'Islam in the life of its peoples', is divided into four sections. The first focuses on 'Religious life and its articulations' (pp. 89-114), the second on 'Social conditions' (pp. 115-42), the third on 'Political and national relationships' (pp. 143-64), and the fourth on 'General intellectual, spiritual and cultural life' (pp. 165-80). The book contains material from Lüttke's articles published in *AMZ* in the preceding years in revised and rearranged form, although he does not acknowledge this.

In Part II, Lüttke asserts that Christians reject Muḥammad as a prophet not so much because he made mistakes and acted in morally dubious ways, since major figures in the Bible did the same, but because he used the revelations he supposedly received in order to explain and sanction his mistakes. This is in strong contrast to a figure such as King David, who openly acknowledged the mistakes he made (p. 82).

In Part III, Lüttke expresses the opinion that contemporary Islam is stagnant and there are no signs that it can change by drawing on its own resources. Recent reforms in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt cannot help because, since they are 'borrowed' from the West, they have no roots in the Islamic tradition and organisation of the state (pp. 145-7). This part ends with the statement:

> The question at stake in the future history of Islam will not be how it can be renewed, reformed, lifted up, filled with fresh forces – all attempts of this kind will fail because of its own inner nature – but when and by what means it will be overcome and eliminated. And the question for the Muslim peoples will not be what they still have to hope from it for their religious,

> political, social and general spiritual life, but only how they are to be freed from its rigid bonds, from its dull pressure stifling all higher life. (pp. 179-80)

In the conclusion, Lüttke comments on the position of Christians under Ottoman rule, pointing out that they have been forced to become a socio-political underclass with no prospect of escape while they retain their faith. He concedes that some communities in European states are also currently forced into oppressive structures that are alien to them, but this situation is improving while there are no prospects for change in the Islamic world. Muslim authorities have allowed local Christian church structures to remain in force but these have developed in such a way that they separate Christians from Muslims rather than allowing mutual exchanges. Given the situation as a whole, the question must be asked whether the Ottomans should be allowed to continue to rule over Christian populations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Apart from three short contemporary reviews, no study of Lüttke's book has been made. An anonymous reviewer in *Literarisches Centralblatt* criticises him for his lack of scholarly objectivity and for his theological perspective (a geologist does not ask why God allowed an earthquake to happen but enquires into the geological reasons of the earthquake), his bold ungrounded assertions on the part of Christianity (e.g. concerning its socially cohesive influence), and his essentialist approach (writing about 'Islam as such'). The reviewer also expresses his disappointment that Lüttke has not delivered on the promised theme of the third chapter because, instead of analysing the particularity of Islam's influence on Muslim peoples, he has focused on the way Islam has made them similar. Meanwhile, 'how different is the Arab from the Ottoman, the Mohammedan Negro and Indian!' (Anon., 'Lüttke', col. 1372).

The same point is also addressed in a later review by 'G.H.' in *Historische Zeitschrift*, although this second review is generally less critical of the book than the first. It points out that Lüttke's conclusions about 'Islam' are based solely on his observations in the Ottoman world.

Ludwig Diestel (1825-79), a German Lutheran scholar of the Bible and the study of religions, reviews Lüttke's book favourably, contrasting it with the German translation of John Muehleisen Arnold's *Islam. Its history, character and relation to Christianity*, which he criticises for being biased and outdated. Diestel points out that Lüttke has drawn some ideas from Arnold, though he seems to be unaware that it was Lüttke who had instigated the translation of Arnold's book into German.

Similarly, Albert Socin briefly gives qualified praise to Lüttke's book in his review of recent publications entitled 'Religion und Geschichte des muḥammedanischen Orients', especially to its third chapter, and in a footnote he also acknowledges the existence of some of Lüttke's articles in *AMZ* (February 1878).

Lüttke wrote as a missionary for whom only Christianity had power to give new life, and not just any form of Christianity but that which 'preached the pure Gospel', Lutheran Christianity. However, he did not easily slip into an apologetic-proselytist approach and he strove to engage critically with the matters he was analysing.

PUBLICATIONS

M. Lüttke, *Der Islam und seine Völker. Eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, Gütersloh, 1878; 005777038 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

STUDIES

Anon., Review art. 'Lüttke, Mor., *Der Islam und seine Völker: eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, Gütersloh, 1878, Bertelsmann', *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* 42 (19 October 1878) cols 1371-2

L. Diestel, Review art. '*Der Islam und seine Völker: eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze* von Moritz Lüttke. – Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1878', *Jenaer Literaturzeitschrift* 3 (18 January 1879) 36-8

G.H., Review art. '*Der Islam und seine Völker: eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*. von Moritz Lüttke. – Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1878', *Historische Zeitschrift* 43/1 (1880) 186-9

A. Socin, 'Religion und Geschichte des muḥammedanischen Orients', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplement zum drei und dreissigsten Bande. Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht für 1878*, Leipzig, 1883, 56-61

Articles in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*

DATE 1875-8
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Lüttke began his publications in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (*AMZ*) in 1875 with a review article in two parts totalling about 30 pages, 'Zur

Geschichte Mohammeds des Propheten und des Islam' ('On the history of Muḥammad the Prophet and Islam'), on John Muehleisen (Mühleisen) Arnold's book *Islam* (London, 1874[3]; see *CMR* 17, 224-30), recommending that it should be translated into German. He points out that Arnold's perspective deserves special recognition, because he assesses Islam as a believing Christian while other authors perceive all religions as equal and as no more than human constructions (none of them considered as revealed by God). This praise, however, does not stop Lüttke from reviewing Arnold's book critically, and from making it clear that he does not endorse all Arnold's views and attitudes.

Another article, 'Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam als Glaubens- und Sittenlehre' ('Muḥammad and Islam. Islam as a religious and moral doctrine'), in three parts and totalling 47 pages, appeared in the journal the following year, 1876. Although it is marked with the Roman number 'II', the earlier article had not announced any continuation. Similarly, the last part of this article ends with the word *Schluß* ('the end'), but another article in four parts totalling 53 pages, 'Mohammed und der Islam. Die Ausgestaltung des Islam im Leben seiner Völker' ('Muhammad and Islam. The shaping of Islam in the life of its peoples') marked with the Roman numeral 'III', still appeared in *AMZ* in 1877. Despite another *Schluß* (p. 369), it was continued in 1878 in another two parts totalling 39 pages. In a footnote at the beginning of the 1878 article (p. 11), the editor of the journal expresses his unease that Lüttke's scholarly production has gone well beyond what had been planned. The content of this footnote is similar to a remark made by Wilhelm L. Krafft ('Vorwort', p. VIII) in his introduction to Lüttke's 1864 report on Scandinavia that it was longer than the usual reports but worth reading.

In his introductory remarks to the 1875 article ('Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', p. 5), Lüttke states that, despite pernicious errors and customs, Islam contains 'elements of truth' (*Wahrheitsmomente*). He expresses his respect for Islam's achievements over the centuries but admits that it poses the greatest puzzle in world history in that, appearing 600 years after Christianity, it challenged Christianity in a way no other religion has. Islam took a stance against Christianity almost from the very beginning and the conflict intensified with the passing of time, and at some points it seemed that Islam would annihilate Christianity. Lüttke is baffled as to why God's Providence allowed Islam such a rapid spread and so much spiritual and material power, and he suggests that a satisfactory answer will only be discovered when more facts are learned. The editor of the journal, Gustav Warneck, adds a footnote to this: 'In no way can the

armchair-scholar theory (*Stubengelehrtentheorie*) claim to solve the riddle, holding that Islam is a kind of bridge between Christianity and the polytheistic religions, since in reality it proves to be a wall between them' ('Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', p. 6 n. 1).

Lüttke questions several of Arnold's views on Islam. He argues that Arnold has wrongly perceived Islam as a 'religion of cold abstraction' apparently corresponding to the 'character of the Arab people' 'Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', pp. 8-9. If Arnold is right, how, he asks, can the vivid imagination of the Arabs, their inclination to superstition, or their ardent fanaticism be explained? Further, Arnold has falsely assumed that fanaticism can help to explain Muḥammad's power over his followers and the rapid spread of Islam, and he is also wrong to deny Muslims any significant input in developing science and culture in general, unjustifiably glossing over issues that are essential for understanding Islam and its role in the world: the interface of state and social life, the effect of its peculiar mingling of the political or secular with the religious and the practical-ethical form of religion in the life of Muslims, not to mention cultural conditions and intellectual life, schools and education. Lüttke underlines that these all stem directly from the principles of the Qur'an and are not 'external matters'.

Lüttke addressed these issues in the further articles he published in *AMZ* in 1876-8, attempting to remedy the lack of knowledge about Islam among so many Christians, though he may also have been responding to Karl Plath's invitation to examine Islam from a non-hostile perspective that was published in the first issue of *AMZ* in 1874 (see the entry on *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* in *CMR* 22, pp. 620-7). In the 1875 article, Lüttke next introduces a long discussion on Muḥammad and the way Arnold has portrayed and assessed him ('Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', pp. 12-19), distancing himself from Arnold's view that Muḥammad was 'a type of Antichrist' (Arnold, *Islam*, 1874³, p. 71) in whom 'the powers of darkness were at play' (seizures accompanying revelations were perceived as such by the ancient Arabs, and initially by Muḥammad himself). Stating that Arnold has gone too far in his assessment, Lüttke writes:

> If we draw a conclusion from all this, we can say that Muḥammad began his religious reform as a sincere fanatic (*Fanatiker*), regarding dream-like visions, inspirations of his nervous excitement and his own thoughts as divine inspirations; he continued his activity as an impostor (*Betrüger*), giving out his pseudo-revelations at will and using them as they seemed useful to him; but he had finally become so entrenched in them that he believed completely in himself and in the divinity of his mission, and thus

> completed his career as a prophet again, acting *bona fide*. ('Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', p. 19)

It should be remembered that this is a summary of a longer discussion and particular formulations used here have particular meanings that have been attached to them in the course of the discussion. It is ambiguous in that it does not indicate whether Lüttke was condemning Muḥammad or was trying to position him within his own Christian worldview as a phenomenon that still required further explanation. The terms *Fanatiker* and *Betrüger* resonate with discussions about Muḥammad that took place among 18th-century German theologians, of which Lüttke could have been aware.

Lüttke indicates that Islam is still spreading, especially in Central Asia and Africa, and is winning as many proselytes as Christianity and Buddhism together. This is possible because every Muslim who goes to these parts is 'filled with the same propagandistic zeal as the ulema or the mulla' ('Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', p. 75). Christians have not taken up the struggle to win over new believers with the same vigour. The Church

> always seems to have been held back by a certain timidity in the face of this opponent, which may not have been due to a feeling of weakness or spiritual inferiority, but rather to a kind of instinctive foresight of the unsuccessfulness of all efforts. This phenomenon is the same at all times, both in the centuries of the Middle Ages and in the present. ('Zur Geschichte Mohammeds', p. 75)

Beginning with John of Damascus, he names a number of Christian polemicists against Islam and remarks that most of their efforts were more 'literary' than 'practical' (Ramon Llull was an exception, though no one followed him until Henry Martyn, pp. 76-7). He recalls the current opinion that Christian mission among Muslims is unsuccessful and identifies Muslim fanaticism, arrogance towards followers of other religions [*Selbstüberhebung*] and capital punishment for apostasy as obstacles. Nevertheless, he insists that mission among Muslims is possible and expresses his regret that only the Moslem Mission Society of London has dedicated its efforts to converting Muslims, while numerous other missionary societies restrict themselves to work among Jews and pagans.

In the article that followed this in 1876, Lüttke focuses on a description of the Islamic doctrines of belief (*Glaubenslehre*) and ethics (*Sittenlehre*). In his view, three issues are crucial in 'Islamic doctrine': the unity of God, the finality of God's revelation to Muḥammad, and the Last Judgement. He adds that besides belief in the immortality of the soul, which is also

strongly held, other Islamic teachings have secondary importance, though he remarks that 'Islamic doctrine' can only be talked about in a very approximate sense. The Qur'an lacks chronological and thematic order and was composed by one single man in a short period of time (unlike the Bible). While some Muslims oppose the qur'anic teaching on the controversial issue of unconditional predestination (*unbedingte Voherbestimmung*), the sense of fatalism prevails among Muslims.

Turning to ethics (*Sittenlehre*), Lüttke states that since God's holiness (as the antithesis of sin) is relegated to the background (in the perception of the nature of God and among God's attributes) in Islam, 'it is not God who appears as the source and epitome of that which is morally good, [...] but it is man himself who, out of himself and by doing good, i.e. by fulfilling or seeking to fulfil the precepts given by the Qur'an, acquires God's approval'. Lüttke points out further, that since human nature is not perceived as sinful in Islam, and since the Qur'an speaks only of sins (individual acts) but not of sin as such, there is no morality perceived as an integral system of conduct in Islam ('Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam', p. 61). In his view, Islamic ethics deals only with externals. It allows one to lie to unbelievers, it does not really value human life and is lax in dealing with human desires (he cites the example of polygamy- and in that context, Muḥammad being exempted from restrictions imposed on others).

Prayer is regarded as one of the most important duties the Qur'an enjoins on believers, but prayer is so external and mechanical that it has no moral or religious value (rather than in a quiet place apart, a Muslim can pray in the street and can even quarrel with another person while praying). Describing the pilgrimage to Mecca, Lüttke criticises the short-sightedness of Muḥammad in setting rules and provisions that only applied to those living in Arabia. He also emphasises that the Qur'an contains teachings about both religious and legal matters so that theologians are at the same time jurists and the religious and worldly are merged, thus blocking any possibility of development.

> In general, it may be said that these laws are often filled with a very humane spirit, although some of them, e.g. the treatment of unbelievers, the laws of 'holy war' and the like, lack this humanity to an alarming degree. In the provisions relating to marriage and the position of women, however much they may represent progress in comparison with pre-Islamic Arab customs and views, an extremely subordinate conception of the dignity of women and of human dignity in general is evident. ('Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam', p. 70)

He then addresses the issue of divisions within the Muslim community (pp. 73-6). On the one hand, he expresses surprise that within a religion with so simple a creed (*Glaubensbekenntnis*) and without mysteries (*Mysterien*) believers cannot retain unity, though it was the teaching about God's attributes and about predestination that first gave rise to divisions. On the other hand, he points out that the mixing of the 'mundane' with 'religious' caused divisions and splits. He briefly describes the main division into the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, adding that the latter are further divided into sub-groups. Apart from groups which arose from political reasons, there are also others which have 'a dogmatic or theological' origin. Lüttke singles out four groups, the Shādhiliyya, the Wahhābīs, Sufis in general and a new group founded recently by the Bāb. Describing them briefly, he regards the Shādhilīs as a group whose beliefs are a mixture of pantheism and hazy mysticism, similar to Sufism. They have left all religion and only nominally remain within Islam, though they are not fanatical and their clear stance during the 1860 riots in Damascus saved many Christians from death. The Wahhābīs are Muslim puritans whom the Egyptians defeated during bloody campaigns (1811-19), though they retain their significance. He acknowledges the outstanding significance of Sufism, especially among the Shīʿa, and he classifies their beliefs and practices as 'mystical pantheism, or pantheistic mysticism', adding that most Sufis in his time 'have fallen out with all positive religion, love to mock the Prophet and the Qur'an, and cover up their nihilism with the phrases of Sufi philosophers and poets' ('Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam', p. 76). He is more hopeful about the fourth group, the Bābīs, who he perceives as intent on reforming Sufism. He is impressed by their zeal and determination to withstand persecution.

The last part of the 1876 article ('Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam', pp. 113-28) deals with contacts between Islam and Judaism and Christianity. First (pp. 113-16), Lüttke writes about overlaps or borrowings between the Qur'an and the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). Then (pp. 116-24), he turns to the New Testament, stating that '[w]hat Muḥammad cites from the life and deeds of Jesus is extremely meagre and, moreover, mostly bears the character of ecclectically collected legends (*legendarische Abenteuerlichkeit*) (p. 118), and concludes that the spirit and contents of the Bible establish the sublimity of Christianity over Islam (p. 124). Comparing Islam with Christianity is complicated but '[t]he personality of Muḥammad as a founder of religion and as a human being is of decisive importance for an assessment of Islam from a general point of view' (p. 126). Since Muslims regard Muḥammad

> as being in full and constant conformity with divine law, it is precisely for this reason that it is so fatal that his example and model is in reality so less than perfect, or rather so morally reprehensible. If, as is indeed the case, actual morality is so low in Islam, this will have to be explained mainly by the fact that it lacks a living model of truth and the highest morality. (p. 127)

When Muḥammad's deeds at various stages of his life are examined, the question must be asked whether he was really God's messenger. Lüttke writes:

> One needs by no means be insensitive to the relative beauties of the Qur'an, but while admiring its often grandiose depiction of the One, Eternal God, its deep and unconditional trust in the power of God, its often undeniable moral seriousness, its rich wisdom of proverbs and other things, one wishes everywhere to free oneself from the memory of the Prophet's person. (p. 127)

This is because so many of Muḥammad's actions were for him morally reprehensible.

In the articles published in 1877 and 1878, Lüttke addresses the so-called 'Oriental question' (*Orientalische Frage*), though not so much as a political or military matter but concerning 'whether the peoples of the East should remain in their contemporary cultural situation, and if not, how the situation could be rectified' ('Mohammed und der Islam. Die Ausgestaltung', p. 231). He is concerned with the problem of how much Islam as a faith contributes to the current situation.

SIGNIFICANCE

No studies of Lüttke's articles have appeared, so it is difficult to assess their impact. It is striking that Warneck published Lüttke's texts in their entirety as worth reading, although he himself saw mission among Muslims only as a distant possibility and expressed his embarrassment about the unintended length of Lüttke's articles (see his footnote comment in the 1878 article, p. 11). The re-worked material from the articles formed the basis of Lüttke's book *Der Islam und seine Völker*, published in 1878.

In his 2005 M.A. thesis, Ibrahim A.H.A. Lashin took Lüttke's views (together with those of G. Simon) as typical examples of the way German missionaries of the late 19th and early 20th centuries perceived Muḥammad. He failed to notice, however, that Lüttke's first two articles were in fact a mixture of presentation and critical review of Arnold's book. In consequence, he seemed to ascribe all the views presented in the articles indiscriminately to Lüttke. Though Lüttke was certainly not an admirer of Muḥammad, he initially neither assigned him to 'the realm

of evil' (rejecting Arnold's view of Muḥammad as a type of Antichrist) nor wrote him off as irrelevant. Trying to understand and explain the impact Islam had been making on the peoples of the world, Lüttke struggled to position Muḥammad within his Christian worldview. The articles bear witness to how he came to the conclusion expressed at the end of the second series of articles ('Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam', p. 127) that Muḥammad was wanting as a model of moral behaviour.

PUBLICATIONS

M. Lüttke, 'Zur Geschichte Mohammeds des Propheten und des Islam', *AMZ* 2 (1875) 5-19, 66-81 (repr. in M. Lüttke, *Der Islam und seine Völker. Eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, Gütersloh, 1878); 000680141 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

M. Lüttke, 'Mohammed und der Islam. Der Islam als Glaubens- und Sittenlehre', *AMZ* 3 (1876) 3-14, 59-77, 113-28 (repr. in M. Lüttke, Der Islam und seine Völker. *Eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, Gütersloh, 1878); 000680141 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

M. Lüttke, 'Mohámmed und der Islâm. III. Die Ausgestaltung des Islâms im Leben seiner Völker', *AMZ* 4 (1877) 231-59, 289-303, 369-78; *AMZ* 5 (1878) 11-28, 69-90 (repr. in M. Lüttke, *Der Islam und seine Völker. Eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, Gütersloh, 1878); 000680141 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

STUDIES

Lashin, 'Zum Bild des Propheten Muhammad', pp. 51-65

Stanisław Grodź

Ignác Goldziher

Ignaz Yitzhak Yehuda Goldziher

DATE OF BIRTH 22 June 1850
PLACE OF BIRTH Székesfehérvár, Hungary
DATE OF DEATH 13 November 1921
PLACE OF DEATH Budapest

BIOGRAPHY

Ignác (also spelt Ignaz) Goldziher was a renowned Hungarian Orientalist and an acclaimed scholar of Islam and Arabic language and literature. He had a fundamental influence over the development of Islamic studies as an academic discipline in Europe and elsewhere. While he remained faithful to his Jewish heritage, his writings informed and motivated immense numbers of scholars who were Christian or from a Christian background. For this reason, this entry on him has been included here.

He was born on 22 June 1850 in Székesfehérvár, south-west of Budapest, to German Jewish parents. His family had moved to Hungary from Hamburg in 1735 and his father Adolf Goldzieher (*sic*) (1811-74), a leather merchant, moved to Székesfehérvár shortly before Ignác's birth. Ignác received a traditional Jewish education whilst also attending the Cistercian *Gymnasium* in Székesfehérvár between 1860 and 1865. The family moved to Pest in 1865, where Ignác studied at the Reformed (Calvinist) *Gymnasium*, completing his studies in 1868. At the same time, he studied Turkish and Persian with Ármin Vámbéry (1832-1913; see *CMR* 22, 380-410) at the University of Pest.

The Hungarian Minister of Religion and Education, Baron József Eötvös (1813-71), selected a group of promising young Jewish scholars to study in German and Austrian universities, intending that they should become lecturers in Hungary (Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher*, p. 7). Following his mentors' recommendation, Goldziher was awarded a stipend to pursue Semitic studies in Berlin and Leipzig from 1868 to 1870 (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, pp. 33-4, 40). He first went to the University of Berlin, where he studied Arabic and Semitic philology and was introduced to the study of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) by Abraham Geiger (1810-74, see *CMR* 22, 163-8) and Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907). Later, Goldziher worked for his doctorate, which was entitled 'Studien über Tanchum Jeruschalmi', at

Leipzig under Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-88), who considered him 'his greatest student' (Heschel, 'German Jewish scholarship', p. 97). He then spent time furthering his studies in Leiden and Vienna until 1871. Whilst in Leiden, he studied Arabic manuscripts, which provided him with research material for many years (Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher*, p. 5).

Following the death of József Eötvös in 1871, Goldziher's expected appointment at the university was denied due to resistance to appointing a Jew as a professor. Instead, he was employed as a non-tenured lecturer in Semitic philology (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, p. 51). In 1873, the Ministry of Culture awarded him stipends for a study tour in the Near East to learn contemporary Arabic for diplomatic purposes (Conrad, 'Near East study tour', p. 106). He was away from September 1873 to March 1874, spending most of his time in Damascus and Cairo, where he was allowed to attend lectures at al-Azhar University, the first non-Muslim to be admitted as a regular student, and where he was able to meet young Muslim intellectuals (Stroumsa, *Idea of Semitic monotheism*, p. 175). His diary reveals how deeply he was influenced by his time at al-Azhar, showing that he 'believed in the prophecies of Muḥammad' and that his teachers expected him to declare himself a Muslim (Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher*, p. 27). At that time, he wrote that he was attracted to Islam as 'the only religion in which superstition and pagan elements were proscribed, not by rationalism but by orthodox doctrine' (Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher*, p. 59). In 1874, due to his father's failing health, he returned to Budapest (Buda and Pest having united to become one city in 1873) earlier than planned.

He expected to be given the chair in Semitic languages at Pest University, but this had been given to Péter Hatala (1832-1918) in 1866, so he had to find alternative employment. After turning down offers of professorships in Vienna and elsewhere, he took the post of chief secretary of the Neolog Jewish community of Pest, which he held until 1906 (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, p. 81). Unlike many Jewish intellectuals in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the 19th century, who either converted to Christianity or were non-practising, Goldziher retained his Jewish commitment and identity (Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher*, pp. 9-10).

In 1876, Goldziher published *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zur Mythologie und Religionswissenschaft* ('Mythology among the Hebrews and its historical development. Studies in mythology and religious studies'), a refutation of Ernest Renan's view that the ancient Semites had no mythology (Stroumsa, *Idea of Semitic monotheism*, p. 176). He became a corresponding member of the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) in

Illustration 9. Ignác Goldziher

1876, a full member in 1892 and president, section 1, in 1905. From 1869, he regularly published articles in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* ('Linguistic Bulletin') of the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

When the Budapest rabbinical seminary was founded in 1877, Goldziher applied for one of two salaried posts but was unsuccessful, eventually being appointed on the death of David Kaufmann in 1900. In 1879 he married Laura Mittler (1854-1925) with whom he had two sons.

From 1883, Goldziher attended the annual Congrès internationaux des orientalistes, and was awarded the gold medal at the eighth congress held in Stockholm in 1889. He was a member of several academic groups, including the Société asiatique in Paris, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Cairo Institut d'Égypte, the American Oriental Society, the Société finno-ougrienne (Helsinki) and the International Association for the History of Religions (Stockholm). He was awarded honorary doctorates by Aberdeen and Cambridge and had several *Festschrifts* (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 'Ignaz Goldziher') published in his honour. He was given the rank of full professor in 1894 but it was not until 1905, on the retirement of his predecessor, that he was appointed as professor of Semitic philology at the University of Budapest, which allowed him to resign his secretaryship of the Neolog Jewish community. In 1917, he was elected as dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Budapest. He turned down offers of professorships at Cambridge, Heidelburg and

Strasbourg, living in Budapest until his death in November 1921. The disruptions of the first World War and the rise of anti-Semitism in Hungary made his final years very difficult (Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher*, pp. 6-7). On the centenary of his death, the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia established a website to commemorate him, 'Ignaz Goldziher, the founder of European Islamic Studies'. This includes brief summaries of various aspects of his life, as well as an extensive bibliography of his works, many of which are digitised, also copies of correspondence with colleagues, including Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930) and Christiaan Snouk Hurgronje (1857-1936, see *CMR* 17, 540-58).

Goldziher's academic output was substantial, comprising journal articles, encyclopaedia entries and books in German, Hungarian and French, principally on Jewish and Islamic studies. He also wrote many philological studies and, through his interest in Muḥammad's prophetic experiences, he can also be regarded as a 'proto-phenomenologist of religion' (Heschel, 'German Jewish scholarship', p. 99).

His major works include *Die Zahiriten* (1884), an examination of the comparatively short-lived Ẓāhirī legal school, a 'fifth school of law' in Islam (Simon, 'Goldziher, Ignác') which evidently fascinated him even though he had very little sympathy for them (C. Adang, 'Ignaz Goldziher and the Ẓāhirīs', in I. Goldziher, *The Ẓāhirīs. Their doctrine and their history. A contribution to the history of Islamic theology*, trans. and ed. W. Behn, Leiden, 2007, p. xxiii).

In an important treatise, 'Über die Entwicklung des Hadith' ('On the development of Hadith', *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. 2, Halle, 1890, 1-274), he put forward the argument that the authenticity of Hadiths should not be judged according to the traditional Muslim criteria of testing the soundness of their *isnād*s (chains of transmission) alone. This was because the actual contents of the majority often reflected the political, legal, sectarian and other circumstances of the early Islamic dynasties. Under the Umayyads, in particular, Hadiths had been invented in order to legitimise the dynasty's rule and *isnād*s had been made up to lend them prophetic legitimacy (Heschel, 'German Jewish scholarship', p. 99; Simon, 'Goldziher, Ignác'). While this analysis has been refined since Goldziher first published it, his insights formed the foundation of later scholarly research into the corpus of Hadith.

Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam* ('Lectures on Islam', 1910) can be regarded as the first handbook to describe Islam as a religion (Simon, 'Goldziher, Ignác'). In his diary for 16 May 1906, he wrote that he had been invited to give a series of six lectures in America by the Society for Lectures

on the History of Religion (*Tagebuch*, p. 251). He composed the lectures in German and sent them to America in 1908 for translation into English, but poor health prevented him from travelling to deliver them. In addition, he was dissatisfied with the English. He revised the German text, and this was published in 1910, followed by a Hungarian translation published in 1912. In 1917, he refused permission for the publication of the English translation, causing it to be withdrawn. A French translation appeared in 1920, Hebrew and Persian translations around 1950, and finally an English translation, *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, in 1981. More recently, the book has been translated into Indonesian (1991) and Uzbek (2001). It is still used as a textbook worldwide, which, as Tamás Turán comments, for an academic book written at the beginning of the 20th century is an amazing achievement (*Ignaz Goldziher*, p. 240).

In his final book, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegungen* ('Trends in exegesis of the Qur'an', 1920), Goldziher explores the development of qur'anic exegesis.

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John Chesworth

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

'Ueber muhammedanische Polemik gegen ahl al-kitâb'
'On Muḥammadan polemics against *Ahl al-kitāb*'

DATE 1878
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Goldziher was prompted to write this article, which appeared in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, by the publication in the previous year of Moritz Steinschneider's *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden; nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts* ('Polemical and apologetic literature in Arabic, between Muslims, Christians and Jews; together with appendices of related content', Leipzig, 1877). It can be understood as an extended review. Goldziher emphasises and acknowledges that Steinschneider's work is an almost complete, meticulous compilation of Muslim-Christian

and Muslim-Jewish polemical and apologetic works in the form of an alphabetical list. He writes: 'All in all, this is the very first time that we have learnt about the entire stock of this literature, which has been very influential on the spiritual life of the religious communities concerned but up to now has not been properly studied' (p. 362). Nevertheless, he expresses regret that Steinschneider has arranged the works in alphabetical order, removing the connections between them that a literary history (*Literaturgeschichte*) arranged in chronological order would have allowed. His 'review' can thus be understood as an attempt to compensate for this shortcoming. In fact, what he has written is a treatise in itself, which refers to Steinschneider's book but in reality examines the polemical works in its own way, showing historical developments and commenting on their significance.

His article comprises 56 pages, divided into two main parts. The first part (pp. 341-59) deals with the development of knowledge of biblical texts among Muslim authors, starting with the Qur'an. In the second part (pp. 359-83), the arguments against the *Ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book) and their use of the Bible are examined in more detail. Here, the Andalusī polemicist Ibn Ḥazm (994-1064; *CMR* 3, 137-45) takes centre stage, though, from p. 372, the question of whether Muḥammad was foretold in the Bible is dealt with in considerable detail. At the end of the article, there are some appendices (pp. 384-7).

Goldziher first refers to the importance of polemics as a rhetorical practice among pre-Islamic Arabs (pp. 341-2). He does not discuss the Qur'an in detail, referring to a few verses that allude to the *Ahl al-kitāb* interfering with their sacred texts, and moves on to cite instances in early Muslim authors of the use and rejection of earlier scriptures. Up to the 10th century, Muslim polemics were still relatively unfocused and the argument most frequently used was that the predictions about Muḥammad that were present in the original text of the Bible were later removed (p. 348). Knowledge of the Bible among Muslims in this period was rudimentary, and many false statements circulated about the Torah (pp. 348-51), the Psalms (pp. 351-2) and the Gospel (pp. 352-3). But, despite doubts about its authenticity, Muslim historians made extensive use of the Bible, which provided them with material about creation and the history of the patriarchs (pp. 357-9).

In the second part of the article, Goldziher shows how knowledge of the Bible among Muslim authors improved in the ʿAbbasid period as a result of translations made by such Christian authors as Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (pp. 360-2). He then refers specifically to Ibn Ḥazm, whom he identifies

as the first Muslim theologian to write a systematic polemic against the People of the Book (p. 363). Although there were earlier polemical works, Ibn Ḥazm was the first to deal systematically and comprehensively with the core issue of Muslim polemics, the falsification of the Bible.

Goldziher clarifies the distinction between Muslim authors who understood Jewish and Christian falsification of the Bible as misinterpretations of the text and those who understood it as alteration of the text itself (pp. 364-5). Among the former was Ibn Khaldūn while among the latter was Ibn Ḥazm, who in his *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī l-milal* identified instances of contradiction within the Torah and thought that, by divine decree, only a few passages remained unaltered. These passages could be identified through the Qur'an (pp. 365-7). Other scholars admitted textual falsification, 'but limit this only to one part of the scriptures, while another considerable part is said to have been handed down unaltered' (p. 369). Among them, the Egyptian author Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (1228-85; *CMR* 4, 582-7) quoted the Bible extensively because he believed it contained passages that had not been falsified (p. 370).

Goldziher expresses regret that Steinschneider did not go into the contents of the polemical works, because this would have made it possible to assess the positions adopted by individual writers. In order to make good this shortcoming, he himself gives a short overview accompanied by the collective comment: 'As they prove falsification, [Muslim authors] show preference for the narrative parts of the Bible, in which they emphasise impossibilities, contradictions, obscenities unworthy of a divine book, and dishonourable acts attributed to the patriarchs and prophets, both as regards individuals (namely the patriarchs' ages) and the facts described, which in their view could not possibly have been written in a book revealed by God' (p. 370). A great deal of evidence of this kind is gathered together in Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī l-milal* (pp. 370-1).

In addition to the issue of falsification of the Bible, Muslim polemical literature also dealt with the passages in the Bible that were thought (see Q 7:156 [157]) to mention the coming of Muḥammad and the emergence of Islam (pp. 372-3). 'There are various opinions about the number of the Prophet's names. They vary up to a thousand. Among the names mentioned in the Bible as allegedly occurring in it, only that of the Paraclete from the New Testament is certain. In addition, passages are cited from the Old Testament, especially from Isaiah and Daniel, in which the Hebrew equivalents of *m-ḥ-m-d* and *āḥmad* [both etymologically related to the name Muḥammad] are said to be contained' (pp. 373-4). Goldziher supports this Muslim contention with references from al-Qarāfī, who in

Al-ajwiba l-fākhira ʿan al-asʾila l-fājira ('Superb answers to shameful questions') lists 51 passages from the Bible that he claims point to the coming of Muḥammad.

Steinschneider restricted himself to Muslim authors living up to the 18th century. Goldziher criticises this because it omits important works from the 19th century such as Charles Forster's (1789-1871; *CMR* 17, 139-47) *Mahometism* [instead of *Mahometanism*] *unveiled* (p. 380), where Daniel 8:23 is interpreted as referring to Muḥammad. Furthermore, there are many works in Persian and Turkish on this topic that deserve consideration.

The appendix (pp. 384-7) deals with further material that Goldziher would like to contribute, including quotations from the Bible in the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī.

SIGNIFICANCE

Going further than Steinschneider's alphabetical compilation of Christian and Muslim polemical and apologetic writings, Goldziher's article showed the historical development of arguments and their significance. In doing this, he used a religious studies method that assumed development in religions (as explained in the biographical section above). He also recognised that debates and polemics still took place in his own time (pp. 343-4) and was concerned to emphasise their continuing relevance. This is why he began by referring to the reaction of the Muslim scholar Raḥmatullāh Kayrānawī (1818-91) to the Christian missionary Karl Gottlieb Pfander's (1903-1865) *Mīzān al-ḥaqq* (p. 343).

In addition, Goldziher was interested in the particular positions of the authors and the effects of polemical arguments against the religious other. For example, with regard to the accusation of scriptural falsification, he made a fundamental distinction between Muslims who accused Jews and Christians of misinterpreting their scriptures and those who claimed that Jews and Christians had altered the actual text. Goldziher wrote:

> This difference of opinion not only has theoretical significance, it also has important practical consequences. The followers of the former school consider it the duty of the Muslim to uphold and venerate those scriptures, because they are, as they exist and have been handed down, divinely revealed scriptures, only their traditional interpretation is wrong, but this does not affect their text. [...] For the representatives of the latter school, on the other hand, the vilification and mockery of the forged writings is a religious duty and veneration of them as divine writings a mortal sin, for their author is not God, but one or more cunning deceivers and malicious forgers. (p. 366)

The works of both Steinschneider and Goldziher were pioneering in their time and research is still based on them today. Goldziher's particular merit lies in his both recognising the topicality of the debates in his own time and pointing out the consequences of the different attitudes towards falsification of the Bible in interreligious controversies.

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Catherina Wenzel

August Bebel

Ferdinand August Bebel

DATE OF BIRTH	22 February 1840
PLACE OF BIRTH	Köln-Deutz, Germany
DATE OF DEATH	13 August 1913
PLACE OF DEATH	Passugg, Switzerland

BIOGRAPHY

August Bebel was born in Deutz near Cologne. His father was a Prussian non-commissioned officer. From 1847 to 1854, August attended school in Wetzlar before an apprenticeship as a wood turner. This was followed by years of travelling as a journeyman craftsman in southern Germany and Austria. In 1860, he settled in Leipzig, where he worked as an independent master turner from 1864. He became chairman of the Workers Education Association in Leipzig in 1865 and, in the same year, he met Wilhelm Liebknecht, under whose influence he became interested in Marxism. Together with Liebknecht, Bebel founded the Saxon People's Party in 1866, for which both were elected to the North German Reichstag the following year. Bebel married Julie Otto, a milliner, in 1866. In 1867, he became chair of the Federation of German Workers' Associations, which was a member of the International Workers' Association. Together with Liebknecht, Bebel then founded the Marxist-oriented Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei (Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany [SDAP]) in Eisenach in 1869.

In 1871, Bebel was elected to the German Reichstag for the first time. In 1870, along with Liebknecht, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for 'planning high treason', due to his solidarity with the Paris Commune, and to a further nine months for 'insulting majesty'. While in custody, he studied the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels intensively and wrote his first extensive political and historical work, *Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg* ('The German peasants' war'), published in 1875. After his release, Bebel took part in the union of the SDAP with the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein (General German Workers' Association [ADAV]) to form

the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (Socialist Workers' Party [SAP]). In 1877, Bebel was sentenced again to a nine-month prison term for writing a seditious pamphlet.

While in custody, Bebel wrote his widely read work *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* ('Women and socialism'), which was first published, illegally, in 1879. It was also during this period of imprisonment that he wrote *Die Mohammedanisch-Arabische Kulturperiode* ('The period of Muslim-Arab culture'), which was published five years later.

During the twelve-year period of the Anti-Socialist Laws from 1878, Bebel was the treasurer of the SAP and used his mandate as a Member of Parliament to ensure its survival. However, he was expelled from Leipzig in 1891 because of his political activities and moved to Dresden. In 1892, he was elected to the chairmanship of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]), as it called itself after the end of the Anti-Socialist Laws. After 1909, Bebel lived mainly in Switzerland, where he worked on his autobiography, *Aus meinem Leben* ('From my life'). He died of a heart condition in the Swiss health resort of Passugg in 1913.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Mohammedanisch-arabische Kulturperiode
'The period of Muslim-Arab culture'

DATE 1884
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In this 102-page publication, Bebel addresses the emergence and spread of Islam and examines the interrelationships between the Islamic Middle East and Christian Europe in the period between the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad in 570 and the early decades of the Ottoman Empire in 1517. The first edition of the work, published in 1884 by Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Dietz in Stuttgart, is considered lost. A second edition, including corrections by Bebel, followed in 1889. He never visited the Islamic world himself, but wrote most of the work under the restrictive conditions of a stay in prison between the end of November 1877 and the end of May 1878. In prison, he understandably had limited access to literature and he also lacked foreign language skills. In the foreword, he names the seven authors whose works he refers to: Alfred von Kremer, Gustav Weil, John William Draper, Henry Thomas Buckle, Otto Henne am Rhyn, Yves Guyot and Aloys Sprenger. He does not state which of their works he used with the exception of Kremer's two-volume *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* (Vienna, 1875-7; 'Cultural history of the Orient under the caliphs'), on which he relies mainly for factual information. In addition to the foreword and conclusion, his study includes seven chapters covering the prehistory and emergence of Islam and its spread under Muḥammad and his successors, the religious, military and fiscal organisation of the empire, its state administration and legislation, as well as legal institutions, social development and developments in poetry, and finally the development of the Arabic language and Arab culture in Spain.

Bebel interprets the ideology and history of Islam on the basis of his schematic understanding of the historical-materialistic analysis method developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Thus, he derives questions of faith directly from the economic circumstances of Muḥammad's time, sometimes even from the particular climatic and geographical features of the Arabian desert. Occasionally, his presentation slips into enthusiasm. His racial considerations about the character of the Arabs as an *echtes Naturvolk* ('real natural people', p. 44), who are *stolzen und unabhängigen*

aber auch herrschsüchtigen Sinnes ('proud and independent but also of domineering spirit', p. 44) correspond to the views of his own time. About the sayings of Muḥammad, he writes that they

> often bear witness to healthy morals and humane views, [and] form the basis of the religious-social law; they correspond to the customs and character of the people and their time. They thus became the excellent binding agent that united tribes that had till then been split without any common bond. (p. 17)

Bebel presents Muḥammad himself in a positive and humane light, even if his lively portrayal is not always grounded in scholarly rigour and sometimes seems like a fairy tale:

> Muḥammad himself set a good example for his fellow tribesmen in everything. Tirelessly active, he gave advice and aid to everyone who approached him; at the same time he lived extremely simply and frugally and differed in no way from his tribal comrades in any extravagance. (p. 21)

But he also says that Muḥammad's 'constant visionary and epileptic attacks, […] the toil and the efforts of the struggle and the organisation of the new state, and finally the strong sexual pleasures in which he indulged with his nine wives at an advanced age undermined his health' (p. 22), here reflecting traditional polemical judgements that Muḥammad uttered his revelations in states of seizure rather than divinely inspired trances and was unduly uxorious.

Bebel's study of Islam was a by-product of his general critical examination of religion, which he pursued in the course of his political controversies with Christian political parties and clergy; in 1874, he had published *Christentum und Sozialismus* ('Christianity and socialism'). In correspondence with the Marxist theorist Karl Kautsky (1854-1938), he stated that his intention in writing on Islam was 'to prove that bragging about Christian culture is fraudulent'. The real aim of the work, he wrote, was to take a swipe at Christianity and the hypocrisy that was spreading (*dem Christentum und dem Heuchlertum, die sich breitmachen, eins auszuwischen*, in B. Kautsky [ed.], *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky*, 1971, p. 10).

In Bebel's view there is a strong democratic dynamic in Islam, since all Muslims are regarded as having equal rights and positions of authority are not hereditary but are open to everyone regardless of status and even to followers of other religions. He stresses that this was completely unheard of in the Christian world at the time of the rise of Islam. Furthermore,

Islam shows remarkable tolerance towards Christians, Jews and followers of other faiths, who from the beginning lived under Islamic rule in conditions of relative peace and security that were nowhere enjoyed by religious dissenters in Christian Europe. Extensive persecutions only occurred in response to the Crusades. Regarding the situation in the 19th century, he asks whether Christian states would grant Muslims in their midst the freedoms that – despite all the newspaper gossip – Christians living among Muslims enjoyed.

Bebel finds it remarkable that, in the course of their history, Muslims encouraged discussions with followers of different religions, staging public debates without interference from state authorities. This also appears to him as a point of tremendous difference between Islam at the time of its cultural zenith and Christianity. But, although he defends Islamic tolerance towards Christianity, writing as an avowed atheist, Islam is for him not the better or the true religion, because, as he emphasises at the beginning, he does not want to grant privilege to any religion. In his view, in the long run no religion can satisfy humanity as it advances culturally because religion itself is only the temporary product of a particular cultural period. Rather, he sees Muslim-Arab culture as significant for playing a decisive role in the preservation of the culture and knowledge of Graeco-Roman Antiquity during the Christian Middle Ages, and thus paving the way for the Renaissance in Europe. From this, he derives the provocative thesis that the modern culture that emerged from the Renaissance is an 'anti-Christian culture' (p. 102).

SIGNIFICANCE

The appearance of Bebel's work in 1884, five years after its completion (as he claimed), seems no accident. That year marked the beginning of the three decades of the *Deutsche Orient-Gründerjahre* ('German Orient-founding years') when the German Reich was entering its imperialist phase, with an increased interest among politicians, diplomats, business leaders, scientists, missionaries and military leaders in the Islamic world and specifically the Ottoman Empire as an economic, military and cultural space for expansion. The work was greeted with little interest, however. The fact that specialists in Oriental and Islamic studies did not pay much attention to it was probably due to the fact that the self-taught Bebel was presenting a popular work that may have been new methodologically but was not new in content. Bebel himself admitted to Kautsky that his studies were insufficient to achieve anything significant in the field of research on Islam (Kautsky, *August Bebels Briefwechsel*, p. 11).

It may be due to the severely restricted distribution of socialist literature under the anti-socialist laws that the wider public, as well as the social-democratic working-class public, took hardly any notice of Bebel's book on Islam. Kautsky wrote a review of it in the social democratic newspaper *Die Neue Zeit* in May 1884. An article by Karl Frohme entitled 'Die Kulturfeindlichkeit des Islam' ('The cultural hostility of Islam'), published in the social democratic magazine *Die Neue Welt* in 1884, was probably intended as an indirect attack on Bebel's work by an internal party critic. Outside German-speaking countries, the views of a prominent social democrat on Islam were apparently not noticed during his lifetime.

Despite this, Bebel's work is important for the fact that, apart from a few marginal and rather scattered notes on the 'Eastern Question' by Marx and Engels, it constituted the first attempt at a systematic application of the historical-materialist method to the emergence of Islam and its spread. Finally, as Bebel stated in relation to the scientific literature known to him, from a materialistic point of view insufficient preparatory work had been completed to allow any history of Islam to be written. Although it is by no means free from Orientalist elements, Bebel's book presents an early criticism of Orientalism as representing Western authors' derogatory attitude towards the East and Islam.

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Nikolaus Brauns

Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle

DATE OF BIRTH 14 July 1820
PLACE OF BIRTH Württemberg
DATE OF DEATH 18 February 1902
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Sigismund Koelle was born in Württemberg into a Pietist family who were part of the important movement that produced German missionaries and colonialists who moved abroad during the economic transformation of Germany in the second half of the 19th century (Jenkins, 'Villagers as missionaries'). Being from Württemberg, Koelle was raised as a Lutheran, though he decided to serve with the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), in which he was ordained a deacon and then a priest. He was sent out by the society to serve as a missionary first in West Africa, then in Palestine, and finally in Istanbul.

Koelle studied at the famous Basel missionary training centre in Switzerland as part of his theological training. He then moved to Islington, London, in 1845 to undertake a year's study of Anglican theology and ecclesiology. He showed an aptitude for languages and so, in 1847, he was sent to Tübingen to study Arabic. Following this, he was sent to Sierra Leone, where he taught for six years at the missionary school, Fourah Bay College. It was here that he began to study African languages. In 1854, he published *Polyglotta Africana*, a comparison of almost 300 words in over 100 different African languages, and also several other works on African culture and languages. However, he suffered from the climate and so he was transferred to the CMS station in Cairo. He remained there for only one year because the CMS Egypt mission was closed and, in 1856, he was transferred to the CMS Palestine Mission to work in Haifa.

Following a major CMS initiative to engage in direct apologetics with Muslims, in 1862 Koelle moved to Istanbul, where he began to work with Karl Pfander (1803-65; see *CMR* 24, forthcoming). Following the declaration of the *Hatt-i Hümāyūn* by Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61) in 1856, the CMS had high hopes that greater religious freedom would allow missionaries to engage in open evangelisation, but the government of Sultan Abdülaziz I (r. 1861-76) closed down the CMS bookshop and offices in 1864.

A year later, in 1865, Koelle published *Food for reflection. Being an historical comparison between Mohammedanism and Christianity*, in which he represents Christianity as superior to both Judaism and Islam. The CMS continued its mission until it officially closed the missionary station in 1877. However, Koelle and his wife remained in Istanbul. Sometime later they travelled to seek medical treatment in England, where Koelle died in 1902.

It was during his final years in Istanbul that Koelle began to work on several evangelistic tracts, including *Prophecies concerning Christ and their fulfilment in scripture passages*, *The death of Christ*, and his final work on Islam, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism critically considered*, which was published in 1889.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mohammad and Mohammedanism critically considered

DATE 1889
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This is a large work of 540 pages, including two appendices and an index. It is divided into three sections, or 'books'. Book 1 is entitled 'Mohammed in the daylight of history'. Chapter 1 provides a background to the social-political context of Arabia at the time of Muḥammad and a pejorative account of the 'his true historical character' derived from Muslim sources. Chapter 2 is a lengthy section on the life of the Prophet, including the Meccan and Medinan phases. It concludes with his death (p. 237),

and describes the opening years of the reign of Abū Bakr, the first caliph. Koelle remarks that Abū Bakr retained 'the warlike policy' of Muḥammad, and that 'a tree becomes known for the fruit it bears' (p. 241).

Book 2, entitled 'Mohammed in the moonshine of tradition', traces the biography of Muḥammad as it was constructed by his followers. According to these biographies, he becomes what Koelle regards as a mythical figure, 'as he was portrayed by the vivid imagination of his uncritical admirers' (p. 245) as a prophet greater than other preceding prophets, including Jesus. Koelle takes offence at this, stating that this image is nothing less than 'an unhistorical, and fictitious Mohammed' (p. 245).

Chapter 1 describes the biography of Muḥammad as told through different unnamed 'Moslem biographical works' (p. 246). Koelle focuses on how these sources added spurious traditions, including purported miracles, to make Muḥammad appear more powerful and important than Jesus. These additions include his pre-existence (pp. 242-56), a comparison of his Night Journey with Jesus's Transfiguration (pp. 304-14), and finally a comparison of his and Jesus's deaths (pp. 358-74). Chapter 2 contends that the life of Muḥammad is in direct contrast morally, ethically and spiritually to the life of Jesus as portrayed in the Bible. The final section of this chapter focuses on the miracles attributed to Muḥammad by later Muslim sources (pp. 434-46). According to Koelle, Muḥammad knowingly set himself over and against Christ.

Book 3 is entitled 'Mohammedanism viewed in its historical position, especially as regards its relation to Christianity and Christendom'. Here, Koelle presents the 'real nature' of Islam as judged by the highest form of revelation, 'the objective canon of unquestionable authority', which is the 'Religion of Christ' (p. 447). Book 3 is divided into seven small chapters, which provide criticism of Islam. According to Koelle, Islam combined the worst of 'Jewish fanaticism and Roman despotism'. It followed an anti-Christian policy, first implemented by the Arabs and then later by the Turks, and it will continue to do so as long as Islam exists.

The work concludes with two appendices; the first listing all Muḥammad's wives and concubines, and the second his children and grandchildren. While he does not say so explicitly, Koelle has put together these lists in order to demonstrate what he believes is Muḥammad's moral failure. For example, he calls the Prophet's marriage to Zaynab 'sad and droll' (p. 501), and he picks out the married life of the Prophet's grandson, Ḥasan, as a model of 'the baneful fruits speedily borne by the Prophet's evil example and false teaching on the subject of matrimony' (p. 520).

In this detailed description of the life and impact of Muḥammad, Koelle argues that he knowingly took various teachings from Judaism and Christianity and lied about his status as a prophet. Koelle builds upon familiar medieval criticisms of Islam (it was also part of his argument in a tract he wrote in 1877, *The death of Christ upon the cross, a fact not a fiction*, the publication of which was prevented by the Ottoman government). However, while he follows earlier Christian critiques of Muḥammad's life and Islamic history, including the accusation that he adopted ideas from Jewish converts to Islam and also Assyrian Christians (known as Nestorians), who had corrupted true Christianity (pp. 468-70), what is novel in this book is the argument that Muḥammad deliberately schemed to set himself up against Christ and Christianity. Muḥammand and Islam are described in such a way as to lead readers to conclude that, while Islam is not demonic, there have been calculated 'plans and policies' to subjugate all Christendom, and indeed the world (p. 484), made by Muḥammad, and later his followers.

SIGNIFICANCE

Mohammed and Mohammedanism critically considered became an important reference for many missionaries to Muslim-majority countries at the end of the 19th century, including Samuel Zwemer (1867-1952; see *CMR* 16, 433-54), who wrote 'Mohammed's idea of God included a deliberate rejection of the Christian concept' (see Zwemer, 'The Allah of Islam and the God of Jesus Christ', *Theology Today* 3/1 [April 1946] 64-77, p. 70). This argument is underlined in the opening pages of Koelle's book, where he quotes Matthew 24:11, 'Many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.'

Koelle evidently subscribed to what would later be termed a 'clash of civilisations' view. With a dash of eschatological flare, he declared himself convinced that Islam would ultimately be trampled by a Christian Europe. His views were predicated upon the hopes he had in light of the promulgation of the *Hatt-i Hümāyūn* (1856), which recognised the legality of a Protestant *millet* and provided 'freedom of religion' for all subjects of the Ottoman Empire. It was this declaration that sparked Koelle's imagination and hope. He believed that the end of the 19th century would usher in the end of Islam.

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David D. Grafton

David Heinrich Müller

David Heinrich Müller Edler von Deham, David Hersch Müller, David Zvi Müller

DATE OF BIRTH 6 July 1846
PLACE OF BIRTH Buczacz (Polish), Butschatsch (Ukrainian), Buchach (English)
DATE OF DEATH 21 December 1912
PLACE OF DEATH Vienna

BIOGRAPHY

David Heinrich Müller was born in the town of Buchach, which at that time lay within the Austrian Empire. He received a thorough education in German and Polish as well as in Latin, French and Italian. Furthermore, being Jewish, he was familiar with Hebrew and Aramaic from his youth. He began studying Oriental languages at the University of Vienna in 1869 and continued in Leipzig and Strasbourg. After receiving his doctorate in 1875 for a thesis entitled *Einleitung und Anmerkung zum* Kitâb el Fark *des al-ʿAsmaʿî* ('Introduction and commentary on the *Kitāb al-farq* of al-ʿAṣmaʿī') he continued his studies in Berlin. Just one year later, he applied for his *Habilitation* with the submission of two academic works, *Einiges über den Status constructus im Himjarischen und sein Verhältnisniss zu dem im Arabischen und Hebräischen* ('Some information about the *status constructus* in Himyar and its relation to that in Arabic and Hebrew'), and *Die Ḥarra-Inschriften und deren Bedeutung für die Entwicklungsgeschichte der südsemitischen Schrift, ein Entzifferungsversuch von Dr. David Hnr. Müller* ('The Ḥarra inscriptions and their significance for the history of the development of South Semitic writing, an attempt at decipherment by Dr David Heinrich Müller'). In the same year, he was appointed as a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) in Semitic languages at the University of Vienna.

In 1880, he became associate professor and in 1885 full professor of Semitic languages at Vienna University, and in the academic year 1900-1 he was dean in the Faculty of Philosophy. Müller received numerous awards and honours. In 1889, he became a corresponding member and in 1898 a full member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna. In recognition of his position and outstanding academic achievements, Emperor

Franz Joseph I (r. 1848-1916) raised him to the nobility in 1912 (one day before Müller's death) and awarded him the title 'Edler von Deham'.

Viennese Orientalism was strongly focused on Islam. Hence, in 1886 Müller and other scholars founded the Orientalisches Institut at the University of Vienna and, at the same time, the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (*WZKM*, 'Viennese Journal for the Study of the Orient'). His interests included not only linguistics, but also ethnology, geography, archaeology and the philosophy of religion. Müller focused particularly on the southern Arabian Peninsula and encouraged his students to conduct linguistic and field research in this region. These investigations also dealt with the life, culture and religion of the indigenous population. Together with Carlo Landberg (1848-1924), he initiated and led the South Arabian Expedition of the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1898-9.

Müller always stood by his Jewish origins and supported efforts to establish a modern educational institution for future rabbis in Vienna that was open to the 'secular' academic disciplines. Up to the time of his death, he taught at the Israelitisch-theologische Lehranstalt, founded in 1893. His main areas of research, apart from Semitic philology, were cuneiform inscriptions, ancient Arabic poetry and old Arabic manuscripts. Two of his most important works, which provide information on the geography of this region, are *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklīl des Hamdānī* ('The castles of southern Arabia according to Hamdānī's *Iklīl*') and *Al-Hamdānī's Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel nach den Handschriften von Berlin, Constantinopel, London, Paris und Strassburg* ('Al-Hamdānī's geography of the Arabian Peninsula according to the manuscripts of Berlin, Constantinople, London, Paris and Strasbourg'), published for the first time in 1879.

In addition to ancient Arabic poetry, Müller also dealt extensively with the Bible and the Qur'an. These were the subjects of many of his lectures at the University of Vienna, which awakened interest in Islam as a religion and in Arab poets. In an essay that appeared in two issues of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he wrote about gods and spirits in Arab folk beliefs.

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Information about Müller's academic career and his elevation to the peerage is held in various archives:

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form
'The prophets in their original form'

DATE 1895-6
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This work (its full title is *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften und Koran und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödie*, 'The prophets in their original form. The basic laws of earliest Semitic poetry developed and proved in the Bible, cuneiform inscriptions and the Qur'an and recognised in their influence on the choirs of Greek tragedy') consists of two volumes. The first comprises 256 pages and is divided into five chapters: stanzaic structure and response in cuneiform literature; stanzaic structure and response in the Qur'an; stanzaic structure and response in the prophets; stanzaic structure and response according to origin and historical development; alternating

chants in the choruses of Greek tragedy and the oldest form of prophecy. (Müller understands a stanza in the usual sense of a group of verses combined to form a larger unit. The response or answer to it – that is, the counterstrophe – represents a similar or opposite unit. The formal expression of the relationship of two or more stanzas to each other is the answer. It is considered an expression of the spirit of poetry and speech.) In these chapters, examinations of the Qur'an cover 40 pages (pp. 20-60). Seventeen suras are examined and the origin and historical development of stanzaic construction in the Qur'an is later summarised (pp. 200-20). The second volume, 148 pages long, includes discussion of some of the prophetic books of the Bible in their original Hebrew (about 70 pages) and discussion of some of the chapters of the Qur'an in their original Arabic (about 68 pages).

The aim of the book is to examine the poetic and rhetorical forms that Müller sees as common to all Semitic peoples. As he writes in the introduction, it was in the interpretation of some of the biblical prophetic texts that he first noticed the construction of stanzas in connection with responses and he later came across similar forms in the cuneiform literature. Many doubts and questions kept him from generalising upon these at first, until he found similar forms in the Qur'an. After detailed analysis, he tried to 'determine the essence of the verse and the response in Semitic poetry and to illuminate the diversity of these phenomena in their historical development' (vol. 1, p. 4).

In his chapter on the Qur'an, Müller refers to the works of Sir William Muir, Aloys Sprenger, Theodor Nöldeke and Friedrich Rückert. He particularly drew on the latter's German translation of the Qur'an because Rückert 'attempts to reproduce a part of the Qur'an poetically with all literal fidelity' (vol. 1, p. 20). He goes on to show that, even though Muḥammad rejected the title poet, he employed certain poetic forms, in particular strophic construction often associated with responses, as is most evident in the structure of Q 56:57-72 (vol. 1, p. 22-3). Later Muslim tradition remained silent about this.

After much reflection on the examples he has discussed and the poetic laws they observe, Müller concludes that they all 'go back to a common Ur-Semitic origin and that these basic laws already dominated religious poetry in Ur-Semitic times' (vol. 1, p. 212).

SIGNIFICANCE

When the book was published, Müller's theories attracted fierce criticism, particularly from its first reviewers. In general, his claim that parts

of the Qur'an, and also the Old Testament prophetic books, can be divided into strophes has not been accepted because it is not possible to identify sequences of passages made up of fixed numbers of verses (see R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh, 1953, p. 71). Nevertheless, many scholars have drawn on his insight that most of the longer suras consist of shorter units, thus laying the groundwork for deeper study of the Qur'an as a text that is intimately connected with events and experiences in Muḥammad's lifetime.

PUBLICATIONS

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Gertraud Sturm

Alexander Baumgartner

DATE OF BIRTH 27 June 1841
PLACE OF BIRTH Saint Gall, Switzerland
DATE OF DEATH 5 September 1910
PLACE OF DEATH Luxembourg

BIOGRAPHY

Born to Gallus Jakob Baumgartner, a leading politician and member of government of the Canton of Saint Gall in Switzerland (first a radical, then a conservative) and Anna Elisabeth Reithard, Alexander Baumgartner grew up in Saint Gall and attended school in Chur, Einsiedeln and Feldkirch. He joined the Jesuit order in 1860 and was ordained a Catholic priest in 1872. From 1874 to his death in 1910 he was a permanent and very productive contributor to the conservative Jesuit journal *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* ('Voices from Maria-Laach'). He defended the positions of the popes in Rome and opposed liberal tendencies in Catholicism, for example during his involvement in the so-called *Catholic Literaturstreit* shortly before his death, in which he criticised any Catholic literature that did not adhere strictly to the teachings of the Church. Living and working in Austria, Germany, England, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, he was an influential Catholic scholar of literature, with conservative views on the one hand and a sensitive literary instinct on the other. His main works are *Goethe. Sein Leben und seine Werke* ('Goethe. His life and works', 1879-82) and the unfinished *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* ('History of world literature', 1897-1911), the first volume of which dealt with, among other things, literature in Islamic countries. Besides his own poetry and some travel reports, Baumgartner published biographies of Carl Johann Greith, Bishop of Saint Gall 1863-82, and of his father, Gallus Jakob Baumgartner.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Geschichte der Weltliteratur, Band 1, *Die Literaturen Westasiens und der Nilländer*
'History of world literature, vol. 1. The literatures of West Asia and the lands of the Nile'

DATE 1897
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
In the first volume of his *Geschichte der Weltliteratur* ('History of world literature'), published in 1897, Baumgartner presents one of the first general overviews of Islamic literature from the point of view of a Catholic Christian and in German. It is part of a general history of world literature in seven volumes in which he defends the superiority of Christian culture. In this volume, his survey includes chapters on works in Arabic (pp. 291-416), Persian (pp. 417-584) and other Islamic languages ('Die kleinern Literaturen islamitischer Völker', pp. 585-611).

These three sections are quite detailed, amounting together to 321 pages. In them, Baumgartner treats the development of Arab, Persian and Indian literatures, focusing on the main representative authors and their works. Among other things, he includes a critical review from a Christian viewpoint of the Qur'an as a literary work, describing it as uneven, often repeating standard formulas, failing to give a clear overview of Muḥammad's teachings and lacking any beauty. As an outspoken Catholic intellectual, Baumgartner believed that Christian literature, especially if it was expressing or promoting Catholic doctrines and ethics, was part of God's

plan of salvation. In consequence, he was generally negative towards other literatures, especially those of an atheist character or from cultures that, in his eyes, were opposed to Christianity, such as Islam.

Baumgartner did not know any of the original languages and therefore relied on what overviews of Islamic literature were available. From these, he took numerous and sometimes long passages of the original literary works in German translation. He had previously published some of the chapters in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, for which he worked as a contributor.

SIGNIFICANCE

In Baumgartner's judgement on Islamic literature, two basic tendencies were clear. On the one hand, he was sensitive to the beauty and quality of the literary works he treated. For example he praised the *Muʿallaqāt* and the works of the 7th-century poets Āʿshā Hamdān and Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, whom he called *wirklich poetische Naturen* ('truly poetic characters'). On the other hand, as a conservative representative of the Catholic Church who staunchly upheld and defended his faith, he frequently reached derogatory verdicts. In spite of these flaws, Baumgartner's history possesses a particular quality since it represents the rather rare viewpoint of a Catholic intellectual and expert on literature.

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Cornel Dora

Adolf Keller

DATE OF BIRTH 7 February 1872
PLACE OF BIRTH Rüdlingen SH, Switzerland
DATE OF DEATH 10 February 1963
PLACE OF DEATH Santa Monica, California

BIOGRAPHY

Adolf Keller was born in the small village of Rüdlingen in the north of Switzerland. His parents were committed members of the theologically conservative, biblically oriented wing of the Swiss Reformed Church. He studied theology and philosophy at the University of Basel, where he met the Old Testament scholar Bernhard Duhm (1847-1928), on whose advice he also learned classical Arabic with Adam Mez (1869-1917), the founder of Islamic Studies in Basel. He progressed as far as being able to read the Qur'an. In 1894-5 he studied with Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) in Berlin. It was there that Wilhelm Faber (1858-1910), head of the German Orient Mission, became aware of him and assigned him, still a 23-year-old student, to write *Der Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen den Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* ('The spiritual struggle of Christianity against Islam up to the time of the Crusades'). Although Keller lived until 1963, his intensive occupation with Islam belongs to the beginning of his career, around the turn of the 20th century.

In 1896, after completing his studies, Keller was pastor to the German Protestant Congregation in Cairo, to which Swiss people also belonged. He learned modern Arabic and visited museums and mosques. In 1898 he was commissioned from Berlin to help two young German researchers collate Arabic manuscripts in St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai. After finishing this work, the three young men travelled by camel to Suez. This gave Keller the opportunity to study the religious life and speech of the Bedouins who accompanied them. The fruit of these weeks was *Eine Sinai-Fahrt* ('A Sinai journey'). In the spring of 1898 Keller was called from Cairo to Jerusalem, where the Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) was expected to attend the dedication of the new Church of the Redeemer, the centre for German Protestants. Keller played the organ at the service, and by this means he came to know the emperor personally.

Back in Switzerland, in 1899 Keller was appointed minister of the Swiss Reformed Church 'auf Burg' near Stein am Rhein, and subsequently, in

1904, of the German-speaking congregation in Geneva, where the young Karl Barth (1886-1968) was his curate. In 1909 he was called to St Peter's Church in Zurich. In 1920, at his suggestion the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches (today, the Protestant Church in Switzerland) was founded with him as its General Secretary. At the same time, the Swedish Lutheran Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931) founded the ecumenical movement *Life and Work*, which Keller joined immediately. He was one of the initiators in 1922 of The European Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid, which was founded to support churches in Europe, the Soviet Union and the Middle East. In 1929, when there was a drought in China and people, most of them non-Christians, were starving, Keller organised substantial help.

Following the advent to power of Adolf Hitler, from May 1933 onwards, as the director of The European Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid, Keller took care of Jewish and Jewish-Christian refugees. He shared his rejection of National Socialism with Karl Barth, then a professor in Bonn. In autumn 1933, Keller gave lectures on National Socialism and Bolshevism in Princeton. This resulted in his important and clear-sighted book in English, *Religion and revolution*. After the beginning of the war, Keller travelled by invitation to the USA to campaign for the admission of Jewish refugees, though without much success. On the other hand, he had fruitful discussions with American church leaders about the reconstruction of Europe after the war. He was indeed one of the most important ecumenists before the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948. Several universities awarded him honorary doctorates, including Geneva, Yale and Edinburgh. When the World Council of Churches was founded in Amsterdam in 1948, in his old age he was a guest of honour. He was still active worldwide with lectures and articles. Furthermore, he joined the World Brotherhood, founded by Christians, Jews, Muslims and members of other religions, which propagated 'justice, amity, understanding, and cooperation among all men of good will'. In 1954, this organisation awarded him a prize for his pioneering reconciliation work.

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Marianne Jehle-Wildberger

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Der Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen den Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge
'The spiritual struggle of Christianity against Islam up to the time of the Crusades'

DATE 1896
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

The treatise *Der Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen den Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* was published in 1896 by the well-known Verlag der Akademischen Buchhandlung in Leipzig. Wilhelm Faber (1858-1910), the head of the Deutsche Orient-Mission, had commissioned Keller to write it with the aim of preparing him for mission among Muslims.

The study comprises 87 pages and is divided into seven parts: 1. Introduction; 2. The Christian conception of Islam and relations between the two faiths; 3. Islam in the West; 4. Was Islam considered a heresy by the

Church?; 5. The ways and means of spiritual discussion; 6. Doctrinal discussion; 7. Practical missionary overtures towards Islam. Keller made use of many sources from the 7th to the 12th centuries, relying on printed editions. He repeatedly quotes from the *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, the extensive collection of works in Middle-Eastern languages by Giuseppe Assemani (see *CMR* 13, 864-9) and from the chronicles and other works by Eastern and Western scholars of the early and high Middle Ages.

The introduction (pp. 3-9) sets out the current situation and explains how the study was anchored as a commission within the framework of the Deutsche Orient-Mission ('German Mission to the East'), which sought to convert Muslims to Christianity. Keller claims that, since the time of the Crusades, Christianity had become accustomed to seeing Islam as the Church's worst enemy and not as the prodigal son who was still to be won over. This negative attitude overlooked moments of communion between the two religions, erecting an insurmountable barrier. But Keller also argues against Islam. There has never been such a haughty religion, such a strict monotheistic exclusivity as Islam. But today, he argues, the progress of the Christian mission can be seen in action throughout the world, and the way in which the Word of the Lord runs can joyfully be seen. The countries of Islam alone seem to be surrounded by an impenetrable spiritual wall and, in these regions, darkness still weighs on the people. The monotheistic conception of God had raised many to a higher level, but it has not brought them life, freedom and full satisfaction, especially as far as women are concerned. In contrast, Keller says, the Christian Church has an explicit missionary command from its Founder. Quoting from Johann Adam Möhler's 1829 lecture *Über das Verhältniss in welchem, nach dem Koran Jesus Christus zu Mohammed und das Evangelium zum Islam steht* ('On the relationship in which, according to the Qur'an Jesus stands to Muḥammad and the Gospel to Islam', *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 12/1 [1830] 3-81, p. 4; on Möhler see *CMR* 22, 147-54), he argues that the Church must ask itself 'whether it will not assert the Gospel anew in relation to Islam throughout Asia, exercise there its world-shaping, all-enlightening power, spread true humanity and living knowledge, and breathe a new, milder and higher spirit into Asian states'. For Keller, if the Church had not succeeded in overcoming the 'young, fiery' Islam of the past, it may perhaps succeed with the ageing and 'increasingly fossilised' Islam of the present. At the same time, he is doubtful and warns that the truth of Islam should not be underestimated, particularly because its sources lie in the revealed religions of Judaism and Christianity. In essence, Keller

agrees with the 12th-century abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (1092 or 4-1156; *CMR* 3, 604-10), that Christian mission must be carried out with words and not with the sword.

In the second section (pp. 10-32), the difference between Islam and Christianity is emphasised, particularly the fast and unexpected spread of Islam, showing the character of a popular movement. For example, John Bishop of Nikiu in his *Chronicle*, dating from the end of the 7th century, laments the powerlessness of Christians in the face of the fanatical actions of Muslims, while for the Monophysite Copts in Egypt, who had been oppressed by the Byzantine emperor, the change of rule came as a relief. Keller also discusses the Pact of ʿUmar, which regulates the life of Christians in the Islamic world (pp. 19-20). He argues that Christians were able to adopt Shīʿī Islam more readily than Sunnī Islam because it taught universal concepts such as progressive inspiration (adopted, he suspects, from Buddhism). It is striking that Persia is very central in Keller's focus, even appearing as the cradle of humanity. In this respect, he may be following Goethe (*CMR* 22, 106-16), who, in the *West-östlicher Divan*, sees Persia as the origin of the Orient, with the poet Ḥāfiẓ occupying a prominent position (pp. 26-7).

The third section (pp. 32-44) deals with Islam in the West. Islam was especially widespread in Spain, where it brought about prosperity and inspired art and science, though there were few upright Christians and many fanatics and a large part of the population was comprised of Jews and slaves, who had earlier been oppressed.

Keller's account of the Crusades (p. 36) conceals the fact that they were started by the pope and that it was Christians who went armed to Jerusalem. Instead, he vaguely states that the Crusades were a 'blazing fire' for Christianity, though it could not consume Islam, but 'barely scorched its hem'. It was only with the Crusades that news of Islam as a religion came to the West, but in polemical form (p. 40). Here, Keller refers to the *Collectio Toletana* (the Latin translations of works considered useful for instructing Christians about Islam, including the Qur'an) and then speaks at length about Peter the Venerable, who had commissioned the collection. Keller applauds Peter for being guided not only by his own dogmatic convictions, but also by love and zeal to win Muslims.

The fourth section (pp. 44-9) asks whether Islam was considered a heresy by the Church. His answer is that, although Islam drew upon Judaism and Christianity, it should be regarded as an original formation of religion that was not brought about by any apostasy from the two earlier religions. So it is something other than a heresy. In this respect, Keller again

follows Peter the Venerable, who distinguishes between Jews, heretics and 'Saracens', thus creating for the first time a particular category for Muslims.

The fifth section (pp. 49-60) is concerned with forms of intellectual debate. Here, Keller deals with particular disputations, such as the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor, the *Chronicle* of the Nestorian Patriarch Ananjesus (Hnanisho') II (taken from Assemani) and the report by the East Syrian Patriarch Timothy of the disputation between the Caliph al-Mahdī and himself. Keller also mentions Nicetas of Byzantium and Theodore Abū Qurra, as well as Euthymius Zigabenus, though he is concerned to emphasise Western missionary thinking as it is found in Peter the Venerable and Ramon Llull (pp. 58-60), because both authors emphasised love for the unconverted.

The sixth section (pp. 60-83) is taken up with doctrinal arguments. Keller identifies John of Damascus (*CMR* 1, 295-301) as the creator of the basic premises and tools for all later polemics, quoting at length from *De haeresibus* (pp. 61-6), in what was probably the first German translation of the 8th-century Greek text. He goes on to discuss the 9th-century *Risāla* supposedly by 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (p. 67; on al-Kindī see *CMR* 1, 585-94), which he quotes from Thomas Arnold and William Muir.

After this (p. 68 onwards), Keller treats the most important points of contention between Christians and Muslims, namely Muḥammad's claim to be a prophet, the putative predictions of him in the Bible, Muslim accusations that the Bible has been falsified, and Muḥammad's morality. This is followed by a discussion of doctrinal differences (p. 73 onwards): strict monistic monotheism against Trinitarian monothism, which is directly connected with Christology and the doctrine of salvation. Here, he uses some quotations from Theodore Abū Qurra, which he probably translated into German himself, and there are further references to Euthymius Zigabenus, Peter the Venerable and Nicetas of Byzantium.

The last section (pp. 84-90) deals with practical missionary experiments. Keller refers to the *History* of Nicetas Choniates, one of the main narrative sources for the history of Byzantium in the years 1118-1207, which records the conversion of Muslims to Christianity with rare accuracy. Nicetas describes in detail how the conversions took place: Muḥammad must first be cursed by the neophyte, and then the entire Muslim teaching rebutted step by step until the whole Islamic belief is replaced by Christian doctrine. Keller quotes this source (pp. 85-8, probably the first German translation of this text) so that the reader can gain an idea of how a conversion proceeds ritually. At the same time, Keller notes that, in the past, there have been only a few conversion attempts directed by the Church

towards Muslims, but in the 19th century this situation changed, when new missionary organisations were founded. He adds that there are now many channels through which Christianity could penetrate Islamic countries. Nevertheless, it remains very difficult to convert Muslims because of their prohibition against apostasy, the Bābīs in Iran, who are open to Christian mission, standing as an exception.

SIGNIFICANCE

In preparation for writing, Keller made a close examination of the history of Christian-Muslim relations, carefully working his way through the Christian sources of the East and the West. In this respect, his study made available for the first time important texts in German translation. He derived the legitimacy of Christian mission from the biblical Great Commission on the one hand and, on the other, from the popular conviction that Islamic countries were underdeveloped and religiously and spiritually fossilised.

The fact that Keller did not become active in mission to Muslims as planned, but rather in ecumenism, shows that in the course of his life he fundamentally questioned the received images of both Islam and Christianity. Nevertheless, this early work gives significant insight into European Christian (Protestant) attitudes towards Islam and also into the prospect and reality of relations between Muslims and Christians.

It appears that *Der Geisteskampf des Christentums* went largely unnoticed (probably because it was written for a missionary readership). By the time interest in Christian-Muslim relations revived in Germany after the Second World War, the book had already been forgotten and Keller himself was probably rather embarrassed that he had come to prominence in missionary circles as a young man.

PUBLICATIONS

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Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller, ecumenist, world citizen, philanthropist*, pp. 7-8

Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller (1872-1963), Pionier der ökumenischen Bewegung*, pp. 45-7

Marianne Jehle-Wildberger and Catherina Wenzel

Eine Sinai-Fahrt
'A journey to Sinai'

DATE 1901
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In this work of 170 pages, Adolf Keller describes the three weeks he spent in St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, in the summer of 1898. On his journey back to Suez, he had an opportunity to observe the religious practices of the Muslim Bedouins who were accompanying him and, thanks to his knowledge of colloquial Arabic, he was able to converse with them, though he found that they were not very talkative. His account is accompanied by photographs and a map and, after the preface, is structured as follows: 1. From Cairo via Tūr to St Catherine's Monastery (pp. 1-34); 2. The stay in the monastery (pp. 35-59); 3. Jabal Mūsā and Jabal Kātrīn (pp. 60-83); 4. From the monastery to Wādī Fīrān and the Serbāl (pp. 84-114); 5. From Wādī Fīrān to Suez (pp. 115-46); 6. The Sinai Question (pp. 147-70).

Keller wrote this report not because he had new material to share, but because, as a Christian theologian, he was interested in the lands of the Bible, particularly the origins of the Israelite people, their religion and their customs. As a model for the description of the Bedouins accompanying him, he used the accounts of Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784-1817; *CMR* 22, 89-105), the famous Shaykh Ibrahim, whose grave he had previously visited in Cairo.

In the fourth section (pp. 84-114), Keller writes about the Bedouins as Muslims, describing their life and aspects of their religion. He notices (pp. 87-8) that they do not observe the formal elements of Muslim piety, even though they have probably lived in this area since the early days of Islam. Only one of them performs the prayers every day, walks ahead of the others, cleanses himself with sand, turns towards Mecca, says *Allāhu akbar* and then mutters to himself the *Fātiḥa*, the first sura of the Qur'an.

He sees that the Bedouins are tolerant, or at least they do not deny that Christians will enter paradise. As he understands it, the religion of the Bedouins is not just one part of their lives but rather reaches into and permeates them. They demonstrate in their words and actions that, since nothing can be done against the power of Allāh, it is best to bow to it (pp. 87-9), though Allāh's goodness can be relied upon. For them, Allāh is the explanation for everything, the final reason for all they do not know.

But this monotheism, great in its naivety and simplicity, is surrounded by superstitions that cloud their truly childlike belief in Allāh's power and uniqueness.

Belief in Allāh is sometimes mixed with veneration of local saints, at whose graves sacrifices are offered. Keller describes a ceremony on Aaron's Hill in which a camel was sacrificed. It was cut into pieces, then carried to the Bedouins' tents and prepared there, while the women uttered ritual cries. He considers that there was nothing to which this could be compared except maybe the ceremonies of the ancient Israelites, who shared the same air and possessed the same spirit and Semitic nature, came from the same language family, the desert, customs and traditions. Thus, in the face of the Muslim shaykh who is travelling with his herds, Keller is able to discern the face of Abraham. As he witnesses the sacrifice (p. 101), he notices that the animal's blood still has the same meaning as in ancient Israelite times, and he reflects that the institution of blood revenge still exists. About Bedouin hospitality (p. 102), he writes that it is greater than anywhere else in the world, reminding him again of Abraham.

But there are clear differences between these Bedouins and the Israelites of the Bible. Keller recognises he cannot imagine that the culture to which Muḥammad gave impetus could ever have produced an Isaiah or a Jeremiah (pp. 102-3). And even if he can imagine Abraham as a figure parallel to the Bedouins, none of them could be compared to the Israelite Moses. Israel created a history, while the Bedouin have remained without any history.

SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike the earlier *Der Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen den Islam*, this book shows that Keller regarded the Bedouins with respect. He was particularly impressed by these simple people's religiosity. At the same time, the biblical story and the faces of the patriarchs are always superimposed on his observations. This also has to do with the fact that, around the year 1900, it was generally assumed in academic circles that there were different levels of culture and civilisation. Keller accepts this, and so does not place the Muslims on the same level as the ancient Israelites. The Bedouins are inferior not only because they are Muslims but also because they are supposedly without history.

Given what Keller writes in this report, it is difficult not to discern the weight of some influence from the time he spent in Sinai on his decision not to engage in mission to Islam but to become involved in the ecumenical movement within Christianity.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller (1872-1963)*, pp. 52-5

Marianne Jehle-Wildberger

Friedrich Carl Andreas

DATE OF BIRTH 14 April 1846
PLACE OF BIRTH Batavia, Dutch East Indies
DATE OF DEATH 4 October 1930
PLACE OF DEATH Göttingen

BIOGRAPHY

Friedrich Carl Andreas was of German, Malayan, Russian and Georgian parentage. He was the illegitimate son of a Russian military physician, who was himself allegedly part of the Armenian-Georgian Bagratuni dynasty, and the daughter of a medical doctor from northern Germany and his Malayan wife. Andreas later claimed his father had changed his surname from 'Bagration' to 'Andreas' because of family disputes.

Andreas specialised in Oriental studies at the universities of Erlangen, Göttingen, Halle and Leipzig. Some of the lectures on Sanskrit in Göttingen, given by the famous Indologist Theodor Benfey (1809-91), had a strong influence on his studies. Andreas then worked as a private teacher, volunteered in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 and took part in a Royal Prussian astronomical and geographical expedition to Persia in 1875-6. His work on this was of an epigraphical and archaeological nature. During the expedition, he left Persia without permission from the organisers and leaders and travelled to British India, and at the end of the Prussian endeavour he decided not to return home but rather to spend more time in Persia. There, he worked as a language teacher, healing practitioner and postmaster. In Shīrāz he also came into contact with a member of the Imperial Qajar dynasty, for whom he worked as a teacher and whose son he accompanied on a journey to the Caucasus, Russia and Europe – and finally to Berlin in 1881.

From 1883 to 1887, Andreas worked as a private teacher (*docent*) in Persian and Ottoman-Turkish language at the Orientalisches Seminar of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Berlin, becoming professor there in 1887, though he was forced to leave in 1891 as a result of disputes with the Prussian Ministry of Cultural Affairs. In 1903, after working as a private teacher again, he received a call to the chair of Oriental languages at Georg-August-University in Göttingen, which he then held until his retirement in 1920. He continued to work at the university until his death in 1930.

His academic work covered several fields, ranging from Iranology to the history of religions, and from Turkology to ethnography. In Göttingen, he participated in the analysis and study of the Iranian materials that had been brought to light in the course of four German Turfan expeditions (1902-14). While working with photographs of Iranian manuscripts from East Turkestan, he became the first to identify the Soghdian language. In addition, he collected linguistic data from turkophone prisoners during the First World War. A large portion of his scientific materials have remained unpublished; some were later edited by his students and colleagues.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Babi's in Persien. Ihre Geschichte und Lehre, quellenmäßig und nach eigener Anschauung dargestellt

'The Babis in Persia. Their history and teachings, described according to the sources and by personal observations'

DATE 1896
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Andreas wrote this work to convey information about the Bahā'ī faith in mid-19th-century Persia. It is 52 pages long (pp. 7-59), with a preface (pp. [3]-[6]) and appendices (pp. 60-8) written by the publisher, W. Faber. Faber uses his preface to present the Bahā'ī faith as in some ways a parallel to Christianity, in order to attract a Western audience. Here, one of the intentions of the article becomes clear: Faber refers to the unreliable information used in reports about the Bābīs in connection with the assassination of the Persian ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848-96), for which they were blamed. He also describes the Bābīs as the only force through which moral renewal of 'rotten Persia' could come, explaining that they and their leader had no thoughts of revenge against Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, although he was to them what the Roman emperor Nero had been to the

Christians, and comparing their 'desire for martyrdom' with that of the early Christians. He includes a statement in which a leader of the community describes the assassination as an 'evil deed', as well as a prayer by the Bābīs for the murdered ruler. Faber also points out that there is no evidence that the assassin was a follower of Bābism at all.

Andreas himself deals more with the history and present state of Bahā'ism. For descriptions of its doctrines and teachings, he points to E.G. Brown's edition of *The Tārīkh-i-jadīd: or New history of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad the Bāb by Mīrzā Ḥuseyn of Hamadān* (Cambridge, 1893), to which Faber also refers in the preface. He starts with a general introduction about Islam and its history, and about Sufism in particular (pp. 9-11), followed by a description of the origins of Bahā'ism and its historical development, its role in Persian history, including cultural and religious aspects, and also descriptions of the religious practices and daily life of the community. He especially focuses on the life and work of the founder of Bābism, Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad, the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on 1 May 1896 and the subsequent persecution of the Bahā'īs.

Throughout the article, Andreas describes Bābism as a morally elevated religious and social reform movement led by blameless leaders. Given the moral and ethical excellence of the community and their adherence to the principle of forgiveness, like the early Christians, it is inconceivable that they should react violently to the oppression they suffer from the rulers in Persia.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work was the first detailed description in German of the history of the Bahā'ī religion in Persia. Faber expected there would be particular interest in it because the assassination of the shah had caused a great stir in the German press and it was important to exculpate the Bahā'īs from the false accusation that they were responsible. Andreas's attitude towards Persia, whose civilisation he admired while he showed unabashed contempt for the Shīʿī clergy, undoubtedly also played an important role. Again and again in this short work, he writes of backwardness, fanaticism and superstition among them. For him, the Bābīs were bearers of hope that there could be progress and development in a country with which he was so familiar.

The significance of the Bahā'īs to Christian-Muslim relations is admittedly indirect, although they are relevant. The introduction and appendices to this work show that they were regarded by supporters of the Deutsche Orient-Mission as better, more civilised Muslims, closer to Christianity than 'normal' Muslims, and so they and their teachings were

particularly important for Christian missionaries who worked in Persia. The idea of relative religious freedom also plays a role in the work. In Persia, all Christian mission was forbidden and Christian religious practice was restricted. Here, Andreas formulates the hope of tolerance towards other religions – and thus towards Christianity – which was of as much interest to the readers of the journal as it was to the Deutsche Orient-Mission.

PUBLICATIONS

F.C. Andreas, *Die Babi's in Persien. Ihre Geschichte und Lehre, quellenmäßig und nach eigener Anschauung dargestellt, mit einer Vorrede von W. Faber*, Leipzig, 1896; 99357 (digitised version available through Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt)

'Die Grundlehren des islamischen Glaubens' 'The principles of the Islamic faith'

DATE 1903
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

'Die Grundlehren des islamischen Glaubens. Ein kurzgefaßter muhammedanischer Katechismus' ('The principles of the Islamic faith. A concise Muḥammadan catechism') was translated by Andreas from an Arabic original, about which nothing is known, by a certain Muslim Mehmud Mes'ud, who is not identified. The purpose of the article, which is about 35 pages long in its original edition, including notes and illustrations, is to describe Islam for Western and Christian readers through a series of answers to questions that Christians might ask about Islam and Muslim religious practice. It is divided into 48 thematic sections, each dealing with an aspect of faith or religious practice. It briefly and concisely covers everything about Islam, presented from an Islamic perspective according to Ḥanafī law.

It begins with the knowledge of creation, the prophets and the Qur'an, as well as the various doctrines of Islam. It is about faith (*īmān*) as submission to the will of God and religion (*dīn*) as carrying out God's will, as well as community (*milla*). Above all, the law (*sharīʿa*) and regulations of Islam are explained in detail, together with actions that are required and forbidden.

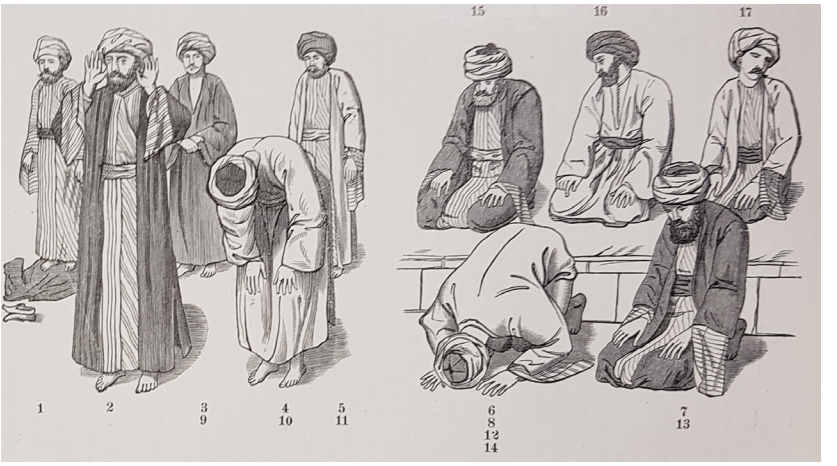

Illustration 10. The various positions comprising a *rak'a*, one of the units of Muslim prayer, from 'Die Grundlehrendes islamischen Glauben'

In addition to these basics, the article deals with the regulations for the correct performance of the set prayers, explaining the individual components and the accompanying Arabic formulas, as well as the particular requirements for worship in the two major festivals of breaking the Ramaḍān fast and of the sacrifice following the pilgrimage. Finally, the rules concerning fasting, almsgiving and pilgrimage are listed, all in the form of questions and answers.

The text is accompanied by copious comments from Andreas, with a few notes from Mes'ud himself.

SIGNIFICANCE

The catechism was distributed and read mainly in circles of the Deutsche Orient-Mission, rather than in the academic fields in which Andreas worked. Its particular feature is that, as originally written by Mehmud Mes'ud, it presents the perspective of a Muslim on Islam for Christian readers.

PUBLICATIONS

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Michael Knüppel

Wilhelm Bousset

Johann Franz Wilhelm Bousset

DATE OF BIRTH	3 September 1865
PLACE OF BIRTH	Lübeck
DATE OF DEATH	8 March 1920
PLACE OF DEATH	Gießen

BIOGRAPHY

Wilhelm Bousset was a German theologian who worked as an associate professor in Göttingen until 1916 and then as a full professor of the New Testament in Gießen. He was a member of the so-called 'Religionsgeschichtlichen Schule' ('History of Religions school'), a loose association of theologians who favoured the exclusive application of the historical method in theology. Bousset made several notable large-scale analyses of biblical texts using a novel method that other members of the school called form-historical (*formgeschichtlich*) or cultural-historical (*kultgeschichtlich*). In this method, individual biblical authors were viewed entirely in light of their social and historical contexts rather than independently of the environment in which they lived. The pinnacle of Bousset's theological work is the 1913 monograph *Kyrios Christos*, in which he reconstructs the emergence of the New Testament and early Christology in light of his cultural-historical method.

Bousset was viewed critically by the conservative church of his region, due to his politically left-wing liberal tendencies and because he went beyond the confines of academic discourse and disseminated the results of his research to a wide range of interested laypeople via summer courses and popular scholarly journals. However, he was aware of the relativistic consequences of the historical method for doctrine and made attempts later in his career to resolve this issue via a Kantian philosophy of religion called 'New Friesianism', in which he portrayed religion as the fundamental principle of rational subjectivity. Many fellow members of the History of Religions school could not reconcile this with their anti-rationalist views. Prior to this step towards religious philosophy, Bousset had already reflected on the highest validity (*Höchstgeltung*, according to Ernst Troeltsch) of Christianity. He did so while redefining the essence of Christianity in a way that was also intended to serve as the basis for

a renewal of the social structure of the conservative Lutheran churches to create a people's church (*Volkskirche*) that could accept Bousset's New Protestantism.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Das Wesen der Religion dargestellt an ihrer Geschichte
'The essence of religion as derived from its history'

DATE 1903
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This work, which is 286 pages long, is a collection of eight lectures that Bousset originally presented during a summer course to groups of participants who were interested in religion and theology. They display the impetus of Enlightenment thinking that is generally characteristic of the History of Religions school of thought (Hübinger, *Kulturprotestantismus und Politik*, Tübingen, 1994, p. 205) in a popular form that offers a summary of Bousset's ideas. He reconstructs the emergence of religious life, seeking *erkenntnismässiges Wissen* ('evidence-based knowledge') of the phenomenon of religion in the context of historical method (*Das Wesen der Religion*, 1904 edition, p. 9; the references that follow are to this edition) always accepting without question that Christianity is the *vollkommenste Spezies des Genus* ('most perfect species of the genus', p. 8). Here, Bousset breaks with historical method and moves into the realm of religious philosophy, into a subjective determination of the 'essence' of each religion

with the aim of demonstrating the superiority of Christianity (see the seventh and eighth lectures, pp. 192-269; Höffker, *Christentumsverständnis*, pp. 273-317).

In his work, Bousset constructs a tiered categorisation of the religious life, which he sees as developing alongside the history of culture. This typology begins with animism (second lecture, pp. 27-62), followed by national religions in which religious life is limited and bound to the well-being of the state (third lecture, pp. 63-98). This is disrupted by prophets when they bind religion to the individual and conceptualise God as universal (fourth lecture, pp. 99-122). These great prophetic figures are always followed by a phase of observance in which their teachings are put into practice by their followers and the universal ideas they have brought become specific as they are combined with religious traditions (p. 138).

Bousset seldom travelled and never encountered Islam in its various forms. He drew his ideas about the faith from works such as Hubert Grimme's *Mohammed* (1892-5) and Julius Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (1884-9), a limitation which he acknowledged (p. 280). Although he rarely deals specifically with Islam in this work, some inferences can be drawn from his fifth lecture on the 'observance' of religions, in which he includes Judaism, Parsism and Islam itself (pp. 123-57). The importance of great personalities in religious life can hardly be overestimated, he observes, even though reliance upon their biographies as authentic historical records is excluded by the method he employs. Thus, Muḥammad was a great 'religious individual' who possessed prophetic self-awareness, though he was 'a very complex personality' (p. 126). He demonstrated his prophetic powers through grandiose but simple ways of speaking (p. 127), offering new understanding of the alien reality of God and preaching monotheism and universalism, which he derived from 'somewhat decadent forms' (*recht verdorbene Gestalt*) of Christianity and Judaism (pp. 126, 133, 134). Furthermore, Islam, most consistently of all three monotheistic religions, overcame the ritual of sacrifice in favour of spiritual worship. In this, it was following the forms of Christianity and above all Judaism that were practised in the time of Muḥammad, in which sacrifices were no longer performed (p. 138).

Despite this, as Bousset sees it, Islam in his own time has sunk back to a level below that of the Old and New Testaments because the faith is always mixed up with politics and with the goal of 'political submission' (p. 134). In his highly questionable Eurocentric view, Islam has only achieved missionary success among 'low-standing races' (p. 134) and has not been able to engage with 'higher-standing' Western cultures in the

way that Christianity has, being transformed in the process into a 'modern' religion.

Bousset classifies Islam, Parsism, Judaism and church-bound Christianity as 'observance religions', among which he finds a number of structural analogies that are typical of a social form he assigns to the church type (Höffker, *Christentumsverständnis*, pp. 94-101). In them, the grand universalist religious ideas of the prophets are reinterpreted in a narrow, particularist manner and religion becomes a form with legal compilations that regulate and mediate the relationship between the religious individual and the divine. As a result, a situation then emerges in which the authors of sacred texts and hierarchies of priests are required as part of religious life. Bousset views this 'church-based' social form, which synthesises the universalism of the prophets selectively, as valuable for illustrating the dangers that stifle a freer form of piety. This is the category into which Bousset places Islam. In the faith, he sees all the potential that can foster a free form of piety but also all the obstacles against it.

Despite the principle of valuing what is alien, of which as a member of the History of Religions school of thought Bousset is certainly well aware, he passes judgement with an imperialistic air of unqualified confidence: it is no coincidence for him that countries influenced by Christianity have produced a modern culture based on freedom and individuality, values that are closely tied to Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Das Wesen der Religion was praised by members of the History of Religions school of thought and also many others. Bernhard Lang has shown that Max Weber derived ideas from it, including the relationship of prophecy to law and the category of redemptive religion (B. Lang, 'Prophet, Priester, Virtuose', in H.G. Kippenburg et al. [eds], *Max Webers Religionssystematik*, Tübingen, 2001, 167-91, p. 187). Bousset's theory of religion draws attention to the interaction of religion and theology, which makes it relevant to contemporary conceptualisations of religion, despite its normative elements.

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Jan Höffker

Arminius Vámbéry

Ármin Vámbéry; Hermann Vámbéry; Herrmann Vámbéry; Hermann Bamberger; Hermann Wamberger; Hermann Weinberger

DATE OF BIRTH	19 March 1831 or 1832
PLACE OF BIRTH	St Georgen (Svätý Jur)
DATE OF DEATH	15 September 1913
PLACE OF DEATH	Budapest

BIOGRAPHY

Arminius Vámbéry was born in St Georgen (Szentgyörgy), which was then part of the Kingdom of Hungary (today Svätý Jur, Slovakia). Since he was born into a Jewish family, his birth was not registered, so the exact year remains unclear (he gives the day as 19 March); he himself reconstructed it as 1831 or 1832 (Vámbéry, *Struggles*, p. 3).

In his early years, Vámbéry was brought up in the Jewish faith, though he later distanced himself from Judaism. His mother sent him to an elementary school run by Protestants and later to a Catholic school, so that he became acquainted with Christianity. During his long stay in Muslim-majority regions, he also became familiar with Islam, as well as Bahā'ism. His religious affiliation in later years is not entirely clear; in his autobiography, he calls himself a 'freethinker' (Vámbéry, *Struggles*, pp. 185, 263), but he does not define this in more detail. In 1868, he married Kornélia Arányi-Rechnitz, daughter of Professor Lajos György Arányi, a known anti-Semite; on the other hand, he helped Theodor Herzl, founder of political Zionism, to establish contacts with Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) in order to ask for land in Palestine with the aim of establishing the state of Israel.

In 1857, after working as a private tutor in Hungary for some years, Vámbéry moved to Istanbul and started teaching languages. He lived with local families, which enabled him to gain deep insights into the language, religion and culture of his hosts. In 1861, he decided to travel to Central Asia disguised as an Ottoman dervish, with the aim of studying the Turkic languages spoken there and, ideally, proving their relatedness to Hungarian. Adverse circumstances dictated that he first had to spend several months travelling in Persia but, in March 1863, he left the Persian capital, Tehran, in company with a group of pilgrims returning from Mecca to Central Asia. On his ten-month journey, he travelled to many cities including

Khiva, Bokhara and Samarqand (all in present-day Uzbekistan), returning to Tehran via Afghanistan in the company of a young mullah, who spent the following years with Vámbéry in Hungary.

After his return to Pest in May 1864 he travelled to London, where he gave public lectures and published an account of his journey under the title *Travels in Central Asia*. Franz Joseph I (r. 1867-1916), Emperor of Austro-Hungary, granted him a post as lecturer in Oriental Languages at the University of Pest and later appointed him as professor, despite the fact that Vámbéry had never formally graduated from a university or even a school. He held this position until his death in September 1913, from 1906 as professor emeritus. Among his pupils was the famous Orientalist Ignać Goldziher (1850-1921; see *CMR* 22, 328-37).

In the years after 1864, Vámbéry published numerous books and articles in various disciplines (see the third edition of Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry* as the most recent and most detailed list of his publications). Besides philological studies, which Vámbéry himself considered the nucleus of his work, and his travel accounts, he published on ethnological, sociological, political and historical topics. He became known as one of the authors who, by stressing the common ground and close relations between the various Turkic groups, laid the foundation for emerging Pan-Turkism.

Politically, Vámbéry supported Great Britain's aspirations to play an important role as a civiliser in Asia, while at the same time disapproving of Russian claims of the same kind. He expressed these views very openly in his works, as well as in numerous non-scientific newspaper articles and letters to the editors of British, German and Hungarian newspapers. From 1889 onwards, he also sent more than 100 letters to officials at the British Foreign Office, reporting mostly on the Ottoman Empire and Sultan Abdülhamid (see Kuneralp, *Secret reports*). Vámbéry saw himself as an intermediary between the British and the Ottoman Empires and thus between the Christian and Muslim worlds.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Travels in Central Asia

DATE 1864
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Vámbéry wrote *Travels in Central Asia. Being the account of a journey from Teheran across the Turkoman desert on the eastern shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, performed in the year 1863* during his stay in London, immediately after he had returned from his journey in 1864. According to a later statement in his autobiography (*Struggles*, p. 243), he finished the manuscript in only three months. In the following year, shortly after the English version, German and Hungarian translations appeared, as well as translations into French, Russian and Danish (the latter translated from the German edition). Several translations into other languages followed, including one into Ottoman Turkish in 1878, as well as several reprints of editions in different languages. As Vámbéry wrote and finished this book during his stay in London in 1864, he felt the need to supplement it with further observations; this resulted in his monograph *Sketches of Central Asia*, published in 1868.

The original English version, which totals 460 (xvii + 443) pages, consists of two parts: Part I, comprising 15 chapters, is intended as a description of Vámbéry's experiences on his journey. Starting with his travels in Persia, he describes the various stages in chronological order. Each chapter contains a description of the route, circumstances and difficulties on the way, geographical observations and accounts of places of interest or architectural characteristics, as well as depictions of conversations with his fellow travellers or local dignitaries, such as politicians or members of the clergy. In between, Vámbéry gives his clear judgments on places, people and their habits. At 300 pages in length, this section makes up the larger part of the book. The second part, comprising nine chapters, is intended to be 'devoted to notices concerning the geography, statistics, politics, and social relations of Central Asia' (*Travels*, p. x). It gives further impressions of the Turkoman people (ch. 16), the cities of Khiva and Bokhara (chs 17 and 18), neighbouring regions that Vámbéry did not visit (ch. 19, Khanat of Kokand; ch. 20, Chinese Tartary) and more general topics, such as communication and transport (ch. 21), a general view of agriculture, manufacturing and trade (ch. 22), the internal and external political relations of Central Asia (ch. 23), and the rivalry between the Russian and the British

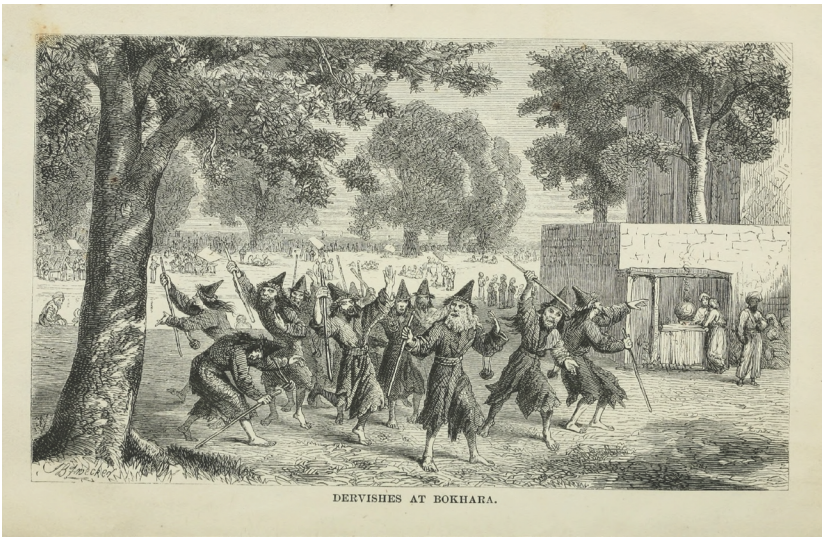

Illustration 11. 'Dervishes at Bokhara'

Empires in Central Asia (ch. 24). This last chapter can be seen as one of the core fields of Vámbéry's later activities, i.e. the comparison between Russia's and Britain's actions in Asia, on which he emphatically took sides with the latter.

In autumn 1873, probably triggered by the Russian conquest of the Khanate of Khiva in June that year, a second, extended edition of the book was released in German and Hungarian and translated into French (though, surprisingly, not into English). In this version, Vámbéry added some of the facts which were contained in other books he had published in the meantime; however, he repeated what he had said before in the preface to the first edition: That he merely wanted to present his travel impressions, nothing more, nothing less. In his own evaluation of the book, given in his autobiography (*Struggles*, p. 471), he mentions again that it was not his intention to give information about fields such as astronomy, orography, hydrography, fauna and flora, or geology. Rather, he saw the merit of his work in 'that in certain parts of Central Asia I was the first European traveller, and have contributed many names of places to the map of the region, and furnished many facts hitherto unknown about the ethnographical relations of the Turks in these parts' (*Struggles*, p. 471).

Vámbéry undertook his journey 'as a Dervish living on alms, and undergoing all the penalties of fakirdom, I was certainly the first and only

European' (*Struggles*, p. 471). In his account, he describes his impressions of the daily life of his fellow travellers, as well as that of the people he met on his journey. Religion and religious customs are predominantly portrayed within this framework. Particularly when Vámbéry writes about differences between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, he does so from the perspective of his disguise as a Sunnī dervish, and also by reproducing stories of his travelling companions (see, e.g. *Travels*, pp. 24-9, 38-9). In the second part of the book, questions of religion are mainly included in the chapters on ethnography as, e.g. information on Islam, marriage ceremonies, mourning for the dead, etc. in the chapter 'The Turkomans' (ch. 16). Christians and their customs play a subordinate role, though in one place the 'two great classes of Christians in Europe' are mentioned to explain the differences between the adherents of Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam; thus, Vámbéry is obviously aiming to make this easier to understand for the average European reader (*Travels*, p. 436). Vámbéry's judgement that 'Christian civilisation, incontestably the noblest and most glorious attribute that ever graced human society, would be a benefit to Central Asia' (*Travels*, p. 439) can probably be seen as a means of flattering his English audience, but it also anticipates his later views that Britain was best suited to civilise the Muslim peoples of Asia, as elaborated in his later books on the rivalry between Russia and Britain in Asia (e.g. *The coming struggle for India*, 1885; *Western culture in eastern lands*, 1906) and numerous articles (to identify these, see Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*).

SIGNIFICANCE

Vámbéry's work was part of a larger corpus of travel accounts that appeared in 19th-century England (Vámbéry himself mentioned this tradition in the preface, although stressing the fact that he was 'a stranger on the field', *Travels*, p. ix). Being one of the few Europeans travelling in the region and the first known for doing so in the disguise of a Sunnī dervish, he was able to give first-hand impressions of the people and their social and religious life from a new perspective. The particular circumstances of his journey and his deep knowledge of Ottoman and other Turkic languages meant that he could converse directly with the people whom he met and therefore gain unique insights.

His monograph attracted widespread attention, as is reflected in the numerous newspaper articles about its publication (e.g. a two-column article in *The Times*, 14 February 1865, p. 5) and in the fact that the book was translated into several European languages within a short space of

time, as well as into Ottoman Turkish some years later. Several reviews were published in popular and scientific journals (Knüppel, *Ármin*(*ius*) *Vámbéry*, lists more than 40 reviews of the work, and there are probably many more), although it must be borne in mind that some of these were not so much reviews of the work as mere vehicles for lengthy quotations from it. However, all these factors contributed to the wide dissemination of Vámbéry's work in many countries.

While most of the reviews were positive, the authors of some doubted whether he had in fact successfully travelled the whole way to Central Asia and back and whether all the information he provided was precise. One of his sharpest critics on this point was the American scholar, traveller and diplomat Eugene Schuyler (1840-90), who accused him of inventing his journey (Schuyler, 'Central Asia', *The Athenaeum* 2397 [4 October 1873] 431). Acknowledging he was wrong, Schuyler apologised to Vámbéry only a few years later (*Struggles*, pp. 466-7).

Vámbéry's book contributed to the wider knowledge of Central Asian Muslim societies, especially their daily life and religious customs, as well as the views of religious dignitaries in the region on certain topics. The book was aimed at a broad audience but Vámbéry, nevertheless, introduced Arabic, Persian and Ottoman terms, giving their meaning either in brackets in the text or in footnotes, always in connection with an explanation or a synonym in English. Despite the fact that he had kept his dervish disguise throughout his journey for about a year and had lived almost like a local in Istanbul for some years before, his perspective in *Travels in Central Asia* is clearly that of a European addressing a European audience, with explanations for this target group.

With this work, Vámbéry shaped the perception of Central Asia in the 19th century significantly. It was only later, when the Russian conquest enabled other Western travellers to visit the region and publish their impressions, that these writers added to, corrected or gave alternative perspectives on some of his views.

In recent years, several studies have drawn a connection between Vámbéry's text and the concept of 'Orientalism' that was introduced by Edward Said in his book of that name published in 1978. Vámbéry's text is investigated in this context, with mixed results (see, e.g. Paidar and Pourqarib, 'Anti-Oriental narrative'; Mandler, *Arminius Vambéry and the British Empire*; Gholi, 'Representation of Central Asia'; Çakırtaş, 'Said'in *Şarkiyatçılık*'ı işığında bir okuma'; Bock-Luna, *Reiseleben – Lebensreise*; Mandler, 'Arminius Vambéry, the Eastern (br)other'; Ponseti, 'Representing the other').

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Vándorlásaim és élményeim Perzsiában
'My wanderings and experiences in Persia'

DATE 1867
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hungarian

DESCRIPTION

Vándorlásaim és élményeim Perzsiában was published in Hungarian and German in 1867 (with Hungarian being the original language, as Vámbéry indicates on the title page of the German edition, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebniss in Persien*). A Swedish translation was released two years later. In his autobiography (*Struggles*, p. 477), Vámbéry claimed that a translation had also appeared in England; however, there is no evidence of such a book, which is somewhat surprising, given the success of his previous travel account, *Travels in Central Asia* (1864).

Vámbéry published this travelogue as an account of his excursion to the Persian cities of Isfahan and Shiraz, a trip he decided to undertake in spring 1863 after reaching Tehran and finding that the way to Central Asia, his actual destination, was blocked. He lowers any expectations his potential readers might already have by pointing out in the first sentences of his preface that many European travellers before him have already 'fully and accurately' described Persia 'both geographically and ethnographically' (*Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse*, 'Vorrede'), and by admitting that it is only the perspective resulting from his disguise as a Sunnī dervish travelling in mostly Shīʿī regions 'which could lay claim to any special interest' (*Struggles*, p. 477). Before starting his trip from Tehran, he had thought about taking off the dervish disguise and travelling as a European. However, he decided not to do so, out of curiosity: he wanted to experience how the Shīʿīs in southern Persia would encounter a Sunnī Muslim (*Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse*, p. 123).

The German version of the travelogue contains 13 chapters in 364 pages, plus a two-page preface ('Vorrede'). In each chapter, Vámbéry gives exhaustive information on his activities and describes encounters and conversations he had on his trip. Besides his detour to Isfahan and Shiraz, he also

Illustration 12. 'Perser un Perserein' from *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnissein Persien*

describes the stages of his journey to and from Central Asia, which passed through Persian territory. For example, he gives the reader a description of the sacred sites in Mashhad (*Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse*, pp. 319-25), as well as an account of the time spent in Tehran after his return from Central Asia (pp. 352-64).

Vámbéry addresses questions of religion at several points. Thus, he describes characteristics of and differences between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs (pp. 39, 45, 52-4), Shīʿī ceremonies such as the *taʿẓiya*, the passion play inspired by the assassination of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn in 680 (pp. 72-80), a funeral caravan to Karbalāʾ (pp. 131-3) and religious singers (pp. 125, 183-5). He writes about his encounters with religious dignitaries (pp. 169-72), as well as discussions about questions of faith (pp. 81-2) and a visit to the city of Qom (pp. 137-43). There is information about non-Muslim groups, such as Greek (pp. 8-9) and Armenian Christians (pp. 30-1, 259), including a detailed description of Julfa, the Armenian quarter in Isfahan (pp. 165-7), and Jews (pp. 145-6, 227). Vámbéry also gives the story of Joseph Wolff, a missionary who had travelled to Bukhara in the 1840s (pp. 56-8).

Of particular value is the chapter on 'Bab und Babis' (pp. 286-303), as it was one of the earliest and most detailed descriptions published in

Western Europe of the Bahāʾī community. Vámbéry's account is sweeping and in some respects rather negative, but even so the chapter laid the ground for a better knowledge of this group in Europe and is still of some importance today.

This monograph can be seen as a continuation of *Travels in Central Asia*, which had been published three years earlier. Vámbéry repeatedly refers to this earlier work, either by touching on details he had already elaborated there or by mentioning, almost in passing, its commercial success, of which he seems proud. Here, Vámbéry again employs the first-hand experiences he had gathered on his journey some years previously and, although there were numerous books about the region already written by Europeans, as he himself mentions in the introduction, he is nevertheless able to give fresh impressions from an 'insider perspective' by virtue of presenting himself as a Sunnī dervish, gaining insights normally denied to a European traveller.

SIGNIFICANCE

As already briefly mentioned above, the extensive chapter on the Bahāʾī faith received special attention as an early account of the relatively newly emerged religious community. It is also still regarded favourably today by Bahāʾīs, mostly in connection with Vámbéry's later contacts with high-ranking representatives of the faith. For example, Vámbéry met ʿAbd ul-Bahāʾ, the eldest son of Bahāʾ ullāh, founder of the Bahāʾī faith, during his travels to Europe in Budapest in 1913 and wrote a lengthy letter afterwards (see 'Letter to Abdul-Baha'; for Vámbéry's connection to the Bahāʾī faith, see Sárközy, 'Arminius Vámbéry'). The letter is often cited as proof of Vámbéry's appreciation of their faith, sometimes even as justification for taking Vámbéry as a Bahāʾī himself, though there is no further proof for this.

The book was widely read although, surprisingly, it was not translated into English. When it was published, several reviews appeared in academic and popular journals (see the bibliographical information in Knüppel, *Ármin*(*ius*) *Vámbéry*, for further details). A contemporary reviewer explicitly praised the fact that, thanks to his 'knowledge of the Persian language, the Qur'an and the customs of the Persians, [Vámbéry] could gain deep insights into the conditions there' (quote from the review of a certain L. in the journal *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, in 1868). An anonymous reviewer in the journal *Globus* in 1867 saw Vámbéry's work as an excellent addition to the work of Jakob Eduard Polak (1818-91), published in 1865 under the title *Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner.*

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Sketches of Central Asia

DATE 1868
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Intending it as an enlargement of his previously published travelogue *Travels in Central Asia* (1864), Vámbéry published *Sketches of Central Asia. Additional chapters on my travels, adventures, and on the ethnology of Central Asia* in English, German (*Skizzen aus Mittelasien*), Hungarian (*Vázlatai Közép-Ázsiából*) and Russian (*Ocherki Srednei Azii*). In it, he 'elaborated the account of my adventures with fresh incidents, and [...] introduced those ethnographical, political, and economic data which I was unable to incorporate in my traveller's account written in London, as the documents needed for this were left behind at home in Pest' (*Struggles*, pp. 471-2). The English version, published in 1868, is probably the original and consists of viii + 444 pages divided into 19 chapters on quite different themes and in different styles. (The German and Hungarian versions correspond to the English one, but there is no equivalent to ch. 16, with the title 'Iranians'.) Among the chapters are, on the one hand, recollections about Vámbéry's adventures on his travels, or excerpts from his journal in chapters entitled 'Recollections of my Dervish life' (ch. 2), 'Amongst the Turkomans' (ch. 3), 'From Khiva to Kungrat and back' (ch. 9), or 'My Tatar' (ch. 10). On the other hand, he gives more general descriptions oriented, for example, towards ethnography (ch. 7, 8 and 16, amongst others), literature (ch. 18) or the rivalry between Russia and Britain in Central Asia (ch. 19). These chapters already anticipate some of his later, more academic works, such as *Sittenbilder aus dem Morgenland* ('Moral pictures from the Orient', 1876), or *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen* ('The Turkic people in their ethnological and ethnographic relations', 1885).

Vámbéry's own later judgement on *Sketches*, as found in his autobiography, was relatively harsh. He writes: it 'attracted more attention in scientific circles [...], but still from a scientific point of view this book does not deserve much attention, for in spite of many new data, it is altogether too fragmentary, and bears the unmistakable stamp of *dilettantism*' (*Struggles*, p. 472), which he then elaborated further with reference to ethnology. He considered only the part about the rivalry between Great Britain and Russia in Central Asia to be 'of any real value'.

As for religion, the book contains much information on general themes as well as everyday life, often in the form that Vámbéry had experienced when he travelled disguised as a dervish. In particular, the first chapter, 'Dervishes and Hadjis' (pp. 1-21), provides the reader with many details on Islam (proper names, as well as customs, often given together with the corresponding terms in Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish). However, Vámbéry also uses, as he often does in his works, exaggerations, stereotypes, generalisations and platitudes. He attributes certain characteristics to entire groups as, for example, in sentences such as 'Nobody is more clever than a Hadji in negotiating, be the people he has to deal with believers or unbelievers, nomads or agricultural tribes' (p. 20).

In ch. 12, entitled 'Bokhara, the head quarters of Mohammedanism' (pp. 186-204), Vámbéry describes the characteristics of religious life in Central Asia, discerning what he perceives to be a marked difference between 'Eastern and Western Mohammedanism'. In his opinion, the followers of 'Eastern Mohammedanism', Muslims of Central Asia and other regions in the east, are convinced they are the 'better' Muslims, with the 'chief characteristic feature' being

> the wild fanatic obstinacy with which the Mussulman, in the far East, clings to every single point of the Koran and the traditions, looking with terror and aversion, in the true spirit of the Oriental, upon any innovation; and, in a word, directing all his efforts to the preservation of his religion at that precise standard which marked its existence in the happy period (Vakti Seadet) of the Prophet and the first califs. (pp. 187-8)

In other chapters, information on Islam and on related customs, as well as on other religions Vámbéry encountered along the way, are given casually. This includes details relevant to lifestyle, such as the information that '[t]he Khan, like every orthodox Mussulman, is obliged to leave his bed before sun-rise, and to be present at the morning prayer in full assembly' (p. 91). Other examples can be found, e.g. in ch. 7 on 'Joy and Sorrow' (pp. 98-113), where Vámbéry describes rites of birth, marriage and death. In other cases, he includes quotations from the Qur'an (e.g. p. 84) or statements of the Prophet Muḥammad (e.g. p. 195) to prove his points. He sometimes compares the situation in Central Asia with that in the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Arab regions, e.g. when giving details about prayer rituals (p. 191). Information on other religions is also given in passing, e.g. on Christian groups (p. 165). Here, Vámbéry sees a great similarity between Muslims and Christians living in Asia, while the latter differ greatly from their co-religionists in Europe.

On the whole, this book is a mix of travelogue and ethnological description of the peoples of the region. Together with *Travels in Central Asia*, it is one of Vámbéry's better known works.

Like his earlier works, *Travels in Central Asia* (1864) and *Vándorlásaim és élményeim Perzsiában* (1867), Vámbéry's *Sketches* is the direct outcome of his journey to Central Asia. However, here he attempts to change the direction from a pure travel account into a work with a more scientific approach, which is reflected in the different styles in which the chapters are presented. He continues this in later works, especially his ethnographic accounts of the Turkic peoples, such as *Sittenbilder aus dem Morgenland* (1876) and *Das Türkenvolk* (1885), as well as his books on the rivalry between Russia and Great Britain in Asia, *The coming struggle for India* (1885) and *Western culture in eastern lands* (1906), and numerous articles (see the bibliographical information in Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*).

In the English edition of this work (as well as the German), Vámbéry gives a number of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman terms, usually in brackets after the English or other translation or, if in the text directly, followed by an explanation or a corresponding term in the language of the work. Sayings of the Prophet are sometimes given in the original, followed by a translation. On the other hand, longer original sources such as the *Poem of the thief Abdurrahman* ('Duai-duzd Abdurrahman') are presented in English translation only (pp. 189-90).

SIGNIFICANCE

Even though the book was not translated into as many languages as *Travels in Central Asia*, it can still be considered a commercial success, with translations into several languages and several new editions in the following years. It also received much attention from contemporary reviewers. Knüppel (*Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*) lists more than 15 reviews, but there were probably more. In recent years, it has sometimes been investigated together with *Travels in Central Asia* in the context of the 'Orientalism' debate (see, e.g. Bock-Luna, *Reiseleben – Lebensreise*).

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Der Islam im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine culturgeschichtliche Studie
'Islam in the nineteenth century. A cultural-historical study'

DATE 1875
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Vámbéry published this monograph in German only, one of the very few of his works that was not published in a Hungarian and/or English version simultaneously with the German edition. It contains 322 pages plus a two-page foreword and, despite the title, which seems to promise a broad approach, its focus is on what Vámbéry calls 'the Islamic East' or 'Muslim Asia', meaning those countries in Asia in which he had been living or travelling, as he explains in the preface. He pays special attention to the Ottoman Empire, as the state in which he lived longest and knew best. Nevertheless, Vámbéry interestingly saw his work as a key to understanding not only the Muslim parts of Asia but also the Buddhist ones (*Der Islam*, p. 10).

Vámbéry starts his book with an introduction on the geography of the region and the story of European missionaries and travellers there (ch. 1). Within the 14 main chapters, he addresses various topics, beginning with an overview of what he calls 'The peoples of Islam' and their respective

relation to religion (ch. 2) and 'The countries of Islam' (ch. 3). It must be said that, as in his other works, he tends to ascribe physical and character traits to members of certain ethnic or religious groups in a very sweeping way. Thus, to cite just a few examples, he calls Asians in general 'stubborn' (*Der Islam*, p. 15) and Muslims 'lazy and disinclined to work' (p. 41). In contrast, he refers much more positively to European peoples, as well as Asian Christian peoples such as Armenians (p. 54). This tendency runs like a common thread through all his works.

In ch. 4, entitled 'The culture of Islam', Vámbéry elaborates his views on intellectuals and the connection between religion and science in Islam. Again, his perception is relatively negative, and he calls the positive view of the early period of Islam a 'significant quantum of overestimation', which had its origins in the backwardness of Christianity at that time, the great temporal distance, and a generalisation of the situation in Spain and Sicily under Islamic rule. On the other hand, he praises English and Russian colonisation of parts of the Islamic world as 'a forcible, but nevertheless basically beneficial appearance' (p. 70).

Ch. 5, 'Innovations', and ch. 6, 'Ways of innovations', deal with reforms based on the European model in the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Afghanistan. Vámbéry emphasises the urgent need for these reforms, which took place in the areas of the armed forces, state organisation and social life.

After comments on the state structures in the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Afghanistan and other countries (ch. 7), Vámbéry turns to the family and the individual (ch. 8) and school education and literature (ch. 9), detailing recent changes in these domains. The following chapters are devoted to 'Industry and trade' (ch. 10) and 'East and West' (ch. 11).

In ch. 12, entitled 'Islam and Christianity', Vámbéry presents his views on what he considers typical character traits of Asian and European peoples, seeing religion not necessarily as a decisive factor. In his view, Christian Asians and Muslims share the same characteristics, namely fanaticism, superficiality, superstition, negligence, sensual inertia and the abhorrence of innovations brought from Europe (p. 243; cf. ch. 11, in which he has already presented these traits in detail on the example of the Asian Muslims).

When Vámbéry speculates about the future of the 'Muslim East' in ch. 13 and attempts an assessment of whether the region will be 'viable', he concludes, despite his rather negative judgements so far, that he does not share the pessimistic view of many of his colleagues, but sees the region on the road to improvement. In the last two chapters, entitled 'European

great powers and Mohammedan states' (ch. 14) and 'Mohammedan states and European great powers' (ch. 15), he offers his views on the supposed future relations between the region and Europe, attempting to take both perspectives into account.

In summary, Vámbéry draws a rather negative picture of Asian societies. He does so by drawing mostly on his own observations as partly already elaborated in his previous works, and his reading. Despite the title of the book, the reader finds less detail of the religious life than of various aspects of daily life, as well as political and societal developments, while religion is only partly significant. His sweeping judgement on 'Asians' in general tends to ignore religion as a decisive factor, a perspective that was harshly criticised by reviewers.

SIGNIFICANCE

In his own evaluation of the book, given in his autobiography roughly 30 years after its publication, Vámbéry stressed his attempt to achieve a balanced assessment. In his view, he 'directed the attention of the reading public to those social and political reforms which our intervention and our reformatory efforts in the Moslem East have called forth; but practically both the one and the other were failures' (*Struggles*, p. 478). However, he claimed that it was not his intention 'to write a sort of defence of Islam, as was generally imagined', but 'to show up the mistakes, weaknesses and prejudices which characterised this transition period; indeed I ruthlessly tore away the veil, but on the other hand I did not hesitate to lay bare our own neglects and faults' (p. 478). On the other hand, he wanted

> to correct the judgment of Europe in regard to the Moslem society of Asia, and to point out that with patience and a little less egoism and greed we should accomplish more; that we are not yet justified in looking upon Islam as a society condemned to destruction, and in breaking the staff over it. (p. 478)

According to his own judgement, the book was intended 'as a purely theological study' (p. 478). He was disappointed that he could not publish it in England and therefore had to accept that 'the circle of readers was very limited', but he nevertheless flattered himself with the remark that he had the satisfaction of 'having stirred up a very serious question' (p. 478).

In contemporary reviews, discussions arose (in addition to criticism of the title of the work, which in the view of the reviewers was too general and gave a wrong impression of the book's contents) mainly over Vámbéry's view that religion had little influence on the character of the

people and their circumstances. One of the harshest critics on this matter was Moritz Lüttke (*CMR* 22, 313-27), who published an article entitled 'Mohámmed und der Islâm. III. Die Ausgestaltung des Islâms im Leben seiner Völker' in 1877. Here, he praised *Der Islam* for its 'great wealth of sharp observations and interesting information', but criticised Vámbéry for his 'radical negative' judgements in matters of religion and for the view that religion had no influence, but rather that Islamic culture and life, as well as the religion itself, were shaped by 'climatic and ethnic conditions' (Lüttke, 'Mohámmed und der Islâm', p. 233). In Lüttke's opinion, religion in general and Islam in particular had a profound impact on the lives of its followers. On the other hand, the British Orientalist Stanley Lane-Poole mentions Vámbéry's comparison of Christians and Muslims in his review of the work and suspects that 'most people acquainted with the subject' would admit that the similarity in character between Asian Christians and Muslims has its reasons supposedly 'not in any form of religion' but 'in the physical constitution and the natural surroundings of the Eastern' (Lane-Poole, 'Islam in the nineteenth century', p. 153).

In later works Vámbéry's monograph was rarely considered, and it was soon forgotten.

PUBLICATIONS

Hermann Vámbery, *Der Islam im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Eine culturgeschichtliche Studie*, Leipzig, 1875; 6582617 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Hermann Vambéry, *Islam w dziewiętnastym stuleciu. Studium z historyi cywilizacyi*, trans. W. Bogusławski, Warsaw, 1876 (Polish trans.); 70648699 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Vámbéry, 'Islam i 19:de århundradet', *Helsingfors Dagblad* 173 (29 June 1876) 1; 179 (5 July 1876) 1; 181 (7 July 1876) 1; 182 (8 July 1876) 1; 188 (14 July 1876) 1; 195 (21 July 1876) 1; 199 (25 July 1876) 1; 204 (30 July 1876) 1; 229 (24 August 1876) 1; 230 (25 August 1876) 1; 253 (17 September 1876) [2]; 273 (7 October 1876) 1; 301 (4 November 1876) 1 (Swedish trans. published in excerpts); repr. in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* 155 (8 July 1876); 156 (10 July 1876); 160 (14 July 1876); 171 (27 July 1876); 173 (29 July 1876); 178 (4 August 1876); 200 (30 August 1876); 203 (2 September 1876); 223 (26 September 1876); 245 (21 October 1876); 260 (8 November 1876); 1458-0802 (digitised version of *Helsingfors Dagblad* available through digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi)

STUDIES

Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*, 2020[3]

M. Lüttke, 'Mohámmed und der Islâm. III. Die Ausgestaltung der Islâm im Leben seiner Völker', *AMZ* 4 (1877) 231-59 (repr. in M. Lüttke, *Der Islam und seine Völker. Eine religions-, cultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Skizze*, Gütersloh, 1878)

S. Lane-Poole, 'Islam in the nineteenth century', *The Academy* 10 (1876) 153

Sittenbilder aus dem Morgenland
'Moral pictures from the Orient'

DATE 1876

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This book was published in 1876 in German, as well as Hungarian, Danish and Russian. According to the preface, some of the chapters had previously been published in Hungarian, English and German journals (in *Struggles*, p. 477, Vámbéry names the German periodical *Westermann's Jahrbuch der illustrirten deutschen Monatshefte* as an example). For the publication as a monograph, he enlarged these articles 'with sketches of family life in Turkey, Persia, and Central Asia, interspersed with personal observations on the religious and social customs of these people' (*Struggles*, pp. 477-8). Vámbéry aimed to describe everyday customs in Muslim Asia as he had observed them on his journey. The English translation of the title as 'Moral pictures from the Orient' was given by Vámbéry in his autobiography (*Struggles*, p. 477), though an English translation appeared in Budapest in 1979 with the title *Scenes from the East. Through the eyes of a European traveller in the 1860s*.

The book, which totals 317 pages in the German edition, is divided into 20 chapters, each comprising on average 10-20 pages. In addition to these chapters, in the appendix Vámbéry gives in German translation an extensive collection of proverbs common in Ottoman Turkish, Uzbek, Kazan-Tatar and Altaic (pp. 285-317), in some cases drawing on the works of other authors. The chapters cover various topics: besides more general themes such as 'House and yard' (pp. 1-10), 'Tobacco and narcotics' (pp. 78-108)

or 'Muslim rulers of the present age' (pp. 269-84), religious subjects are treated in the chapters 'Holidays' (pp. 147-56), 'Muslim types of peoples' (pp. 256-68), 'Pilgrims and pilgrimages' (pp. 157-74) and 'Dervishes' (pp. 175-90).

In these chapters, Vámbéry describes topics such as the Hajj and other pilgrimages to various destinations (Central Asia, Qom, Mashhad, Karbalā', Najaf and so forth), as well as ritual purification, the education of children, religious holidays and their backgrounds, funeral rites etc. In the chapter on dervishes, he also gives a detailed description of external markers of identity and their initiation rituals. As in his other works, he mixes general descriptions with personal anecdotes, often making broad and sweeping judgements when writing about certain ethnic or religious groups.

Of special interest with regard to Christian-Muslim relations is the chapter 'Christians and Jews' (pp. 232-55). Here, Vámbéry draws a very negative picture of Asia's Christian population in general, advising the reader to take 'all the vices and perversities, all the intolerances and prejudices' that are usually attributed to the Muslim population of Asia, and then add 'a significant dose of slavishness and squalidness, of lies and deception, but also of power of endurance and austerity'. In this way, he suggests, a picture of a typical representative of Asia's Christians can be gained, an image that is 'even more obnoxious and repellent' than that of a 'typical Muslim' (p. 232). As in his previous works, Vámbéry thus uses prejudices, stereotypes and generalisation as means to portray entire religious or ethnic groups as homogenous units. He continues this in three sub-chapters in which he presents Armenians (pp. 233-41), Greeks (pp. 241-4), and Assyrians (Maronites, pp. 245-7; Melkites, p. 247; Nestorians, pp. 247-9) as the most important Christian groups. In these parts of the work, he depicts individuals he had met on his journey ten years before as well as certain events, and takes these as prototypes to specify what he regards as typical physical and character traits as well as what he considers specific professions and possible career opportunities within the Ottoman Empire and other states, mostly Persia and the Russian Empire. In particular, questions of physiognomy seem to draw his attention. Considerably less is said about religious customs, congregational life and places of religious importance, to which Vámbéry apparently did not pay much attention. The same is true of his description of Jews (pp. 249-55), although his evaluation of their character is more positive than is the case with the Christians; this is presumably connected with his own Jewish background.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book is a continuation of Vámbéry's earlier works, especially his *Der Islam im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, published a year earlier in 1875. In his foreword to *Sittenbilder*, he expressed his opinion that this book should have been published before *Der Islam*, though he had hesitated to compose it and had decided to do so only after the publication of *Der Islam* and while he was working on an etymological dictionary of Turkic languages (published under the title *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der turko-tatarischen Sprachen. Ein Versuch zur Darstellung des Familienverhältnisses des turko-tatarischen Wortschatzes* in 1878).

Sittenbilder was well received by critics (see Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*, for bibliographical details of reviews) and was translated into several European languages in the year of publication or shortly thereafter. A second edition in German and another edition by a different publisher in Russian appeared as soon as 1877. An English translation, however, was published in Hungary only in 1979, with a reprint in 2011.

The book probably did not present many facts that were entirely new to scholars, though it succeeded in appealing to a wide lay readership, and found its place within the highly influential (at the time) corpus of Vámbéry's works. As in earlier works, Vámbéry frequently inserted Arabic, Persian or Ottoman words into the text, in most cases followed by a translation or an explanation in brackets. As the book contains mostly anecdotal episodes and many generalisations and sweeping judgements, its value for today must be considered low. If it has any interest, it is as an idiosyncratic source from the late 19th century complete with anecdotes of the author's encounters with individuals, rather than as an accurate description of contemporary religious conditions. It is less consulted in investigations of Orientalism than Vámbéry's travel accounts (e.g. *Travels in Central Asia* and *Sketches of Central Asia*).

PUBLICATIONS

Hermann Vámbéry, *Sittenbilder aus dem Morgenlande*, Berlin, 1876, repr. 1877; 007938373 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Ármin Vámbéry, *Keleti életképek*, Budapest, 1876, repr. Dunaszerdahely, 2011 (Hungarian trans.); 011814850 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

G. Vamberi, *Ocherki zhizni i nravov" Vostoka*, St Petersburg, 1876 (Russian trans.)

Arminius Vambéry, *Kulturskildringer fra Orienten*, trans. H.W., Copenhagen, 1877 (Danish trans.); Kulturskildringer_fra_Orienten (digitised version available through Google books)

Vamberi, *Ocherki i kartiny vostochnyx" nravov"*, St Petersburg, 1877 (Russian trans.)

Hermann Vambéry, 'O żydach w Turcji', *Izraelita. Organ poświęcony sprawom Religii i Oświaty* 12/21 (1 June 1877) cols 171b-172a (Polish trans., extracts)

Hermann Vambery, *Obrazy obyczajowe ze Wschodu*, Warsaw, 1880 (Polish trans.); 92892415 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

Hermann Vambery, 'Die Juden im Orient', *Der Israelit* 23/30 (26 July 1882) cols 654b-656b (extracts)

Á. Vámbéry, *Scenes from the East. Through the eyes of a European traveller in the 1860s*, trans. E. Körtvélyessy, Budapest, 1979 (English trans.)

STUDIES

Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*, 2020[3]

Bartholomä, *Von Zentralasien nach Windsor Castle*, pp. 83-4

Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen
'The Turkic people in their ethnological and ethnographic relations'

DATE 1885

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This book was published in 1885, simultaneously in German and Hungarian, with German most likely being the language of composition. Its full title hints at the goal that Vámbéry was pursuing: to draw a picture that comprised the whole Turkic people (*Das Türkenvolk*, p. vii). In his opinion, only scattered single studies written in Russian and therefore not accessible to the majority of people in Western Europe had previously addressed the topic (p. vii). He wanted to be the first author to write a comprehensive work on it, bringing together rare sources and his own personal experiences, and he regarded himself as the most suitable person to do this. In the book, he continued his earlier works on ethnography, as seen in

certain chapters in his travel accounts (*Travels in Central Asia*, 1864, and *Sketches of Central Asia*, 1868), monographs (for instance, *Der Islam*, 1875, and *Sittenbilder*, 1876) and numerous articles (see Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*, for bibliographical details).

Das Türkenvolk totals 638 pages in the German edition, and beginning with a detailed introductory chapter (pp. 1-87) in which Vámbéry sums up what was known at the time about the origins of the Turkic people. For this purpose, he presents historical sources about their derivation, their supposed position within the Ural-Altaic tribes and a description of migration movements over the centuries. The five parts that follow this introduction and give structure to the book correspond to Vámbéry's classification of the various groups of peoples of Turkic origin: Siberian, Central Asiatic, Volga, Pontus, and Western Turks. Within these different parts, he identifies and characterises further subgroups, such as the Iranian Turks (or Azeris) and Ottoman Turks among the Western Turks. In the chapters on the individual groups can be found information on their derivation, their estimated numbers, their tribes and families, way of life, religion, rites on certain occasions (birth, upbringing, marriage, burial), food, clothing and other topics. In each chapter, Vámbéry gives many excerpts from poems, proverbs and other literary forms to illustrate the assumptions he has made. The sections in which he treats what he calls the 'southern part of the area of peoples dealt with here' (p. vii) are largely based on his own experiences, while he relies on accounts given by others for the remaining regions (without explicitly naming his sources when citing from them). This is one of the reasons why the parts differ significantly in page numbers: the depiction of the Central Asiatic Turks covers nearly 250 pages and is thus the most detailed section, while other sections contain only about 100 pages each (interestingly, the chapter on the Ottoman Turks covers only about 30 pages, despite Vámbéry's many years of residence in Istanbul).

Although Vámbéry says that the focus of the work is not religion in particular but ethnography as a whole, religion is in fact covered within each section, sometimes in connection with other subjects such as rites. In the introduction, Vámbéry gives details about pre-Islamic and Islamic history as well as the tribes he describes in the following chapters, where several sections deal with religious topics explicitly. This applies to the following pages:

Siberian Turks: pp. 113-30 (covering different peoples)

Central Asiatic Turks: pp. 212, 228, 298-300 (for the so-called Kara-Kirgiz); pp. 300, 304 (Kazak-Kirgiz), pp. 320, 325-7, 331 (Uighurs and other Turks of East Turkestan); p. 347, 380-1 (Uzbeks), pp. 409-10 (Turkmens)

Volga Turks: pp. 422, 427-33, 440-2 (Kazan Tatars); pp. 454, 476-92 (Chuvash people); pp. 505-7 (Bashkirs); pp. 519, 521-3 (Mishar Tatars and Teptyars)

Pontus Turks: pp. 538-40 (Crimean Tatars), pp. 548-9, 557, 562 (Nogai Tatars and others)

Western Turks: p. 593 (Iranian Turks or Azeris), pp. 597, 618-19 (Ottoman Turks)

Additional information appears in other passages as well.

All in all, Vámbéry's book gives interesting information on the Turkic peoples in the 19th century, although in hugely different degrees of detail and sometimes, as in his other works, with very general and sweeping judgements about ethnic and religious matters.

SIGNIFICANCE

Vámbéry was motivated to write this work by the recognition he had received for *Die primitive Cultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (1879). However, even though the work was intended not only for an academic but also for a wide audience, it was not widely distributed. Vámbéry himself mentioned in his 1904 autobiography that he was disappointed that 'the book had such a very limited sale' and that 'after a lapse of ten years, not three hundred copies had been sold' (*Struggles*, p. 476). In addition, he was frustrated by the fact that, 'in spite of my favourable literary position in England, all my endeavours to issue an English edition of this work were in vain' (p. 476).

Nevertheless, the book was 'favourably criticised' and received considerable attention from his colleagues; Knüppel (*Ármin*(*ius*) *Vámbéry*) lists eleven reviews and there were probably more. To name just one example, the French Orientalist Abel Jean Baptiste Pavet de Courteille (1821-89), a specialist in Turkic languages, wrote a review in the *Journal Asiatique* in which he praised, among other things, the 'scholarly and interesting' introduction, and recommended that those interested in Oriental studies should 'read the whole book'. With this and other works, Vámbéry laid the groundwork for the emerging field of Turkology, as well as emerging Pan-Turkism in Turkic-speaking regions.

However, the rapid academic developments of the late 19th and early 20th centuries soon caused the work to become obsolete. In 1953, the German Turkologist Johannes Benzing acknowledged that Vámbéry had made 'the first attempt at an overall linguistic-cultural account of the

Turkic peoples' with his works (*Einführung*, p. 64), but at the same time he warned that these were 'now outdated'.

PUBLICATIONS

Hermann Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig, 1885, repr. Osnabrück, 1970; 005908388 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Ármin Vámbéry, *A török faj ethnologiai és ethnographiai tekintetben*, Budapest, 1885, repr. Dunaszerdahely, 2006 (Hungarian trans.); 008612702 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust Digital Library)

Ármin Vámbéry, *La race turque à l'égard ethnologique et ethnographique. Édition de l'Académie scientifique do Hongrie*, Budapest, 1885 (French trans.)

G. Vamberi, 'Peredvizheniia i sud'by tiurkskogo naroda', in N.M. Jadrincev (ed.), *Sibirskii sbornik. Nauchno-literaturnoe periodicheskoe izdanie. Prilozhenie k gazete 'Vostochnoe Obozrenie'*, St Petersburg, 1887, pp. 206-17 (abridged Russian version of ch. 6)

STUDIES

Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*, 2020[3]

Bartholomä, *Von Zentralasien nach Windsor Castle*, pp. 84-5

J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie*, Wiesbaden, 1953

W. Grube, review art. '[Vámbéry, Das Türkenvolk]', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 9 (1888) 134-5

A. Pavet de Courteille, review art. 'Das Türkenvolk', *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1886) 546-51

Westlicher Kultureinfluß im Osten
'Western cultural influence in eastern lands'

DATE 1906
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This monograph, published in 1906, was released in German, probably the original language, and simultaneously in English and Hungarian. An Urdu translation was published in Agra in 1910. Vámbéry wrote the book

as a reaction to the events following the death of the Afghan ruler ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in 1901 and the so-called Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1905, which was an agreement that ensured Afghan foreign policy and related matters were under British control. With this work, Vámbéry continued his preoccupation with the rule of the Russian and British Empires in Asia found in numerous articles (Knüppel, *Ármin(ius) Vámbéry*) and in some monographs, such as the third part of *Der Islam* (1875) and in *The coming struggle for India* (1885). The subtitle of the English edition, *A comparison of the methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East*, expressing the main topic of the work, was missing in the German and Hungarian editions. This could have been a consideration of the various publishers, probably for marketing reasons. In this context, one could wonder whether 'Middle East' in the English subtitle is the correct term, as Vámbéry focuses mostly on Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent and does not treat those regions generally understood by the term.

The English edition of the monograph consists of viii + 410 pages, divided into three parts. In the first, 'The civilising influence of Russia' (pp. 1-127), Vámbéry describes in 13 chapters how the Russian Empire conquered territories inhabited by Muslim-Turkic people (the Ural-Altaic region, the Volga region, Siberia, Turkestan and others) and what policies in the fields of administration, education and others it pursued afterwards. The second part, comprising 11 chapters (pp. 130-260), takes the same approach with regard to British rule in India (present-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh). The chapter headings in these two parts show Vámbéry's attitudes towards the Russian and the British Empires. While the word 'russification' appears twice, and the heading of ch. 8 is 'The defects of Russian administration', the chapter headings in the second part sound more positive: 'Increase of well-being' for ch. 4 and 'Stability of British rule', the heading to ch. 10. This tendency is also reflected in the text.

The third part, entitled 'The future of Islam' (pp. 261-396), deals with the European influence from an inverted perspective. Vámbéry wants to 'also throw some light upon the position taken up by the Mohammedans themselves with regard to our intervention and our labour amongst them both in the past and in the present' (p. 263). He explicitly draws attention to his previous work, *Der Islam im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, published nearly 30 years before, as an example for a monograph in which he had already dealt with many topics (p. 263).

In the nine chapters that make up this part, Vámbéry draws a picture of reforms in the Muslim world that he is sure will happen in the years

to come. Unlike some of his colleagues, he is convinced that a crisis that would lead to these reforms was manifesting not only in the upper circles of society, but in 'the great mass of the people' (p. 262). One of the themes Vámbéry treats is education, a topic for which he sees reforms as a top-down movement. He disagrees with many colleagues and criticises the widespread belief that it was Islam that kept Muslims from dealing with science or acquiring knowledge. On the contrary, he argues that many critics were not free from prejudices and therefore misjudged certain trends within the Muslim world; in his opinion, 'it requires careful, earnest study, free from all national and religious prejudices, and only a deep steady research, theoretical and practical, can lead to a clear understanding of the true state of things' (p. 269). On the other hand, he claims that only contact with the Western, i.e. Christian, world had enabled the changes that can be observed in the Muslim world, which was the reason why those cultures that had been in contact the longest and most intensely, i.e. those in the west who had direct contact with European societies, were the most influenced. In this context, he also deals with topics such as secular school systems, the education of women, aniconism in Islam, the positive image of Japan, etc. Thus, Vámbéry gives a comprehensive overview of topics that were discussed at that time.

Western culture deals mainly with two topics: the rivalry between the British and the Russian Empires in Asia on the one hand, and Islam or, more specifically, recent political, societal and cultural developments in Muslim societies, on the other. Both topics are a continuation of Vámbéry's earlier works. Again, Vámbéry draws on his deep knowledge of the region. Although, at the time of publication, his journey to Central Asia had taken place more than 40 years earlier, he still had excellent contacts in the region and he followed the press as well as new academic publications in and about the respective countries regularly. In this work, Vámbéry mixes anecdotes and personal encounters with insights he had gained over the years from observations and readings. As in his other books, he only very rarely cites his sources.

SIGNIFICANCE

Vámbéry expresses some points of view in *Western culture* that can be considered rather unusual for the time. This is especially true of the third part, where he presents the view that Islam itself was not necessarily an obstacle to progress. In his opinion, there had been considerable progress in Muslim regions of Asia over recent years. He believed that many

European authors were biased and therefore did not depict Muslim reality objectively. However, all in all his positions are again generalising and often too sweeping.

The work was frequently reviewed. Knüppel (*Ármin*(*ius*) *Vámbéry*) lists almost 20 reviews for the English and the German versions alone. In most reviews, the authors praised Vámbéry as being, for instance, 'unquestionably the best-informed living authority on the history and civilisation of Moslem Asia' (Ogg, 'England and Russia', p. 311) and thus the most qualified person to write such a book. However, not all agreed with his thesis that England was better suited than Russia to civilise those living in the territories under their influence (Achelis, 'H. Vambéry', pp. 16-17).

PUBLICATIONS

Hermann Vambéry, *Westlicher Kultureinfluß im Osten*, Berlin, 1906, repr. Paderborn, 2012

Ármin Vámbéry, *Nyugot kulturája keleten*, Budapest, 1906, repr. as *A nyugat kultúrája keleten*, Dunaszerdahely, 2007 (Hungarian trans.); 3104 (digitised version available through REAL-EOD)

Arminius Vambéry, *Western culture in eastern lands. A comparison of the methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East*, London, 1906, repr. London, 2011 (English trans.); 11893 (digitised version available through mek.oszk.hu)

Arminius Vāmbrī, *Mustaqbil-i Islām. Ya'nī, Profaisar Vāmbrī kī ma'rikatulārā taṣnīf, Maghrabī tamaddun aur mashraqī mamālik kā ḥissah soyam, Fīyūcar āf Islām*, trans. Z. Umar, Agra, 1910 (abridged Urdu trans. of part 3 of the English edition); 25234180 (digitised version available through JSTOR)

STUDIES

Knüppel, *Ármin*(*ius*) *Vámbéry*, 2020[3]

Mandler, *Arminius Vambéry and the British Empire*, p. 134

Bartholomä, *Von Zentralasien nach Windsor Castle,* pp. 77-8

T. Achelis, review art. 'Westlicher Kultureinfluß im Osten', *Globus* 91 (1907) 16-17

F.A. Ogg, 'England and Russia in Central Asia', *Dial* 42 (1907) 311-4

Ruth Bartholomä

Walther Eickmann

Gustav Walther Eickmann

DATE OF BIRTH 4 February 1872
PLACE OF BIRTH Altena, North Rhine-Westphalia
DATE OF DEATH 24 July 1948
PLACE OF DEATH New York

BIOGRAPHY

Gustav Walther Eickmann (probably born *Eichmann*) migrated to the USA in 1893 and studied at the University of Wyoming until 1898. It must be assumed he studied theology at some point, since his first publication (1908), *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* ('The angelology and demonology of the Qur'an in comparison with the doctrine of angels and spirits in Holy Scripture'), is listed as a dissertation at New York University. It is the only known work by Eickmann to deal with the Qur'an, though he published other theological books in English in later years.

From 1916 to 1934, Eickmann was pastor at St Luke's Lutheran Church in the Bronx of New York, preaching in German and English, and later at St John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, West New York.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Art., 'Rev. Walther Eickmann', in R.J. Young (ed.), *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Paul's Evangelical Church*, Laramie WO, 1937, 9-10; www.ucclaramie.org/uploads/6/3/4/0/63409269/stpauls50thannivbooklet.pdf

Obit. art. 'Dr. Walther Eickmann', *New York Times* (25 July 1948) 48; https://www.nytimes.com/1948/07/25/archives/dr-walther-eickmann.html

J. Chando, 'Memorial to Rev Gustav Walther Eickmann', Find a grave, Lehi UT, 2017; https://de.findagrave.com/memorial/181868551/gustav-walther-eickmann

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans
'The angelology and demonology of the Qur'an'

DATE 1908
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* ('The angelology and demonology of the Qur'an in comparison with the doctrine of angels and spirits in Holy Scripture'), Eickmann compares the depiction of angels and spirits in the Qur'an with those in Christian and Jewish scriptures. It comprises 62 pages and is divided into three sections: Of angels and demons in general (pp. 11-32); Angels in their relationship to God (pp. 33-40); Angels in their relationships to humans (pp. 41-55). He focuses primarily on the parallel traditions in order to shed light on the teachings of the Qur'an (p. 9-10) and also considers apocryphal and extra-canonical works. On the one hand, Eickmann justifies his study by claiming that the topic has not yet been dealt with comparatively and systematically, and on the other, he believes – with a view to Abraham Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* ('What did Muhammad take from Judaism?'; *CMR* 22, pp. 165-8) – that the influence of Judaism on Muḥammad is overestimated, while the importance of Christianity for the Qur'an has not received adequate recognition (p. 9).

In the introductory explanations of the Qur'an and the figure of Muḥammad, Eickmann repeatedly refers to Julius Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums* ('Remains of Arab paganism', 1887) and Aloys Sprenger's *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* ('The life and teachings of Muḥammad', 1869, vol. 2, pp. 236-50). He almost always agrees with Wellhausen's positions, while Sprenger's account of qur'anic teachings is sometimes sharply criticised. Furthermore, Eickmann says that his views on Muḥammad differ substantially from the common opinion of scholars in his time (p. 1). Like Wellhausen, in fact, he regards Muḥammad as a 'great man', though his founding of a religion was motivated entirely by politics. Thus, Muḥammad's sermons were actually political speeches (p. 3). Eickmann understands the development of the Qur'an as a religious scripture and the accompanying suppression of its political element as a consequence of the impossibility of a separation between state and religion in the 'Orient' (pp. 4-5).

The first section is about belief in angels and demons in the Qur'an, the names of angels, angels and the Holy Spirit, the creation of angels and the fall of some angels. The second section is about angels as servants of God and their relationship to nature, angels as those who give praise to God and as bearers of the divine throne. The third section deals with the relationship of angels to humans: angels at births, guardian angels and angels who oversee and guide writing; Satan (Iblīs), inspiration and possession. Eickmann states that many qur'anic ideas of spirits are of biblical origin, such as the heavenly hosts (p. 29) or personal guardian angels (p. 43). In his account of the creation and fall of angels in the Qur'an, Eickmann does see a 'takeover' by Muḥammad from Jewish and apocryphal traditions (p. 56), but he concludes overall that most of Muḥammad's views on angels and spirits are consistent with the ideas of the Bible, primarily the New Testament (p. 56). In this respect, his study serves to give special weight to the Christian influence on Muḥammad. Nevertheless, differences can be discerned. Muḥammad understands the relationship of angels to the Spirit of God differently from the New Testament as a result of the strict unitarian teachings of the Qur'an (Wilke, review, p. 560).

The reason why Eickmann was interested in the Qur'an and especially the doctrine of angels and demons is possibly due to migrations of Muslims from southern and eastern Europe to the USA via New York at the beginning of the 20th century. In addition, between 1878 and 1914, a wave of Muslim immigrants arrived from the Arab world and South Asia, some of whom settled in New York. A year before the publication of *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans*, Polish, Russian and Lithuanian immigrants founded the American Mohammedan Society in New York. Furthermore, the famous journalist Alexander Russell Webb (1846-1916; see *CMR* 16, 334-6), who had converted from Christianity to Islam and had attended the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 as a Muslim representative, caused public discussions. His liberal and open attitude towards Islam shaped the religious scene of the early 1920s in the USA.

SIGNIFICANCE

A work on this topic had already been published at the beginning of the 20th century, *Die Engel- und Geistervorstellungen des Korans* ('The ideas of angels and spirits of the Qur'an', 1906) by Wilhelm Niekren and, 20 years after Eickmann's study, Paul Eichler published *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran* ('Jinn, devils and angels in the Qur'an'). Eichler is critical of Eickmann's work because the designation of angelology and demonology he makes implies duality between the spiritual beings in the Qur'an. But a particular feature of the Muslim conception of spirits is the tripartite

division into jinn, devils and angels, which cannot be fitted into the categorisation of angels and demons. Moreover, the title of Eickmann's book implies that there is systematic teaching in the Qur'an on spiritual beings, although they are only described there. Eichler calls Eickmann's study a preliminary work, and says he overemphasises the similarities between what is contained in the Bible and Qur'an at the expense of the differences (*Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel*, pp. 1-2).

Gustav Pfannmüller, in *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur* ('Handbook of Islamic literature', 1923), describes Eickmann's work as a 'more biblical-theological than religious-historical study' and comments that Eickmann knew neither the literature nor the current state of discussion on his subject. Nevertheless, Pfannmüller calls his compilation of material and the presentations of parallels between qur'anic, ancient Christian and ancient Jewish literature 'useful' (Pfannmüller, *Handbuch*, pp. 205-6). Friedrich Schwally also emphasises the compilation of material and the parallels derived from both ancient Christian and ancient Jewish literature (Schwally, [review art.], p. 329). The work was not republished after Eickmann's death and received little attention.

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Maria Clara Kissel and Olivia Zam

Adolf von Harnack

DATE OF BIRTH 7 May 1851
PLACE OF BIRTH Dorpat; present-day Tartu, Estonia
DATE OF DEATH 10 June 1930
PLACE OF DEATH Heidelberg

BIOGRAPHY

Born a Baltic German in Dorpat, Estonia, within the then Russian Empire, Carl Gustav Adolf Harnack became a Lutheran theologian and church historian. His father, Theodosius Harnack, was a professor of practical theology at the imperial University of Dorpat. Adolf studied Protestant theology at the universities of Dorpat and Leipzig, and commenced his academic career in 1874 as a lecturer (*Privatdozent*). In 1879, at the age of 28, he was appointed professor of Church History at the University of Giessen and he married Amalie Thiersch in December that same year. He moved to the University of Marburg in 1886, and two years later accepted an appointment (made despite opposition from the conservative church authorities) to the university of the imperial capital Berlin in 1888. He joined the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1890.

From 1905 to 1921, Harnack was the General Director of the Royal (from 1918, Prussian State) Library in Berlin. In 1911, he was a key figure in the founding of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft, today's Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science, and became its first president. In 1914, he was ennobled (with the addition 'von' to his name). Although the society was involved in the First World War through its contribution to armaments, von Harnack used it during the Weimar Republic to overcome the isolation of German scholars after the war. He retired from the University of Berlin in 1921 but continued to be very influential. He died in Heidelberg on 10 June 1930.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte
'The history of dogma'

DATE 1909
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In his major work *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* von Harnack reconstructs the origins of Christian doctrine, which he understands as a dogmatic system established by the Church, including its development from the 4th century as far as the Protestant Reformation. His historiographical thesis is that, from the Church's earliest origins, Christian theology and Greek philosophy were so closely intermingled that the resulting system included many beliefs and practices that were tied to the interaction in the early Christian centuries. The significance of Protestantism is that it rejected the Greek understanding of doctrine and reduced Christian thinking to essential and basic insights. This regeneration is a prerequisite for the transformation of Christianity within the modern world.

In addition to this history of doctrine, in the fourth edition of the work, published in 1909-10, Harnack inserted into vol. 2 an 'addition' of nine pages about Islam (pp. 529-38). Here, his thesis is that Islam is 'a transformation of the Jewish religion, itself already transformed by Gnostic Jewish-Christianity, by a great prophet on the soil of Arabism' (p. 537). He begins by stating the hermeneutical principle that, in order to understand the essence of a religion, it is necessary to take into account 'the authentic words and actions of its founder' and the founder's 'effects on others, and the way they have found faith' (p. 531). This enables him to recognise commonalities between original Christianity and Islam, including: pure monotheism, opposition to the deification of the creature and polytheism, the universality of faith, the link to Jewish and Old Testament traditions, the basic features of the doctrine of general retribution in the hereafter, and the commitment to pure worship of God, a moral way of life and universal mission. Harnack then identifies what distinguishes the two religions.

Christianity is characterised by three concepts: the authentic communication of the divine Being and this Being's will to humankind (revelation), the forgiveness of sins through the redemption of humankind, and the foundation of the Kingdom of God on earth as a kingdom of good in which 'the law of love alone is effective and in which people, as children

of God under God's fatherly providence, are led towards their destiny' (p. 532). All three ideas are traced back to Jesus Christ as the founder of the Christian religion; the overwhelming impression of the person of Jesus is the starting-point for the formation of later Church doctrine (Christology) in which salvation is founded on faith *in* Jesus Christ. In contrast, Islam has neither the idea of salvation nor the idea of the moral Kingdom of God. The figure of the mediator is limited to the role of the Prophet Muḥammad and his effectiveness in his historical role as (as it were) teacher of the religion.

Harnack now examines whether the commonalities between Christianity and Islam can be explained genetically, taking into account the high 'degree of agreement between Judaism and Islam' (p. 533). He first notes that the differences between the Christology of the Church of the Byzantine Empire, which was influenced by Greek philosophy, and the prophecies of Muḥammad in the 7th century are so great that the latter cannot be explained by the former. He then turns his attention to the multitude of Christian sects that existed in the East in the first five centuries alongside the Byzantine state church, examining one at a time the 'Catholic Christian sects' (p. 533), the 'popular' Jewish-Christian groups, and 'Gnostic Jewish-Christianity' (p. 534), the last bearing characteristics that 'make it appear as a religious doctrine similar and of equal value to Islam' (p. 535). In particular, Harnack emphasises the sect of the Elcesaites, a group that broke away from the direct prescriptions of the Old Testament tradition, e.g. the sacrificial commandments and circumcision, and regarded Jesus Christ as no more than a great prophet whose message was also alive in (amongst others) the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph) and Moses. They led a strictly ascetic way of life, including absention from alcohol, though they allowed marriage, and they replaced single baptism by repeated washing. The founder of the Elcesaites 'boasts of a new revelation that is consistent with, but surpasses, the earlier, old revelation from Adam to Christ' (p. 536). Harnack takes the correspondence between the essential features of Islam and the faith of the Elcesaites as obvious, though he leaves open the question of whether Muḥammad knew this group, merely observing: 'In any case, there were at the time of his [Muḥammad's] appearance religious formations based on Christianity that mean that his creation is not something new' (p. 537).

This last quotation indicates that Harnack's reconstruction of the history of religion has a point to make with regard to his own time. In the debate on the academic status of academic faculties of theology, he

argued that the study of the rich history of the Christian religion can replace the study of other religions, with his often-quoted sentence being relevant here: 'Whoever does not know this religion [Christianity] knows none, and whoever knows it and its history knows them all' ('Die Aufgabe der theologischen Fakultäten', p. 168). For this reason, he deemed it unnecessary to establish chairs of religious studies. His early study of the origins of Islam can be understood as an attempt not only to prove this thesis, but also to dispute the cultural influence and significance of Islam for the present. Like all Christian theologians of the time, Harnack considered Christianity to be 'the end-point of the entire development of the history of religion to date' ('Die Aufgabe', p. 170). It is 'in its pure form not one religion among others but *religion* itself' ('Die Aufgabe', p. 172). In contrast, Harnack considers Islam to be limited in its ability to develop:

> From a certain point onwards, the attempts at a higher development have an insurmountable barrier in the Qur'an. [...] Muḥammadanism is a rigid system that encompasses the whole of life in fixed forms. The Bible, on the other hand, has endured and survived the terrible shock of historical criticism because it already carries within itself relativism in the relationship of its two parts, and because the New Testament contains the difference between the Lord's word and the Apostle's word. Islam is not able to withstand the shock, or at least there is no telling how it might manage to do so. It is fixed not only on Allah but also on Muḥammad – on the Muḥammad who is *the book*, namely the Qur'an filled with fables and inferiorities. (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, p. 538)

For Adolf von Harnack, Christianity is therefore the high point in the history of religion because it is not only a religion, but it also embodies the very principle of renewal in the history of religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Harnack for the history of Christian-Muslim relations is in his effective dismissal of Islam as theologically irrelevant as far as Christianity, and so the Church, is concerned. His assessment of Islam remained intellectually and theologically influential for years without being challenged. At the same time, the founder of the science of religion, Rudolf Otto (1869-1937), emphasised the mystical side of Islam but considered the importance of Islam to be negligible. This assessment only changed fundamentally when Islam became visible in Germany through migration in the 1960s and the Churches started dialogue with Muslims. This gave impetus to the scholarly study of Islam and changed theological

judgements because it recognised now the individuality and originality of Islam, though the question of the religious-historical genesis of Islam addressed by Harnack is not dealt with further in this theological context.

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Arnulf von Scheliha

German Colonial Congresses 1902, 1905 and 1910

DATE 1902-10
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

German Colonial Congresses were organised by a variety of organisations that spanned colonial societies, scholarly associations, Christian missionary societies, trading companies and so on, and took place in Berlin on 10-11 October 1902, 5-7 October 1905, and 6-8 October 1910. (The fourth one, in 1924, is beyond the time scope of *CMR*. Furthermore, it was held in different political conditions, because the Germans lost all their colonies after the First World War.) Proceedings at each congress were structured into seven thematic sections, of which Section Four was devoted to the religious and cultural affairs of the colonies (*Schutzgebiete*). The presence of Muslims in the German colonies in Africa (German East Africa, Cameroon and Togo) and issues perceived by the participants as intrinsically linked to Islam drew considerable attention. This entry gives first a brief overview of the presentations delivered during the respective congresses (see full bibliographical details about them below), including the final recommendations proposed by the participants in Section Four and approved by the congress participants. Then, the main themes brought up during the proceedings are addressed in more detail. Since some speakers already have individual entries in *CMR*, biographical information about them is omitted here.

In 1902, Section Four consisted of seven presentations with their accompanying discussions. One of them, *Über einige Mittel zur allmählichen Abschaffung der Sklaverei* ('About any means to the gradual abolition of slavery'), delivered by Amandus Acker (1848-1923), the provincial superior of the German Spiritans (Congregation of the Holy Spirit, CSSp, or Holy Ghost Fathers), a Roman Catholic missionary religious order, referred directly to Islam and in an aggressive tone, though the final resolution of the congress submitted from Section Four mentioned neither Islam nor Muslims directly. It recommended the construction of 'a comprehensive network of transport routes [... as] one of the most suitable means of limiting slavery and ultimately eliminating it altogether' (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*, pp. 835-6).

In 1905, Section Four consisted of eleven presentations followed by discussions. Two dealt explicitly with Islam: *Der Islam, eine Gefahr für unsere afrikanische Kolonien* ('Islam, a menace to our African colonies'), delivered by Julius Richter (1862-1940), and *Welches ist der Kulturwert des Islam für koloniale Entwicklung?* ('What is the cultural value of Islam for colonial development?'), delivered by Josef Froberger (1871-1931). Richter was at that time a Lutheran priest with deepening interest in missionary and missiological matters and a co-worker on the journal *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, while Froberger was the superior of the German province of Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers), another Roman Catholic religious missionary order. Froberger had first-hand experience of living in Africa.

The texts of both presentations with accompanying discussions (mostly led by church officials and missionaries) cover 28 pages of the 1,100 or so pages of the proceedings. Richter and Froberger proposed a joint resolution, which was eventually approved without further discussion by the congress participants, as follows:

> Resolution VIII. The German Colonial Congress of 1905 urgently desires that Islam and especially the spread of Arab culture and language should not be encouraged in any way in the African colonies; on the contrary, that a counterbalance should be created by a strong German-Christian culture. (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, p. 1039)

In the proceedings of the 1910 Congress, Section Four consisted of ten presentations, of which four refer directly to Islam. Together with their accompanying discussions, they cover almost 60 pages of the 1,300 or so pages of the proceedings. Since the first three papers were delivered one after the other, they were discussed together. First, Karl Axenfeld (1869-1924), the secretary of the Berlin Missionary Society, spoke on *Die Ausbreitung des Islam in Afrika und ihre Bedeutung für die deutschen Kolonien* ('The spread of Islam in Africa and its significance for the German colonies'). Then, Carl H. Becker (1876-1933), Professor of History and Culture of the Orient at the Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut, gave an address on *Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik* ('The state and mission in *Islampolitik*'). Finally, Hubert Hansen (1872-1935), the rector of St Gabriel Missionshaus of the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) in Mödling near Vienna, tackled the topic *Welche Aufgaben stellt die Ausbreitung des Islam den Missionen und Ansiedlern in den deutschen Kolonien?* ('What tasks does the spread of Islam pose to the missions and settlers in the German colonies?'). A wider grouping of congress participants engaged in the ensuing discussion,

during which Becker, who had no missionary connections, challenged the missionaries with his paper on the German colonial *Islampolitik* (more about this below). The fourth presentation was given by Josef Froberger on *Die Polygamie und deren kulturelle Schäden* ('Polygamy and the cultural damages it inflicts'), which inspired a substantial discussion. The issue of polygamy was not new; it had been tackled by Wilhelm Schmidt SVD (1868-1954) during the 1902 congress in *Die Behandlung der Polygamie in unseren Kolonien* ('The treatment of polygamy in our colonies'), though then in a balanced and rather theoretical manner with only a brief mention of Islam. In 1910, Froberger dealt with Islam directly.

The resolution that resulted from this was presented to the plenary meeting and was adopted unanimously and without discussion:

> Resolution V. Since the spread of Islam threatens the development of our colonies, the Colonial Congress advises careful attention and thorough study of this movement. With fundamental religious impartiality, it considers it necessary that all those involved in the development of the colonies conscientiously avoid anything that could serve to promote the spread of Islam and disadvantage Christianity, and recommends missionary cultural work, especially in the field of education and health care, to the active support also of the colonial government. It also recognises in the Islamic danger an urgent call to German Christianity to take up missionary concern without delay in the areas of our colonies not yet taken over by Islam. (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, p. 1189)

Slavery

The issue of slavery was addressed at several congresses and in 1902 Acker devoted his entire presentation to it (p. 452-9). He emphasised that slavery would exist as long as there were Muslims because Islam allowed Muslims to keep slaves. Since the Muslim considers himself alone to be 'God's child' (sic!), non-Muslims had been created for his convenience. Muslims would never renounce this right and would not allow 'European dogs' (Acker stressed this derogatory term) to deprive them of it. Acker recalled conversations with non-Arab Muslims in Zanzibar, who had accused him of hypocrisy, on the one hand preaching that theft was forbidden by God, while on the other retaining *geraubtes Gut*, the slaves freed by the British and settled in mission-administered villages. Acker emphasised that a Muslim would always perceive slaves as his possessions. The system of

slavery gave so many advantages to those who profited from it, that it would never be renounced voluntarily. According to Acker, polygyny, as one of the main elements of 'Mohammedanism', was only possible in connection with slavery, because Muslim men perceive women exclusively as objects given for their convenience. In addition, the Muslim rule of love for neighbours applied only to other Muslims, because unbelievers were never 'neighbours' (in Acker's view, this was 'a foundation stone of the Muslim civilisation'). Acker illustrated his argument with examples that must have sounded shocking to the European audience. He admitted that slavery had also been practised by non-Muslim Africans but stressed that, for the latter, a slave was always a fellow human being, while for Muslims the slave was always an item of property. However, he did not advocate uprooting 'Mohammedanism' in the German colonies by force, but only appealed for it not to be promoted and for appropriate steps to be taken to uproot it. Since Germany was a Christian state where neither polygyny nor slavery was allowed or tolerated, the same principle was to be applied in the colonies. The increase in the number of Christian mission stations would be a way of curbing Muslim influence in the colonies, while the development of a network of good roads would also work against slavery, as slaves would not be needed to carry trade goods.

Schools and education systems

Missionaries at a number of congresses pointed out that Muslims tended to favour non-religious government schools because their faith would not in any way be diminished during their education there. After acquiring a European education, they would enter colonial service as clerks and interpreters and then, acting as representatives of the colonial government, they would use their position to spread Islam. Since Islam appealed to non-Muslim Africans, at the 1902 Congress Acker expressed the fear that Muslims would be able to exert even stronger impact on other Africans with what seemed to be backing from the colonial government. Thus by maintaining non-religious schools, the government inadvertently but successfully promoted the spread of Islam in the colonies and simultaneously slavery and polygyny. At the same time, Acker acknowledged with satisfaction the decree of the German colonial governor of East Africa ordering Swahili to be written in Latin script (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*, pp. 452-9).

Islam as a threat to the German colonies

Richter opened his 1905 speech (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, pp. 510-27) with the statement that Islam was the most dangerous enemy of German colonial development and culture in Africa (*Kultur* in the German sense, conveying overtones of civilisation). He situated his considerations within the general struggle between Islam and Christianity. The German takeover of East Africa had crushed the power of the Arabs there and it was only then that a 'healthy cultural development in German East Africa began' (p. 513). Since the Swahili (*die Araber-Affen*, the imitators of the Arabs) further propagated Islam, the danger was far from being overcome. The improved transport system (e.g. the Dar-es-Salaam–Morogoro railway) gave them easy access to the people of the hinterland. As Swahili was becoming the *lingua franca* of German East Africa, its association with Islam contributed to the spread of the religion (p. 514).

The situation in the West African colonies (Togo and Cameroon) was no better because the Hausa and Fulbe were spreading Islam there. Trade in slaves and ivory was the major issue. The situation in the hinterland of Cameroon, where slavery in the Fulbe emirates should be abolished, was particularly important. Richter praised the military campaigns led by the German military (1898-1902) as 'particularly glorious charts of our colonial history' (p. 517).

Richter went on to argue that restrictions enforced by Europeans in matters of owning slaves, practising polygyny and abolishing pagan rites were resisted by Muslims because they saw these matters as God's commandments given in the Qur'an and, in any case, they saw these restrictions as ordered by 'unbelievers'. Richter argued that the slave trade and bloody wars against pagans could erupt again at any time. Only the strong hand of the Europeans could secure peace, so the Germans should see to it that there were not too many Muslims in their colonies and that they were not too powerful. Muslims would never fully accept being under the rule of Christian nations. In addition, the Germans should be wary of the numerous fanatics in Muslim lands (dervishes, etc.) who foment trouble. For the sake of the future of the German colonies, the process of Islamisation, which was still only in its initial phase, should be opposed (pp. 519-20).

Responding to the supporters of the Muslim presence, who saw traders as 'harmless people', Richter summarised the general process of the Islamisation of a region by traders. Their activities led gradually to the

acquisition of power, or to rebellions and wars. In Sumatra, the Dutch administrators had given the local Muslims a free hand and ignored or even restricted the activities of the Christian missions until they faced armed Muslim opposition. Only then did they realise that Christian missions were their natural ally against Islamisation. Richter expressed the wish that the Islamisation of the colonies should never be encouraged; the government should sternly but peacefully deal with the Fulbe emirates in north-eastern Cameroon; the activities of the Hausa should be carefully monitored; the influence of the Sufi orders should be curbed; construction of Qur'an schools and *zawiya*s should be banned, and the pilgrimage to Mecca restricted; the influence of the Swahilis should be replaced with well-planned and absolute promotion of Germanness.

Richter concluded:

> I see only one alternative for our colonies. Either they will be Islamised and then, through the dervish orders, Mecca pilgrimages and Qur'an schools, slowly but surely be drawn into a hostile Arab cultural world, from whose darkness Mahdi uprisings and Fulbe jihads, slave hunts and the slave trade flash like lightning. Or they can be filled with the spirit of European-Christian culture, thereby becoming inwardly attached to the fatherland and linked to us by the sacred bonds of common faith. I believe that between these alternatives there is only one choice: for Christianity and Germanness! (p. 527)

Cultural values of Islam

In his 1905 presentation (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, pp. 531-8), Froberger indicated that he would consider the 'real and practical' aspects of Muslim life and would not engage in theoretical musings. In his view, Islam was often overrated in spiritual and religious matters. The acclaimed monotheism was only an external curtain that hid an 'animistic' worldview and praxis (for many Muslims, djinns were more important than God in everyday life). Islam destroyed morality and Muslims lacked the uplifting moral influence of the family. Frobeger doubted whether one could even speak about family among Muslims because of the absence of the spouse and mother from the public sphere. Polygyny with its easily obtained divorce was already a source of corruption and it created opportunities for spreading sexually transmitted diseases. On the scientific, scholarly and educational level – despite the acclaim accorded to Arabic literature – the Qur'an was the biggest enemy

of any development because Arabs were convinced that it contained all knowledge and nothing more was needed. Similarly, no good was to be expected on the level of economic development: Muslims were good at trade, but they cultivated no land and were 'enemies of forests'. Politically, Muslims would always be a dangerous element. In the French colonies, enmity against the French persisted despite long colonisation.

Similarly, the German colonies faced a danger that, in case of an armed conflict, the local soldiers (mostly Muslims) would kill the German officers. Froberger endorsed Richter's opinion that Islam did not contribute to the development of culture but endangered it. He concluded:

> Not bias, not crusader enthusiasm should drive us to the fight against Islam, but the consideration that, in the battle between the cross and the crescent, we are dealing with ideal goods, with real culture, not merely with the question of whether Africa should fall to Christianity or Islam, but whether it should fall to European morals or to moral savagery. (p. 531)

The spread of Islam in Africa

In his address in 1910 (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, pp. 629-38), Axenfeld observed that a new saying had appeared: 'Wherever the European arrives, there also appears Islam' (p. 631). All colonial military posts were staffed by Muslims. Muslim clerks and interpreters worked in every colonial government office. There were Muslim traders on every plantation in the colonies. Even if the Europeans did not notice what was happening, Muslim propaganda was being spread.

Cultures of non-Muslims in Africa were strongly affected by the new international trends. As people searched for a new beginning, they encountered Islam before anything else. Islam had always argued against polytheism but in Africa it encountered only 'animism'. So it found no foe in the African cultures and did not need to deprive the Africans of their tribal customs or ancestral faith. It could also leave polygamy – 'the foundation of economic life' – untouched (p. 631). Axenfeld pointed out that it was not easy to distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims in Africa because Muslims initially tolerated many of the converts' former customs. He was convinced that the change in the German colonies would take place within one generation – all that would not be encompassed by Christianity would surely go over to Islam (p. 633). To achieve the goal of reaching out to as many as possible, the missions (Roman Catholics

and Lutherans) would have to work hand in hand with backing from their home churches. Their work should in no way be undermined.

The examples from the colonies showed that Islamised Africans were not quite lost to Christianity but work among them was more difficult. By becoming Muslims, they lost their initial trustfulness, receptiveness and motivation, and turned against Christian missionaries. Those who perceived Islam as the agent of culture in Africa overlooked the fact that their comparisons between different peoples had more to do with racial than religious factors and were biased. Those who made such comparisons overlooked the fact that Islam hindered spiritual and intellectual development, strengthened fatalism, fear of spirits and witchcraft, and reinforced polygamy – the strongest obstacle to industriousness. All these were declared to be allowed by God. Islam had never understood the value of work. It forced others to work but never educated them to do it. The Islamised tribes were less moral than the pagan ones. They also had fewer children.

Axenfeld went on to remark that every improvement in ways of communication in Africa contributed to the Islamisation of the continent. When good communications linked all corners of the continent, nothing would stop the current pan-Islamic ideas from spreading. However, as serious as the problem of the spread of Islam was, the missionaries did not want to request colonial officials to start a war against it. In German colonies, every believer had the right to practise his religion, so the struggle with Islam was the task of the Christian missions and not of the state. Discouraging all state intervention in affairs of religion, the missionaries protested against restrictions imposed on Christian mission that prevented it from starting work in certain areas of the colonies. Such administrative measures that were taken to prevent fanaticism in fact led to its increase. Just as the missionaries did not want to see any discrimination against Islam by the colonial government, so they did not want to see it against Christianity. Since the activities of the government could lead to a perception that Islam was favoured, the missionaries requested that educated Christians should be offered similar possibilities of social advancement to those offered to educated Muslims. The missionaries would like to see that no European – whether a colonial official or a private person – favoured Muslims and Islam against other believers. The missionaries warned against the unnecessary deployment of Muslim soldiers and clerks in the non-Muslim areas of the colonies, and against establishing non-religious government schools.

Co-opting Muslims though with limited trust

Carl H. Becker of the Colonial Institute in Hamburg, who later turned politician, in his 1910 Congress address (*Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, pp. 638-51) presented quite another perspective on contacts with Islam (which he evidently perceived as an essentialised unity). He had no direct connections to missionary circles (either Protestant or Catholic) but acted as an adviser to government officials on matters related to Islam. Invited to talk on the issue of the state and the missions, he looked at Islam not from the perspective of Christian mission (as had been the case with earlier speakers) but in the context of colonial policy. He pointed out that, in some areas (and cases), the colonial state had to collaborate with Muslims in the interests of the colony. (The English, French and Dutch colonial governments were cited as examples.) He stressed that a successful colonial policy did not need to be bound up with Christian missions. After all, religious goals were not identical with the goals the state set for itself, and he added in passing: 'As such, taking over foreign lands and their economic plunder have nothing to do with Christianity' (p. 642). But while seeing Islam as a possible agent of collaboration with the colonial government, Becker also perceived it as potentially dangerous and thus requiring careful surveillance. During the ensuing discussion, he stressed that the resolution proposed to the plenary session had his full support (see the text of the 1910 resolution above) and recommended its approval.

SIGNIFICANCE

The pro-colonial attitude in Germany was fostered by civic associations, Christian missionary organisations, scholarly associations and various commercial interests. They organised the congresses as vehicles for drawing public attention to colonial matters and for exercising possible influence on government departments. This meant that the German Colonial Congresses did not focus directly on matters related to Islam. But while the texts examined above occupy only a tiny fraction of the proceedings of the three congresses, they show that Christian missionary circles tried to entwine religious perspectives closely with colonial concerns. The missionaries (both Lutheran and Roman Catholic) clearly sought to sway the colonial administrations towards advantaging Christian missions and tried to mobilise them to curb what the missionaries saw as 'the spread of Islam promoted by the government' (e.g. Acker in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902*, p. 457, or Axenfeld in *Verhandlungen*

des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910, pp. 630, 637) Although none of the speakers ended on a militantly anti-Islamic note, the rather strong and often confrontational tenor of the presentations adopted by the missionaries is striking. So is the deprecatory perspective applied to Islam. Most of the speakers and participants in discussions seemed not to see anything good in Islam and, even if they did, it was immediately cancelled out by references to Islam's 'serious flaws' (e.g. Froberger in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905*, pp. 528-30). Reports on the congresses (not devoid of personal remarks) that were published in missionary journals are evidence that the debates were followed by missionary organisations.

The missionaries decried the restrictions placed on Christian missionary work by the German colonial administration and argued strongly against the employment of Muslims in colonial service. Prospects for any lasting success that these calls might have had were meagre, since many German colonial officials were not particularly sympathetic to the work of Christian missions in the colonies and some openly regarded Muslim subjects as more loyal and reliable than non-Muslims (Owzar, 'Loyale Vasallen', p. 238). In addition, as Michael Pesek ('Kreuz oder Halbmond', pp. 110-11) points out, some colonial administrators did not feel obliged to implement directives from Berlin too closely and applied their own interpretations to them.

As the Germans were deprived of their colonies in the aftermath of the First World War, these debates and attempts to implement their results ran aground.

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Stanisław Grodź

Carl Meinhof

DATE OF BIRTH 23 July 1857
PLACE OF BIRTH Barzwitz, Pomerania; today Barzowice, Poland
DATE OF DEATH 11 February 1944
PLACE OF DEATH Greifswald, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany

BIOGRAPHY

Carl Meinhof was born in the small village of Barzwitz, Pomerania, near the Baltic Sea. His father, Friedrich, was a pastor, like several generations of his male forebears. Meinhof followed in their footsteps, although not until after completing a rigorous university education. He was originally homeschooled by his mother, Clara, other relatives, and a local church official and then, from 1868, he attended *Gymnasium* in Halle, and continued on to study theology at the University of Halle in 1875. He proceeded to the University of Erlangen, where he steeped himself in the Pietist philosophy that would shape his later work and interest in promoting evangelisation through the medium of African languages. Friedrich Meinhof had inspired a love of missionary work in his son, which Carl cultivated throughout his studies in Halle and Erlangen. While he never became a missionary himself, much of his life and work was dedicated to missionary causes.

Although Meinhof was deeply religious, he had little affinity for the discipline of theology and began to pursue coursework in *Germanistik* (German studies). He was especially interested in questions of orthography, grammar and linguistic origins, all of which he studied under the philologist Rudolf von Räumer (1815-76). After finishing at Erlangen, he moved to the University of Greifswald in 1878 to continue his studies of *Germanistik*, this time under Hermann Cremer (1834-1903), who was both a theologian and a philologist. In the same year, he began teaching at a *Gymnasium* in the town of Wolgast near Greifswald, while still studying at the University. On leaving Wolgast, he took another teaching post in Stettin (now Szczecin), where he married Elly Heyer. After her death in 1894 he married Anna Kloss, and in all was father to 12 children from the two marriages. From Stettin he proceeded to Zizow (Cisowo), where he finally became a pastor in 1886. His linguistic studies nonetheless continued,

with focuses on Semitic languages such as Assyrian, Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew, as well as on the German dialect Plattdeutsch (low German).

It was also in Zizow that Meinhof began his study of African languages, beginning with the Cameroonian Bantu language Duala. He learned Duala from Njo Dibone, a Cameroonian man who briefly lived with Meinhof; Dibone instructed him in Duala and Meinhof taught Dibone German. With encouragement from missionary colleagues and friends such as Carl Büttner (1848-93), a former missionary with the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (the Rhenish Missionary Society) in what was then German South-West Africa (Namibia) and professor at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen ('School of Oriental Languages'), Meinhof pursued further studies of the Bantu language family, the area for which he would later become most renowned. In the late 1880s and 1890s he published articles on Bantu languages in Büttner's journal, *Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen* ('Journal of African and Oceanic Languages'). He was primarily an armchair scholar and did not actually travel to Africa until 1902, when the government financed a study trip to German East Africa (now Tanzania). Nonetheless, it was his *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen* ('Introduction to Bantu phonology', Berlin, 1899) that elevated him to the status of leading European expert on Bantu languages.

The *Grundriss*, together with his later *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen* ('Fundamentals of a comparative grammar of the Bantu languages', Berlin, 1906), constituted Meinhof's attempts to reconstruct Ur-Bantu, which in his mind was the original ancestral language from which all other Bantu languages were descended. He maintained that the reconstruction of Ur-Bantu had both academic and practical value for those Europeans – mainly missionaries – who were writing grammars of 'unknown' Bantu languages. They could cross-check their own linguistic material against the hypothetical Ur-Bantu and in addition rely on the grammatical framework that Meinhof had supplied as templates for their own work. In this way, German Protestant missionaries could heed the Pietist injunction to transmit the Gospel in each people's native language. According to Pietist theology, it was the native tongue alone that would allow the Christian message to 'touch a person's heart' and bring about true religious conversion.

In 1903, Meinhof moved to Berlin to assume the position of professor of African languages at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, a post that his mentor, Carl Büttner, had held until his death in 1893. Meinhof's reputation was such that, when he had conflict with the leadership of the

Seminar a few years later, he was easily able to move from Berlin to become a professor at the newly founded Hamburg Kolonialinstitut (Colonial Institute) in 1908. He remained in Hamburg through the Kolonialinstitut's transformation into the University of Hamburg in 1919 and continued to teach there until his death in 1944.

Perhaps his best known – and most controversial – work from these years was his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* ('The Hamitic languages', Hamburg, 1912), in which he analysed seven languages that he identified as 'Hamitic', a category with explicit racial overtones since the Hamites were said both to dominate other Africans and to be descended from lighter-skinned peoples of Europe and Asia. He further posited that the Bantu languages had emerged from an amalgam of Hamitic with pre-existing local languages in the areas that the Hamites seized. Despite the evident racism of this hypothesis, Meinhof held that his analysis was purely linguistic and not grounded in racial or biological categories. However, the inclusion of a lengthy afterword by his friend and colleague, the anthropologist Felix von Luschan (1854-1924), undermined this claim. This afterword displayed images of various racial 'types' alongside a discussion of racial 'mixing' and its impact on the originally 'white' Hamites. Even at the time, commentators such as the American anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir (1884-1939) criticised Meinhof for conflating linguistic and racial categories.

After Meinhof's death at the age of 87 in 1944, the American linguist Joseph Greenberg (1915-2001) became the premier scholar of African languages. Greenberg roundly condemned Meinhof for conflating linguistic and racial characteristics, utterly discrediting the Hamitic hypothesis that was so central to Meinhof's beliefs.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carl Meinhof's writings on Islam

DATE 1905-11
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
Over the years, Meinhof was a frequent speaker at church fellowship and missionary conferences. At the fellowship conferences, which centred on issues of concern to local congregations, he usually spoke on the idea that German Christians had a duty to support missionary causes. In addition, he often contributed to missionary publications such as *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (*AMZ*). He therefore composed most of what he wrote about the relationship between Islam and Christianity in the context of his support for and engagement with Protestant missionaries. He was not, however, an expert in Islam or the Islamic world. While he had studied Arabic privately alongside other Semitic languages in Zizow, his life's work focused on the languages of sub-Saharan Africa. Despite his forays into the 'Hamitic' languages and other affiliated groups, the majority of his linguistic analyses involved languages of the Bantu family, and it was for these that he was most renowned. His discussions of Islam must therefore be understood within the two overlapping frameworks of his commitment to evangelisation and the Protestant missionary cause, and the closely related impact he believed Islam was having on sub-Saharan Africans. Meinhof's belief that Protestant missionaries should try

to convert Muslim Africans as well as non-Muslim Africans also formed a theme that he emphasised throughout his work.

The works discussed here all appeared in the years 1905-8. With the exception of one article he published in English a few years afterwards ('A plea for missionary work among the Moslems of Central Africa', *The Moslem World* 1 [1911] 155-63), Meinhof's later contributions to the subject of Islam were focused exclusively on linguistic details. This may have been because he was speaking directly to German missionaries when he talked about Islam, and after the First World War, when many had difficulties returning to their mission fields, he may have been less inclined to provide advice on the significance of evangelising to Muslims.

Die Christianisierung der Sprachen Afrikas ('The Christianisation of African languages')

Meinhof first touched on the question of Muslim-Christian relations in this 1905 book. It is his only contribution to the topic that is not drawn from the lectures he gave at fellowship or missionary conferences but it was still connected to the Protestant mission cause; it was published by the Basel Missionary Society's Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung (Publishing House of the Mission Bookstore) and missionaries were clearly its intended audience. He spoke directly to them throughout. To take one example, he commented that

> It would surely be a worthwhile gift if every missionary society would produce a history of how the languages in their fields were developed into church languages alongside histories of the missionary societies themselves. Such accounts would provide useful templates for new language areas, and excellent guidance for young missionaries. (*Die Christianisierung*, p. 6)

He exhorted missionaries to use these histories to produce better dictionaries, grammars and translations of the Gospels.

Islam was not the book's primary focus but arose in the context of questions on how to translate concepts into African languages when no direct equivalent could be found. Written while Meinhof was still a professor at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, the book exhorted its readers to understand the essential differences in structure and vocabulary formation between various language families, which meant that trying to translate word for word from European to African languages would not work. Summarising the various ways in which missionary translators attempted

to deal with the untranslatability of particular terms, Meinhof comments that one recourse is often to employ words from other languages. He first states that even using German words can be problematic, given that they can lead to confusion between Protestant and Catholic definitions of religious terms. The use of Arabic – in Swahili translations, for instance – is similarly concerning. He writes:

> And now, unintentionally, there is the use of Arabic words from Muslim theology. Obviously, the connection will not be made with the desirable Christian meaning, but instead with the undesirable Muslim one. Those Swahilis who do not speak Arabic will either think of nothing, or of the wrong thing. (p. 47)

Elsewhere, he points out specific instances in which European translators have used Arabic terms for words such as 'devil' (p. 31), 'world' (p. 33), 'knowledge' (p. 36-37) and 'justice' (p. 44).

Meinhof's questions about the suitability of Arabic for the translation of African languages connects directly to his ardent support of the Protestant mission. Over 20 years after the publication of *Die Christianisierung der Sprachen Afrikas*, the Bethel missionary Karl Roehl (1870-1951) produced a new Swahili translation of the Bible that eliminated almost all Arabic-derived words. Roehl's Bible lay at the centre of a controversy over whether a Bible that removed all Arabic elements could even be comprehensible when Arabic vocabulary was such an integral part of Swahili (Roehl, 'The linguistic situation in East Africa'; Broomfield, 'The re-Bantuization of the Swahili language'; Hunter, 'Language, empire, and the world'; Osotsi Mojola, *God speaks my language*). The fear of Muslim competition with and even victory over Christianity was a powerful motivation for linguists and missionaries to consider carefully how they translated Christian religious terms, and also how to approach the missionary endeavour in areas with large Arab populations.

Zwingt uns die Heidenmission Muhammedanermission zu treiben? ('Does the mission to the heathen compel us to create a mission to the Muslims?')

Zwingt uns die Heidenmission Muhammedanermission zu treiben? was a lecture that Meinhof gave at the Gemeinschaftskonferenz (Fellowship Conference) in Eisenach on 6 June 1906. In its printed form, it is 20 pages long. Missionary work was not the main theme of the conference, which was primarily concerned with the domestic issue of how to strengthen

Christian belief in a secularising German society. Still, overseas missions were a key topic of conversation since they were considered critical to reinvigorating German Christianity and renewing the interest of disaffected Christians in their religion. The focus of Meinhof's lecture was thus squarely on overseas missions, narrowing in on the question of whether it made sense to send Protestant missionaries not only to Africans who espoused traditional religions but to African Muslims as well.

Meinhof believes that Islam presented a grave problem in areas where Protestant missions were trying to establish themselves. As an example, he says that missionary endeavours on the East African coast, whose inhabitants are primarily Muslim, have been largely fruitless, despite the existence of a sizable European community in the region. His concerns are similar to those of Karl Roehl, who bemoaned the impossibility of evangelising among a coastal population under so much Arab influence. Roehl's Swahili translation of the Bible was even composed expressly for use in the interior of German East Africa (later Tanganyika), where Islam had not yet taken as much hold, because he believed it was too difficult to convert coastal Muslims.

A strong Islamic presence presents multiple challenges, including the threat to life. Meinhof refers to the massacre of Christian Armenians in the Muslim Ottoman Empire during the 1890s to emphasise the potential for violence against small Christian communities that could emerge under Islamic rule. He warns that similar uprisings against Christians might take place in Africa if Europeans ignore their duty to evangelise not only among non-Muslim Africans, but also among their Muslim brethren.

Meinhof holds that the issue is urgent, and that Christianity is already losing ground to Islam in much of sub-Saharan Africa. He blames those European Christians who are not part of the missionary community for allowing Islamic expansion to occur. Europeans living in Africa, including Germans, tend to be secular and become more so through their everyday encounters with Africans and Arabs. These 'Christians in name-only' (*Zwingt uns die Heidenmission?*, p. 9) see Christianity as a white religion, and deem it a sacrilege for Protestant missionaries to evangelise amongst Africans (pp. 6-7). Meinhof explains that 'The religion of many nominal Christians is not really Christianity, but the supremacy of the white race, their nationality, their social standing; these are the things that fill their souls, and thus are their actual religion' (p. 9). Racism among Christians in Germany is also pervasive, and one of the reasons that faith is waning. Many Middle Eastern lands were once also Christian, but their inhabitants have not honoured the Gospel or tried to spread it further. Christianity

has therefore lost out to Islam, and is in danger of losing to it again in Africa (p. 12).

According to Meinhof, the issue of race is a different matter for Muslims than for Christians. Christian missionaries might welcome Africans with true love in their hearts, but this does not mean they would want them to marry their daughters. Muslims do not care and accept their African brethren as no different from any other believers. European racism has therefore put Christianity at a major disadvantage. The solution is for Europeans at home and abroad to recommit to the principles of the Gospel because only true European conviction in Christianity can overcome differences in 'race, colour, and culture', because 'who is it that can conquer the world without believing that Jesus Christ is the son of God?' (p. 7). While many have written off evangelisation among Muslims as impossible, Meinhof thinks that the power of the Gospel and the ardent faith of European believers will be able to achieve Muslim conversion.

To this end, Meinhof recommends that missionaries working amongst the 'heathens' – a word he uses consistently throughout the text to refer to Africans who are neither Christians nor Muslims – should expand their commission to include preaching to Muslims (p. 19). Only in doing this will the Muslim threat be mitigated, and more Africans be won for Christianity.

In this lecture, as in the two discussed below, Meinhof briefly addresses Islamic poetry and Islamic mysticism, commenting that armchair scholars in Germany have revelled in the beauty and joy found in reading these texts. They admire Islam, and do not recognise the problem that Protestant missionaries have with it (p. 13).

Die Bedeutung der Muhammedanermission für die Heidenmission ('The meaning of the mission to the Muslims for the mission to the heathen')

Meinhof delivered this lecture at the East Frisian Fellowship Conference in Emden on 3 October 1906, only a few months after his lecture in Eisenach. It is 14 pages long in its printed form. While he also grapples here with the issue of sending missionaries to Muslims, he begins from a different starting point. He holds that, during the apostolic and medieval periods, missionaries did not have the same immense geographical reach as those in the early 20th century. The earlier missions had been easier, since missionaries were for the most part dealing with people who belonged to neighbouring tribes and were of the same race as themselves. It might appear

puzzling, he then argues, why young missionaries in his own time choose to do their work in far-flung fields even when there is need for evangelisation much nearer to home. Missionary societies still exist that essentially focus their work in Europe, such as the Russian church in northern Asia and the Finnish church in Lapland. Why, then, do Protestant missions to Africa and Asia target far-off interiors, where there are so many more problems of cultural and linguistic difference? The answer, he says, is in a single word: Islam (*Die Bedeutung*, p. 4).

In the ancient world, Meinhof argues, Christian missionaries were able to spread their religion through Africa without much trouble. This expansion was, however, 'interrupted' by Islam, which acted as an 'iron crossbar' that essentially prevented Protestant missionaries from evangelising all the way from Morocco to China (p. 5). Again citing the example of German East Africa, he says that the presence of Islam on the coast has made converting non-Muslim Africans impossible (p. 6).

To those critics who say a mission to Muslims is unthinkable, Meinhof replies that the expansion of European empires has already created a path for missionaries amongst them. Most Muslims no longer live under the authority of Islamic states. The religious freedom that Meinhof claims European imperialism has engendered allows missionary activity to proceed apace. Increased knowledge of Islamic literature and 'oriental' languages provides more tools for conversion. In his prolific corpus of works on sub-Saharan African languages, Meinhof emphasises the importance of linguistic knowledge to missionary success. Here he emphasises the same point with regard to the languages of the Islamic world, praising the translation work that has already been accomplished and urging the creation of more Christian literature in languages such as Arabic and Persian (p. 8). He also suggests that more missionaries should attend the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, where he works. A group of students have already formed a weekly reading group to discuss the Bible and the Qur'an. This is extremely important. Meinhof argues that a deeper knowledge of Islamic theology is necessary for any successful missions to Muslims, and bemoans the fact that most missionaries have limited knowledge of the religion (p. 13).

In addition, Meinhof presents examples of Islamic poetry and theoretical texts in order to give his audience an idea of the comparison between Islamic and Christian literature. He exhorts his listeners to see Muslim writing as an avenue to understanding the Muslim worldview (p. 9).

'Wege zum Herzen des Muhammedaners' ('The way to the Muslim heart')

This lecture was given at the Fellowship Conference in Wiesbaden on 9 October 1908. It is 18 printed pages long in its published form. Once again, Meinhof stresses the question of Muslim conversion and how it can be accomplished, using slightly different lines of argumentation from those he employed in his lectures of 1906. He addresses three methods to achieve conversion, as well as one that he believes will not work. First, he emphasises what he considers to be the differences between Christian and Muslim theology, and how that theology is put into practice in each religion. Second, he discusses how European education – and particularly the learning of European languages – could bring Muslims closer to Christianity. Third, he maintains that, by first preaching to Muslim women instead of Muslim men, whole communities could be transformed. Some Christians believe that the close study of Islamic poetry and mysticism will help them better to understand Muslims and thus ease the path to conversion, but Meinhof does not believe this method would prove successful, and even considers it harmful.

Meinhof grapples first with the issue of theological differences. He contends that Islam is an arid religion steeped in theory, which makes it difficult for Christians to argue against it. He disparages Islam, saying, 'If you try to appeal to their [the Muslims'] conscience, you will find that they have none. They have artificially replaced it with the Qur'an' (*Wege zum Herzen*, p. 4). Muslims end all arguments with reference to the Qur'an and see no truth beyond its words. Since Meinhof holds that it is impossible to persuade Muslims to convert to Christianity through textual argumentation, he believes that the only way to reach them is through the heart – hence the title of his lecture. By demonstrating Christian love and mercy in their actions and practices, missionaries will be able to reach Muslims in ways they cannot in discussions of theory. The problem is not that Muslims lack mercy – they can be merciful, but only because the Qur'an commands them to practise mercy.

Meinhof contrasts Muslim and Christian practices of medicine in order to make his point. '[Muslim doctors] fulfil this command [to heal the sick] not in order to ease suffering, but to do a good deed for their own benefit. This is unmerciful mercy' (p. 5). If God willed him to heal the sick, a Muslim doctor would be able to heal them. If God did not, there was nothing the Muslim doctor could do. Conversely, the Christian doctor is driven to find cures no matter the cost, believing that with God all things

are possible. He is filled with Christian love to care for others instead of being motivated to help by a religious text. Even Muslims appear to recognise this, because they come in droves for medical treatment at mission stations, and many Muslims now go to Europe to study medicine, which is proof of the superiority of Christian to Islamic medicine.

The other two routes that Meinhof suggests can help with Muslim conversion lead through the strengthening of European education on the one hand, and through the specific education of Muslim women on the other. One advantage to the educational approach is that Muslims are eager to learn from Europeans. Meinhof holds that they recognise the intellectual ascendance of Europe over the rest of the world, and seek to copy European forms of governance. He does acknowledge that, at first glance, this route might not appear the best for missionaries because in recent times Muslim countries have been flooded with both 'insalubrious' French novels and secular German language texts, neither of which gives a good impression of European thought. Yet if Muslims learned European languages, they would be in a position to read not only secular literature, but also biblical texts. He remarks that 'European languages are stones with which to set stagnant waters in motion. [Teaching them] is not yet the equivalent of a mission, but can become one with God's blessing' (p. 8). Providing technical and natural scientific knowledge would also prove beneficial, since Muslims have been impressed with European scientific discoveries and have sought to emulate them. To those who might object that European education has only brought 'European faithlessness' (p. 9) to Muslims, Meinhof responds that science and religion are not incompatible. Just as there are laws in nature there are also spiritual laws, which can challenge old prejudices and introduce a systematic morality to replace the 'arbitrary' morality that Meinhof feels is reflected in Islam (p. 9).

Meinhof further states that the education of Muslim women may hold the key to conversion. He compares the treatment of women among Muslims with their treatment among Christians, and remarks that women fare very poorly in Islam. Polygyny and the enclosure of women in harems – both are hallmarks of a society that does not value women or see them as human beings equal to men. Educated Christian women can thus provide a tremendous service if they visit harems to 'give the poor, uneducated, bored creatures news of a better, purer world' (p. 15). Christian women can teach European languages to women in the harem, and perhaps even establish bonds of friendship with them. Since Muslim women are at the centre of family life, reaching them may have a great impact on their children and other relatives.

In this lecture, as in the earlier two, Meinhof also criticises Islamic literature and the idea that it might have a salutary benefit. He comments that even his father, who helped to initiate missionary life in Pomerania, 'found great worth in Persian poetry until late in his life, and re-read it many times with the closest attention' (p. 10). The elder Meinhof had been friends with the 19th-century theologian August Tholuck (1799-1877; *CMR* 22, 138-46), who had studied Persian mysticism and been struck by its 'expressions of a miraculous inner life' (p. 10). As in *Die Bedeutung der Muhammedanermission für die Heidenmission* ('The meaning of the mission to the Muslims for the mission to the heathen'), Meinhof also presents examples of Islamic texts, of which he afterwards says that 'they sound Christian but are not, this is all just a game with pretty thoughts, but the actions of love are lacking' (p. 13). Again, he worries that German scholars were too taken with Islam to recognise its danger.

Die mohammedanische Gefahr in Afrika und die Einheitssprache ('The Muslim danger in Africa and the standard language')

Meinhof delivered this lecture at the Lutheran Conference in Mölle in September 1908. In this short but dense piece of 16 pages, he highlights many of the same points he often makes in his writings about Islam. For instance, he addresses the absence of racial prejudice amongst Muslims; this time, he emphasises that Arab Muslims are happy to marry and have children with African women, which greatly helps the dissemination of Islam. And Muslim men always recognise their African children. By contrast, Europeans take African women as lovers but do not marry them, and then they refuse to acknowledge the children that result from these unions (*Die mohammedanische Gefahr*, p. 57). In addition, he returns to what he believes is the German intellectual admiration for Islam that helps to spread the religion (pp. 59, 63). He also touches on the Hamitic hypothesis – one of his favourite subjects – that in prehistoric times white cattle herders migrated into Africa, settled and then ruled over native black farmers (p. 63).

In addition, this lecture also focuses on examining Islam from the vantage point of Meinhof's own discipline, linguistics. He is concerned with questions about standard languages, how they emerged and whether German should someday become one of them in its African and Pacific colonies. Islam, he observes, spread remarkably quickly, and as it did so the Arabic language became standard over a wide stretch of Asia and Africa.

He compares the dissemination of Arabic with that of Latin throughout the Roman Empire, but he speaks disparagingly about it, referring to Arabs as 'semi-barbarians' and calling the Arabic language 'inferior' to some of the languages it replaced when it expanded, including Greek, Latin and Aramaic (p. 51). Nonetheless, Arabic was an extremely effective tool for the dispersal of Muslim ideas from 'one end of the world to the other' (p. 51). This makes Meinhof wonder whether Christianity has its own language or can select a language that will allow it to spread in the same way.

In the Arabic language, Islam has distinct advantages that Protestant Christianity does not possess without any language of its own. Unlike Christianity, Islam is not focused on inner spirituality but is primarily a religion of politics and society. While Christianity is a 'community of the heart' forged between God and His people, God appears in Islam as the ultimate Sultan, the One who regulates all external social and political relationships. Reverence for the sovereign God and fidelity to Him are key (p. 50). Islam is a political force that extends into all aspects of daily life, and this has important consequences for Arabic because it means that Arabic has become the standard language not only for religious purposes but for everything else as well. Further, Islam includes rituals, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca, which allow Muslims from across the globe to meet and converse – as he comments, 'a journey from Sumatra, Peking, Morocco to Mecca is no mean feat' (pp. 59-60) – and he wonders whether people from all races and cultures will be impressed by the 'power and unity' of Islam when they see this diverse group all praying in the same holy language (p. 60).

According to Meinhof, these factors mean that 'Islam is Islam all over the world' and 'has no nationality' (p. 51). Arabic, the sacred language of the faith, enables the transmission of the religion by tying educated Muslims of all races and ethnicities to each other over an enormous area. Since Muslim scholars consider the Qur'an untranslatable, Muslim intellectuals everywhere have learned Arabic, read the same religious literature in Arabic, and thus shared a 'spiritual orientation' (p. 52). As Islam swept away political borders and reordered social relationships, Arabic also threatened other languages in much smaller geographical areas. This was not intentional, but happened naturally when Arabic became dominant in religious and political life.

As Islam brought increasing numbers of people together across ever longer distances, Arabic eventually had to be supplemented with other 'standard languages' that came to represent a 'middle ground' between

Arabic and local languages. These were also spoken across huge areas but did not extend over the entirety of the Muslim world as Arabic did. Such languages included 'Malay in Indonesia, Hindustani in India, Swahili in East Africa, and Hausa in West Africa' (p. 52). They were all expressed in written form through Arabic script and became suffused with Arabic loanwords. Languages such as Hausa, 'this stepchild of the Arabic language, [...] provide[d] a means of communication in the linguistic Babylon that is the western Sudan' (p. 52). This was especially significant for trade, which was 'the most important means through which Islam was spread' (p. 56) as merchants brought their language and religion with them when they traversed far-flung areas. In addition, languages such as this became powerful mechanisms of intellectual exchange, since Muslim literature employing Arabic characters was often published in them.

Meinhof had experienced the power of these standard languages firsthand. In Berlin he had 'spoken Swahili with pygmies from Ituri and Somalis' and had used Swahili to make himself understood in a cafe in Aden (p. 54). Approximately two million people spoke Swahili 'from the [East African] coast to deep in the interior of the Congo' (p. 53). Through its connection to Arabic and association with Islam, Swahili was therefore able to strengthen the religion over the entire area. Islam also enhanced social status amongst coastal Africans, and learning Swahili could provide the means of communication necessary to convert and thereby raise social standing.

Towards the end of the lecture, Meinhof addresses the question of whether Protestant Christianity needs, or already possesses, a standard language analogous to Arabic. Muslims have Arabic, Catholics have Latin – but what do Protestants have? He argues that they have the Bible and the new biblical translations that are always being produced as a means of disseminating their message (p. 61).

Still, Meinhof does not advocate translating into 'every village dialect' but rather following the Muslim lead in cultivating a language to be a 'middle ground'. This language will then be shared across large areas and will unify Christians. He does not think that this language should be German because German should only be the language of law or trade, not of religion (p. 59). Rather, a local language that is spoken as a second language – such as Swahili in East Africa – should become the standard language of Protestant Christianity, unifying African Christians in a large region in the same way as it did for Islam in Africa. Africans would then know two languages, their mother tongue and the regional standard language that would let them create a wider Christian community.

'Mission und Islam in Ostafrika' ('Mission and Islam in East Africa')

Meinhof published the article 'Mission und Islam' in a 1908 edition of the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*. In this work of 16 pages, Meinhof leans heavily on his now debunked Hamitic hypothesis to explain how Islam spread so easily across East Africa. He begins with a brief discussion of the history of East Africa and its long-standing relationship with Asia, including Arabia, Persia, India and China. The archaeological, linguistic and even biological evidence for this is vast; Meinhof cites everything from the discovery of shards of Chinese pottery on the East African coast to the presence of Persian vocabulary in Swahili to the Malagasy, whose language, culture and physical appearance are all attestations of their relationship with the Asian 'Malay' ('Mission und Islam', pp. 1-2).

This connection to Asia and the birthplace of Christianity leads Meinhof to hypothesise further that all of the Middle East was probably once Christian and that the region knew about Christianity well before the advent of Islam. But because the ancient Christians grew lax in their religion, Islam was able to expand and conquer the entire region, and from there it spread to East Africa. At this point, Meinhof brings in the Hamitic hypothesis, claiming that 'Hamites' – a vaguely defined group of Africans who were thought to have originally come from the Caucasus or the Middle East – enabled the dissemination of Islam along the East African coast. Since the Hamites had come before the arrival of Muslims in the region, there were already 'Hamitic' tribes that had been Islamicised and thus 'The Hamitic peoples are the old rulers and oppressors of the negro tribes' (p. 4). Here he draws on the part of his Hamitic hypothesis that held that, after the Hamites invaded, other African peoples fell before their superiority (Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*).

The predominance of Islam on the East African coast – introduced not only by Arabs but also by Hamites – made Christian missionary endeavours in coastal cities all but impossible, and endangered missionary undertakings in the interior, since Islam was also impinging on the smaller villages there. Meinhof wonders whether Bantu peoples were so impressed by their leaders that they would follow them anywhere. It was thus the Hamitic and Arab rulers in the region whom the Europeans had to fear, while the Bantu were just their tools in the struggle to advance the cause of Islam. Once again, Swahili would have played a vital role as the *lingua franca* that would have transmitted Muslim thought amongst different peoples (p. 10).

In this article, Meinhof also looks at the way Europeans interacted with Muslims and thereby played a significant role in allowing Islam to spread, echoing a theme he often addresses elsewhere. The infamous Afro-Omani slave trader Tippu Tip, himself a Muslim, assisted the British missionary David Livingstone (1813-73), the British-American journalist Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) and various German explorers (p. 5-6). The Africans who served the German colonial regime as soldiers were also mainly Muslim, as were thousands of freed slaves in the area. They took Muslim ideas with them wherever they went, which was a cheap, easy way to transmit the religion (p. 6).

European racism in general and German racism in particular were also significant factors enabling the spread of Islam. Some Europeans were uneasy with the idea that they might share the same religion as Africans, and thus spurned Christian mission. This connected further to the laxity of Christianity in Europe, and the shallow knowledge many Christians had of their own religion (p. 8). In addition, Meinhof reiterates the idea that Muslims, by contrast, know no racial prejudice (p. 9).

Meinhof devotes the final part of his article to thoughts about how Protestant missionaries might change their approach to evangelisation and achieve more success in German East Africa. He calls on his missionary audience to follow the Apostle Paul's example of preaching amongst the Jews before turning to the non-Jewish population of the Roman Empire (p. 13). By this he means, as he has said elsewhere, that Christian missionaries should make it their goal to transmit the Gospel not only among non-Muslims, but among Muslims as well. He advocates publishing more Christian literature in Arabic script, both in Arabic and in Swahili (p. 14). Steps towards this had already been taken, but more were required. Finally, he returns to the idea he expresses elsewhere that female missionaries should work with Muslim women who are cloistered in harems, since it is only through the conversion of women that children will be sent to Christian schools (p. 16).

SIGNIFICANCE

Certain recurrent topics provide a through-line that connects these publications. Among others, these topics include: competition between Christians and Muslims in Germany's colonies, the importance of sending Protestant missionaries to preach among Muslims, European racism and Arab non-racism. While Meinhof makes somewhat different arguments about these and other topics in his various lectures and publications, most touch on these points.

Four of the six publications discussed above focus on creating a Protestant Mission to Muslims. Earlier missionary success in East Africa, the region Meinhof mentions most frequently, had been mixed and missions stationed along the coast, where Islam predominated, had achieved especially poor outcomes. Regardless of this, he contends that mission societies need to send missionaries to the area and have them work amongst Muslim as well as non-Muslim Africans. Though the arguments he presents in the different lectures vary somewhat, his prescription for how to organise such a mission remains the same. He advises against sending lone missionaries to the field to work amongst Muslims because they will be met with suspicion on all sides – from Muslims, non-Muslim Africans and European officials. Moreover, single missionaries will soon become lonely with no other Christians around to discuss successes and frustrations. Much better, and what Meinhof recommends, is to have a missionary who has been designated for service to Muslims affiliate himself with a mission station working with 'heathen' populations. He will then have a ready-made infrastructure and system of support, and suspicion will be limited because the mission station itself was usually already well-established and a known quantity (*Die Bedeutung*, pp. 12-14; *Zwingt uns die Heidenmission Muhammedanermission zu treiben?*, p. 19).

Meinhof's arguments about European racism, and European flaws more generally, stand out in all the publications with the exception of *Die Christianisierung der Sprachen Afrikas*. He decries Europeans regarding Christianity as a white religion that Africans should not practise, thus hindering the success of the Protestant mission. They are partially responsible for allowing Islam to spread as far as it has. He also criticises European intellectuals for their reverence for Arabic and Persian poetry, which has led them to ignore problems with Islam. On the other hand, Meinhof consistently praises Arabs for their lack of racism and their willingness to make African converts their equals.

From the current 21st-century perspective, it seems ironic that Meinhof should have condemned the racism of other Europeans while propounding his extremely racist Hamitic hypothesis. He saw the Hamites as cattle-herding white conquerors of agriculturalist black Africans, who differentiated themselves through languages more similar in structure to Indo-European than to any African language family. His discussions of this hypothesis ran along both linguistic and biological-racial lines; he spoke of the Hamites and other African groups, such as the Bantu, according to such disparate categories as grammatical structure in their language and the colour of their skin.

Although Meinhof spoke and wrote about Islam, he was, it must be reiterated, not an expert. The significance of his work amongst missionaries rested on his discussions of language and linguistic classification, and his exhortation that they should make the translation of African languages central to their work. Missionaries – and others, including scholars of linguistics – used the classificatory system that he developed to organise African languages into different families at least until the end of the Second World War, when the Hamitic hypothesis was finally discredited.

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Sara Pugach

Amandus Acker

DATE OF BIRTH 24 April 1848
PLACE OF BIRTH Weyersheim, Lower Alsace
DATE OF DEATH 30 March 1923
PLACE OF DEATH Knechtsteden near Dormagen

BIOGRAPHY

Amandus Acker came from a peasant family. Orphaned early, he was raised by a relative, who was a medical doctor. He studied Catholic theology at the mission school of the Spiritans (Missionary Society of the Holy Ghost under the protection of the Immaculate Heart of Mary) in Langonnet, France (in Germany, the Spiritans were banned at the time because they had been classified as connected to the Jesuits during the *Kulturkampf*). After graduation, he was ordained priest in 1875 and joined the Spiritans in the same year. He then went as a missionary to the island of Zanzibar, which at that time was part of the German Empire's area of interest in East Africa. The Spiritans had begun their mission in the Vicariate of Zanzibar in the 1860s, with Bagamoyo as their main station (Weidert, *'Solche Männer erobern die Welt'*, pp. 67-8; P. Kollman, 'The Holy Ghost Fathers', in *CMR* 19, 374-83). During his 19-year stay, Acker took on various tasks. He worked as a guardian for orphaned ransomed slave children, later became a mission leader and also worked as a representative for other missions on the East African mainland.

In the colony, Kiswahili was the predominant language and had developed into the *lingua franca*. As part of his missionary assignment, Acker learned this language as well as Arabic and Goanese. He developed good relations both with the local population, which included Muslims as a result of the influence of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, and with colonial officials and politicians at home and abroad, who were to prove very useful in his later assignments in Germany. In 1893, however, he became involved in a dispute over the Goanese in Zanzibar, which led to political tensions between France and Portugal. This prompted his return to Europe, where he was immediately appointed head of the Spiritans' province in Germany. He held this post until 1919.

From the time of his appointment, Acker campaigned in Germany for recognition of the Spiritans and for the Catholic missions. With the support

of the archbishop of Cologne, he succeeded and the Spiritans were able to return to Germany in 1894. With the permission of the Prussian government and the help of the Afrika-Verein deutscher Katholiken, he acquired the ruins of the former Premonstratensian abbey of Knechtsteden in 1895. He had it completely rebuilt by 1908 and, as early as 1896, founded a mission school there. By 1914, he had succeeded in acquiring other houses in the Alsace-Lorraine region in order to expand the Spiritan province.

Acker was appointed President of the Missionary Assembly in Strasbourg in 1905 and in the following years went on several lecture tours to promote the colonial idea and the importance of Christian mission. In 1908, he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome and tried to convince Pope Pius X (r. 1903-14) to support mission, although this endeavour failed. While the pope took little interest in his missionary zeal, the Prussian Emperor awarded him the *Rote Adlerorden* ('Order of the Red Eagle') and the *Königlische Kronen-Orden* ('Royal Order of the Crown') for his commitment to German colonial policy.

Between 1909 and 1913, Acker wrote various articles for the *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien* ('Yearbook on the German Colonies') and the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* ('German Colonial Newspaper') and actively intervened in politics, for example in 1913 by taking a stand on the question of mixed-race marriages in German protectorates. He was also a co-founder of the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, and was looked on as one of the most popular German missionaries of his time.

Acker died in 1923. In 1931 he was commemorated in his monastery by the installation of a bell bearing his name *Amandus.*

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Fiona Otto

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Reports in *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien*

DATE 1909-11
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

The *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien* ('Yearbook on the German colonies') was published by the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft ('German Colonial Society') between 1908 and 1914. It was dedicated to the president of the society, Duke Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg, the regent of Brunswick. The group had set itself the goal of spreading the 'colonial idea' in German society. As Amandus Acker continued to support the Catholic mission in the German colonies after his work in Zanzibar, he took the opportunity to share his experiences and ideas in the *Jahrbuch*.

Acker's earliest report, 'Die Aufgaben der katholischen Mission in den Kolonien' ('The tasks of the Catholic mission in the colonies'), appeared in the 1909 edition of the *Jahrbuch*, where it comprises 16 pages. Here, Acker justifies colonisation on the basis that it will bring Christian civilisation to Africa. He sees the inhabitants of the colonies as the most valuable asset and as those who could guarantee the development of the land, arguing that they are part of God's creation and efforts to convert them (according to Matthew 28:19-20) are an obligation and task of Catholic mission. His thinking here is evolutionist in character, because he speaks of East Africans as being at a lower stage of development than himself, referring to them in the collective singular as 'the black', 'the native' or 'the negro' and describing their religion as pagan, sad and strongly linked to everyday life, although conceptions of the transcendent are present because there are words for 'God' in the indigenous languages. He also notes that local religion is determined by multiple relationships with spirits and ancestors (p. 120), which he blames for the high infant mortality rate. In addition, he describes practices that he characterises as fetishism along with

cults that require human sacrifice or cannibalism (pp. 122-3), and criticises polygamy, the consumption of alcohol and the spread of venereal diseases arising from immoral behaviour (p. 127). In this way, he depicts the nature of the pagan Africans as depraved and sinful and points to the need to enlighten and civilise them with Christianity. He compares his missionary task to the earlier work of Christianisation in Europe (p. 128).

Acker suggests that Germany should provide education for the indigenous population in order to keep them favourable towards the colonialists. He advocates close cooperation between government and mission, which should be related to each other like body and soul (pp. 123-4). Education must always be Christian, he says, because only Christianity, which is so highly developed, goes hand in hand with morality. It is noticeable that he only speaks here about the paganism of the Africans and either keeps quiet about Islam or describes it as an enemy of the Christians, from which great dangers emanate:

> By favouring Islam [*Muhamedanismus*], we will introduce a new division among the people, which will be all the more dangerous for the colonies because the Muslim, as all impartial observers will confirm, can never honestly reconcile himself with the Christians as long as he remains a Muslim. He is an enemy of the Christian, i.e. of the European, and will fundamentally remain an enemy. (p. 133)

In his next report, 'Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der katholischen Missionen' ('The social and economic activities of the Catholic missions'), which appeared in 1910, Acker gives a detailed explanation of the missionary methods used by the Spiritans and their achievements to date, while also appealing for donations to assist their work. In the following year, however, he once again took up the triangular relationship between paganism, Islam and Christianity.

In his 1911 report, 'Der Islam und die Kolonialisierung Afrikas' ('Islam and the colonisation of Africa'), which is 15 pages long, Acker responds to a speech made by Friedrich von Lindequist, the German Secretary of State and Head of the Imperial Colonial Office, who was promoting the responsibility to educate the indigenous population in Germany's African colonies. He takes issue with von Lindequist's claim that Africans are such an underdeveloped people that Christianity cannot reach them, and disagrees with the view of Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933; *CMR* 22, 537-61) that Islam exerts a great attraction for Africans and that intensive Christianisation should be avoided in case it arouses Muslim fanaticism. Rather, Becker proposes, all the good civilising elements of Islam should

be promoted with understanding. Acker counters von Lindequist's claim by saying that, according to his experience, African people are capable of cultural development and, if they become Christian, they will only show slight differences from Europeans. Then he raises the fundamental question: Islam or Christianity? (p. 115-22). He probably sets out his considerations on the basis of what was Godfrey Dale's *The contrast between Christianity and Muhammadanism: Four lectures delivered in Christ Church Cathedral* (Zanzibar, 1904).

He first establishes that religious education means progress, and then explains that, although Islam has been spreading in Africa for centuries, it has not been accompanied by education. It has not been possible to abolish paganism because Islam does not require its followers to break with pagan practices. But Islam and Christianity compare with each other like darkness and light (p. 116). Muslims deny the Trinity and the Incarnation, their morality and ethics have no foundation and their false doctrine of predestination leads to fatalistic attitudes, including laziness and irresponsibility. In particular, warfare is one of the virtues and is commanded by Islamic law. In contrast, Christianity is a religion that inculcates loyalty to the state, with adherents even professing to love their enemies. Muslims fight against Europeans and missionaries and the tendency to rebellion, which is inherent in Islam, has already led to uprisings such as the 'Arab Revolt' among the East African coastal people in 1888-90 and the Battle of Rugaro in 1891 (p. 120). Acker makes clear his dislike of Islam as a force that is threatening to undermine the principles of the colonial rulers by continuing the slave trade in areas where it predominates, and also by reducing the population through its failure to abolish the pagan customs of child sacrifice, witchcraft and abortion (p. 121). Ultimately, Acker sees the problem as turning on whether German culture or Arab culture should be introduced into a German colony. In his mind, there is no real choice.

In the final section (pp. 122-7) Acker explores why Islam has been able to spread so successfully in East Africa since 1884 and why, despite this, Christian mission is the only plausible alternative for development. This section is a discussion of Carl Heinrich Becker's lecture, 'Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas', delivered in Paris on 23 January 1910, in which he argued that Islam finds quicker ways in to the indigenous people and is more convincing to them than Christianity. In his response, Acker refers to his own experiences and tries to maintain that all the foundations for Christianisation are already present in the local religion, not least in religious terms such as spirit(s), soul, sacrifice, nature and life that exist in

Kiswahili and related languages (p. 123). Drawing on what they provide, it would be possible to establish the idea of one true God, so there is no need for a completely new way of thinking, as Becker claims, because existing vocabulary and concepts can be used to convey Christian ideas. He himself knows from his own experience that this is possible. But why then has Islam spread faster than Christianity? Acker gives three reasons for its attractiveness: social prestige, since it is mainly Muslims who form the upper class; Muslims tend to spread such lies about Europeans that it seems daunting to convert to Christianity; indigenous people do not want to be regarded as pagans or unbelievers and therefore quickly embrace Islam (pp. 125-6). Acker uses this argument to criticise his own government for not providing sufficient religious education in schools, which would be the place to correct false images and ideas. Furthermore, he characterises Islamisation as external, because no knowledge is imparted and there is no development, which is why hatred of Europeans as colonial officials could spread quickly. Thus, Christianisation remains a permanent task in Acker's eyes, and he would like to realise this through the closest possible fusion of the colonial and missionary spirit (p. 127).

For Acker's 1902 contribution on the issue of slavery and Islam, see the account in this volume of the proceedings of the German Colonial Congresses 1902, 1905 and 1910.

SIGNIFICANCE

According to Acker, church and state went hand in hand. As he saw it, the task of the Catholic mission was to help teach the natives true civilisation while not trying to seize power over them. In this way, it would produce the best subjects for the state. Education was the most important matter for the colony, because the colony could not prosper if its inhabitants were not people of conscience and only mission could bring this conscience to life.

Thanks to his experiences in East Africa, Acker was in a position to answer emerging questions about the reasons for the rapid expansion of Islam in the region and to justify the absolute superiority of Christianity. He sees that the indigenous population in Africa, which is lower culturally than the European colonialists, has the potential to rise with Christianity, while Islam completely lacks the ability to bring about any kind of cultural advancement. In order to persuade the German authorities to curb the further spread of Islam and to promote Christian mission more strongly, he constantly emphasises the acute potential in Islam to subvert German

rule, and closely links Islam with hostility towards Germany. The wider impact and the reception of these ideas deserve to be investigated further.

PUBLICATIONS

A. Acker, 'Die Aufgaben der katholischen Mission in den Kolonien', *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien* 2 (1909) 119-34; 2001098 (digitised version available through Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen)

A. Acker, 'Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der katholischen Mission', *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien* 3 (1910) 148-62; 1996560 (digitised version available through Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen)

A. Acker, 'Der Islam und die Kolonialisierung Afrikas', *Jahrbuch über die deutschen Kolonien* 4 (1911) 113-27; 2007986 (digitised version available through Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen)

STUDIES

Weidert, *'Solche Männer erobern die Welt'*

B. Mirtschink, *Zur Rolle christlicher Missionen in kolonialen Gesellschaften. Katholische Missionserziehung in 'Deutsch- Ostafrika'*, Frankfurt, 1980

Fiona Otto and Catherina Wenzel

Gottfried Simon

DATE OF BIRTH 23 May 1870
PLACE OF BIRTH Bielefeld, North Rhine-Westphalia
DATE OF DEATH 2 March 1951
PLACE OF DEATH Bielefeld

BIOGRAPHY

Gottfried Karl Simon was a Protestant missionary, author and pastor. He was the son of the pastor Friedrich Wilhelm Rudolf Ludwig Franz and Antoinette Simon (née Kleinschmidt). When he was 25, he applied to the Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft (Rhenish Missionary Society) for missionary service and was ordained one year later in 1896 at St Paul's Church in Bielefeld. Wishing to work among 'people as untouched and natural as possible' (G. Simon, *Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt*, Berlin, 1914, p. 2), the same year he travelled to Sumatra. There, he married the deaconess Hildegard Ida Flora (Hilda) Bertelsmann in 1897. In the years that followed, she accompanied and supported her husband in various missionary activities and was active as a teacher in Bible studies. Until 1907, the couple worked among the Batak, an indigenous people in the north of the Indonesian island of Sumatra. Simon took over the Sipiongot mission station, which had previously been run by the missionary Tillmann Irle (1848-1922).

In the course of his missionary work, Simon produced various translations of spiritual songs and biblical stories in the Batak language as aids to converting the Batak people to Christianity. These included the Ten Commandments, with Martin Luther's explanations, in the Simalungun dialect (1906). While based at the Sipiongot mission station, Simon travelled to various villages on the island and visited several missionary stations, where he devoted himself to the medical care of the sick in addition to spiritual matters. To his great disappointment, many Batak had already converted to Islam under the influence of Muslim traders. He could not proselytise untouched pagans, as intended, but instead found himself facing completely different challenges.

A leg injury sustained in a riding accident ended Simon's missionary work and he returned to Germany. There, reflection on his experiences led to several publications on missionary work in Sumatra; on Islam

and its influence on what he called pagan, 'animist' cultures; on mission to Muslims and its expansion; and comparisons between Christianity and Islam. He had a very low regard for Islam and Muslims, for whom he habitually used the term 'pagan Mohammedans'. In descriptions of Muslim missionaries as the greatest competitors against Christians he readily employed polemical language, as the titles of his publications indicate: *Die mohammedanische Propaganda und die evangelische Mission* ('Mohammedan propaganda and the evangelical mission', 1909); *Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heide nwelt* ('Islam and Christianity in the struggle for the conquest of the animist pagan world', 1910). From 1913 to 1915, he worked as a lecturer and subsequently as a pastor in Unterbarmen (the south-western area of the present-day Wuppertal district of Barmen) until 1925. From 1927, he was the director of the Bethel Theological School.

Simon was one of the Protestant missionaries who, especially in the interwar period, shaped the image of Islam through regular publications, in his case mainly *AMZ*. He also wrote *Der Islam und die christliche Verkündigung* ('Islam and the Christian proclamation', 1920), which aimed to produce an overall view of the conflicts between Islam and Christianity in the course of history. But some of his significant works appeared even later, such as *Die Welt des Islam und ihre Berührungen mit der Christenheit* ('The world of Islam and its points of contact with Christianity', 1948).

The list below gives an idea of Simon's publishing activity before 1914. He was a prolific writer, and the full scope of his publications still needs to be properly assessed (all the more since his last book on Islam appeared in 1948). The following three articles are understood to contain material that Simon reworked in his book *Islam und Christentum*:

G.K. Simon, 'Die Propaganda des Halbmondes. Ein Beitrag zur Skizzierung des Islam unter den Batakken', *AMZ* 27 (1900) 417-30

G.K. Simon, 'Die Arbeit der Rheinischen Mission auf Sumatras Ostküste', *AMZ* 33 (1906) 408-17, 465-72

G.K. Simon, 'Der Islam, wie ich ihn kennen lernte auf Sumatra', *AMZ* 36 (1909) 222-42

Several of his other publications, sometimes with identical or very similar titles to these three articles, also await further study:

G.K. Simon, *Der Islam, wie ich ihn kennen lernte auf Sumatra*, Barmen, 1909

G.K. Simon, *Der Islam als Missionsproblem*, Bremen 1909

G.K. Simon, *Die mohammedanische Propaganda und die evangelische Mission*, Leipzig, 1909
G.K. Simon, *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Mohammedanermission*, Bielefeld, 1912
G.K. Simon, *Die gegenwärtige Krisis in der Mohammedanermission*, Barmen, 1912
G.K. Simon, *Die Lebenskraft des Islam im Lichte des Evangeliums*, Barmen, 1913
G.K. Simon, 'Die Polemik des Islam gegenüber dem Christenthum', *AMZ* 40 (1913) 385-99 (based on W. St Clair Tisdall's translation of K.G. Pfander's *Mīzān al-ḥaqq*, London, 1910)
G.K. Simon, 'Die Lage des Islam in der Türkei', *AMZ* 41 (1914) 32-40, 87-91, 128-37, 226-31, 278-85, 314-22, 368-76
G.K. Simon, 'Ägypten', *AMZ* 41 (1914) 424-30, 454-63

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Archive Wuppertal, Archiv- und Museumsbestände der *Vereinten Evangelischen Mission* ('Archive and museum holdings of the United Evangelical Mission'); contains letters and other documents of missionaries sent to Africa and Asia since 1828 – see the Rhenish Mission 1828-1970: https://www.vemission.org/fileadmin/redakteure/Dokumente/AMS/02_Rheinische_Mission.pdf)
G.K. Simon*, Unter den Mohammedanern Sumatras*, Bethel, 1926 (autobiographical account of missionary work in Sumatra)
D. Rempfer, *Biographisches Verzeichnis von Missionaren, Missionarsfrauen, Missionsschwestern und lokalen Mitarbeiter*innen der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft* (*RMG*) *in der Hereo- und Batakmission*, ('Biographical directory on the staff of the Rhenish Missionary Society'), Hagen, 2021; www.fernuni-hagen.de/geschichte/lg3/docs/biografischesverzeichnis_dorotheerempfer.pdf

Secondary

I.A.H.A. Lashin, 'Zum Bild des Propheten Muhammad in der deutschen protestantischen Missionsliteratur (1850-1950)', Cairo, 2005, pp. 66-7 (MA Diss. Al-Azhar University)
K. Hock, *Der Islam im Spiegel westlicher Theologie*, Cologne, 1986, pp. 94-115 (examination of Simon's theological positions on Islam, particularly after his years in Sumatra)

Maria Clara Kissel

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Wahrheit über den Islam
'The truth about Islam'

DATE 1909
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
This article is a five-page commendation of the German translation of S.M. Zwemer's *Islam, a challenge to faith* (New York, 1907) made by Countess E. Gröben (*Der Islam, eine Herausforderung an den Glauben*, Kassel, 1909). In his remarks, Simon expresses pleasure that recent events in Turkey and Persia, together with the Young Turks' Congress in Switzerland, have awakened interest in Islam in the West and made some people revise their perception of the faith. Some Westerners hope to see in the renewed (reformed) Islam a comrade in the fight for the freedom of thought. However, the still sleeping force present in Islam should be carefully watched and the Christian missionaries who constantly warn against Islam as a danger for the colonies should ultimately be believed.

Simon comments that a peculiar division of opinions is noticeable. On the one hand, Christian missionaries call sternly but calmly for protection of the pagan peoples and the newly Christianised areas against the encroachment of Islam. On the other, there are those, such as in Africa, who have given in to Islamisation and now entertain hopes for a modernisation of Islam. 'One expects, if not Christianisation, i.e. a gradual development of Islam into dogma-free Christianity (*dogmenloses Christentum*), as one says, at least its Europeanisation' (p. 524). Seeing that tendencies sympathetic to Islam pose a danger to Christian missionary activity, Simon also recommends the book by Zwemer, whom he perceives as an expert on Islam as it is practised and not its idealised presentation. He cites Zwemer's translated text:

> Thus, the missionary instinct that has just awakened is threatened by a creeping danger. They [the opponents of missions] want to put us to sleep again. They want to persuade us that Islam, if it is understood correctly, is not dangerous either to culture or to the state or to Christianity. That is why men have to speak now who can tell us from their own experience what the reality about Islam is. (p. 524)

Simon states that the book fills the gap in German works on the matter, because the books by John Mühleisen Arnold (*Islam*, 1874; see *CMR* 17,

pp. 224-30) and Moritz Lüttke (*Der Islam und seine Völker*, 1878; see *CMR* 22, pp. 318-27) have become rather outdated.

SIGNIFICANCE

Simon's short recommendation of Zwemer's book appeared in *AMZ* at the time when Gustav Warneck's successors were more inclined to direct readers' attention to the need to reach out to Muslims with the message of the Gospel. It also indicates a source of ideas and attitudes of Christian missionaries towards Muslims that were entertained in German Lutheran missionary circles. Simon's references to current political events and certain views and hopes entertained in various social and political circles (see Becker's hopes for the 'Europeanisation' of Islam in 'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?', in C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien. Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1932, 156-85, pp. 184-5; original in *Koloniale Rundschau* 1 (1909) 266-93) indicate at least his careful observation of the political scene, if not active participation in it.

PUBLICATIONS

G.K. Simon, 'Die Wahrheit über den Islam', *AMZ* 36 (1909) 523-8; 000680141 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

STUDIES

Hock, *Der Islam im Spiegel westlicher Theologie*, pp. 94-115

Stanisław Grodź

Die durch die gegenwärtige Lage dem Mohammedanismus gegenüber dem Christentum gestellten Aufgaben
'The tasks set by the present situation for Mohammedanism in relation to Christianity'

DATE 1910
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This lecture, delivered at the 32nd Saxon Missionary Conference in Halle on 1 February 1910, was published in two parts (*AMZ* 37 [1910] 153-64 and 219-33). Simon begins by pointing out that, on the political and economic

levels, the dominant Euro-American Christian culture presents a challenge for Islam (which he describes as a religion with global aspirations). Simon views the contemporary situation as paradoxical because, on the one hand, Islam is finding ways of coexisting with modern Christian culture, for example by introducing reforms in core Islamic lands, while on the other, it is deliberately countering the powerful encroachment of Christianity by spreading its own message (*Propaganda*) among the pagan peoples of the world. In their current situation, Muslims use both types of activities to prevent being outflanked by Christians.

The text is divided into four sections. In the first (pp. 154-60), Simon examines the current situation of Islam. In absolutist Turkey, almost overnight a state of law (*Rechtsstaat*) has emerged which includes declared freedom of religion, conscience and thought, while in Persia, after the deposition of the old shah new leaders are being sought in order to start 'a new era of freedom and happiness' within this run-down country. Both these situations have resulted from long and intensive contacts with European states: 'The sick man on the Bosporus no longer wants to be an extra in the concert of the European greats, always pushed to the wall. It wants to be respected, and for that it has to become modern' (p. 154).

Simon describes the recent changes taking place in Muslim lands with an element of sarcasm: nationalism, the consciousness of belonging together within one state, has been awakened in the Islamic world, and in the process has overcome some old racial divisions, resulting in socialising between Turks and Armenians. Muslims, Jews and Christians sit together in one parliamentary chamber; Christians take up state offices and enter the military.

> And the old fanatical Turkish clergy? Not everyone was as clever as the Islamic pope, the Sheikh ul Islam in Constantinople; he declared, smiling coldly but *ex cathedra*, that the new regime was good, and that everything good was already provided for in the Qur'an; and the Turkish rabble was still too accustomed from the old days to be silent in the face of this powerful strongman, so that no one in Constantinople laughed. The Sheikh ul Islam, however, had saved his popularity and his head. His colleague from Tehran did not have such a deep insight into the essence of the Qur'an; they hanged him and some other fools as punishment. (pp. 154-5)

Although there are signs of modernity, the situation is entirely different in the places where Islamic propaganda operates, such as in West Africa where young Africans sit at the feet of the Sanussis, learning that the Ottoman sultan has defiled himself by becoming an ally of the infidels.

Simon speaks of Arab traders bringing the Africans proven magic spells (*Zaubersprüche*) and clandestinely inciting Muslim soldiers in the colonial army to fight against infidels. He goes on to remark that Western scholars and politicians with colonial interests declare Islam the winner in Africa. The colonial state, being against any compulsory conversions, unwillingly promotes the spread of Islam. Meanwhile, Muslims portray themselves to pagan peoples as friendly helpers against the Europeans, and so lure the naïve pagans into the companionship of a worldwide Muslim culture. Since the old religion has not proved potent enough against the European invasion, Islam offers a solid alternative. Nevertheless, Simon remarks that the religious motive of conversion should not be too easily excluded. It is not

> as if the pagan had suddenly thrown the faith of the fathers overboard. The new thing that Islam brings is God's gift, the God who had almost been forgotten above the dense web of superstitious customs and magical spirit worship. Islam pushes away the old backdrops, the old shreds of the spirit cult, and behind them shows the astonished pagan the one wonderful, mighty, arbitrary God. [...] Imperceptibly, the old religious conception slides over into the new, on the smooth track of magic. For it is not as if the new Muslim teachings were grasped in their depth. The Qur'an is regarded as a magic book. [...] Because magic is so highly prized in Islam, the stock of the new religion immediately rises in the eyes of the realistically calculating pagan. (p. 159)

Since this situation poses a new challenge to Christian mission, in the second section, Simon examines the Church's efforts to curb the expansion of Islam (pp. 160-4). He points out that Muslims act on an incomparably greater scale than Christians and he reminds the reader, with examples, that the old qur'anic apostasy laws are still in force. Unfortunately, the Crusades left an indelible stain of hatred against Christians in the hearts of Muslims. The words of Raymund Lull (1232-1315), the first missionary to Muslims, and those of his predecessor, Peter the Venerable (c. 1092-1156), to win the Saracens over with words not swords, with love and prayer and not with force, were not heeded. Before them, John of Damascus (c. 675-749) in his work *De haeresibus* had given Christians sufficient means to engage in a spiritual battle with Muslims (see *CMR* 1, 297-301), but medieval Christians with their cult of relics and veneration of images (both despised by Muslims) thwarted all efforts to reach out to Muslims. Francis Xavier's (1506-52) attempts in India also proved fruitless. The first sustainable efforts were seen only in the 19th century by Henry Martyn (1781-1812)

and Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-65). The Oriental churches, with their outdated church organisation, old liturgy and theology, stood as obstacles in the way of other churches making an impact on Muslims. Nevertheless, some charitable works by new missionaries, the translation of the Bible into Arabic (1865) and the printing of Christian literature have made inroads. The most notable action has taken place in Indonesia where some 35,000-40,000 Muslims have been converted.

In the third section (pp. 219-25), Simon emphasises that the current situation invalidates fruitless 'discussions about the possibility and necessity of the Mohammedan mission, because Islam is attacking us' (p. 219-20). The recently proclaimed reforms by Sultan Abdülhamid (24 July 1909) and the Persian shah (31 August 1909) have opened unthinkable opportunities for reaching out to many peoples. However, despite the enthusiasm of some Christians and acknowledging that people of the East fully deserve the attention of Christian missionaries, the current missionary task directed towards Islam has to be assessed soberly. Simon is uncertain whether the new political forces in Islamic lands will be able to apply the recent reforms, and how far and how fast these will touch ordinary Muslims and not just sections of the elite.

The new movements in the world of Islam have also to be assessed soberly. Modern Islam has not ceased to be Islam. Students in Egypt and Tunisia demand to be taught in Eastern languages. Egyptian, Persian and Arabic presses pick up the results of recent biblical research conducted particularly by German scholars, and claim that Christians themselves admit that the Bible has been falsified. For such reasons, the expectation of any supposed self-disintegration of Islam needs to be critically reassessed. Lord Cromer might be right that the 'new Islam' will end up as atheism, but there have already been enough agnostics, monists and materialists among the Young Turks and they have not come any closer to Christianity in their lack of faith, but are themselves a challenging subject of evangelisation.

> It has been said that these modern trends are an influx of Christian thought into Islam. That may be – but one must not believe that Islam is therefore on the way to shedding its skin and becoming Christian. [...] Islam has had periods of rationalism and of puritanism, but none of these currents has completely dominated it. Islam is indeed a religion that need not die of modernity. On the contrary, first of all, salutary thoughts that are well suited to prolong its life have come out of it. Islam has an innate amazing ability to absorb foreign thought and yet remain what it is. It is a thoroughly syncretic

> religion. It has always been opportunistic; it has been able to adapt to the needs of all peoples and all times. (p. 222)

As Simon sees it, 'the time has not yet come for a planned, organised Mohammedan mission on a large scale in the Orient' (p. 222). But changes have begun and Christians should invest all their strength to influence the development of education, for instance. It is of utmost importance to counter any 'Christ-less education about the world' (*christuslosen Welbildung*) with scholarship filled with Christian spirit (p. 223). A spiritual and intellectual encounter (*geistige Auseinandersetzung*) between Islam and Christianity is possible (p. 223). With the lifting of the ban on formerly forbidden books, Bible distribution should be one of the most important tasks of missionaries. The encounter between Islam and Christianity is, in fact, a fight (*ein Kampf*) between the Bible and the Qur'an. In all conversion stories, the Bible – read or proclaimed – plays a decisive role. The demand for educational books is leading to the production of Christian literature in Eastern languages and the creation of a Christian press. John Awetaranian (1861-1919, an Anatolian Protestant convert) with his newspaper *Güneş* ('The Sun') stands as an example of this development (see *CMR* 22, 595-604).

Simon warns his readers to assess Christian capabilities before they engage in new outreach endeavours, because the desire to have a German input in the spiritual fight with Islam could lead to further overstretching missionary capacities. He points to the failed attempt by the *Fabersche Mission* in Persia, and examples of personal and financial difficulties in the German *Orientmission* and *Sudanpioniermission*. Islam is strong and should not be underestimated, as words of a Muslim to a deaconess from *Kaiserswerther Diakonie* indicate: 'We are grateful for all that you have done but you lack one thing – you are an unbeliever. You have not got the true faith, yet!' (p. 225).

In section four (pp. 225-33), Simon suggests steps that Christians could take. If Muslim propaganda had not been so robust in the peripheral zones of the Islamic world, Christians could have slowed down their missionary endeavours among pagan peoples and taken up new opportunities in these old Muslim centres. As this has not happened, Simon urges Christians to consider all the missionary work north and east of the Muslim sphere of interest, and the work among the remaining pagan people in Indonesia, as a temporary, prophylactic mission to Muslims (*Mohammedanermission*). The missionaries and their helpers should be prepared to resist Islam, but

they should also be trained in knowing the realities of living Islam and not just its academic portrayal. The missionary and his helper should, in fact, know Islam better than the Muslim whom they encounter. The training of missionaries in this should begin in the home country. In this regard, the new Islam-Seminar in Potsdam should help (see the entry on Johannes Lepsius, *CMR* 22, 572-82). Simon believes that since 'Islam owes its life to the deep sleep of Christianity; it will die from contact with a fully awakened Christianity. The Word of God transmitted in the mother tongue, the devoted labour of love of living Christians, their faith overcoming world and death are testimonies to which Islam is powerless' (p. 228).

Turning to Christians in their home countries, Simon asks them to defend the claim of the absoluteness of Christianity. He argues that Christians are theocentric because they are Christocentric. The apparently monotheistic Islam shifts Jesus into the realm of polytheism because Islamic reverence for prophets and saints is actually a disguised polytheism. Islam commits the very fault of which it accuses Christianity. For many Muslims, Muḥammad is the pre-existent, otherworldly, sinless and divine intermediary. In contrast, Simon argues that the character of the mediatorship of Jesus should be made clear to Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Simon writes from the perspective of a Christian missionary who perceives Muslims and Islam as rivals (if not enemies) in spreading a religious message and winning over adherents. The problematic relationship of missionary agencies with the government and colonial administration (tendencies among missionaries to work hand in hand with the government, but also the animosity of influential opponents in German society and government circles towards missionary activity) is also briefly addressed.

He provides explicit action points for Christian missionaries and Christians in Germany but, even if these had been heeded, the First World War and its aftermath dramatically changed the situation. With Germany's loss of its colonies and the difficult economic situation after the war, German efforts in the missionary movement were significantly reduced and, in terms of a direct involvement with Muslims, they almost ceased. Since Simon was active as a teacher of missionaries and writer almost into the mid-20th century, he used reworked ideas from his early works in his later publications. However, in principle, he remained true to his early convictions.

PUBLICATIONS

G.K. Simon, 'Die durch die gegenwärtige Lage dem Mohammedanismus gegenüber dem Christentum gestellten Aufgaben', *AMZ* 37 (1910) 153-64, 219-33; 000680141 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

STUDIES

Hock, *Der Islam im Spiegel westlicher Theologie*, pp. 94-115

Stanisław Grodź

Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt
'Islam and Christianity in the struggle for the conquest of the animist pagan world'

DATE 1910
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Simon was active on behalf of the Rhenish Mission in Sumatra from 1896 to 1907. This book is the result of his 11-year-long examination of the religious situation he found there (its title in full is *Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt. Beobachtungen aus der Mohammedanermission in Niederländisch-Indien*, 'Islam and Christianity in the struggle for the conquest of the animistic pagan world. Observations from the Mohammedan Mission in the Dutch Indies'). It is 475 pages long and includes several of his earlier publications and lectures (references here are to the Berlin, 1910 edition). It is divided into three main parts: Transition of the pagan to Islam (pp. 7-219); the moral-religious condition of the pagan-Mohammedan (pp. 220-86); 3. Conversion of the Mohammedan to Christianity (pp. 287-470). The work is guided by theories of comparative religion, human psychology and anthropology, in order to describe paganism (animism), Islam and Christianity and place them in relation to each other, explain the problems faced by Christian mission in view of the rapid spread of Islam and, finally, give a theological justification of the superiority of Christianity.

Simon had been trained to be a missionary to pagans, but in Sumatra he was confronted with Islam and Muslims. Disappointed by not encountering

real pagans but only 'pagan Mohammedans', that is, pagans 'infected' by Islam, he thought that the 'real', living, original pagans – whose lives in his mind formed a coherent unity in terms of their ideas and practices – had been lost. Islam had torn that unity apart, perhaps not unlike the way in which people in Europe are described as alienated and torn apart by modernity. Therefore, Simon created, as it were, a syncretic pagan-Mohammedan in order to show that, with the help of – above all – psychological arguments, the conversion of animists to Islam can be shown to be an incomplete conversion and that it entails a tendency towards fanaticism. The *Heidenmohammedaner* ('pagan Muḥammadans'), as he calls him, became the object of his evangelical mission. In this respect, Simon was concerned with the specific peculiarity of the connection between animism and Islam. He claimed that this applies to all Christian missions among so-called primitive peoples who have already accepted Islam, or are in the process of doing so.

Regarding his use of the term animism, Simon appears to have followed the anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor's *Primitive culture* (2 vols, London, 1871), which appeared in German translation in 1873 as *Anfänge der Kultur*. Simon notes that the animistic religion of indigenous people who believe in spirits, ancestors and inspirations is difficult to fathom because the original animism has come into contact with Islam and has been changed. He compares the rather unnoticed penetration of Islam into paganism to deadly diseases that are often not even noticed at first, but only come to light through microscopic analysis.

In Indonesia, at any rate, Islam creates false incentives or falsehood *per se* among the people. Pagans who become Christians and pagans who turn to Islam move away from animism in different degrees. Thus, 'pagan Mohammedans' are still entirely stuck in animism or paganism, with which Islam merges in a syncretic way, while Christian converts no longer have any real relationship to their former pagan life. Pagans are happy to convert to Christianity as long as they are untouched by Islam, but as soon as they come into contact with the faith, their interest in Christianity decreases significantly. In Simon's view, the 'pagan Mohammedan' is the missionary object and must therefore be studied very carefully and be well understood. He states that the number of Muslims in Africa, for instance, has increased considerably within a very short time, so that the mission field is virtually a war zone: he regards himself as being attacked by Islam. He portrays the earlier Christian mission to pagans as successful, but Islam would now not only challenge this success but would also steal the flourishing island kingdom of Indonesia from the Christians. In Simon's

eyes, it is a matter of reconquering a former supposed possession and so it is a Christian duty to oppose this Islam as a formidable rival.

In order to understand the success of the Islamic mission, or the rapid spread of Islam among the pagans, Simon discusses three factors. These are Islamic propaganda (pp. 7-30), colonial rule (pp. 30-45) and the role of European culture (pp. 45-58). The impact of Islam upon pagan sensibilities and life leads to the Prophet Muḥammad being regarded as a demigod. Conversion to Islam is carried out without Muslim missionaries; travelling Muslim businessmen spread Islam incidentally, earning merit before God by converting others. The Arabic language is difficult to understand, leaving much unclear, but it conveys an aura of the powerful and mysterious and thus exerts a certain allure.

Simon notes that of the 230-250 million Muslims worldwide, about 161 million live under Christian rule. There are about 12.5 million inhabitants in the German colonies, of whom 2.5 million are Muslims. He claims that European colonial rule favours rather than inhibits the spread of Islam. Moreover, Indonesian Muslims are not well informed about the difference between Christianity and Islam; they confuse the two monotheistic religions or view them as if they were closely related. The pagan tends always to join the stronger because of his lack of orientation, that is, a moral compass. Muslims appear to the pagans as strong and convincing. They represent a political power whose obligations include subjugating Christians. Simon claims that it is mainly those Muslims who make the pilgrimage to Mecca who are also politically active and call for revolutions. Further, Islamic ideas become more attractive when they are inspired by the ideas of Pan-Islamism. This has led Indonesian Muslims to recognise the Ottoman sultan as their own ruler who wants to unite all Muslims. Colonial governments are wary because they need to build their rule with Muslim support. However, Simon argues against those who are in favour of promoting Islam to gain political advantages, as well as against those who think that Islam is good for pagans because of its simplicity, since Christianity is much too dogmatic and complicated for them. Furthermore, he contradicts those in Europe who position themselves as more civilised and who, with regard to race, think that underdeveloped natives should not have the same religion as themselves.

Simon further states that Islam offers an alternative for Indonesians faced with the enormous challenges brought about by the impact of European colonialism. This is part of its appeal. It offers an attractive option because the interactions of pagans and Muslims would be on the level of 'a brown man to a brown man' (pp. 46-58), that is, on the same

cultural level and therefore much easier and more familiar than their dealings with colonial overlords. In addition, the Muslims promise that – as Pan-Islamists – they are determined to drive out the white European colonialists. That, too, is very attractive.

Simon then proceeds to explain the individual religious motifs that constitute 'pagan Mohammedanism' (pp. 58-219). He divides this section into eight subsections: the concept of God (pp. 58-73); the gift of God (i.e. magic, pp. 74-99); God's representatives and mediators (Muḥammad, prophets, saints, angels, and teachers, pp. 100-26); the book of God, the Qur'an (pp. 126-36); the afterlife (pp. 136-53); devotion to God (religious ceremonies, the profession of faith, the religious tax, fasting, the pilgrimage to Mecca, pp. 153-86); preparation for the hereafter (the care of the dead, meritorious works, teachers as protectors of the hereafter, pp. 189-204); and mysticism (pp. 204-19). Since mysticism and magic merge, Simon asks whether God can really be the father of all magic? If so, nothing would be more important than to establish an intimate connection to Him, so that as much power as possible overflows to the believer (p. 215). As in other contemporaneous discourses, Simon speaks of Christianity being – in contrast to Islam – an inner religion. It is precisely this lack of inwardness in Islam that favours the penetration of mysticism and explains its great spread and attractiveness.

The next main section is devoted to the moral-religious condition of the 'pagan Mohammedan' (pp. 220-86) and, after a brief introduction, is in five subsections: animism (pp. 222-3); fanaticism (pp. 224-32); the moral power of Islam (pp. 233-46); Islam and the moral predicaments of paganism (pp. 247-63); Islam and the people (pp. 263-86). In these, Simon describes the nature of Islam, using theological and psychological categories in order to discredit it. He assumes that paganism is not only preserved in Islam, but is also negatively transformed. After describing animism, he goes on to show that fanaticism is so powerful because it is fuelled by false pan-Islamic hopes. Moreover, hatred of unbelievers is a duty of the Islamic faith, while it remains devoid of any moral ideals. Simon explains why moral ideals are lacking using the example of teachers suffering from syphilis: they do not present Islam as a religion with moral rules, but claim that everything happens as Allah wills (pp. 240-2). Religion and morality in Islam are on very different levels. This is followed by further, and rather stereotypical, justifications aimed at the moral shortcomings of paganism, which are only outwardly expelled by Islam, including the degradation of women through marriage and concubinage. In this respect, Islam is even less civilised than paganism (pp. 247-63). Finally, Simon discusses

the relationship between Islam and individuals and accuses Islam of withholding progress and education through *sharīʿa*. He insists that, even if these remarks have negative connotations, they allow contemporary readers to draw conclusions about how Islamic teachings and practices are enculturated locally.

The third main section deals with the possible and desired conversion of the Muslim to Christianity (pp. 287-470). Simon points to the rejecting attitude of Muslims towards Christians. They classify Christians as irreligious, impure and backward and take offence at the doctrine of the Trinity and the veneration of images (pp. 287-342). He is concerned with explaining ways to undermine the Muslim faith (pp. 342-408), which should lead to the certainty of Christian faith. This task revolves around the moral struggle of faith, the simplicity, purity and certainty of the Bible as God's Word, and especially the Christian power of love asserted against the lovelessness of Islam, as well as the opportunities missionaries find in Christian instruction and church fellowship. In these sections, Simon compares the religions, using strong contrasts (pp. 349-57). He attempts to argue rhetorically that the Christian religion is the only one that conveys certainty of salvation. When comparing the Bible with the Qur'an, he says that the Bible conveys everything about Christ, while Muslims do not understand their book at all (pp. 362-71). Simon makes it explicit that all those who engage in Christian missionary work must build strong enough trust with 'pagan Muslims' to lead them to discredit Muḥammad as a false prophet, or they will never give up Islam (p. 376). This would be an important first step in communicating Christian values. Then, he deals with the victory of the gospel and the conversion of Muslims to Christianity (pp. 408-38), with salvation (pp. 421-33) and with eternity (pp. 433-8). The fourth and final sub-chapter (pp. 438-70) offers a theologically conceived discussion of Christian teachings: on the new life in God, on prayer as an internalised form of faith, and on obedience to God. At the end, Simon explains his missionary position that Muslims are the brothers of Christians. The battle against Islam will ultimately be a great challenge to and enrichment for Christianity because Islam effectively forces Christians to unfold the fullness of the vitality of the Gospel of Christ (pp. 467-70).

When Simon published the second edition of this book four years later, it was around 100 pages shorter. He explains that, first, he has removed various references and comparisons that referred not to the Dutch Indies but to other missionary areas such as Africa. He is now of the opinion that each missionary area has its own special features, which should not be overlooked by making comparisons too quickly. Second, he has shortened

the third part, which deals with the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. With these revisions, he has attempted to respond to the discussions at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 (Simon, *Islam und Christentum*, 1914, p. v).

SIGNIFICANCE

A few years before the book appeared, Johannes Warneck, who had been active in missionary service among the Batak in Sumatra from 1892 to 1906, had published a book about his experiences, *Die Lebenskräfte des Evangeliums. Missionserfahrungen innerhalb des animistischen Heidentums* ('The life forces of the gospel. Mission experiences within animist paganism', Berlin, 1908), which focused entirely on the animist religion of the Batak. This was followed by another, *Die Religion der Batak. Ein Paradigma für die animistischen Religionen des Indischen Archipels* ('The religion of the Batak. A paradigm for the animist religions of the Indian Archipelago', Leipzig, 1909), in which he proposed the thesis that Indonesian Muslims remain animists, i.e. that Islam is not able to overcome paganism internally (p. 24). Simon takes up this idea and focuses on the connection between paganism or animism and Islam. In this respect, his study shows Islam on Sumatra at the beginning of the 20th century from the perspective of the missionary who perceives it as a powerful competitor and therefore describes it as one analyses an opponent in order to be able to fight him better. Simon portrays the earlier Christian mission to the pagans as successful and Islam as stealing the flourishing island kingdom of Indonesia from the Christians. In Simon's eyes, his missionary work is about reclaiming a perceived former Christian possession. Metaphors of struggle and war make the book a testimony to the relationship of Muslims and Christians in the context of imperialism and colonialism.

Simon draws on contemporary academic discourses, building on theories of psychology, anthropology and comparative religion, as well as the Islamic studies by Dutch scholars such as the Arabists and Islamic scholars Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Georg Niemann (1823-1905) and Carel Poensen (1836-1919). Despite its polemical tone, the book offers a detailed and thorough study of the spread of Islam, the methods of Islamisation and inculturation. It is also a source where the work of missionaries in direct confrontation with Muslim actors can be studied, as can their channelling of knowledge and propaganda to European readers.

The famous missionary Samuel Zwemer, praising Simon's account of the struggle between Islam and Christianity in the animist pagan world, arranged for an English translation to be made in 1912. In the preface to

this, he wrote that Simon presented a good analysis of the situation in Sumatra that met academic standards, and that he showed how Christian mission could become successful despite the rapid spread of Islam (Simon, *Progress and arrest of Islam*, p. viii). He thought it was striking that, for Simon, Islam was external and immoral while Christianity was inward and moral. When Klaus Hock analysed Simon's later works, mainly written in the interwar period, he observed that he had not changed his position significantly, but always applied a strict Christian standard to Islam and in consequence consistently described it as deficient (Hock, *Der Islam im Spiegel westlicher Theologie*, p. 111-15).

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Hock, *Der Islam im Spiegel westlicher Theologie*

Catherina Wenzel

'Der islamische Gottesbegriff und die christliche Trinität'
'The Islamic image of God and the Christian Trinity'

DATE 1912
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
This article appeared in two parts in *AMZ* in 1912. It is almost 22 pages long and is divided into four sections. The first three appeared as the first part of the text. A footnote to the title refers the reader to some current literature on the Muslim concept of God: Duncan Black MacDonald's *Development of Muslim theology* (London, 1903), Hubert Grimme's *Mohammed* (Münster, 1892), Ignaz Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1911), Ludolf Krehl's *Beiträge zu mohammedanischer Dogmatik* (Leipzig, 1855), Samuel Zwemer's *The Moslem idea of God* (Edinburgh, 1905) and Christian Friedrich Dettinger's 'Beiträge zu einer Theologie des Koran' (*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie* [1832]).

In the first section ('Blurring the borders', pp. 433-6), Simon points out the apparent similarities between Islam and Christianity – the Bible, despite accusations of being falsified, is still considered by Muslims to be a holy book; Jesus is a prophet; God is one; there is a shared hope for the afterlife, together with other elements of Jewish and Christian beliefs. For this reason, borrowing a phrase from the German Lutheran theologian Martin Kähler (1835-1912), Simon calls Islam 'encapsulated Christianity' (*verkapseltes Christentum*, p. 433). He observes that Christian missionaries are advised sometimes to use these apparently common elements as starting points when preaching to Muslims, while some contemporary Muslims use them to urge Christians to convert to Islam. But he makes it clear that this is only possible when specific features of both religions are overlooked (or the borderlines are blurred). Contemporary Islam confidently declares that such a process has already begun in Christianity

and for this reason Muslims believe that the impending disintegration of Christianity is in sight.

For Simon, the popularity of unitarian convictions in some theological trends in Christianity is dangerous. Doubts in upholding the absoluteness of Christianity lead to relativism and timid acknowledgement of Islam. He points to the regrettable results of historical-critical research on the biblical text, quoting a passage from a work of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, about a Christian missionary journal article in which the author doubts that Jesus possessed full knowledge of the Old Testament. As Simon sees it, Muslims also think that Christian theology goes too far, because its sharp criticism of the literary problems in the biblical text undermines 'the mechanistic theory of revelation in Islam' (p. 434). For this reason, Muslims perceive Christian theologians as unbelievers.

Simon observes in Europe a clear inclination towards Islam, not because there are mosques in some European cities or that the German Muslim Schmitz, in his fanciful book, invites his compatriots to true Christianity, which is Islam (Muhammed Adil Schmitz du Moulin, *Der Islam, d. h. Die Ergebung in Gottes heiligen Willen*, Leipzig, 1904), and not because many in Christian Europe sincerely admire Islam. Rather, Simon points out, the Egyptian newspaper *Lewa* (*Al-Liwā'* published 1900-12 in Cairo) invites the educated people of Europe, and also Japan, to accept Islam 'purified from tradition', while German scholars 'wash Muḥammad clean' and consider the North-African *marabouts* as propagators of high culture (p. 435). All this confuses Muslims because they find it impossible to praise anything by the believers of other religions, yet their own is being praised – or so it seems – by these other believers. Even Bahaism, a Muslim sect persecuted by orthodox Muslims, finds admirers in Christian circles.

According to Simon, Islam can be seen taking on new cultural elements (*Kultur*, European culture) hoping that if it cannot defeat highly-cultured (*kulturüberlegene*) Christianity, then at least it can win it over (p. 435).

> Atheism has run its course, monism is beginning to lose itself in pantheism; under the slogan of free Christianity, people are rallying around the banner of Unitarianism. Islam, however, is unitarian in its essence, or rather anti-Trinitarian, because its entire hostility is directed against the Trinitarian concept of God. Admittedly, the term Unitarian cannot be applied so easily to Islam. [...] The Islamite [*sic*] attaches importance to rites and the honouring of God through prescribed worship, things about which the Unitarian is lofty (*erhaben*). But opposition to the Trinitarian version of the concept of God unites the two all the more firmly. (pp. 435-6)

In section two (pp. 436-9), Simon states that the concept of God has been the stumbling block in Muslim relations with Christianity from the very beginning of Islam, but adds that Islam has incomplete awareness of God. He ends the section with the following paragraph:

> He [Muḥammad] was not a theologian, but rather a man intoxicated with God. He would like to believe himself that he was proclaiming God's will; even when he laid down the regulations for his harem; even when, giving in to his lust, he broke them again, he boldly invoked God's inspiration. There is no question of consistency. Traits of the ancient Arabian image of God shine through when he says that God is as close to man as his jugular vein. Then again, his language recalls the sublime words of the Psalmist, and when God is even called *nūr*, i.e. the light, we would like to think of the New Testament. It [God's image] is teeming with anthropomorphic expressions; the face and hands of Allāh are spoken of, and alongside them are the metaphysical predicates of transcendence (*Welterhabenheit*) and being withdrawn from the world. A lively poetic dressing of the concepts makes these qur'anic passages attractive to Christian tastes as well. (pp. 438-9)

In section three (pp. 439-46), which is devoted to criticising the Muslim concept of God, Simon aims to prove that Islam's proud acknowledgement of God's transcendence is its weakness and even a dissolution of faith in God. In contrast, 'it is precisely Christianity which alone upholds God's worldly sublimity' (p. 440). Since Islam describes God only in a negative way, God becomes an isolated and abstract entity. This is the extreme consequence of a fully thought-through unitarian monotheism. The anti-Trinitarian concept of God lost the battle with animism because of its own connection with magic, which reinforces pagan beliefs. In Java, the old tribal spirits are invoked alongside Allāh. The widespread use of amulets makes sense only if the old belief in spirits is maintained. The unitarian concept of God is unable to free the human being from the worship of spirits. Only Christians with their Trinitarian concept of God can do that. For Christians, God is the fullness of sanctity, seen in the incarnated Logos (the Word made flesh). For this reason, Christians can speak about God becoming one of the human race without endangering God's divinity. Furthermore, in Simon's view, Islam and Christianity differ on a very fundamental point. In Islam, God's separation from the creation belongs to God's nature. For Christians, that separation has a human cause, which is called sin. It is humans who isolate themselves from God.

The Christian concept of God who comes close to the human race contradicts another feature of the Muslim image of God, the absolute will to

power (*der absolute Wille zur Macht*, p. 474). Simon sets out to prove that Christianity expresses God's power and will more profoundly than Islam, where 'God's will is revealed in the ruthless exercise of his power over powerless creatures' (p. 444). He strives to show the reader that Muslims attempt to make God responsible for all foolish and sinful human desires, but this leads them into not taking moral responsibility for their actions, or into believing that they have divine licence for anything they do.

Section four (pp. 481-9) addresses the significance of the teaching on the Trinity in contrast to Islam. Jesus's death on the cross opened a new perspective on God, who by dying on the cross consciously renounced his power in order to destroy the sinful impulse. Muslims do not realise this, because Jesus is for them a prophet, one in a line of prophets (even if somehow of special status), and they reject the idea of Jesus's crucifixion as an offence against God's power. The cross sheds a new light on the way God deals with human beings and with all creation. Simon recalls his disputes against Indonesian animism, arguing at this point that belief in Jesus, who remains in Trinitarian union with the Father, defeats animism, which Islam is unable to do. Animistic beliefs are based on a conviction of the power of the spirits present in the world. When Jesus drove spirits out and performed miracles, he did it as God and not as a human being.

Islam tries to safeguard God's power by disabling human will, but Simon points out that it is easy to assert the divine will when the human will is deactivated: 'To assert oneself in divine superiority against an affirmed powerful, self-confident human will is a task worthy of God' (p. 483). Christians also know that God's love and God's power are inseparable, with love as the regulator of power and power the outworking of love. Muslims do not see this because, for them, God's power completely overshadows God's love. For Christians, God's acts of power are at the same time God's acts of love, although it is not easy to believe that this is the case because experiences of individuals and communities seem to prove that the image of an arbitrary powerful God is the right one.

> That is why Islam, which cannot boast enough of its monotheism, proceeds to a consequence which actually means the renunciation of belief in God; it identifies God with fate (*Fatum*). When we speak so commonly of fatalistic Mohammedans, we must not forget that, for a Mohammedan, God himself is fate. This makes Islam essentially atheistic. Its fate comes out of the same thing as the karma of atheistic Buddhism and Hinduism, as the God-excluding principle of causality of the modern monists. (p. 485)

Simon addresses the subject of the Holy Spirit in no more than half a page towards the end of his article, hinting that Christian pneumatology is problematic for Muslims. He concludes by acknowledging that his attempt at addressing this topic could be held as worthless because Christian mission can be victorious only by preaching 'the pure Gospel' (i.e. without theological deliberations). However, it is precisely the Gospel that 'leads the thinking Muslim to the intra-Trinitarian problem' (p. 489). For this reason, missionaries must be prepared to handle the issue well. They should not always follow the way proposed by Western apologists, because Muslims use other ways of reasoning. Missionaries should handle the topic of the Trinity is such a way that Muslims will recognise that what they hold as the weakness of Christianity is actually its strongest point.

SIGNIFICANCE

Simon's experiences during his time in Sumatra led him to engage with Islam more intently than many of his contemporaries. He prefers to look at Islam as it is lived now rather than as it was at the time of the Prophet. However, the impression that he engages with Islam on a deeper level is countered by the fact that he already seems to have a clear and strong opinion about Islam and Muslims, formed from his Lutheran background, and his engagement with Islam is not meant to lead to the discovery of anything new or more profound about Islam, but rather to counter its influence and discredit its religious convictions and actions. It is also noteworthy that he justifies his 'theological approach' in the final part of his article by pointing out its practical origin and application.

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G.K. Simon, 'Der islamische Gottesbegriff und die christliche Trinität', *AMZ* 39 (1912) 433-46, 481-9; 000680141 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

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Hock, *Der Islam im Spiegel westlicher Theologie*, pp. 94-115

Stanisław Grodź

Karl May

Carl Friedrich May

DATE OF BIRTH 25 February 1842
PLACE OF BIRTH Ernstthal, Saxony
DATE OF DEATH 30 March 1912
PLACE OF DEATH Radebeul, Saxony

BIOGRAPHY

Karl May was born into a poor weaver's family. His father prevailed upon him to read broadly and even to copy entire books, and he remained an avid reader throughout his life. The local organist taught him to play the violin, the piano and the organ. In 1856-60, he studied at the teachers' training-college at Waldenburg, where instruction focused on Lutheran religious doctrine. As a result, he acquired an excellent knowledge of the Bible, though at the same time he developed a strong distaste for religious formalism and dogmatism because of being exposed to over-zealous devotion at the college as well as at home. He began teaching, but this career came to an abrupt end in 1862 when he was dismissed because of a petty theft. At the same time he was declared unfit for military service (May, *Mein Leben*, pp. 16-110; Sudhoff and Steinmetz, *Chronik*, vol. 1, pp. 28-116).

In 1864-5, he was found guilty of swindling and theft and had to work for three and a half years at the workhouse Schloss Osterstein as a penalty, although the Catholic catechist Johannes Kochta (1824-86) still employed him as organist. From this point onwards, the Lutheran Karl May exhibited a clear interest in Roman Catholicism and this later became stronger through his Catholic publishers and readers (May, *Mein Leben*, pp. 110-73; Sudhoff and Steinmetz, *Chronik*, vol. 1, pp. 120-94).

May published his first poems and stories in newspapers and journals in 1873-4. This was a period when Heinrich Gotthold Münchmeyer (1836-92), a former carpenter and itinerant musician turned publisher of penny-novels, employed him as an editor. He produced several journals and successfully published his first story set in the native American world. Inspired by the Württemberg poet and novelist Wilhelm Hauff (1802-27)

and the famous zoologist and writer Alfred Brehm (1829-84), in 1876 he also published *Leïlet*, his first story set in the East.

From 1878, May lived as a freelance author of stories and novels serialised in various journals. Most notably, the Catholic publishing house Pustet in Regensburg made him an offer to write for the family journal *Deutscher Hausschatz in Wort und Bild* on a regular basis, with a free hand to choose his own subjects. In 1881, he started *Giölgeda padiśhanün*, the first half of the later Orient series in six volumes, to be followed in 1891 by *Im Lande des Mahdi*. Together, these were his most important works concerning Islam (Sudhoff and Steinmetz, *Chronik*, vol. 1, pp. 247-422).

May's breakthrough to fame and wealth came in 1891, when Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld (1853-1933) started to publish the novels he had written for *Hausschatz* in Freiburg and later fresh compositions as a book series called *Carl May's* [*sic*] *Gesammelte Reiseromane* ('Carl May's collected travel novels'), from 1896 renamed *Gesammelte Reiseerzählungen* ('Collected travel narratives'). Between 1892 and 1910, 33 volumes appeared and most sold well. Despite the fact that May did not travel in the East before 1899 or in North America before 1908, both he and his publishers claimed that he was writing about his own adventures and they were always written in the first person.

May's voyage from Egypt to Sumatra (1899-1900) initiated a personal change. In 1904, he wrote a reflection based on his journey under the provocative title *Und Friede auf Erden* ('And peace on earth'), in which he pleaded ardently for peace in religion and politics based on equality between races. In *Ardistan und Dschinnistan* (1907-9) and vol. 4 of the *Winnetou* series of novels (1910), his focus definitely moved to the ascent of humankind from the dust and dirt of the earth, *empor ins Reich der Edelmenschen* ('upwards to the realm of the noble'). This was also the title of the last talk he gave, in Vienna on 22 March 1912. He died a few days later.

Karl May is probably the most widely read author in the German language. Between 1875 and 1975 his books attracted hundreds of millions of readers: in 1912, one and a half million were sold but, by 1973, this had risen to 46 million. His main characters, such as Old Shatterhand and Kara ben Nemsi, personify Christian and Islamic ideals. Through them, he presented a profoundly positive image of figures who were neither European nor Christian to whole generations. Their appeal was spread even wider through adaptations of some of his novels into films and television dramas (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_May_film_adaptations).

Illustration 13. A signed photograph of Karl May as Kara ben Nemsi

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam in the works of Karl May

DATE 1876-1912
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Although May's fame was mainly based on what he wrote about his supposed adventures in the American West, the number of stories that he set in the region between North Africa and Iran is much greater. In them, Islam remains constantly under review, confronted with May's conception of Christianity. But the adherents of both religions are carefully, sometimes even polemically, differentiated according to their beliefs as Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, as Catholics, Nestorians and Protestants, according to their ethnicity as Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Persians and Balkan Muslims, as Armenians, Greeks, Kurdish Christians, English, French and Germans. In addition, the Yazidis, the so called 'devil-worshippers', become important actors in two volumes, and even Bābism is sometimes mentioned critically.

Leïlet (1876) and parts of the novel *Scepter und Hammer* (1879/80) are set in Egypt. Under the title *Giölgeda padiśhanün* ('In the shadow of the sultan'), the Roman Catholic printing house Deutscher Hausschatz published the so-called *Orientzyklus* ('Oriental cycle') of novels between 1881 and 1888. In 1892, the publisher Friedrich Fehsenfeld changed this into the first six volumes of May's collected stories: *Durch Wüste und Harem* (from 1895, *Durch die Wüste*), *Durchs wilde Kurdistan*, *Von Bagdad nach Stambul*, *In den Schluchten des Balkan*, *Durchs Land der Skipetaren* and *Der Schut*. In these connected adventures, May, alias Kara ben Nemsi, and his servant and friend Halef Omar go on horseback from Tunisia to Egypt where they liberate a kidnapped Christian girl from a criminal's harem (this episode is an almost literal adaptation of *Leïlet*). They cross into Arabia, where they visit Mecca, and they meet the Haddedihn Arabs of Mesopotamia

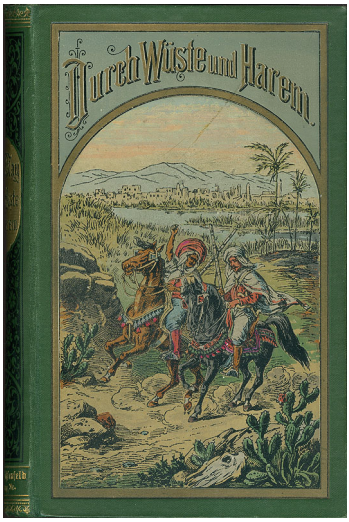

Illustration 14. Cover of *Durch Wüste und Harem*

who, thanks to Kara ben Nemsi, win a victory over their enemies. The son of the shaykh is to be liberated from his imprisonment in a fortress in Kurdistan. On the way, they assist the Yazidis in their struggle against the pasha of Mosul and later they are involved in conflicts between Kurds and Nestorians. Returning to Baghdad, they become involved with noble and criminal Persians, and with enlightened and fanatical Shīʿīs, and they survive bubonic plague. In Damascus, they again meet the criminal who featured in their Egyptian adventure. He reveals that he is the head of a criminal organisation that includes the murderer they met in Tunisia as well as his brother and nephew. After adventures full of suspense with these criminals in Stambul, they follow them with new companions through the Balkans to the dramatic final clash in Montenegro.

Very effectively, the whole series starts with a well-known dialogue between Kara ben Nemsi and his Muslim servant Halef Omar about conversion to Islam. Halef asks him,

> Is it really true, *sidhi*, that you want to remain a *giaour*, an unbeliever, who is more contemptible than a dog and more detestable than a rat which prefers rotten food? [...] Effendi, I hate unbelievers and I am glad that they go to the Dschehenna [Arabic *jahannam*, the fire or hell], where the devil lives, after they die, but I want to save you [...] and therefore I shall convert you whether you like it or not. (*Durch die Wüste*, p. 1)

In the end, however, Halef is converted to Christianity (though not to any particular denomination) through Kara ben Nemsi's example of charitable love for neighbour, the *Leitmotiv* of all May's stories.

Some parts of books that were written between 1882 and 1887 are also set on the Eastern stage. The second chapter of *Deutsche Herzen–Deutsche Helden* ('German hearts - German heroes') in particular is a romantic story of intrigue, love and war with the title 'Die Königin der Wüste' ('The queen of the desert'). In 1953, the publishers made it into a separate story entitled *Allah il Allah.*

In 1889-90, an international conference was convened in Brussels to examine Muslim involvement in slavery in Africa, which had become more urgent following the uprising of the Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad, in the Sudan in 1881. The publisher of the journal *Der gute Kamerad* asked May for a story on African slavery and in response he wrote *Die Sklavenkarawane* ('The slave caravan'), intended for younger readers, which was published as a serial in the journal in 1889-90 and as a book in 1898. The request from Pustet to write for *Der Deutscher Hausschatz* followed immediately. In 1891-2, May wrote *Im Lande des Mahdi* as a serialised novel published in three volumes in 1896. It recounts how the narrator comes into conflict in Cairo with the leaders of a Muslim slaving gang and how they keep on threatening him when he travels up the Nile with a Turkish merchant, who himself turns out to be a slave trader. But the narrator meets the *reïs effendina*, the prosecutor of slave traders, and together they fight and defeat the worst of these criminals. On the way, he meets the Mahdī and, in conversation with him, demonstrates that his own knowledge and morality are superior. Towards the end of the novel, he breaks with the *reïs* and continues to fight slavers on his own. He meets a man seeking religion, whom he had met before in Kurdistan and who tells him about his conversion, following a pattern regularly repeated in stories that May wrote in the 1890s for various Catholic *Marienkalender* ('calendars of the Virgin Mary'). Thirteen out of 17, and two more written in 1909-10, are set in Eastern contexts, most of them later included in the collections *Orangen und Datteln* ('Oranges and dates', 1894) and *Auf fremden Pfaden* ('On foreign trails', 1897). The standard pattern is represented by the stories *Christus oder Muhammad* (1891) and *Maria oder Fatima* (1894): when they are in extreme situations, Muslims seek salvation from the Prophet or his daughter but without success and learn instead to place their confidence in Christ or his mother, because they are saved by a strong and benevolent Christian hero in conditions provided by divine providence.

Whereas in *Am Jenseits* ('In the beyond', 1899) and in the first two volumes of the four-volume *Im Reiche des silbernen Löwen* ('In the realm of the silver lion', 1897-8) May's interaction with the Islamic world follows the pattern established in the texts just mentioned, it slowly seeps away out of *Und Friede auf Erden* ('And peace on earth', 1901-4), which is focused on China and the Chinese. The Muslim protagonist of this novel, Sajjid Omar, becomes a practising Christian (like Halef Omar before), while the leading antagonist of May's humanitarian gospel is a fanatical Protestant missionary from America ready to condemn and persecute any kind of heathen. In his later works, the third and fourth volumes of *Im Reiche des silbernen Löwen* (1903-4) and *Ardistan und Dschinnistan* (1907-9), the contrasts and contradictions between Christianity and Islam are no longer a problem, but the setting and the protagonists remain as Eastern as before. In *Im Reiche des silbernen Löwen*, Kara ben Nemsi and Halef Omar catch typhoid and find their way to a fantastic mountain valley inhabited by a Kurdish tribe, which becomes the setting for symbolic action and psycho-dramatic dialogues. In *Ardistan*, the 'earth-country', they find their way upwards to *Dschinnistan* through symbolic adventures which represent their personal and humankind's general ascent to perfection. In the meantime, May has also distanced himself from his fake roles as super-man Kara ben Nemsi and Old Shatterhand. On the way, they convert the grim lord of *Ardistan*, a man of violence, into a peace-loving noble being (*Edelmensch*). Islam is still presented here as the religion of hate and violence, but neither exclusively nor forever. Finally, in *Dschinnistan's* dreamland of *Sitara* church bells ring in harmony with the call of the muezzin.

Not all the sources used by May in his writings on Islam have been identified, particularly any related to the strange and controversial positions taken in his works. Information of a basic kind was provided by the fourth edition of *Pierers Universal-Lexikon* (Schweikert, 'Islamkenntnisse', pp. 34-9). As narrator, May prides himself on thorough studies guided by Germany's leading academic experts (*Mahdi*, vol. 2, p. 85, vol. 3, p. 166). He insists on the Jewish and Christian foundations of Islam and regards Muḥammad as an epileptic and his visions as hallucinations, a traditional judgement about which there is nothing in *Pierer*. Nevertheless, he praises the *gewaltige Poesie* ('mighty poetry') of the Qur'an and enjoys quoting passages from it as well as from Muslim prayers, though this is probably just another form of May showing off, as he does with displays of geography, biology, languages, history and ethnology. The complex symbolic world of the visions in *Am Jenseits* must originate from Arab scholars of the Qur'an

and Persian poets, and the idea of life as sleep and death as final awakening must come from Muslim mystics (Wohlgschaft, *Karl May*, p. 1140).

May's portrayal of Islam is full of contradictions, which may be the consequence of writing at high speed under the pressure of deadlines. On the one hand, noble Muslims are not missing from his novels and he is inclined to admire the devout ways in which Muslims pray (*Wüste*, pp. 48, 152, 427; *Deutsche Herzen*, vol. 2, pp. 757, 911, 917, 920), but on the other, he takes offence at the empty formalism of prayers simply reeled off (*Bagdad*, p. 222) and many of his criminals are proud Muslims. The disgusting unctuousness of Muslim fakirs (*Im Reiche*, vol. 3, p. 153) and the hypocritical meanness of the Egyptian slaving gang are contrasted with the charitableness, gentleness, humility and mild friendliness of Christian congregations (*Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 84). Perhaps with the Catholic readers of the *Deutscher Hausschatz* books in mind, *Durchs wilde Kurdistan* contains a critique of Protestant missionaries combined with reverence for the Roman Catholic Church (p. 112-14), praise for the papacy (p. 634), and even a slant on the *Kulturkampf*, Otto von Bismarck's campaign against the Catholics, (p. 101). Nevertheless, a negative reference to Catholicism is also possible. The abominable bigotry of the Taki-Kurds, who, full of pious meanness, say that only they will go to heaven and persecute all others (*Im Reiche*, vol. 4, pp. 208, 397, 407), is not meant as a denigration of Islam but as a symbolic way of getting even with May's Catholic enemies led by Carl Muth (1867-1944) (Wohlgschaft, *Karl May*, p. 1408).

Aggressive Muslim contempt of the *giaour*, the unbeliever (the word was introduced from Turkish into German by May), is repeated with almost ritual regularity in May's works. Mere contact with a non-Muslim contaminates believers, who in consequence have to perform elaborate purification rituals (*Wüste*, pp. 1, 57, 98, 170, 201, 203, 224, 339; *Kurdistan*, p. 546; *Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 434). Muslims are not obliged to keep their word to them and to kill one is considered a meritorious act (*Schluchten*, pp. 187, 470). Quite often, verbal aggression is just the first step towards the fanatical violence of a Muslim populace (*Bagdad*, pp. 247, 287-90, 304; *Im Reiche*, vol. 1, pp. 129, 164, 169) and, even in his late works, May considers Islam the religion of hatred and violence. The embodiment of this is the obligatory vendetta and vengefulness, which are opposed by Kara ben Nemsi whenever possible (*Wüste*, p. 52; *Mahdi*, vol. 3, p. 250; *Jenseits*, p. 77, 435; *Mir*, vol. 1, pp. 120, 139), and in vain he reminds Muslims that Allāh is the father of forgiveness and the fountain of mercy (*Schut*, p. 208). Nevertheless, he is inclined to explain this Muslim harshness as a consequence of the stresses of desert life (*Schluchten*, p. 279; *Deutsche Herzen*, vol. 2, 757;

Jenseits, p. 107). In contrast, the Christian Kara ben Nemsi is presented as a messenger in pursuit of peace and fraternal love, who forgives his enemies and leaves their punishment to the law courts and to divine providence because, by retaliating, he would be violating the teachings of his faith and the rules of humanity (*Skipetaren*, p. 463). Again and again, May demonstrates in his stories that, even in this world, punishment develops out of crime through divine providence, sometimes assisted by natural catastrophes: 'Alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden' ('All guilt is avenged on earth', *Wüste*, p. 266; *Kurdistan*, pp. 6, 633, 636; *Bagdad*, pp. 228, 639; *Schluchten*, p. 423; *Schut*, p. 304; *Mahdi*, vol. 2, p. 285, vol. 3, pp. 180-4, 276-8, 299; *Jenseits*, pp. 360, 395, 436; *Im Reiche*, vol. 1, pp. 206, 211, vol. 3, p. 43).

May's Muslims respond to this with the argument that most Christians do not comply with Kara ben Nemsi's gospel of practical Christianity, for they constantly fight among themselves and, instead of fraternal love, they offer the Easterner imperialist exploitation and humiliation (*Wüste*, p. 568; *Kurdistan*, pp. 112-14; *Im Reiche*, vol. 3, pp. 414, 522). May takes this justifiable accusation into account and therefore makes some of his major villains Christians, or at least renegades (converts to Islam), rather than Muslims alone. As a Christian himself, he disapproves of renegades or, if he sympathises with them, as in the case of the historical Krüger Bei of Tunisia, he excuses them as victims of deception (*Jenseits*, p. 292; *Im Reiche*, vol. 2, p. 93). His Christian criminals are by preference Oriental Christians and almost always Armenians (*Wüste*, pp. 22, 75, 158; *Bagdad*, p. 565; *Schluchten*, pp. 291-4, 313, 439; *Im Reiche*, vol. 1, pp. 226, 248, vol. 2, p. 124, vol. 3, p. 410).

In May's works, the conflict between religions is regularly intertwined with conflict between people of different ethnicities, who are heavily loaded with prejudice. 'In contrast to the perfidious Greek, the haggling and immoral Armenian, the revengeful Arab, the lazy Turk, the hypocritical Persian and the rapacious Kurd, I learned to respect the deceitfully ill famed "devil worshipper"' (*Wüste*, p. 571). The brutal Albanian, or Arnaut, or Skipetar (*Bagdad*, p. 603; *Skipetaren*, p. 1; *Im Reiche*, vol. 1, 302) and the dirty Jew (*Kurdistan*, pp. 194, 229) were added to complete the collection. But in spite of May's own prejudices, while he always presents some lovable and noble members of the different ethnic groups, including a Jew, despite his obvious anti-Semitism (*Bagdad*, p. 480), it is the Armenians and Greeks who represent evil incarnate for him (*Wüste*, p. 571; *Kurdistan*, pp. 194, 229; *Bagdad*, p. 565; *Schluchten*, pp. 291-4, 313, 439; *Im Reiche*, vol. 2, p. 124). He reduces the so-called 'Oriental question' to the following: Byzantine hypocrisy and Greek cunning have corrupted the honest

Turkish conqueror in his simplicity and made him susceptible to English and Russian intrigues. Only Germans, who were once his honest enemies, are now his honest friends (*Bagdad*, pp. 449-52). Together with Schimin the blacksmith (*Schluchten*, pp. 67-70), the reader feels inclined to use this same argument to explain the Ottoman Empire's corrupt system of government, as well as the general inefficiency, filthiness, indolence and superstition of the East, which May describes and ridicules regularly (*Wüste*, pp. 59, 558; *Kurdistan*, pp. 160, 200, 283; *Bagdad*, pp. 420, 511; *Schluchten*, pp. 395-99, 541, 545; *Skipetaren*, p. 419; *Schut*, pp. 99-102, 376-9; *Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 124). In contrast, not only does Kara ben Nemsi represent the better religion and therefore hesitates to participate in Muslim prayers and rituals (May, *Wüste*, p. 239; *Kurdistan*, p. 13; *Bagdad*, pp. 183-8), but he also displays the arrogance of coming from a superior culture: 'One has to know how to handle the people of the Orient according to their species' (*Wüste*, p. 504; *Kurdistan*, p. 157; *Schluchten*, p. 336). In addition, May is proud of being a German and proud of the heroes of the recently founded German Empire: Kaiser Wilhelm I, Otto von Bismarck and Field Marshal Helmuth Karl Bernhard von Moltke (May, *Deutsche Herzen*, vol. 2, p. 701; *Mahdi*, vol. 3, p. 387; *Im Reiche,* vol. 3, p. 425).

However, ethnicity alone is not a sufficient explanation of Eastern inferiority because 'Islam itself is said to prevent the progressive cultural development of its adherents' (*Schluchten*, p. 67). According to Kara ben Nemsi, Muslim belief in strict predestination, or *kismet*, creates an indolent fatalism that paralyses human activity, to which the alternative is Christian liberty (*Scepter*, p. 32; *Wüste*, p. 194; *Kurdistan*, pp. 8, 35, 606; *Bagdad*, pp. 302, 336; *Skipetaren*, pp. 45, 406; *Mahdi*, vol. 1, pp. 138, 243; *Im Reiche*, vol. 2, p. 300). In addition, the erroneous claim which May took from the Swiss author Ferdinand Perrier (1812-82; see Koch in Sudhoff, *Himmel und Hölle*, pp. 160-2) about women not having souls has similar tragic consequences. Because the female component is essential for May's theory of love, he deals with this problem 14 times in 12 of his books (*Juweleninsel*, p. 138; *Wüste*, p. 88; *Kurdistan*, pp. 582, 629; *Bagdad*, pp. 204, 387; *Skipetaren*, p. 65; *Deutsche Herzen*, vol. 2, p. 631; *Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 309, 314; *Im Reiche*, vol. 2, p. 14, 20-24).

In addition, in order to convince Muslims of the superiority of Christianity, Kara ben Nemsi employs the equally erroneous information that, according to Muslims' own doctrine on doomsday, Jesus Christ will come to judge the world, making him superior to Muḥammad (*Bagdad*, p. 364; *Mahdi*, vol. 2, p. 87, vol. 3, pp. 170-4; *Im Reiche*, vol. 4, p. 263). There is indeed a tradition in Islam about Christ returning at the End but not as

judge – just once in Ibn ʿArabī (1165-1240) a trace of this idea may be identified (G.C. Anawati, art. "Īsā', in *EI2*, vol. 4, 81-6, p. 84).

May also denounces the crescent, the symbol of Islam, as a symbol of violence because it is supposed to represent the sabre of the Prophet (*Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 185), though this is just a legend (Hofmann and Vorbichler, *Islambild*, p. 195), but he is correct when he repeats again and again that Muslims swear by the Prophet and in particular by the Prophet's beard (*Wüste*, pp. 403, 445; *Skipetaren*, p. 510; *Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 399, vol. 2, p. 496). In contrast, Kara ben Nemsi regularly refuses to swear at all, because he says oaths are prohibited in the Bible (*Schluchten*, p. 237). This kind of Christian fundamentalism apparently does not fit in with May's general religious attitude. Did he intend by it to blame the Muslims for this particular materialistic religious formalism? And did he want to discredit their religion further when he mentioned how they would test men suspected of being drunk by asking them to recite the short but complicated Sura 109 (*Deutsche Herzen*, vol. 2, p. 342; *Mahdi*, vol. 3, p. 144; *Im Reiche*, vol. 3, p. 52; *Mir*, vol. 1, p. 276) as is reported by the Count d'Escayrac de Lauture (Lieblang, '*Sieh diese Darb*', p. 186)? But how did May come to know that Arabs used to whisper verses from the Qur'an into the ears of their thoroughbred horses (*Wüste*, p. 366)?

In May's late works, Islam is no longer important but is still presented as a religion of violence. The grim lord of Ardistan, who is a symbol of evil itself, has no chance of succeeding but can still proclaim his warped ideas. He contrasts Christian salvation in the peace of the next world with Islamic salvation in this world. This consists of universal peace on earth, but it is a peace that has to be enforced, meaning that war is the greatest work in the service of peace on earth. Two thousand years of Christianity have not brought peace to anybody, but now war will be vanquished by war. An eye for eye and blood for blood is the severe but boundlessly just law of Islam (*Ardistan*, vol. 2, p. 47). Had not the visionary of *Am Jenseits* announced that humankind, having rejected the doctrine of Christ, must of necessity be converted by the fighting religion of Islam (p. 146)? In *Und Friede auf Erden*, Islam is presented as a sleeping giant who may wake at any time. Whether this waking will be friendly and peaceful or otherwise depends on Europe. But this book is mainly concerned with the religion and future of China, which leads to the conclusion that, in contrast to the religions of East and South Asia, Islam and Christianity are both essentially aggressive (p. 140).

> The giant Islam, this powerful figure based on European, Asian and African soil at the same time, is not afraid of the apparent superiority of the West.

> His belief, Kismet, is irresistible in attack and of endless endurance. It equals European weapons. With competent leaders, the East will be victorious. If it fails to be victorious, its downfall will also be that of the West. Then the yellow race and the German-Indian one [of America] will share rule of the world. And why? Because the West was not great, just or noble enough to revise its so-called 'spheres of interest' in a humane way and thus to become reconciled with the East. (*Mir*, vol. 1, p. 21)

This prophecy, made by Marah Durimeh, May's symbolic *Menschheitsseele* ('soul of humanity'), is probably his final statement concerning Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

At a time when serious information about the East was comparatively rare, Karl May, with his millions of readers, was able to influence innumerable Germans in their thinking and imaginings about Islam. For this reason, whether his stories are trivial or not, they merit careful analysis. This can be done without much regard to the various narrative situations because 'neutral' information by the author, together with the thoughts of Kara ben Nemsi and the utterances of other characters, settled more or less equally in readers' minds.

With his obvious liking for the eastern environment, May paid tribute to the fashionable exoticism of his time – this was at a time, in 1908-9, when a factory was built in Dresden in the style of a mosque, the so-called Tabakmoschee. Possessing this basic sympathy, he met Muslims with respect, even though with a measure of criticism. His sympathy for Orientals was probably augmented by his general solidarity with powerless and discriminated-against people originating from his own earlier life. Above all else, May was a convinced pacifist and opponent of imperialism, although his critique of German jingoism did not completely exclude a form of proselytising imperialism and was combined with obvious resentments against individuals of certain races.

On the level of religions, May most probably regarded Islam as a merely human creation, which, because of its affinity with violence, was incompatible with Christianity. In any case, Christianity remained superior, because May was a believing and pious Christian, though a Christian in the sense of holding a personal undogmatic gospel of love and peace, which insisted on benevolence (*Kurdistan*, p. 6; Wohlgschaft, *Karl May*, p. 102). As he declared, 'I am just a Christian, nothing else' (Sudhoff, *Himmel und Hölle,* p. 129). Ultramontane Catholics among his readers were not able to accept this. His late works were even denounced to the Vatican Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books (Wolf in Sudhoff, *Zwischen Himmel und*

Hölle, pp. 71-143). This gospel of his was universalistic because it was based upon humankind's common sense of God (*Mahdi*, vol. 1, p. 129). 'If you add a Christian to a Muhammadan and a heathen, and divide that by three the outcome will be a human being' (*Friede*, p. 594). However, in contrast to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, who regarded all religions as versions of a single universal form of belief, this humanity remained Christian in the sense of May's gospel of love, which was supposed to represent the final step in a kind of spiritual evolution of humankind.

PUBLICATIONS

There have been many editions of Karl May's works. Most of his novels were originally serialised weekly in magazines, sometimes with a different title, before being published as books. Only details of the magazine, together with the first edition, first translations and critical editions are listed. Further details of German editions can be found on the exhaustive Karl May Gesellschaft website, karl-may-gesellschaft.de.

Collected works:

- Karl May, *Karl Mays Gesammelte Werke*, 96 vols, Bamberg and Radebeul, 1913-2020
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Works concerning Christian-Muslim relations:

- Karl May, *Das Buch der Liebe*, Dresden, 1875, repr. Bamberg, 1988; buch_der_liebe (digitised version available through karl-may-gesellschaft.de)
- M. Gisela [Karl May], *Leïlet*, Dresden, 1876; leilet (digitised version available through karl-may-gesellschaft.de)
- Karl May, 'Die Rose von Kahira', in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 71. *Old Firehand*, Bamberg, 1967, 159-228
- Karl May, 'Leïlet', in *Historisch-kritische May-Ausgabe* (HKA), vol. 1.8 *Aus der Mappe eines Vielgereisten*, Radebeul, 2016, 171-235
- Karl May, 'Scepter und Hammer', *Für alle Welt* 4 (1880) issues 1-26; scepter (digitised version available through karl-may-gesellschaft.de)

Karl May, *Werke*, vol. 2. *Fortsetzungsromane*, Part 1. *Scepter und Hammer*, ed. H. Wiedenroth, Zurich, 1987 (first edition, as the publisher of *Für alle Welt* refused permission for it to be printed)
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Karl May, *Durch die Wüste*, Freiburg, 1895
Karl May, *Pouští. Cestopisný roman*, trans. O. Flögl, Brno, 1898, repr. Prague, 1970 (Czech trans.)
Karl May, *Przez pustynię. Powieść podróżnicza*, Lvov, 1908 (Polish trans.)
Karl May, *Rœningjarnir í Sahara. Ferðasaga*, Ísafjörður, 1908 (Icelandic trans.)
Karl May, *Los piratas del Mar rojo*, Buenos Aires, 1943 (Spanish trans.)
Karl May, *In the desert*, Bamberg, 1955 (English trans.)
Karl May, *Derekh ha-yeshimon*, trans. A. Kar, Tel Aviv, 1975 (Hebrew trans.)
Karl May, *A sivatagon át*, trans. K. Szabó, Budapest, 1999 (Hungarian trans.)
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Durchs wilde Kurdistan
Karl May, 'Giölgeda padishanün', *Deutscher Hausschatz* 7 (1881) issues 41-52, and 8 (1881-2) issues 3-26; hs07-1880-81 and hs08-1881-82 (digitised version available through Karl May Gesellschaft)
Karl May, *Durchs wilde Kurdistan*, Freiburg, 1892
Karl May, *Przez dziki Kurdystan*, 2 vols, n.p., [1937] (Polish trans.)
Karl May, *Linnoituksen vanki*, trans. O. Väänänen and W. Anttila, Porvoo, 1956 (Finnish trans.; includes both *Durch die Wüste* and *Durchs wilde Kurdistan*)

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Karl May, *Divokým Kurdistánem*, trans. T. Glückhauf, Prague, 1971 (Czech trans.)
Karl May, *Di Kurdistan*, Jakarta, 1978 (Indonesian trans.)
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Karl May, *Z Bagdádu do Cařihradu*, Prague, 1972 (Czech trans.)
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Wolfgang Reinhard

Ernst Jäckh

DATE OF BIRTH 22 February 1875
PLACE OF BIRTH Württemberg
DATE OF DEATH 17 August 1959
PLACE OF DEATH New York

BIOGRAPHY

Ernst Jäckh was born into an upper middle-class family in the small town of Urach in Baden-Württemberg. He received his senior school education at the *Karls-Gymnasium* in Stuttgart and in 1899 he obtained his PhD from the University of Heidelberg. From 1901 until his appointment as director of Deutsche Werkbund in 1912, he worked as chief editor of the *Schwabenspiegel* and *Neckarzeitung* newspapers. During this period, he made three research trips to the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in his becoming seen as a Turkish expert. First, in 1908 he visited Izmir and Istanbul and observed the Second Constitutional Revolution of 1908, personally building links with groups of Young Turks through the German Ambassador Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein (1842-1912). Second, he organised an Asia Minor trip in 1909 together with the publisher Paul Rohrbach (1869-1956) and the economist Hjalmar Schacht (1877-1970). Finally, the Ottoman general staff, under the leadership of Mahmud Şevket Pasha (1856-1913), invited him to observe the Albanian Campaign of 1910 as a pro-Turkish European journalist to endorse the legality of the Ottoman state's centralisation efforts in the region. Apart from these trips to the Ottoman Empire, one of the most influential initiatives he undertook was to organise a visit of the Ottoman Research Committee to the German Empire in 1911. As a result of this he became known as 'Türken-Jäckh'.

In 1912, Jäckh was invited to Berlin by the German Foreign Office to become the Director of Deutsche Werkbund, the association of artists, architects, designers and industrialists founded in 1907 to improve the competitiveness of German industrial companies. Being in Berlin helped him to intensify his efforts to promote ties between Germans and Ottomans, which he mainly did through one of his key initiatives, the Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung ('German-Turkish Association'), whose function was to raise funds to increase cultural exchanges between the two societies. Jäckh was also actively involved in German imperialist institutions, which

were aiming to expand the German cultural sphere of influence. From 1916 onwards, he delivered lectures in the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen ('School of Oriental Languages') and was enrolled in the Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient ('Intelligence Bureau for the East'). He also edited and contributed to various publication series on Ottoman-related issues. In the two series *Deutsche Orient-Bücherei* and *Der deutsche Krieg*, in particular, he provided platforms for German and Ottoman Orientalists, historians, geographers, journalists, politicians and soldiers, also contributing himself with his propaganda pamphlet *Die deutsch-türkische Waffenbrüderschaft* in 1915.

In September 1918, Jäckh's son Hans died fighting on the French front at the age of 18. After the German defeat in the First World War, he devoted his energy to founding institutions and networks to assist the Weimar Republic's integration into the international system. He became a strong supporter of Germany's membership of the League of Nations and was active in the Hochschule für Politik ('Academy of politics') and the Friedensakademie ('Peace academy').

With the rise of National Socialism in 1933, it became clear that such institutions as these would not have a future in Germany. Jäckh fled to Great Britain, where he founded the New Commonwealth Society of Justice and Peace. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the British Foreign Office appointed him head of the South-Eastern Division of the Ministry of Information. In 1940, he visited Columbia University as a guest professor in the field of international relations, specialising in the Near East. While there, he published *The rising crescent. Turkey yesterday, today, and tomorrow* as a means of introducing modern Turkey to American readers. In 1948, he founded the Institute for Asian Studies at Columbia University and one year later the American-Turkish Society. In 1954, he published his memoir *Der goldene Pflug*, while another memoir, *Weltstaat*, was published in 1960, one year after his death in New York.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Der aufsteigende Halbmond. Beiträge zur türkischen Renaissance
'The rising crescent. Contributions to the Turkish renaissance'

DATE 1911
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
Der aufsteigende Halbmond is a collection of articles by Jäckh that had been published in various German newspapers, including *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Osmanische Lloyd* (published in Istanbul), between 1908 and 1910. It is 197 pages long and comprises nine articles containing observations from Jäckh's three trips to the Ottoman Empire. Among the issues examined in them are the changes brought to Ottoman political structures by the 1908 constitutional revolution, new ways adopted by Turkish women after the 1908 revolution, attempts at a religious counter-revolution in 1909, German economic interests in the Ottoman Empire and the importance of the 'German Spirit' that had been instilled by German officers in the Ottoman Army.

The book's title was chosen in response to the book by Alexander Ular and Enrico Insabato published in 1909, *Der erlöschende Halbmond. Türkische Enthüllungen* ('The expiring crescent. Turkish revelations'), which argued that the Ottoman Empire was in decline following the constitutional revolution. Jäckh aimed to show his readers that this was not the case, but that the constitutional changes had actually strengthened the empire. He endeavoured to introduce the new Turkey to his German readers because, in his view, they had little or only prejudiced knowledge about the Turks.

In this book, Jäckh declares that he is optimistic about the capability of the constitutional revolution to overcome religious antagonism in the Ottoman state by creating a common identity that people of all faiths and

backgrounds will embrace (p. 16). He also stresses his belief that the new regime of the Young Turks after 1908 would overcome the earlier ethnic and religious conflicts between Kurdish tribes, Armenians and Turks. He leaves no doubt that he gives unconditional support to the Young Turks.

SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of this collection for Christian-Muslim relations lies in its contribution to the formation of the so-called *Waffenbrüderschaft* ('Brotherhood in arms'), the German-Ottoman Alliance formed on the eve of the First World War. At the beginning of the 20th century, a group emerged in the German Empire – 'peaceful imperialists' in Jürgen Kloosterhuis's words (*'Friedliche Imperialisten'. Deutsche Auslandsvereine und auswärtige Kulturpolitik, 1906-1918*, Frankfurt, 1994) – that advocated the expansion of the empire's sphere of influence by peaceful means. Aligning himself with their principles, Jäckh sought to persuade the Young Turks regime that the German Empire would respect the integrity of the Turkish state, thus allowing the German-Ottoman Alliance to be propagated without upsetting emergent Turkish nationalist sentiments. *Der aufsteigende Halbmond* was important in achieving this. It was both a means of persuading the German public that the Ottoman state was not in decline but was important for German economic interests and it also showed the Young Turks regime that Germany respected the Turkish nation. This collection of articles prepared the way for the formation of the German-Ottoman Alliance on the eve of the First World War.

The increasingly active role played by Jäckh in the German-Ottoman Alliance from the time the book was published shows that it found significant recognition among both Germans and Turks. He was invited to Berlin by Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) to foster relations with the Ottoman state, he organised a research trip in 1911 to introduce 57 Ottoman statesmen to Germany, he was the director of the Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung ('German-Turkish Association'), which worked to raise funds for German cultural activities in the Ottoman state and, finally, he engaged in publishing activities and edited books that served to promote the German-Ottoman Alliance. These activities earned him the nickname 'Türken-Jäckh'. When the book was translated into Turkish in 1946, the translator commended Jäckh's character and hailed him as an international celebrity (*Yükselen Hilal*, p. 6).

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Deutschland im Orient nach dem Balkankrieg
'Germany in the East after the Balkan Wars'

DATE 1913
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Deutschland im Orient nach dem Balkankrieg is a 159-page collection of 11 articles that originated as speeches delivered by Jäckh during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, in which the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire secured their final independence from the Asian provinces. Jäckh's aim in it is to dispel the pessimism created by the wars in both the Ottoman and German Empires. Among other issues, he evaluates German economic interests in the Balkans, addresses claims made in the French press that the Ottoman army might be weakened by the German officers who had been invited to give assistance to it, and suggests ways in which the loss of the Balkans might give the Ottoman state greater uniformity. Jäckh sets out the historical roots of the German-Ottoman Alliance by making various references to significant figures such as Friedrich List (1789-1846), whose ideas on national economy influenced attempts by the Young Turks to turkify the Ottoman economy, and Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (1843-1916), who served as a reformer in the Ottoman army and introduced the idea of the continuous mobilisation of the whole population in expectation of war. He stresses the importance of Anatolia and the Baghdad Railway project for the economic interests of the German Empire, where increased population meant increased needs for the kinds of raw materials that were available in Turkey. He also emphasises that German and

Ottoman economic interests coincide because, unlike other European powers such as France and Great Britain, the German Empire is against the exploitation of the Turks through economic capitulation treaties.

In addition to this, he blames other European powers for staying silent in the face of what he calls the 'Christian fanaticism' that had led to the massacres of the Muslim population during the Balkan Wars. He devotes a whole chapter (pp. 83-98) to explaining that Christians in the Balkan region had massacred Muslims among whom they lived in a crusade-like action while Europeans ignored this, though when the Ottomans retaliated there was a loud outcry throughout Europe (*Deutschland im Orient*, p. 86) He pursues a pro-Turkish position by claiming that the Christians in the Balkans were much more brutal towards the Muslim population than the Ottoman state was towards them in its reprisals. As he says: 'The Mohammedan Turks did not murder as many people in those areas in the five centuries of their European rule as the "Christian" Balkans did in these three months' (p. 84).

Finally, in order to encourage his Turkish friends, Jäckh argues that the Balkan Wars have not weakened the Ottoman Empire but, on the contrary, they have strengthened it by giving it greater uniformity. The lost Balkan region was in reality an 'enemy land', and the Ottoman government can now concentrate on Anatolia, which will give it real strength.

SIGNIFICANCE

The main point of importance in Jäckh's book is its argument about homogenisation within the Ottoman Empire. This arguably had a crucial impact on political discussions taking place among Turks in Istanbul and elsewhere. One crucial and concrete example of this was the argument advanced by Ahmed Emin (1888-1972), a leading journalist of the Second Constitutional Era. In the interview he conducted with Jäckh for the leading newspaper *Tanin* in 1915, Jäckh repeated his argument that, if the non-Muslim population in the Balkan region had been forced to remain with the Ottoman state during the Balkan Wars, they would inevitably have revolted at some later point because they had no sense of loyalty. Later, Emin repeated this in his book *Die Türkei* (Gotha, 1918), claiming that, if Macedonia and Albania had remained part of the Ottoman Empire with their heterogeneous populations, they would have caused continual disturbances that would have impeded development within the empire (*Die Türkei*, p. 57). On the basis of this, it can be argued that Jäckh's argument about the advantage of homogenisation contributed to the Ottoman

political leadership moving away from the principle of a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire.

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Sevil Özçalık Dumanoğulları

Max von Oppenheim

Max Freiherr von Oppenheim

DATE OF BIRTH 15 July 1860
PLACE OF BIRTH Cologne
DATE OF DEATH 15 November 1946
PLACE OF DEATH Landshut, Lower Bavaria

BIOGRAPHY

Max von Oppenheim was born into a wealthy Jewish banking family. His mother Paula (Engels) was Catholic and his father Albert Oppenheim was a Jew who converted to Christianity on his marriage. Max was baptised and defined himself as a Catholic.

After completing school in Cologne in 1878, he undertook law studies in Strassburg and Berlin, after which he was expected to enter the family business, but his interest in the East prevailed. From 1883 to 1884, he made his first trip to Athens, Smyrna and Constantinople, and later, in 1886, he spent six months in Morocco learning Arabic. In 1892, he travelled to North Africa and later stayed for a while in Cairo, where, he states, he lived like an ordinary Arab, but without hiding his identity as a German aristocrat (Gossman, *Passion*, p. 23). In 1900, he published his two-volume *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* ('From the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf'), in which he presented to German readers his observations on the Middle East. Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935) called it the best in the field, and it gained Oppenheim an important reputation, particularly for its detailed ethnographic information about the Bedouins (Baumgartner, 'Max von Oppenheim', p. 413).

Hoping to join the German Foreign Office as a diplomat, he made his first application in 1887 and his second in 1891. However, he was twice rejected because of his Jewish background (Gossman, *Passion*, p. 35). Later, in 1896, he was able to obtain a temporary position as an attaché in the Egyptian embassy, though this was renewed each year until 1909. During his time in Cairo, he built contacts with significant figures in the Young Turks reform movement as well as with the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909). His visit to the sultan in 1895 was planned to last 20 minutes but went on for more than two hours, with exchanges of

views on Pan-Islamism (Kon, 'Almanya'nın İslam', p. 220). He was also in close contact with personalities such as ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II (r. 1892-1914), the last Khedive of Egypt, and Ahmed Muhtar Pasha (1839-1913), the Ottoman high commissioner in Egypt (Gossman, *Passion*, p. 38). Through these contacts, he organised an anti-colonialist movement among pan-Islamic and anti-European Sufi brotherhoods.

Between 1896 and 1909, Oppenheim sent 467 reports to the German Foreign Ministry concerning the chances of a pan-Islamic revolt in the region (Kon, 'Almanya'nın İslam', p. 224). His close contacts with the supporters of Pan-Islamism created scepticism in French and English foreign affairs circles, and he was described in some English documents as the 'Kaiser's spy' (McKale, '"Kaiser's spy"', p. 208). The German Foreign Office addressed these accusations by stating that he was only loosely associated with the Office.

Between 1910 and 1914, Oppenheim led large-scale excavations of the archaeological site at Tell Halaf in northeastern Syria, which he had discovered in 1899 during a research trip for the Baghdad railway (Baumgartner, 'Max von Oppenheim', p. 412). However, the excavations were interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War. Only after 1927, when Germany became a member of the League of Nations, was he able to continue the excavations, the findings from which he exhibited in a museum he founded in Charlottenburg-Berlin. When the museum was bombed in 1943, what remained was stored in the bomb-proof rooms of the Pergamon Museum.

Even before the outbreak of the First World War, Oppenheim was an ardent advocate of the German-Ottoman Alliance. He supported the Baghdad railway project by highlighting the importance of the Ottoman Empire for the German economy. The extent of his contacts with leading figures in the Ottoman Empire illustrates his influence on German-Ottoman affairs. When the alliance treaty between the German and Ottoman Empires was signed, Oppenheim was again called to the German Foreign Office. His famous memorandum of 1914, *Denkschrift betreffend die Revolutionierung der islamischen Gebiete unserer Feinde* ('Bringing about a revolution in the Muslim territories of our enemies'), which he composed in consequence of this call, contained guidelines for how Berlin could wage a jihad declared by the Ottoman sultan-caliph against the Entente powers. In addition, he continued to try to secure the loyalty of the Sharif of Mecca and his son Faisal to the Ottoman Empire and he succeeded in reaching some agreement with the latter (McKale, '"Kaiser's spy"', p. 207). However, Oppenheim's predictions in the 1914 memorandum did not

materialise. The Muslim uprising that he expected to follow the sultan's declaration of jihad, did not take place in the later years of the war; the Arabs acted out of nationalist rather than pan-Islamic motives. In his later writings, Oppenheim himself described the declaration as 'einen Schlag ins Wasser' ('a hit in the water', Lüdke, *Jihad made in Germany*, p. 186).

Through the period of the Weimar Republic, Oppenheim focused on the excavations at Tell Halaf. Later, under the Nazi regime, his Jewish background became a potential liability, though he was protected by his acquaintances in the academic community and was able to continue his work. Although he was not part of the German Foreign Office during the Second World War, in July 1940 he presented a memorandum on Middle East affairs to Theodor Habicht, undersecretary of state in the German Foreign Office. The general objectives contained in it resembled the memorandum of 1914, though with no mention of jihad because Germany's allies Italy and Vichy France had Muslim colonies – to invite Muslims in these regions to revolt could damage Germany's relations with Italy. Also, with the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate by the Turkish Republic, there was no longer any supreme authority to declare jihad in the Islamic world. The memorandum of 1940 was to a great extent a reflection of the thinking of Oppenheim's close friend and ardent advocate of the unity of Islam, the Geneva-based Lebanese Druze Shakib Arslan (1869-1946; Gossman, *Passion*, p. 232). Two days after Oppenheim sent the memorandum, Habicht responded by stating that the issues it referred to were being considered by the Foreign Office.

Oppenheim struggled with financial difficulties in his final years and he tried to sell his Tell Halaf artefacts to New York and also to the German government. But while he was engaged in this, the Tell Halaf museum was hit by an Allied phosphorus bomb in November 1943, destroying most of the artefacts. When a bombing raid also destroyed Oppenheim's home, library and art collection in Berlin, he moved first to Dresden and then with his sister to Landshut in Bavaria, where he died in 1946.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Denkschrift betreffend die Revolutionierung der islamischen Gebiete unserer Feinde
'Memorandum on bringing about a revolution in the Muslim territories of our enemies'

DATE 1914
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Max von Oppenheim presented his 136-page memorandum to the German Foreign Office in October 1914, and it was submitted to Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) at the beginning of November. It includes a report entitled *Die panislamische Bewegung* ('The pan-Islamic movement'), which Oppenheim had written on 5 July 1898 and through which he had sought to arouse the interest of decision-makers in Berlin in what he considered an 'islamische Trumpfkarte' ('Islamic trump card'; Kon, 'Almanya'nın İslam', p. 229) in the form of support for Germany from the Islamic

world. This report is said to have inspired Wilhelm II's trip to Damascus and Jerusalem in 1898, where he declared himself a friend of 300 million Muslims (Gossman, *Passion*, p. 42).

In the memorandum, Oppenheim first stresses that the cost of raising a rebellion in the Islamic world against its European colonisers should not influence the decision to support it; rather, Germany should allocate sufficient funds for this purpose (Epkenhans, '"Geld darf" (Teil 2)', p. 123). Also, all activities to revolutionise the Islamic world should be implemented in the name of the Ottoman sultan-caliph. Therefore, as Oppenheim sees it, it is crucial that the sultan should declare the opposition against the European allies a jihad. Consequently, at the beginning of November 1914 a jihad was declared by Sultan Mehmed Reşad (r. 1909-18) against the Entente powers, who were the common enemy of both the Ottoman and German Empires, giving the Ottoman decision to decide with Germany a distinctively religious character.

The memorandum highlights the significance of propaganda, pointing to the need for the German Empire to provide a timely news-flow to the Islamic world (Epkenhans, '"Geld darf" (Teil 2)', p. 125). Oppenheim recommends the foundation of an Intelligence Office connected to the German Foreign Office. Thus, the Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient (Intelligence Bureau for the East, NfO) was founded and headed by him. He also proposes the foundation of an intelligence bureau within the Ottoman Empire, an equivalent of the NfO (p. 125). According to the numbers given by W.G. Schwanitz ('Max von Oppenheim', p. 36), at the beginning of 1916 there were 36 intelligence offices in the Ottoman Empire, whose task was to spread information. They were to disseminate news of German successes and provide an accurate flow of information.

Another issue that Oppenheim highlights in the memorandum is the need to gather all Muslim prisoners of war in Germany in one location. By bringing North African prisoners together and giving them special treatment, such as building mosques for them, it would be possible to foment among them hatred of their French rulers (Epkenhans, '"Geld darf" (Teil 2)', p. 155). His suggestion was implemented and Muslim prisoners were gathered into the Zossen and Döberitz camps, possibly as many as 15,000 men altogether, though some volunteered to go to the battle fronts in support of Ottoman war efforts (Kon, 'Almanya'nın İslam', p. 239).

In addition, in the memorandum Oppenheim develops local strategies to encourage the Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire to rise up against their colonial rulers. He describes actions to be carried out in the Caucasus against Russia, in India against Great Britain, in Morocco,

Algeria and Tunisia against France, and also in Africa and Afghanistan. Importantly, he gives a detailed account of the various kinds of provocation that will ensure Egyptian support for an Ottoman offensive against the British administration through the Suez Canal (Epkenhans, '"Geld darf" (Teil 2)', p. 130). In concluding the memorandum, he underlines the fact that Germany's most powerful weapon in its war against Britain is Islam and he emphasises that Germany must help mobilise Muslims in the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere under European rule.

SIGNIFICANCE

There has been much discussion about whether the sultan's declaration of a jihad was really an important factor in the First World War, and also about the part played by Oppenheim's memorandum in this declaration. For instance, T. Lüdke has claimed that the realisation of Oppenheim's plans for German war purposes were 'too good to be true' ('(Not) using political Islam', p. 79) However, E.J. Zürcher has stated that to regard the call for jihad a complete failure does not reflect the reality of the situation because it played a role in maintaining morale in the Ottoman army ('Introduction', p. 23). What is certain is that Max von Oppenheim used the Pan-Islamic movement of the period for the purely secular ends of German nationalism, and he was consequently described as the German father of jihadism (Schwanitz, 'Max von Oppenheim', p. 42). Although the jihad declared by the sultan in 1914 was the product of Oppenheim's and Germany's strategic thinking, it was not a foreign concept to the Ottoman Empire, that is, it was not something that Oppenheim created out of nothing; there had been many jihad declarations in the Ottoman Empire before 1914. But Oppenheim's novel contribution was the spread of jihad using modern propaganda methods. In this sense, the Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient, whose establishment Oppenheim suggested in his memorandum, and the Nachrichtensäle ('Intelligence Bureau') in the Ottoman Empire particularly helped for the first time to propagate a pre-modern concept such as the Muslim holy war through modern methods and to spread this ideology among the Muslim subjects of the Ottoman state. It would therefore not be wrong to state that Oppenheim took the first steps in turning jihadism into a modern mass phenomenon that had a very significant impact on Christian-Muslim relations throughout the 20th century.

Apart from this long-term effect of Oppenheim's memorandum on Christian-Muslim relations, it also had a short-term effect on interreligious conflicts in the Ottoman Empire. Together with the NfO propaganda offices that opened on Oppenheim's recommendation, it gave the

Ottoman ruling elite the impression that their German ally had consented to take the interreligious struggle that already existed in the Ottoman Empire one step further. The pan-Islamic investments made by the Germans based on the recommendations in Oppenheim's memorandum encouraged the Ottoman political elite to take drastic measures against non-Muslims living in their dominions. The result was that Christian-Muslim relations in the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire were adversely affected.

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Sevil Özçalık Dumanoğulları

The Ahmadiyya Muslim community in the eyes of German missionaries and Orientalists, 1885-1914

One of the most striking characteristics of the Ahmadiyya community is the efforts it made from the very start to appeal to a global audience and to different cultures. British India in the 19th century was a favourable setting for these efforts because, in many parts of the subcontinent, European missionaries, Hindu revivalists and Muslim reformists were engaged in a struggle to gain hearts and minds. They competed within a relatively open religious environment that had been established under a policy of non-interference by the East India Company and after them the British Raj. Encounters between the founder of the community, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), and European Christian missionaries are known to have taken place long before the founding of the Ahmadiyya Movement in 1889.

Among Germans, the new Islamic movement was first noticed, perhaps not surprisingly, in missionary circles. Christian communities had existed in India long before the arrival of Europeans, but the Portuguese appropriation of territory in south India marked the beginning of the first organised European Christian missionary work there. From 1540, the Catholic Jesuit order worked actively to convert the native population of Goa and other Portuguese colonies. Then, in 1706, King Friedrich IV of Denmark (r. 1699-1730) established a rival Protestant mission when he sent two German missionaries, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1676-1752), to the subcontinent, though in the years that followed German missionaries dominated Protestant evangelisation efforts. Although Christian missionaries sensed a new opportunity with the establishment of the East India Company by the British in 1600, the company rarely permitted them entry, cautious not to jeopardise trade and control by the highly polemical approach customarily used by missionaries. In 1806, the Governor General of the company in India wrote to his superiors in London: 'Preaching Methodists and wild Visionaries disturbing the religious ceremonies of the Natives will alienate the affections of our Native troops and lead to the loss of India' (P. Carson, *The East India Company and religion 1698-1858*, Woodbridge, 2012, p. 73).

By 1813, constant lobbying and pressure on the British government had led to a change in the company's charter, granting missionary societies access to India. In addition to producing Christian literature in local languages, missions set up schools, hospitals and other institutions for social work with the main aim of spreading Christianity. Though English missionary societies dominated, a large number of their missionary personnel were drawn from Germany, many of them employed by the Church Mission Society, which faced a shortage of manpower for its expanding work. Starting in 1833, several German societies also attempted to establish their own missions on the subcontinent, among them the Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionswerk Leipzig, the Leipziger Mission, the successor organisation to the Dresdner Mission, which was founded in 1836 and moved to Leipzig in 1848, and the Frauenverein für die Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts im Morgenlande ('Women's Association for the education of the female sex in the East'). Between 1841 and 1908, the Leipziger Mission alone sent some 108 missionaries to India. While German missionary societies remained relatively small, German missionaries played a key role. Some of them became well-known, including Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-65), who wrote the highly polemical *Mīzān al-ḥaqq* ('The balance of truth') about Islam, Herbert Udny Weitbrecht Stanton (1851-1937), born in London to the German missionary Johann Jakob Weitbrecht (in later life, Herbert added his wife's maiden name, Stanton, to his own), and Ernst Trumpp (1828-85).

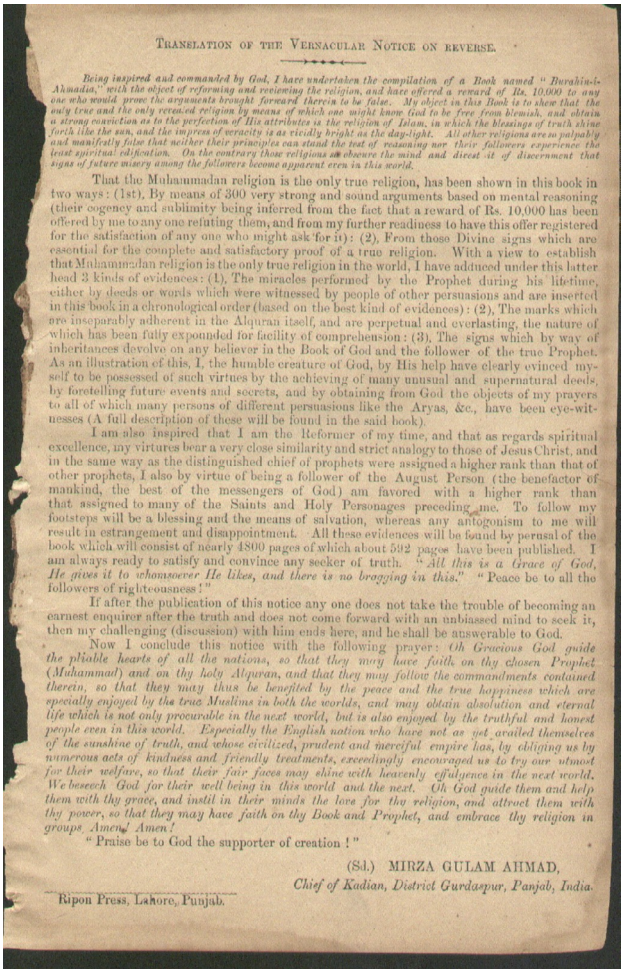
Missionaries introduced new methods of propagating Christianity in the subcontinent, the most important being the printing press, which made possible the dissemination of the Bible and other religious literature translated into local languages. In addition, they employed the *munāẓara*, a form of religious debate that had always been a part of Islamic culture though mostly confined to scholarly circles or royal courts. They turned it into a more public form of debate, open to laymen and reported widely in newspapers. A legal innovation introduced by missionaries was the registration of religious societies, which was quickly adopted by Muslims and other religious communities. In the port city of Bombay, for example, Muslim institutions (*anjumans*) were established as early as 1840, following the pattern of Christian religious societies.

Methods of propagation employed by Christians in India were later used by Ahmadis in their endeavour to carry the Islamic message to the West. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad repeatedly emphasised the need to defend Islam using the same tools with which it was being attacked. The use of modern

means was, for him, a God-given opportunity to spread Islam. From the mid-19th to the early 20th century, Punjab in particular was regarded as a natural outpost for Christian missionary efforts. The Revd Robert Clark termed the region as the front line from where 'Christianity must advance onwards to countries where it is yet unknown' (*The missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh*, ed. and revised R. Maconachie, London, 1904, p. 17). Thus, Punjab took a central role in religious debates within colonial India.

In this heated environment, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad attracted attention from 1880 onwards through the written and oral debates he conducted with missionaries and Hindu scholars. Unlike most Muslim scholars, he had not attended a *madrasa* nor had he pledged alliance to any Sufi master. Nevertheless, he was a prolific writer and well acquainted with the holy scriptures of Islam, Christianity and Hinduism. Ahmadi sources depict him as a self-taught scholar who exhibited a profound interest in religion from his childhood and diligently endeavoured to prove the veracity of Islam – qualities that brought him into repeated exchanges with scholars from other faiths. His first exchange with Christian scholars is recorded in Sialkot, while he was working as a reader in the court between 1861 and 1868. There, he was often involved in discussions with the Indian Elisha Swift and the Englishman John Taylor, both clergy in the Church of Scotland. These exchanges, which are described only cursorily in Ahmadiyya literature, suggest that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was most familiar with Christian scriptures in his mid-30s. Although not part of the *madrasa* network, which was seen as essential for gaining recognition, he was able to win sympathy from Muslims through his articles in support of Islam, which were published in various newspapers. Some of these sympathisers later provided funds to support the printing of the first four volumes of his *Barāhīn-i Aḥmadiyya* ('Ahmadi proofs'), which appeared between 1880 and 1884. In this work, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad also addressed various doctrines that were zealously espoused by Christian missionaries. He criticised them for upholding the divinity of Jesus Christ, which in his opinion was totally irrational.

In 1885, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad published an announcement that was translated into English to draw the attention of European scholars and politicians to *Barāhīn-i Aḥmadiyya* ('Surma-i Chashm-i Ārya', see the accompanying illustration). This stated that his book proved the invincibility of Islamic teachings, which were distinguished by the way in which they established firm belief in God, proclaimed that Ghulam Ahmad had been



TRANSLATION OF THE VERNACULAR NOTICE ON REVERSE.

Being inspired and commanded by God, I have undertaken the compilation of a Book named "Barahin-i-Ahmadia," with the object of reforming and reviewing the religion, and have offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 to any one who would prove the arguments brought forward therein to be false. My object in this Book is to shew that the only true and the only revealed religion by means of which one might know God to be free from blemish, and obtain a strong conviction as to the perfection of His attributes is the religion of Islam, in which the blessings of truth shine forth like the sun, and the impress of veracity is as vividly bright as the day-light. All other religions are so palpably and manifestly false that neither their principles can stand the test of reasoning nor their followers experience the least spiritual edification. On the contrary those religions obscure the mind and diseat it of discernment that signs of future misery among the followers become apparent even in this world.

That the Muhammadan religion is the only true religion, has been shown in this book in two ways: (1st), By means of 300 very strong and sound arguments based on mental reasoning (their cogency and sublimity being inferred from the fact that a reward of Rs. 10,000 has been offered by me to any one refuting them, and from my further readiness to have this offer registered for the satisfaction of any one who might ask for it): (2), From those Divine signs which are essential for the complete and satisfactory proof of a true religion. With a view to establish that Muhammadan religion is the only true religion in the world, I have adduced under this latter head 3 kinds of evidences: (1), The miracles performed by the Prophet during his life-time, either by deeds or words which were witnessed by people of other persuasions and are inserted in this book in a chronological order (based on the best kind of evidences): (2), The marks which are inseparably adherent in the Alquran itself, and are perpetual and everlasting, the nature of which has been fully expounded for facility of comprehension: (3), The signs which by way of inheritances devolve on any believer in the Book of God and the follower of the true Prophet. As an illustration of this, I, the humble creature of God, by His help have clearly evinced myself to be possessed of such virtues by the achieving of many unusual and supernatural deeds, by foretelling future events and secrets, and by obtaining from God the objects of my prayers to all of which many persons of different persuasions like the Aryas, &c., have been eye-witnesses (A full description of these will be found in the said book).

I am also inspired that I am the Reformer of my time, and that as regards spiritual excellence, my virtures bear a very close similarity and strict analogy to those of Jesus Christ, and in the same way as the distinguished chief of prophets were assigned a higher rank than that of other prophets, I also by virtue of being a follower of the August Person (the benefactor of mankind, the best of the messengers of God) am favored with a higher rank than that assigned to many of the Saints and Holy Personages preceding me. To follow my footsteps will be a blessing and the means of salvation, whereas any antogonism to me will result in estrangement and disappointment. All these evidences will be found by perusal of the book which will consist of nearly 4800 pages of which about 592 pages have been published. I am always ready to satisfy and convince any seeker of truth. "*All this is a Grace of God, He gives it to whomsoever He likes, and there is no bragging in this.*" "Peace be to all the followers of righteousness!"

If after the publication of this notice any one does not take the trouble of becoming an earnest enquiror after the truth and does not come forward with an unbiassed mind to seek it, then my challenging (discussion) with him ends here, and he shall be answerable to God.

Now I conclude this notice with the following prayer: *Oh Gracious God guide the pliable hearts of all the nations, so that they may have faith on thy chosen Prophet (Muhammad) and on thy holy Alquran, and that they may follow the commandments contained therein, so that they may thus be benefited by the peace and the true happiness which are specially enjoyed by the true Muslims in both the worlds, and may obtain absolution and eternal life which is not only procurable in the next world, but is also enjoyed by the truthful and honest people even in this world. Especially the English nation who have not as yet availed themselves of the sunshine of truth, and whose civilized, prudent and merciful empire has, by obliging us by numerous acts of kindness and friendly treatments, exceedingly encouraged us to try our utmost for their welfare, so that their fair faces may shine with heavenly effulgence in the next world. We beseech God for their well being in this world and the next. Oh God guide them and help them with thy grace, and instil in their minds the love for the religion, and attract them with thy power, so that they may have faith on thy Book and Prophet, and embrace thy religion in groups. Amen! Amen!*

"Praise be to God the supporter of creation!"

(Sd.) MIRZA GULAM AHMAD,
Chief of Kadian, District Gurdaspur, Panjab, India.

Ripon Press, Lahore, Punjab.

Illustration 15. English translation of the announcement of *Barāhīn-i Aḥmadiyya*

commissioned by God to compose *Barāhīn-i Aḥmadiyya*, and announced that he would pay an impressive 10,000 rupees to anyone who was able to refute his arguments. The exact recipients of this announcement cannot be traced, though it was sent to Europe and among them was undoubtedly the German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. In any case, Ghulam Ahmad's announcement was known in missionary circles in Germany. One of the earliest mentions of him was in 1885 in the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*:

> A learned Muhammedan, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Kadian, District Gurdaspur Punjab, believes he has been enlightened by God and commissioned by Him for a special mission to convert and improve humanity. He is writing a work which shall have 4800 pages from which 592 pages are already printed in a book. The book aims to prove with 300 logical arguments and signs – shown either by [the Prophet] Muhammad or by the author himself – the truthfulness of Islam and the divinity of the Koran. Whoever is able to refute these arguments is promised a reward of 20,000 marks. And whosoever wishes to convert and wants to be convinced by truth is invited by the author to be his guest for one year, free of any charges. Should such a person not see any signs and wonders in that period, he will be rewarded with compensation according to his status and profession. A pamphlet of his book and an invitation to convert is being sent by Ghulam Ahmed by registered mail to prominent personalities of different faiths. Also Archdeacon Matthew of Lahore has been sent one. The tone of the letter is not fanatical, but rather rapturous. He thanks God for the British Government, under whose protection he can promote his mission peacefully. This mission has great similarity to that of Jesus Christ. Whoever follows his footsteps will be blessed and any opposition against him will be punished by disappointment and repudiation. (*Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* 29 [1885] 297-9, p. 298)

While this initial description of Ghulam Ahmad is impartial and circumspect, the rifts deepened when in 1890, a year after the Ahmadiyya Movement was founded, Ahmad asserted his identification as a metaphorical return of Jesus Christ to earth. He explained that he had been informed by God that Jesus had already died and that his Second Coming, for which both Muslims and Christians were waiting, had been fulfilled through himself. Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be the Messiah because his mission and characteristics resembled those of Jesus. However, he did not intend to found a new religion, but to lead Muslims back to what he considered were the original teachings of Islam.

Naturally, Christian preachers and missionaries felt offended by this messianic claim and rejected the statement about the ultimate death of Jesus. The outcome was a series of fierce debates, one of which took place between Ghulam Ahmad and the Christian convert from Islam, Abdullah Atham. Atham or Athim (Arabic for 'sinner') had been baptised in 1853 in the port city of Karachi. After retiring from his government job, he joined missionary activities in Amritsar, where he assisted the missionary Martyn Clark. Clark, an Afghan-born adoptive son of the English missionary Robert Clark, had, after completing his medical studies in Edinburgh, travelled to India to start the Amritsar Medical Mission. During this time

he took part in a debate with Muslims of the small town of Jandiala, where he challenged Mian Muhammad Bakhsh Pandeh to hold a *munāẓara* with the missionaries. For this, Pandeh decided to invite Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as the Muslim representative. Clark himself named the debate 'the holy war' (*jang-e muqaddas*). It was widely reported in the newspapers and attracted attention in both India and the West. An account of it was published in January 1895 ('Eine Disputation mit Mohammedanern und ihre Folgen', *AMZ*, Supplement 1 [1895], 13-16) employing the polemical style that was widespread in missionary circles of the time.

The only known encounter of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad with a German missionary is recorded in the aftermath of the debate with Atham, when the German missionary Herbert Udny Weitbrecht visited Qadian and had a brief discussion with him about the debate. Weitbrecht was the son of the German missionary Jakob Weitbrecht and his English wife. He had studied at the universities of Bonn and Tübingen and later worked in Lahore, Amritsar and Batala, a town near Qadian. In his book *Anjām-i Ātham*, Ghulam Ahmad notes that Weitbrecht came with some other Christians to ask him about the prophecy he had made regarding Atham's death (*Anjām-i Ātham* [*Ruḥānī Khazayn*, vol. 11], Farnham, 2021, p. 31).

In the years that followed, German missionaries continued to write about the new Islamic movement. The well-known missiologist Julius Richter (1862-1940) noted:

> Ghulam is a remarkable man. He writes clever books, and in such elegant Urdu, Persian, and Arabic that he is able to challenge his opponents in the most graceful Arabic literary articles to admit or to disprove his divine mission; besides this he has also inaugurated an English magazine, *The Review of Religions*, the lengthy pages of which he fills almost singlehanded. He has not only read the Old and New Testaments thoroughly, but is likewise acquainted with certain apocryphal works such as, e.g. the 'Gospel according to Barnabas', and with novels such as that of the Russian author, Nicolas Notovitch, *The Unknown Life of Christ*. But he lacks every atom of critical discernment in estimating the relative worth and credibility of these writings. He studies both Christian and Muhammadan theology, yet falls a victim to the most astounding and contradictory superstitions. In his pretensions no one would term him modest. He claims to be the Christian Messiah, returned according to His promise, and likewise the promised Mahdi of the Muhammadans – at one and the same time! [...] He tells us Christians that our resurrection hope is erroneous, Christ did not die on the cross, but after remaining there for a few hours was taken down apparently dead; the disciples healed His wounds in a few days with some most wonderful ointment,

> the 'Marham-i-Isa,' or 'Jesus ointment,' which is still sold as a charm in India; Jesus then proceeded to India, where He died at Srinagar at the age of 120. He was buried there in the Kan Yar Street, where the grave of '*Yusasaf*' (i.e., of Yusa, Jesus, the Asaf [Hebrew], the gatherer, i.e., of the lost sheep or in other words, of the ten lost tribes of Israel), is still pointed out. (Richter, *A history of missions in India*, trans. S.H. Moore, New York, 1908 [trans. of *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, Gütersloh, 1906], pp. 402-3)

The impact of these magazines and books should not be underestimated. Missionary writings were embedded in the wider colonial project and were crucial in framing the image of colonised people and religions among the European public, where they were accepted as first-hand accounts of what was happening abroad. They also provided, to a degree, the ideological legitimacy for European rule and eventually Christian involvement in the colonies. The appearance of *The Review of Religions*, started in 1902, was therefore an important event and certainly a turning point in Ahmadiyya history. With this English magazine, which was sent outside India to Europe and America, Ahmadis were communicating directly and introducing their narrative to Western readers. Famous thinkers, such as the Russian author Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), became acquainted with it and Orientalists in Germany may also have received copies. In 1906, the Orientalist Ignác Goldziher noted in 'Die Religion des Islams' (an essay in *Die Orientalischen Religionen*, Berlin, 1906, 87-35; repr. in *Die Religionen des Orients und die altgermanische Religion*, Leipzig, 1913, 100-45),

> Nothing can be said about the success of the newly founded Mohammedan sect in India, the Ahmadiyya-sect in Punjab. Its contemporary leader, the 50 years old Prophet Mirza Ghulam Ahmad from Kadhian (Punjab), has connected his movement with his said discovery of an old tomb in Khan-Yar Street of Srinagar (Kashmir) as the authentic grave of Jesus, who according to him fled his persecutors in Jerusalem and came to the east and died there. Ahmed proclaims himself to have appeared in the 'spirit and strength' of Jesus as the Messiah for the 7th millennium and likewise as the awaited Mohammedan Mahdi. His propaganda, connected with an educational work and its syncretic nature, relying both on Old and New Testaments as well as on Koran and Hadith, is said to have increased the community of the new Messiah-Mahdi up to 70,000 people. He has discussed in his many Arabic Books the theological proofs, supported by signs and miracles, of his prophethood for the Muhammedans. Ahmad attempts to impact the non-oriental World with the publication of an English monthly magazine, *Review of Religions*. ('Die Religion des Islams', p. 131)

At about the same time, the German Orientalist and Professor of Jena University Karl Vollers wrote: 'The last not yet completed movement is the Ahmadiyya in Panjab, whose head Ghulam Ahmad lives in Kadhian near Amritsar. In this movement Islam broadens out to a worldwide syncretism of Indian background' (*Die Weltreligionen in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhängen*, Jena, 1907, p. 121). Unlike the polemical approach of the missionaries, the perspective among academics was more balanced and nuanced. German Orientalists most probably derived their knowledge of the Ahmadiyya community from primary sources rather than apologetic missionary accounts.

SIGNIFICANCE

Interactions with German missionaries and their interest in the Ahmadi movement constituted a pivotal catalyst for the emergence of transnational Ahmadi missionary endeavours during the early 20th century. A primary conduit for cross-cultural exchange was the medium of publications. Notably, within India Ahmadis had already generated an extensive array of publications aimed at scrutinising Christian doctrine, and their involvement in public debates gave them familiarity with the methods employed by European missionaries. This experience enabled them proficiently to harness the power of publications and printing presses for their global missionary objectives.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's efforts to train members of his movement to engage in interreligious debates in Western contexts laid the groundwork for the dissemination of Islamic teachings beyond the boundaries of the Indian subcontinent during his lifetime. In fact, the Ahmadiyya movement's distinctiveness was marked by its innovative engagement with the West and its adoption of novel methods for global mission – a pioneering approach in an era when most other Muslim organisations remained reticent about such initiatives.

In the interwar period, Germany, alongside England, emerged as a significant focal point for Ahmadi missionary activities. Ahmadis exhibited a profound acquaintance with German biblical criticism, showing particular interest in the 'swoon theory' proposed by German scholars, including Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), which postulated that Jesus had not died on the cross but had merely swooned, later recovering in the tomb. Ahmadis added the teaching that he subsequently migrated to Kashmir. Ghulam Ahmad himself had derived this hypothesis from his reading of the Qur'an and had employed quotations from the works of

Schleiermacher and David Friedrich Strauss (1808-74) to bolster his argument regarding Jesus's demise. This interpretation of Jesus Christ's death became a hallmark of the Ahmadiyya Movement's identity and a cornerstone of its preaching. Naturally, Ahmadis were enthusiastic about conveying it to the Western world to counter the prevailing Christian doctrine of Jesus's death and resurrection. Germany, where the swoon theory was already circulating within biblical criticism circles, presented a promising platform for these endeavours.

The Ahmadis recognised early on, within the Indian context, that German publications were exhibiting interest in their novel Islamic movement. This recognition was demonstrated in instances such as the reference in the community newspaper *Badr* to Goldziher's essay 'Die Religion des Islams' (6 June 1907, p. 3). The prominent Ahmadi missionary Mufti Sadiq was directed to learn the German language, and Ghulam Ahmad advised him to identify an Arabic magazine in Germany in which to publish their message (Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, *Zikr-i ḥabīb*, Qadian, 1926, p. 358). This proactive interest in the German public was firmly established in the nascent stages of the movement.

Engagement was not limited to scholarly circles; even some members of the German public expressed eagerness to learn more about Ghulam Ahmad's message. A letter from a German woman in Pasing, near Munich, praising Ghulam Ahmad and his mission was published in *Badr* (14 March 1907, p. 2), an indication of the movement's transnational connection with the German public through its publications.

The cumulative impact of these interactions fuelled the anticipation of rapid missionary success in Germany, prompting the establishment of the movement's second European centre there, alongside England. The concrete plan for such an endeavour took shape in 1918 when Mufti Sadiq proposed sending a missionary to Germany. Four years later, the first Ahmadi missionary, Mubarak Ali, arrived in Berlin and directly engaged with the German public, observing that people in Germany were more receptive to the Islamic message than people in England and expressing optimism about the movement's progress in Germany. Around the same period, Sadr-ud-Din from the Lahore Ahmadiyya, a splinter group, also reached Berlin, initiating parallel efforts to propagate Islamic teachings and expand their follower base. While Mubarak Ali's attempt to establish a mosque in Berlin did not come to fruition, Sadr-ud-Din and the Lahore branch successfully constructed the first mosque of the interwar period.

Mohammad Luqman, Kamran Ahmad Khan and Saadat Ahmed

Ewald Banse

DATE OF BIRTH 23 May 1883
PLACE OF BIRTH Braunschweig
DATE OF DEATH 31 October 1953
PLACE OF DEATH Braunschweig

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Braunschweig in Lower Saxony, Ewald Banse was the son of Hermann Banse, a master painter. Inspired by reading Karl May and German explorers such as Rochus Schmidt (1860-1938), he developed a lifelong enthusiasm for the East and for travel to distant countries, with a special focus on North Africa. He began to study geography, geology and botany in Berlin in 1902 but did not complete his studies. Instead, he became engaged to be married and, in February 1906, began the first of his many travels in the East. In 1907, he married his fiancée. With interruptions, he continued to undertake research trips in North Africa and the Near East until 1909. After his return he worked as a writer and lived temporarily in Austria and Switzerland.

Returning to Braunschweig, Banse developed a lively career as a journalist. When the First World War broke out in 1914, he was working on his book *Turkey*, so his military service was deferred until February 1915 to allow for the book's completion. *Turkey* was published in 1915 and Banse worked as a war geologist from 1915 to 1917. In the post-war years, he wrote geographical essays and books in which he summarised his travel experiences.

From 1920, he developed a new conceptual approach, dividing the world into 'fourteen (natural) continents', namely, Europe, Greater Siberia, Mongolia, East Asia, India, Greater Australia, Orient, Nigritia, America, Greater California, Andina, Amazonia, Antarctica and the Arctic. Although innovative, this model, which represented a mixture of science and art, could not prevail against the established geographical view. Despite increasingly working on geographical and local history themes, especially so-called 'Germanic Europe', Banse's attraction to the East remained undiminished to the end of his life.

After the National Socialist 'seizure of power' in Braunschweig, Banse gained a position at the Technische Universität. His quick temper, his complete rejection of established school geography and the publication

of works on the subject of 'military science', led to a clash with the political leadership the following year. It is especially his writings on military science that represent his impact as a National Socialist apologist and dogmatist to this day. The negative international headlines these works caused led to the Reich leadership publicly distancing itself from him and then to his formal resignation from the university in March 1934. This marked the lowest point of his career.

During and after the Second World War, Banse was mainly active as a regional writer who repeatedly used oriental themes or treated biographies of geographers. He underwent the denazification process and was classified in category V, marking him as 'exonerated', in 1949. Beyond Braunschweig, his influence was rather marginal after the Second World War. Far more important were his texts and the ideas he had developed before the First World War.

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Uwe Lammers

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The geographical construction of the 'Orient' and the image of Islam in the works of Ewald Banse

DATE 1906-14
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

According to a list created by his biographer Dietmar Henze, Ewald Banse published about a hundred works between 1906 and 1914 (Henze, *Ewald Banse*, appendix, pp. 1-6). This includes a total of 86 articles, of which Banse himself identifies 31 as scientific papers (*Die Seele der Geographie*, pp. 82-8). He published not only to gain recognition in the professional geographical world, but also to earn a living. For example, he published the journal *Die Erde. Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde, Reise und Jagd* ('The Earth. An illustrated bi-monthly publication for regional geography and ethnology, travel and hunting'), in which he wrote 27 articles between 1912 and 1914. Other articles appeared in encyclopaedias, popular magazines and illustrated brochures, allowing his ideas to be widely disseminated. According to his own statements, he had been exclusively concerned with the East since 1906 and he tried to gain recognition for it as an independent continent with its own nature and culture (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 9). It is within this commitment that Banse's construction of the 'Orient' and his image of Islam will be examined here.

A total of seven books and a number of articles contain almost all of Banse's relevant arguments and statements on the subject. He wrote on the geography of Egypt in the *Angewandte Geographie* ('Applied geography') series in 1909, describing the country as the 'heartland of the Orient'. A year later, he published three short octavo-size books, *Die Atlasländer* (*Orient I*) ('The countries of the Atlas [Orient I]'), *Der arabische Orient* (*Orient II*) ('The Arabian Orient [Orient II]') and *Der arische Orient* (*Orient III*) ('The Aryan Orient [Orient III]'). Each of these contains an identical introduction six pages long, in which Banse defines the 'Orient', followed by about a hundred pages on the particular geographical area, comprising explanations based mainly on other works. This trilogy was to become Banse's most famous work of this period.

In 1912, he began to write down his own observations and findings during his travels in the East, which he planned for a four-volume series entitled *Abenteuer und Forschungen im Orient* ('Adventures and research

in the Orient'). In the same year, he published the first of these, *Tripolis*, in which he describes and maps the city of Tripoli in Libya and its surroundings, choosing this city 'as a paradigm to get to know the Orient' and 'to introduce the reader to the wondrous world of the Orient' (p. 8). The planned second volume was going to describe his journey in 1907 via Egypt to Syria, Turkey and the Black Sea to Constantinople, and the third was supposed to deal with the journey to Damascus and Palmyra, through the Euphrates valley and to Karbalā'. These two volumes were never published, though fragments of the planned travel stories can be found in numerous popular articles. Finally, the fourth volume with the title *Auf den Spuren der Bagdadbahn* ('On the tracks of the Baghdad railway') was published in 1913.

Later, in 1924, when Banse looked back on his time of travelling, he confessed to having reached full knowledge of the 'Orient': 'I was hardly an observer of the Orient, no, I became the Orient myself, became an inseparable part of it, became it entirely [...] I was reborn – there's no other way to describe it – for a second time!' ('Die Seele der Geographie', p. 45). Thirty-one-year-old Ewald Banse's intensive travel life and his geographical travel stories came to an end with this 'enlightenment experience' and he decided to stop travelling to the 'Orient' that he had defined with his own intellect and experienced in his own way (Lammers, 'Ein Träumer von Wüste und Rasse', p. 169). In addition to this, it should be said that the First World War had a considerable impact on the empirical research opportunities of German geographers in the countries of the Middle East. This certainly contributed significantly to Banse's decision.

In his *Das Orientbuch* ('The Orient book', 1914) he claims: 'The concept of the Orient as a firmly defined part of the world was first introduced into literature by me' (p. 16). He attaches great importance to the fact that he arrived at his findings not only rationally but also intuitively and emotionally: 'My first development of the term arose almost more from intuition than from intellectual thought' (pp. 16-17). In this concept, Islam constitutes a key role: 'Where Islam is firmly established, where the majority of the inhabitants swear by the green flag, where nature resembles the cradle of the Prophet, there is the Orient' (p. 2). The region becomes the 'Orient' because the way of life followed there conforms to particular norms. 'The idea of Islam created it, Islam, which is a land-born, one-God religion tailored to the nomad, born of the needs of the non-sedentary who must always have his God with him, but who must turn to one point in order not to disintegrate into atoms' (p. 2). He also sees an 'all-powerful influence of the climate' (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 9) in its formation. He defines it as follows:

> As the Orient I recognise the countries of North Africa and the Near East, which have a large proportion of vast steppes and deserts due to an essentially arid climate, so that most parts have few or no outlets and connections to the sea. The monotonous steppes have given rise to a rather uniform way of life and thinking everywhere, which has also spread to the folk elements sitting on the shores, since most coasts are to a lesser extent traffic-friendly. Almost all Orientals pay homage to Islam, i.e. a way of thinking conditioned by uniform nature, which is less an outflow of profound religiosity than a consequence of the world-blindness of the great arid space. [...] The characteristics of oriental nature: remoteness from the sea, aridity, therefore steppe and uniformity and similarity, that make everything the same, are the pillars of Islam, of the Orient as its very own cultural individual. ('Der Orient. Begriff, Fläche und Volksdichte', p. 301)

The region can be seen on the map labelled 'The geographical division of the earth's surface' in *Die geographische Gliederung der Erdoberfläche* (Supplemant, Fig. 1).

As Banse sees it, the emergence of the 'Orient' is due to the religion of Islam since it 'welded all the countries together to form the Orient as it is today, a rigid colossus hostile to progress, unapproachable' ('Der Orient. Ein geographischer Begriff?', p. 7). He regards the Semitic influence, the Arab zeal for faith, the nomadic lust for plunder, the ubiquitous migrant instincts, the existing spiritual impulses and one-sided thinking as all having contributed to this development. In addition, he blames the discovery of the sea route to India in 1498 for the region's economic decline. It was then that the development of today's 'Orient' began, with fatalism and fanaticism as the basic mentality of its inhabitants (*Das Orientbuch*, pp. 52-6). He believes these attributes are climate-related. All in all, the Orient lacks stimulating challenges both in nature and also among people, and this contributes to the homogenisation of the masses. A 'fanaticism for money' would be paired with the 'fanaticism for religion' (*Tripolis*, p. 151).

Banse takes up the concept of the *genre de vie* lifestyle that is ascribed to the French geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918), though without referring to him (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 16). He recognises three basic lifestyles for his 'Orient', each shaped and characterised by its relationship to the physical conditions of the various environments: they are the 'wandering Bedouins', who herd livestock in the steppe and desert, the 'hardworking fellahs', who are farmers or agricultural labourers in the mountains and plains, and the 'comfortable townspeople', who are active in trade and handicrafts. They are each typified by the 'Bedouin wife', the 'fellah's wife' and the 'urban woman'. As Banse explains in pictures and words (*Das*

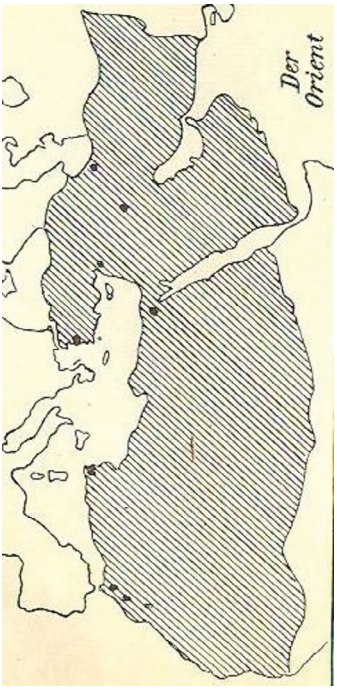

Illustration 16. The Orient seen as a dancing woman

Orientbuch, pp. 367-73), each has a different degree of freedom, workload and self-awareness.

In the tradition of pictorial depictions of regions and countries, Banse depicts the 'Orient' as a dancing woman:

> If you regard the western extremity of the Orient as the base, Iran as the head, the Maiden East appears in a graceful dance movement as a belly dancer, Asia Minor as the right arm lowered, but with the left (Arabia) waving towards noon, where the Negro waits, an ominous direction that tastes like racial degeneration. There are still regional geographies that cultivate such gimmicks, without them – the gimmicks – having such an inherent characteristic meaning. (*Die Atlasländer,* p. 5)

He continues the feminisation of the 'Orient' by characterising its landscape as 'ornamental' and 'stylish' (*Das Orientbuch*, pp. 43-4), turning it into an economically useless but aesthetically decorative match for its male European counterpart. He formulates an image of Islam that corresponds to the European mainstream at the turn of the 19th century and

goes beyond it at numerous points. In everything, Islam is the element that determines the society, lifestyles and character of the 'Orient', subordinating everything else to itself:

> The company sign, the caption, the dateline of the Oriental culture of laziness happens to be called Islam. In this sense, Islam is not just a mere religion, *but Islam is a geographical idea*, the sum total, the symbol of geographical facts, and the expression of the milieu of the Orient. (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 82)

Banse only deals with the religion of Islam as such to a limited extent, though his attitude towards it becomes clear again and again when he characterises it as a 'spiritual pipe dream' (*Der arabische Orient*, p. 18), a 'religion adapted to the unstable' (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 13) and a 'cobbled-together religion' ('Der Orient. Ein geographischer Begriff?', p. 13). He is convinced that the Muslim clergy are working towards stultification by constantly repeating the creed (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 27), and he does not see the faith as having much differentiation within it.

Banse makes little distinction between Muslims and Oriental Christians in their everyday life and daily interaction with one another: 'The Orient's Christians hardly differ culturally from the Mohammedans living around them, because they are mostly of the same tribe and the same way of life' (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 314). He characterises all religious groups in the region as Oriental and he sees them behaving almost identically. It is only when he is dealing with the various religious groups, such as Sunnīs, Alawis and Armenians, that he recognises differences in their behaviour. He reports that Oriental Christians, especially Egyptian Copts, are better educated than the Muslims, and are therefore more likely to be found in civil service positions, though they are also more likely to become drunks (*Ägypten*, pp. 32, 44-6).

Banse writes that Muslims speak very disparagingly and contemptuously about him and all other Christians, even comparing them to pigs or dogs. In return, he denigrates all Easterners and explicitly includes Oriental Christians in this (*Auf den Spuren*, pp. 20, 43). Since Islam is for him such a fundamental factor in shaping the Eastern world, he frequently employs negative metaphors to depict its relationship with the Christian-European world: 'He [Islam] holds their minds in an iron fist, no one escapes the delicate but densely forged chain armour of his spell' (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 28).

Contrary to other political commentators of his time, Banse sees no danger or even threat to Europe from the East because its people are generally

backward. In the same way, he firmly rejects pan-Islam: 'Pan-Islamic ideas are boundless utopias, foggy grey twilight in the ocean of nonsense' (p. 32). He takes it for granted that the backwardness can only be eliminated by a future Europeanisation of the 'Orient', in which Europeanised Christians will play a key role because they 'can have a more educative and reconciliatory effect on the Muslim masses than modernised Jews' (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 319), since European education would displace Islam from its all-powerful despotic position (*Das Orientbuch*, pp. 439-40). He sees migration and mixing with European races as very positive, but warns of the influence of the race south of the Sahara (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 442). Proper education, a sense of nationalism, improvement of irrigation and roads and railways are important strategies, so that Easterners can free themselves from Islam, the enemy of Europeanism (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 451).

SIGNIFICANCE

Banse is considered an intellectual outsider, although he is hardly known in post-war Germany due to his racist statements and his National Socialist outlook (Henze, *Ewald Banse*, p. 3). He is 'largely forgotten today' (Lammers, 'Ein Träumer von Wüste und Rasse', p. 184). His publications from 1906 to 1914 reveal a construction of the 'Orient', with his judgement about Islam inserted into it, which he describes in almost every regard as the opposite of Europe so that it appears as a negative foil to European progress. He often speaks polemically of the 'scourge of Islam' (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 15) or of the 'Orient' being a 'swamp of backwardness' (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 108), the consequence of 'religious education' that has worked 'against progress' (*Der arabische Orient*, p. 58) and has prevented any discussion that went beyond the Qur'an and Sunna (*Die Atlasländer*, p. 28). On the other hand, he sometimes singles out Oriental Christians more positively, because 'the Christian faith [...] does not oppose progress in the way Islam does' (*Das Orientbuch*, p. 314). Some of his judgements are ambivalent, such as, for example, that Islam leads to the integration of heterogeneous population groups but at the same time brings about their isolation. Although Islam has a nomad-friendly core, it does not recognise the individual and the personality, especially the rural individual. Overall, Islam is economically inhibiting and leads to a state organisation that is administratively inadequate. The idea of competition is non-existent and research is not possible because the *status quo* cannot be changed. The only positive phenomena in Islam he recognises are the family (polygamy) and the position and function of women (*Das Orientbuch*, pp. 381-2).

Banse's depictions of the regional, scenic and cultural construction of the 'Orient' as a distinct part of the world had a significant impact on

university geography (Escher, 'Die geographische Gestaltung'). His early work was mediated by the scientific concepts of geography in the Weimar Republic at the turn of the 20th century (Wiede, *Rasse im Buch*, p. 124), it survived National Socialism and it was revived in the 1970s by some university teachers of geography who had a National Socialist past (Escher, 'Die geographische Gestaltung', p. 131). This renaissance of Banse's thinking particularly concerned regional demarcation, the role of Islam, dominant landscapes and formative ways of life (pp. 136-42). It only disappeared from German-language geography towards the end of the 20th century.

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Henze, *Ewald Banse*

Anton Escher

Carl Heinrich Becker

DATE OF BIRTH 12 April 1876
PLACE OF BIRTH Amsterdam
DATE OF DEATH 10 February 1933
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

The son of the banker and consul Carl Julie Becker, Carl Heinrich Becker grew up in a liberal Protestant environment, spending many years abroad with his parents. After school in Frankfurt am Main, he went to the University of Heidelberg in 1895 and enrolled in the faculties of theology and philology. In 1899, he completed his studies under the Assyriologist Carl Bezold (1859-1922) with a doctorate in linguistics, and went on to study Persian and spoken Arabic at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin. Influenced by the writings of Ignaz Goldziher, Julius Wellhausen, Snouck Hurgronje and Martin Hartmann, he studied Islamic history and contemporary issues.

In 1905 he married Hedwig Schmidt, a merchant's daughter. After undertaking research trips through Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, he obtained his *Habilitation* in Oriental philology at the University of Heidelberg in 1904 with a number of essays on the medieval history of Egypt. After two years as an associate professor, he was appointed full professor there in 1906. He was influenced by the so-called 'Heidelberg Circle' that formed around Max Weber (1864-1920) and his cultural-philosophical thinking. In 1908, he was called to Hamburg to take the chair of history and culture at the newly-founded Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut, where he remained professor of the history and culture of the Orient until 1913. This was the first Islamic Studies institution in Germany. In 1910, he founded the scholarly journal *Der Islam*, which still continues. It was an expression of his belief that Islamic studies needed a forum in which the development of Islam could be traced, because only in the context of a historical reconstruction could Islam in the present be understood. His introductory essay in the first issue attempted to justify theoretically why 'Islam' as a *sui generis* object of research necessitated an independent academic discipline.

In 1913, at the instigation of the Prussian Ministry of Culture Becker was appointed to the University of Bonn, where he taught until 1916 and, by founding the Orientalisches Seminar, expanded the existing Semitic Studies to include Islamic studies. From Bonn, he moved to Berlin to teach as an honorary professor and to work as a Prussian personnel officer. In 1919, he was appointed Undersecretary of State and, in 1920, he was instrumental in founding the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik. In 1921, he became State Secretary, and he held the office of Prussian Minister for Science, Arts and National Education from 1925 to 1930. After retiring from this, he returned to teaching at the University of Berlin as director of the Institute for Semitic and Islamic Studies. He died in Berlin in 1933 at the age of 56.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Christentum und Islam. Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt
'Christianity and Islam. On the emergence and essence of the Islamic world'

DATE 1907
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Christentum und Islam, which is 53 pages long, began as a lecture given by Becker at the Orientalist Congress in Strasbourg in 1907 with the aim of mapping the Christian and Islamic worldviews during the Middle Ages and showing the relationship between them. It was published later in the same year. In it, Becker develops the theory of a common Islamic-Christian cultural milieu based on the shared experience of Hellenism. He demonstrates and explains connections between Islam and Christianity on both the theological level and that of daily life, and argues that, despite differences in religious doctrine, both faith communities were based on very similar worldviews. Besides his own research, he draws on Ignaz Goldziher

and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, and makes particular use of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (c. 1445-1505) large Hadith collection, *Kanz al-ʿummāl* (p. 53).

In the first part (pp. 3-15), Becker describes how Muḥammad found his faith and at the same time was strongly shaped by Christian influences that he encountered around him. This prepares the way for an examination in the second part (pp. 18-43) of the similarities between the Christian and Islamic worldviews in the Middle Ages. Here, he argues that the similarities between the faiths can only be explained by Christian influences on nascent Islam and exchanges of ideas between the two cultures in the medieval period. As examples, he mentions similarities in teachings about eternal life, the relationship between religion and the state, economic life and social conditions, duties, religious observances, mysticism, dogmatics and the formation of scholasticism. In the final part (pp. 45-50), he considers the influences of Islam on Christianity. He asks how the politically stronger world of the East could be superior to the West between the 7th and 13th centuries. His answer is that Islam retained the original worldview of Christianity, only changing some doctrines, and thus directly inherited Hellenistic culture. In this period, the Arabs were the intellectual leaders in the field of philosophy and would thus have repaid part of their debt to Christianity with their superiority.

Becker concludes that, in the Middle Ages, the Eastern and Western worlds were almost identical on the level of culture, thanks to their common origins in Hellenistic culture. This made intellectual exchanges and parallel development inevitable. After the Middle Ages, however, Christianity broke with the ancient traditions and then rediscovered them in Protestant forms of faith and Humanism. It recognised that a religion can only succeed when it is capable of compromise and that faith alone does not determine what it is to be human. Christianity thus made a break with the church-bound world view, abandoning its power to govern the totality of life and focusing on individual conduct. Becker sees the possibility of a development similar to this within Islam. What ancient Hellenism was for Christianity, so Christian Hellenism was for Islam a few centuries later.

SIGNIFICANCE

Becker's study is to be understood in the context of scholarly discourses about the influences of cultural preconditions and religious systems in a society. Its starting point was a common Islamic-Christian cultural sphere, whose unifying bond was the shared experience of Hellenism.

This cultural basis made intellectual exchange and parallel development possible and inevitable. Until the Reformation, Islam was far superior to Christianity, but Christianity broke with the world of Antiquity during the Reformation and developed further through Protestantism while Islam clung onto ancient elements and remained backward. Only by orienting itself towards Europe can Islam now develop from this backwardness towards modernity.

The study was one of a large number of essays published by Orientalists between 1887 and 1906, in which, following the logic of 19th-century theories about Eurocentrism, Islamic culture was valorised and thus made worthy of becoming the subject of independent, academic research at German universities.

Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), Ignác Goldziher (1850-1921) and Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) should be mentioned as Becker's companions as founders of Islamic Studies. Above all, Goldziher and Hurgronje took the view that Islam must be grasped as a self-contained cultural entity of its own from its religiously determined starting points. Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), on the other hand, inspired Becker to categorise Islam and Christianity into separate cultural groups. Unlike Becker, he categorically excluded the Near Eastern Islamic world from the European cultural group, seeing them as two separate cultures. These assumptions, as well as Becker's thesis that Islam and Christianity emerged from the same cultural context, were influenced by the ideas of the emerging theory of cultural groups and produced different explanations of the spread of cultural phenomena and the development of human cultures.

By examining the mutual influence and historical interdependencies between Christianity and Islam, Becker is able to acknowledge the cultural achievements of the Islamic world and thus advocates a better understanding of Islamic religion and culture in the Western world. His essay did not achieve great significance for research in Islamic studies, though it should be seen as an important part of the discourse on the whole complex of religion, Islam, the East, the West and Christianity at the beginning of the 20th century.

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Melanie Mälzer

'Der Islam als Problem'
'Islam as a problem'

DATE 1910
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

'Der Islam als Problem' was published as the opening article of *Der Islam*, the new journal founded by Becker and Paul Kahle (1875-1964). The article (21 pages long) sets out the new journal's purpose – to see and understand Islam as more than a religion, through studying the history, culture and civilisation of Muslim society (Heidemann, 'Der Islam'). Becker presents Islam as an issue (*ein Problem*) that has to be analysed and better understood. He asks: 'How did that unified civilisation (*Einheitszivilisation*) of Islam appear and what role did religious elements play in that process?' ('Der Islam als Problem', in *Islamstudien*, p. 5; references are to this edition). Deliberating on the issues of the Arab conquest and conversion to Islam in the Middle East and North Africa, Becker acknowledges the 'purely religious' beginnings of the spread of Islam but points out that later 'political' issues pushed the religious aspect into the background. He argues that it was not the Muslim Arabs *per se* who gave the Middle East and North Africa a new civilisation (with a new religious face) but that the pre-Islamic socio-political structures of these regions eventually drew in the aristocratically organised state of the Muslim Arabs. Becker noted the

tensions between the Arab ruling class and the conquered peoples concerning restrictions on the conversion of non-Arabs to Islam in order not to lose income from taxes. The determination of the subdued populations to free themselves from fiscal burdens led to reforms of the state finances and eventually of the state structure itself.

As Becker sees it, the explanation for the existence of one encompassing Islamic civilisation has a lot to do with Hellenism. It could even be said that without Alexander the Great there would not have been any Islamic civilisation. The discovery of how Hellenism spread and functioned in India and Central Asia provides patterns for understanding the mixing of cultures in the Middle East: 'The colourful cultural mix of the Middle East found its fullest expression in Aramaic Christianity' (p. 17). The Arabs took over that culture, or were already part of it. The extent to which this is true can be proved by the fact that the Arab conquest first encountered real difficulties only in regions with other strongly grounded identities, such as Persia and North Africa. 'The Islamic civilisation is a further development of the Aramaic one continued in the same direction' (p. 18).

The victory of the ʿAbbasid caliphate over the kingdom of the Umayyads was not only a victory of the religious ideas of Muḥammad over the pagan tendencies of the Meccan aristocracy but was also the victory of the religious structure and organisation of the Persian and Byzantine Empires, of the ultra-religious perception of the world of the old East over the religious indifference of the purely worldly state of the Arab nation. The name of Islam remained, but the content was entirely different. So, 'Islam' is a mixture of religion, state and civilisation that enabled it to carry out a world mission.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this article, Becker 'problematised' Islam in order to refresh the Western way of studying it. His approach signalled a move away from an earlier focus on Middle Eastern languages and texts, which had shaped the study of Islam in Western academia, towards encompassing the study of the history, culture and civilisation. Stefan Heidemann, the current editor of *Der Islam*, regards this article as an 'inaugural text' that was 'an important step toward the creation of modern *Islamwissenschaft* [Islamic Studies]', signalling 'a new way of studying Islam and its civilisation' (Heidemann, 'Der Islam').

Der Islam as a journal has continued with the ethos and concept set out in Becker's opening article.

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'Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung'
'Christian polemic and the formation of Islamic dogma'

DATE 1912
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This article was first published in the 1912 volume of *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, which was a *Festschrift* for Ignác Goldziher. Here, it was 21 pages long. It was re-published in Becker's *Islamstudien* in 1924 and subsequently reappeared in English translation in a volume edited by Robert Hoyland in 2004.

The article is divided into six sections preceded by a brief introduction. In the first section ('Christliche Polemik' [1912], pp. 176-9) Becker points out that traces of Christian influence in Muslim thinking can be found in both Hadith literature (as Goldziher had already shown) and also in Muslim doctrinal thought (also shown tentatively by such scholars as Alfred von

Kremer, Tjitze de Boer, Duncan Black Macdonald and Goldziher), and that the search for new ways to explore those influences extends into patristic sources. He acknowledges the influence of *Der Geisteskampf des Christentums gegen den Islam bis zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig, 1896) by Adolph Keller, though he notes that the references given there are insufficient and that Keller was evidently unaware of the deeper meaning of his findings and insights for Islamic studies (see the entry on Keller in *CMR* 22, 358-67). He focuses on John of Damascus and Theodor Abū Qurra as the two Christian authors whose works show possible doctrinal influences on Islam.

In the second section (pp. 179-83), Becker indicates that these early polemicists knew the Qur'an well. John of Damascus argued that, although Muslims took seriously the matter of having witnesses for marriage contracts and trade deals, they accepted the authenticity of the Qur'an without any witnesses, and he further defended the Christian practice of venerating the cross and posed questions to Muslims on their practice of venerating the Black Stone in Mecca. Issues concerning polygamy were also well known to the early polemicists and they made use of them in their disputes with Muslims. Becker enumerates Abū Qurra's arguments against polygyny and explains the significance of one of them, referring to a presentation given by Josef Froberger at the 1910 German Colonial Congress (see the entry on German Colonial Congresses in *CMR* 22, 421-32).

In the third section (pp. 183-6), Becker inquires whether the early Christian polemicists were really able to influence the formation of Muslim beliefs. In orthodox Muslim circles, they probably only drove Muslims to insist upon the correctness of their own beliefs in opposition to Christian beliefs, though disputes about free will among heterodox movements show clearly that Christian influence was present there. The question of whether God was responsible for evil became one of the key topics in disputes between Christians and Muslims, with Christians saying that God did not create evil and affirming human responsibility for human actions. While most Muslims upheld the principle that God was the Creator of everything, the early group of the Qadarites did hold beliefs similar to those of the Christians. It can be shown satisfactorily that issues discussed within Christianity found their way into interreligious disputes and appeared there in similar forms.

In section four (pp. 186-8), Becker shows that traces of Christian apologetic as well as polemic can be detected in the dogmatic struggles that took place among early Muslim religious thinkers. The problem of

the createdness or eternity of the Qur'an in their discussions resembled Christian debates about a created or eternal Logos, as the works of John of Damascus show.

Addressing the probability of the teaching about God's attributes also being introduced into Islamic thinking through Christian apologetic, in section five (pp. 188-90) Becker states: 'Anyone who reads Islamic dogmatists and Christian patristics one after the other becomes so convinced of the links between the two that they no longer need specific proof [of dependency]. It is one and the same world of thought' (p. 190).

The last section (pp. 191-5) is devoted to the prohibition against sacred images, an issue that many scholars thought was introduced into Christian thinking from the Muslim world. Against this, Becker points out that John of Damascus, who was directly involved in iconoclastic disputes within his church, did not show awareness of Muslims as his opponents, though Theodor Abū Qurra, who was active a little later, did. In Becker's view, though the prohibition against sacred images had Jewish origins, it reached Islam in Christian form.

SIGNIFICANCE

While Becker acknowledges that the issue of possible Christian influences on the formation of Muslim religious doctrines is not new, he emphasises the novelty of his own approach in reaching out to 'an unexplored source of patristics' (p. 176). The impact of his article on German scholarship deserves further investigation. Interestingly enough, an English translation found its way into the 2004 collection edited by Robert Hoyland, *Muslims and others in early Islamic society*.

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Stanisław Grodź

Articles on Islam in German colonies in Africa

DATE 1909-12
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

During his time at the Kolonialinstitut in Hamburg, Becker wrote several articles on the situation in German East Africa and the 'Islamic threat' to German colonial ambitions. In the Kolonialinstitut, he had access to a wealth of material on Islam from parts of Africa, which had been deposited by governors who had served in the colonies. He also corresponded with colonial officials and consulted articles by German missionaries. The result was: 'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?', *Koloniale Rundschau* 1 (1909) 266-93; 'Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas', *Internationale Wochenschrift* 4 (1910) 227-52; and 'Materialen zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', *Der Islam* 2 (1911) 1-48. (In addition, for his 'Staat und Mission in der Islampolitik' [1910], see the entry on the German Colonial Congresses in *CMR* 22, 421-32). He also wrote several review articles, including 'Vom Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', *Der Islam* 3 (1912) 296-9. In what he wrote, his focus was on the political ramifications of the Muslim presence, and also the spread of Islam in the German colonies and the question of how much danger this posed to the administration.

'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?' ('Does Islam pose a danger for our colonies?') appeared in the first volume of *Koloniale Rundschau. Zeitschrift für koloniale Länder-, Völker- u. Staatenkunde* in 1909, and was later reprinted in the second volume of Becker's *Islamstudien* (Leipzig, 1932, quotations below are from this edition). The text, divided into three sections, resembles more a paper prepared for an oral presentation than an article (the few notes it contains are insignificant). Becker points out that, in addition to ignoring the religious, social and political variety within the Muslim world and lumping it all together under the term 'Islam', those who talk about it often do not specify what they actually mean, whether religion, culture, the state, the ideal or everyday practice. Since it has to be specified for whom or what Islam is a 'danger', Becker divides the initial question into three more specific questions: '1. Is the Islamic idea of a state a political danger for the German administration?; 2. Is Islam as a religion a danger for the Christianisation of the German colonies?; 3. Is Muslim culture a danger to the spread of European civilisation?' (p. 157). In order to answer them, which he does in section III of the article, Becker first

considers in sections I and II the binding and dividing factors at work in the Muslim world.

Analysing the factors that keep Muslims together, Becker hints at the European tendency to perceive the Islamic world as a tight-knit unity. That might be so at the level of the ideal, but actual reality gives quite another picture. While the Qur'an may be thought to be the basis of unity on the level of the ideal, this is not the case in actuality because, for an average Muslim, the Qur'an only means as much as the Vulgate for Catholic peasants – a sacred book from which isolated phrases are extracted, recited and commented upon by the learned. Becker reminds German officials in the colonies that, when they tackle legal questions from the Islamic world, they should always refer to codes of Muslim law and not directly to the Qur'an.

Mecca provides a focal point for Muslims, and its meaning for so-called 'Pan-Islamism' is growing (Becker defines Pan-Islamism as a conscious emphasising of common Muslim ideals, p. 161). However, it must be remembered that the Shariff of Mecca is a worldly ruler who extracts from pilgrims as much as he can, and as much as the Ottoman resident allows him. He does not have any ambition to take a religious leadership role. The feeling of 'common belonging' among Muslims is focused on the political ideal, but the related concept of the caliphate is problematic. All Muslim rulers after the four Rightly Guided Caliphs are considered to have been usurpers, including the Ottoman sultans with the title of caliph, and, although they readily present themselves as leaders of the believers, their claims are weak. By regarding the sultan as some kind of 'pope of the Muslims', Europeans give him a form of credibility, which he exploits for his own ends. The tendency of Muslims to gather around the throne of the Ottoman sultan also belongs to Pan-Islamism, even though the sultan uses any religious movement for his political goals. Although political and religious 'Pan-Islamisms' are two different things (the religious is a fact, the political is a utopian ideal), they tend to be mixed together. For this reason, every stirring of unrest in the colonies, including the Mahdist uprisings in Kamerun and the so-called 'Mecca letter' affair in East Africa (on this, see below) in recent times, should be strictly monitored.

Maintaining that '[t]he strength of Islam is located in the unity of the religious ideal' (pp. 168-9), in section II Becker moves on to examine the dividing factors (pp. 168-76), where he argues that Islam's weakness lies in the variety of races to which believers belong. There are animosities between ethnic groups of Muslims and divisions between local 'dogmatic

factions'. The section ends with a conclusion that is Machiavellian in character:

> Just as the Islamic ideals must be known in order to be prepared for all eventualities, knowledge of local conditions is important for practical Islamic policy. One benefits from the peacefulness of certain peoples, one refrains from injuring the sensitivity of the fanatical ones. One supports the antagonisms, the jealousies, and above all brings the most influential teachers and rulers into voluntary dependence. The best thing would be to pay all these people state salaries, then we could be safe from revolts. (p. 176)

In section III (pp. 176-86), Becker returns to the article's initial three questions. Answering the first, he states that a joint uprising of Muslims under Ottoman leadership against Europe is not achievable. However, local revolts are possible (e.g. the Fulani movements in West Africa), though not likely if colonial administrators are attentive enough. The situation in East Africa is calm because the Swahilis are a degraded people (*deklassiertes Volk*) without their own will and ready to accept any foreign power. In general, Islam, understood as an ideal Islamic state, poses no political danger to the German colonial administration in either West or East Africa.

Answering the second question, Becker observes that many missionaries and non-missionaries agree that Islam as a religion is a danger to the Christianisation of Africa. Islam has made great progress in Africa in recent decades because of the security brought by European rule. Muslim traders are able to reach areas that were formerly inaccessible and arrive there as representatives of a higher culture, which is attractive to non-Muslim Africans.

Security in the colonies has been achieved by giving power to local rulers, who are often Muslims. This has provoked a reaction from missionaries, who have argued that local Christians should be employed instead. But for Becker such a policy would be inappropriate, if not entirely mistaken, because it has to be accepted that, in tropical Africa, Islam creates a spiritual and intellectual upper class and, for the sake of securing peace, this cannot be ignored. Past experiences show that religious sensitivity has to be respected, leading colonial administrations to ban Christian missionary activities in Muslim regions. Christian missionaries have regarded this as unjust and appealed for a similar ban to be applied to Muslims. But since there are no Muslim missionaries or missionary institutions *per se*, because 'every merchant is a missionary' (p. 179), all travelling in the colonies would have to be banned, which is completely unrealistic.

Nevertheless, if the spread of Islam cannot be restricted, fanaticism should not be permitted, though this is difficult when Islam competes with Christian mission. Becker recalls the words of Lord Cromer (1841-1917; *CMR* 17, 393-402), the British Consul-General in Egypt, that colonial administration should abstain from interfering in religious matters and suggests that, since the German administration does not want to start a new crusade, it should cooperate with local Muslims, though this will certainly lead to the spread of Islam. Christians might find this difficult to accept, which is understandable because, at least in Africa, what Islam has acquired is lost to Christianity, though he notes new efforts to Christianise Muslims in the form of a congress in Cairo in 1906, and the publications of Elwood Wherry (1843-1927; *CMR* 16, 371-84) and Samuel Zwemer (1867-1952; *CMR* 16, 433-64) on mission to Muslims.

The almost insurmountable difficulties that Christian missionaries encounter in reaching out to Muslims, says Becker, can be explained by two main factors. First, the two religions have different characters, so that, while a Christian missionary cannot avoid preaching about crucifixion and suffering, Muslims place emphasis on the unity of God and individual responsibility for all that one does or neglects to do. This is not a teaching about suffering but good news about succeeding. In addition, Muslims perceive Christianity as a preparatory stage for Islam so that conversion to Christianity is a move in the wrong direction. Second, Christian mission promotes Western education and blends together matters of culture and religion. Thus, Samuel Zwemer and Carl Meinhof (1857-1944; *CMR* 22, 433-51) argued that medicine, schooling and improvement of the status of women were 'ways to the hearts of the Muhammedans' (p. 181). While such noble goals should be acknowledged, it has to be said that they will nevertheless hinder the spread of Christianity. Contrary to what happened in earlier times, contemporary Christian mission makes no attempt to integrate local beliefs, while Islam does just this with success; contemporary Christian mission seeks instant conversion and stresses modern education. In effect, Islam attracts masses of converts while Christianity draws only few. However, there is still a more important factor. A Muslim convert is a brother not only in the mosque but also in the community, while outside the church a convert is still seen by Christians as 'a native'. Muslims present Islam as the religion of the blacks, while Christianity remains the religion of the whites, and no Christian preaching can change this fact of colonial policy. For these reasons, Islam is a terrible danger to the spread of Christianity. The state cannot change this at all; the differences between the goals of mission and of the state seem to be unbridgeable.

Ensuring the security and economic development of the colonies propels the state towards compromise with Muslims who are 'born and sworn enemies of mission' (p. 183). A solution to the tensions between these demands of the state and mission can be found in geographical and cultural considerations. Religions are essentially expressions of different cultures; they do not make civilisations, as was believed in medieval times. Islam is commonly held to be responsible for the lamentable state of most Islamic regions, in stark contrast to the brightness of Christian Europe. Why, then, do Oriental Christians not participate in this Christian radiance? It is because it is race and not religion that gives people their decisive characteristics.

> The European peoples have freed themselves from the oriental bonds of medieval Christianity, which was related to Islam from the latter's beginning, thanks to their own strength and have themselves created modern Europe, both religiously and materially. The peoples of the Orient did not possess this power, but they have received the stimulus for it from Europe, and there is no reason why Islam should not open itself to education in exactly the same way as Christianity once did. [To assume] That Islam thus ends in atheism, as Lord Cromer judges, is a great mistake. (p. 183)

In fact, acquisition of the European spirit has already begun. Whether people are able to attain a higher level of development depends not on Islam but on the ability of the black race. Islam has chances equal to those of Christianity in the educational task and is not an obstacle but a sort of enlightenment since Muslims are already engaged in education.

Knowing that all primal thinking is religious, Africans can only really receive the European spirit deeply through religion, and missionaries should be aware of this. This process can, however, also occur through Islam because an African, as a Muslim, belongs to a worldwide community marked by a more modern spirit. However, Becker does not endorse the Islamisation of Africa as a goal in itself but envisions it as a possible means to the further development of Africans towards European civilisation:

> Since Africa, if all signs are right, is lost to Islam, the Europeanisation of Islam seems to me to be the way in which the development of Inner Africa will take place in long centuries. It is undoubtedly the case that the missions achieve more brilliant and faster successes than Islam in certain areas. But all the zeal of faith and thoroughness on the Christian side will not be able, simply for financial and physical reasons, to accomplish what the slow but sure work of Islamic propaganda does. (pp. 184-5)

Thus, Islam is not a danger to European civilisation. It will continue to cause difficulties for some time but dealing with these is a matter of politics. Fundamentally, Islam is an enemy of Christianity but not of civilisation. Africans should be educated in such a way that they do not confuse these perspectives, i.e. so that the African can see that Islam is an enemy of Christianity but not of civilisation. Since the factors working in the world lead Europeans into cooperation with Muslims in the colonies, 'Let us also use Islam for the purpose of the advancement of civilisation in Africa! [...] The main thing is that with Islam, and even more with mission, civilisation is advancing, and this is, after all, the moral justification for all colonisation' (p. 185).

Becker states boldly at the end of his article that he has analysed the situation from the most objective point of view, neither colouring it nor whipping up any fears. Acknowledging a variety of viewpoints, he regrets that their interaction sometimes leads to hard compromises. He ends with a call to all who express their opinions on Islam to strive to get to know it better.

'Der Islam und die Koloniserung Afrikas' ('Islam and the colonisation of Africa') is a German translation of 'L'Islam et la colonisation d'Afrique', a lecture delivered by Becker in French in Paris at the meeting of the Union coloniale française (UCF) on 22 January 1910. It was commissioned by the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft in exchange for a lecture delivered by Joseph Chailley, the president of the UCF, in Berlin on 18 January 1909. Although he was commissioned, Becker made it clear at the end of his presentation that the text contained his private views and wishes, and that it is always easier to produce theories than to implement them. Becker's original text was published in French and in German (twice; page numbers below refer to the edition in *Islamstudien*, vol. 2).

Becker sees engagement with Islam as one of the most burning issues of colonial politics and policies towards Africa. In the German colonies, Islam was spread by peaceful Hausa traders and energetic but fanatical Fulbe. The few caravans that reached the Atlantic coast did not attempt to spread Islam but kept their prayer places for themselves. In Kamerun, the tropical forest poses an impenetrable barrier to further Muslim advances, while in Togo a belt of Christian missions forms a bulwark against them. Togo is a particular case where the missions have achieved much success in a short time. Initially, Islam did not appear to be a problem to the German colonial administration because the Germans hardly ever encountered any resistance that would have been identified as Islamic. The local aristocracy posed problems. Only after 1905 did the situation

change through troublemakers returning after the Hajj (Mahdist uprisings in Kamerun in 1907 and the so-called 'Mecca letter' affair in East Africa in 1908; see below). Only then did the long-ignored complaints voiced by Christian missions about the danger linked with the spreading of Islam draw the attention of officials. Missions, which are also aggressively propagandist by nature, felt that they had been pushed onto the defence and it turned out that it was not struggle against paganism but against Islam that became the biggest problem.

Becker wonders how it has been possible that, despite establishing German order in the colonies and despite Christian missionary activities, Islam – also a foreign religion – was winning the race in attracting local people. As he sees it, the problem is located in the nature of the human mind (*die Geistesbeschaffenheit des Menschen*). In the case of Africans, their minds have predestined them for Islam and prevented them from embracing the higher forms of the Christian religion and the European ethos (*Gesittung*). Primitive people project their wishes and fears and deify them and then try to manipulate these divine forces through magical rites. These are natural and ineradicable thought patterns of Africans. The human being, separated by enormous distance from the divine powers, is helpless in the hands of the gods, so that '[o]nly the optimism of magic can soften the pessimism of fatalism' (p. 195).

This thought pattern shares a similar conviction with the fatalism that is present in Islam, and so Islam can accommodate itself and easily incorporate Africans into its world. Islam offers Africans further advantages, e.g. acceptance of polygamy and slavery, while Christianity destroys these basic institutions of the family and economy.

> Islam gives the indigenous people a higher level of civilisation and a certain inner discipline without uprooting them from their ethnic milieu. In contrast, a Christian African is almost always uprooted without really being a member of his new milieu – he is always a 'native'. (p. 196)

In addition, the European occupation of African lands made freer movement of people possible in many regions. Furthermore, Muslims are employed in colonial administration and use their positions to exercise their influence.

Luckily, the spread of Islam is only an apparent danger. Islam is a higher religion, but the gap between a Muslim and a European remains and this is not to be regretted. Otherwise, when an African becomes a Christian, he will misunderstand the teaching about Christian brotherhood. He can be restrained only as long as he remains under the tutelage of those who

converted him – but that cannot last for ever. The impertinence of the emancipated Christian African is well attested in examples from the west coast of Africa.

Islam teaches the African that Christianity is an out-dated religion and has been replaced by Islam.

> This seductive teaching gives the African the inner support he so longs for in the face of the European, which Christianity, that spirit of Europe, can never provide for him. This shows the educational value of Islam that makes the African a human being. (p. 201)

Experience shows that an Islamicised African is lost to Christianity and that missionaries are right when they refuse to see Islam as an antechamber to Christianity.

However, without looking back at Christianity, the state should assess the education provided by the religion of Islam according to its usefulness to the state. In education, Islam provides much more than Christian missions are able to; it instils 'a spirit of discipline, an inner support and an outer good behaviour, and thus the preliminary stages of a higher civilisation' (p. 201). Even if these are only external and superficial, it is a good beginning. A lay state will gladly accept any help from Christian mission 'but it will not despise the modest and yet unquestionable services which the Islamic religion provides for the education of the African' (p. 201). Nevertheless, Becker warns his audience not to fall into the trap of supporting the Islamisation of Africa, because the education of indigenous people should never be the first goal of colonial policies. The interest of the home country is the highest goal. Since the home country has no concern for the religion of the colonies, religious groups should be kept in check. The English do this successfully with Muslims and Hindus in India. As the indigenous religions in Africa cannot counter Islam, Christianity should take on this role. Islam in Africa is not dangerous, though a uniformly and consistently Islamised Africa would definitely represent a danger for the colonialist home countries. So, the administration should support the creation of strong Christian centres on a tribal basis in pagan areas where Islam is not yet known.

> Let the state prepare the way for Christian mission in pagan areas! Let the missions waste neither strength nor time on converting Muslims! Let us concentrate all our available energy on creating Christian centres in purely pagan areas! Let our attitude towards Islam be full of tolerance, because its usefulness is unquestioned. May we not send any missionaries into the areas where Islam already rules; let us send them rather into pagan areas,

> where a strong African Christian church would be welcomed. There the presence of Islam can be banned with brutal force. Our grandchildren will be grateful to us for this. (pp. 202-3)

'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika' ('Materials for the understanding of Islam in German East Africa') was published in *Der Islam* in 1911 (references are taken from this version), where it is 48 pages long. It uses reports and material held in Hamburg, together with extensive correspondence, to introduce the reader to what Islam is like in the German colony. It was translated into English with an introduction and annotations by Bradford Martin in 1968, appearing in *Tanzania Notes and Records*. In 'Materialien', Becker keeps the needs of the colonial state in mind more than Christian-Muslim relations in the colonies but, since he often considers the triad of actors (the colonial state, Islam and Christianity), it is of interest to outline what aspects of Islam and Muslim practice he takes into account.

After a short introduction, the article is divided into five sections covering different aspects of Islam in East Africa. The introduction (pp. 1-3) explains the reason for writing the article as being to present Islam as found in East Africa rather than a version 'constructed on the basis of the *Qur'an*' (p. 3), and details the source materials used. In his introduction to the translation, Martin notes in the article 'traces of the preoccupation [...] with the universal claims to the "caliphate" by the Ottoman Sultan, and with the spread of Islam in German colonies being seen as a threat to the *Reich*' (Martin, 'Introduction', p. 32).

Section 1, 'Die Sektengliederung des ostafrikanischen Islam' ('Sects within East African Islam', pp. 3-8), describes the different kinds of Muslims present in East Africa. The Swahili (indigenous African Muslims) and Arabs from the Hadramawt follow the Shāfiʿī school of law. The Sudanese *askaris* (soldiers) who form the *Schutztruppe* ('defence force') are Mālikī and 'thanks to their social position exercise a significant role in the spread of Islam' (p. 3). The Umānī Arabs who rule Zanzibar are Ibāḍī, a branch of the Khārijiyya, and have a presence on the coast with links to North Africa. Finally, there are the Indians from Gujarat, of whom the Bohora and Khoja are Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs (Seveners), whereas the Memons are Ḥanafī. Some of the Bohora and Khoja have broken away and joined the Ithnā ʿAsharī (Twelver) Shīʿīs.

Section 2, 'Ausbreitung und Charakter' ('The spread and nature' [of East African Islam], pp. 8-18), starts with a brief overview of the historical spread of Islam in East Africa, with references to available literature

(pp. 8-10). Becker reiterates the view that the abolition of the slave trade at the time of German occupation allowed Muslim traders to travel more widely, leading to a slow but steady spread of Islam. Becker sees this as 'a fatal development' and it was noted by colonial officials and missionaries that the 'intensity of Islamic propaganda had increased significantly since the Great Rising of 1905' (p. 10). This is usually referred to as the Maji-Maji uprising, and the repressive brutality used by the Germans in putting it down came to be acknowledged as a reason why many Africans rejected Christianity and embraced Islam when they needed a faith to help them adopt a wider worldview (Pouwels, *Horn and crescent*, pp. 197-201).

Becker reports that the coast is almost wholly Islamicised, while the hinterland of Dar es Salaam and the south of the colony are also 'most strongly infected [by Islam]' (p. 11). He includes an extended extract from an article by a Lutheran missionary, Hermann Krelle, 'Aus Uzaramo und vom Islam' (*Berliner Missionsberichte* [January 1910] 18-24, p. 21), which outlines the differences between the Muslim community and the community around the mission, describing the Muslim rites for *jando* ('circumcision') as well as *kusilimusha* ('sprinkling with water'; also spelt *kusilimisha*, which means 'to convert to Islam') to signify acceptance of a convert to Islam and described as 'baptism'. He refers to two problems faced by Christians: the lack of marriageable Christian girls, meaning that the 'boys must seek non-Christian wives', and the risk that the uncircumcised are not considered men by Muslims and pagans, meaning Christians will go to be circumcised secretly so that they may be accepted by their wife's family (pp. 11-12).

Another Lutheran missionary, Superintendent Schumann, is cited explaining how, when tribal chiefs convert, they lead others to follow (p. 13). The inclusion of the views expressed by German Christian missionaries such as Martin Klamroth and Karl Axenfeld, who regarded the colonial government as operating 'Islam-friendly' policies and as barely tolerating Christian missions, reveals Becker's desire to present a full picture of the situation, even though these were ignored in policy debates and ridiculed by the press (Haustein, 'Religion, politics', p. 96).

Section 3, 'Die literarischen Grundlagen' ('The literary foundations', pp. 18-31), gives a summary of the content of the libraries of several Swahili *walimu* (Muslim teachers) that had been confiscated by the German authorities and sent to Hamburg (p. 19), starting with books on 'Jurisprudenz' (*fiqh*, pp. 19-22), then on 'Glaubenslehre' ('religious doctrines', pp. 23-5; these were mainly catechisms). On 'Maulidis und Ähnliches' ('Mawlids and similar matters', pp. 25-8), Becker reports that 'Muḥammad is very

close to being an object of worship, even if a learned man would reject this as *tashrīk* or *kufr*. Allāh is often mentioned but Muḥammad lives' (p. 25), thus indicating a 'living relationship' between the Muslim believer and Muḥammad, whilst Allāh is seen as being more remote.

'Mystik und Ordenswesen' ('Mysticism and Sufi brotherhoods', pp. 28-9) contains material found from the Qādiriyya and Shādhiliyya Sufi orders, also possibly some from the Rifā'iyya. Becker is of the view that 'these orders can scarcely play a big role. *Dhikrs* only take place in periods of religious excitement' (p. 29).

The fourth section, 'Das Zauberwesen' ('Magic', pp. 31-41), shows that appreciating the role of 'magic' is essential to understanding Islam in Africa, a view he had already expressed in his earlier publications. He describes tension between popular Islam and the Islamic beliefs of an educated Muslim and outlines the use of *herithi* (amulets, with a written charm) and magic squares (p. 33).

Section 5, 'Ereignisse aus jüngster Zeit' ('Recent events', pp. 41-8), gives the text of two letters that were circulated amongst Muslims, one at the time of the Maji-Maji uprising (1905; pp. 41-4) and the other in 1908 known as the 'Mecca letter' (pp. 43-6), which was purported to have been sent by a certain Shaykh Aḥmad, guardian of the Prophet Muḥammad's tomb. (This letter, which had supposedly been found in the tomb of the Prophet itself, urged its recipients to a more faithful adherence to the tenets and practices of Islam with a call for separation from non-Muslims. It was circulated widely in German East Africa, where its contents were seen as political by the German authorities, who had given it this mistaken name (for a critical edition of the letter, comparing Becker's text with 14 other copies, see Haustein, 'Religion, politics', pp. 107-17). Its text here is given in Arabic and in translation. Both letters seem to have sought to stir Muslims up against the colonial authorities, warning Muslims not to work for them. They are said to have led to increased attendance at mosques, with women attending as well as men (p. 46). The article ends with a report of a Ḥaḍrami *sharif* going amongst Sudanese *askaris* (soldiers) in an attempt to dissuade them from serving Europeans (pp. 47-8).

From Becker's various book reviews, his review of Martin Klamroth's *Der Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1912) is of interest here. It appears as 'Vom Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika' ('About Islam in German East Africa', 1912). Giving Klamroth's work qualified approval, Becker points out that almost all his information was gathered from and through Christian missionaries. Becker is particularly sceptical about information coming from local Christian informants, whom Klamroth apparently has treated as very

reliable sources. Becker expresses his regret that Klamroth's lack of sufficient knowledge of Arabic and Islam has led to some misinterpretations of the material gathered and has weakened the credibility of Klamroth's presentation. He further points out that too many Christian missionaries have tended to see good points in Islam as simply external influences or borrowings, while ascribing all evil in wider society to the influence of Islam. Becker doubts whether this really contributes to a better understanding of the nature (*Wesen*) of Islam and makes the point that accurate assessment of the adversary must certainly work in the interest of Christian mission. Though Klamroth has tried to avoid stereotyping, he has not always been able to think 'outside the frame'.

Though Klamroth sees the fight against Islam as a special missionary task, Becker indicates that Klamroth expects the colonial state to respect the parity of Islam and Christianity in the colony, and so not restrict the activities of Christian missionaries. Becker agrees with this attitude but points out that respecting parity would mean allowing Muslim teachers to teach about Islam. He makes it clear that sending Muslim teachers into non-Muslim regions of the colonies is a practice that should be avoided. The review also contains Becker's self-defence:

> I have often been accused of being too well disposed towards Islam and of always defending it. I do not deny weaknesses in Islam. But when one sees again and again how wrongly, indeed how spitefully, Islam is often treated, especially by the adherents of the religion of love, then one involuntarily becomes a defender. Above all, one too often misses the indispensable objectivity in comparisons. No one will judge the nature of Christianity by the deeds of the conquistadors. With Islam, this is a matter of course. ('Vom Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', p. 298)

SIGNIFICANCE

Becker held an influential position as a scholar-expert based at the Kolonialinstitut in Hamburg. His articles and reviews generally focus on the political nature of Islam and the concomitant risks it poses for the German colonies in Africa, and on formulating appropriate responses to the problems it raises. Various themes are repeated as the articles are directed towards different readerships. Remarkably, Becker drew information from various sources and made a point in underlining his apparently 'objective' perception of a particular issue or a situation. Nevertheless, his views reflect the colonialist convictions of his time and are marked with racist overtones not uncommon among his contemporaries. Becker did

not hesitate to formulate strong opinions based on a pragmatic approach (with Machiavellian characteristics). He was similarly blunt when speaking to or addressing Christian missionaries about the requirements of state colonial policy towards Islam, as when he addressed colonial government officials about the need to take seriously into account the concerns of missionaries.

The re-publication of these articles in two volumes of collected works in 1924 and 1932 may not necessarily indicate the importance of Becker's views, since the German colonial enterprise ended with the First World War, and his high positions in governmental and scholarly circles in the 1920s and 1930s could have made it easy for him to republish his earlier papers. It is noteworthy, however, that Becker's 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika' – a text of quite substantial length – was translated into English and republished as late as 1968 (the same happened to his paper on early Christian polemic against Islam). 'Materialien zur Kenntnis' remains an important source of information about Islam in the German colonial period and German Christian missionary concerns at the willingness of government officials to ally themselves with Islam (Martin, 'Introduction', p. 31). In an article examining Becker's text and translation of the 'Mecca letter', Jörg Haustein regards him as 'one of the first German scholars to break with the Orientalist tradition towards a more contemporary analysis of Islam' (Haustein, 'Religion, politics', p. 97). Excerpts from Becker's views on Islam as a religion capable of development and Islam's need for rapprochement with European intellectual life, which he expresses several times in his articles, were published as 'Auszüge aus der Schrift "Islamstudien. Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt" von Carl Heinrich Becker (gest. 1933)' in *Hikma* (12/2 [2021] 201-5).

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PLACE OF BIRTH Dresden, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 31 January 1935
PLACE OF DEATH Ramatayim, Palestine; part of present-day Hod HaSharon, Israel

BIOGRAPHY

Davis Trietsch was born in Dresden in 1870 to a single mother, who died when he was still a child. He grew up in an orphanage and emigrated as a young adult to the United States, where he lived, mostly in New York City, from 1893 to 1899. During this time he became an active Zionist. He was one of four US delegates to the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897 and also attended many subsequent Zionist congresses. From the outset, he was critical of Theodor Herzl's political Zionism, which focused on securing the great powers' recognition of the Jewish right to a homeland before starting any significant settlement activities. He himself advocated immediate large-scale Jewish immigration to Palestine and associated himself with those Zionists who, unlike Herzl, emphasised the necessity not only of political self-determination but also of a cultural 'rebirth' of the Jewish people. He thus became one of the founders of what has been called 'Cultural Zionism'.

After his return to Germany in 1899, Trietsch settled in Berlin and established himself as a Zionist author and activist. In 1901, he was one of the founding editors of the journal *Ost und West*, which strove to promote Eastern European Jewish culture and Jewish cultural identity among Western European Jews. A year later, together with Chaim Weizmann, Berthold Feiwel, Ephraim Moses Lilien and Martin Buber, he founded the Jüdische Verlag, the publishing house that was the flagship of Cultural Zionism. Along with many other Cultural Zionists, he embraced the idea of practical Zionism, the strategy to concentrate on settlement activities and thus create possibilities for Jews to emigrate to Palestine even before any international agreement about a Jewish homeland was reached. Trietsch became the editor of one of the first journals dedicated to this ideal, *Palästina*, and he also published a number of guidebooks for living and working in Palestine and its neighbouring countries, such as the *Palästina-Handbuch* ('Palestine handbook', 1907), the *Levante-Handbuch*

('Levant handbook', 1909) and the illustrated *Bilder aus Palästina* ('Pictures from Palestine', 1911). He was convinced that Jewish settlement should not be confined to Palestine proper but should also include Cyprus and the northern shore of the Sinai Peninsula around El Arish, at least as long as mass immigration to Palestine was not possible. Trietsch tirelessly, though ultimately unsuccessfully, tried to persuade his fellow Zionists to adopt his ideas for a 'Greater Palestine'. It is important to note, however, that Palestine was not a clearly defined geographical or political entity at the time. Also, due to the lack of a precise understanding of what the political status of a Jewish 'homeland' would be, these ideas did not necessarily imply the establishment of a Jewish state in these territories, or an expansionist or even imperialist Zionist programme.

Yet before and during the First World War Trietsch did embed his Zionism in enthusiastic support for the imperialist aspirations of the German Empire. For him, the Ottoman Empire, and more generally the Islamic world, played a key role in these endeavours. He was an active member of the Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung ('German-Turkish Association'), an organisation lobbying for close economic and political relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, and of the committee for the establishment of a German university in Turkey. During the war, he envisioned large-scale territorial gains for Germany and its allies, creating a German-led zone that would include much of continental Europe, all of the Middle East and a significant part of the African continent. He justified this not only in terms of Germany's supposed right to world leadership, but also in the expectation that Britain's defeat would end competition with Germany and thus guarantee long-lasting peace. He also argued that German hegemony would free non-European peoples, especially those of the Islamic world, from British imperialism and give them much greater self-determination. He hoped that this would lead to closer ties between a Europe dominated by Germany and an Islamic world led by Turkey, with the Jews in Palestine functioning as a link between these two zones.

Trietsch remained active as a Zionist author after the war, but he increasingly lost his influence in the movement. His *Palästina-Handbuch* went through several editions, but his new journal, *Volk und Land*, only survived for one year. He continued to promote his ideas of Jewish mass immigration and settlement in Palestine and the surrounding countries, and he called for urban, industrial and large-scale agricultural development as opposed to concentrating on collective rural settlement. In 1932, he emigrated to Palestine, where he died in February 1935. In contrast to many other founders of the Zionist movement, his name is largely

forgotten today both in the scholarship on Zionism and in the Israeli historical consciousness.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Deutschland und der Islam. Eine weltpolitische Studie
'Germany and Islam. A global political study'

DATE 1912
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Deutschland und der Islam is a book of 109 pages, consisting of 24 short sections and a number of tables and maps. It is one of several publications by Trietsch that deal with the role of the Ottoman Empire with regard to Germany's political prospects and its standing as a world power. It was

published shortly after the end of the Second Morocco Crisis, in which the German Empire unsuccessfully competed with France for control of the country. In the book, Trietsch concurs with many radical German nationalists in criticising the 'weak' posture of the government in this conflict, but also discusses it in the wider context of Germany's relationship to the Islamic world at large. This world, he argues, is involved in a process of rising and uniting and the Ottoman Empire is the leading power within it. Germany should thus forge an alliance with the Ottoman Empire, rebuff any violations of its borders, and support it against the imperialism of France and Britain. This, he claims, would 'secure for us the undisputed hegemony in all of the Old World' (p. 25).

Trietsch sees the Islamic religion as a strong unifying force among Muslims and regards the Ottoman Empire, the guardian of the Muslim holy places in Mecca and Medina, as the centre to which all Muslims orient themselves. A German-Turkish alliance, he argues, would thus not only create a vast area 'from the Northern Sea to the Persian Gulf' (p. 49) under the control of Germany and its allies, but would also have great impact on the rest of the Islamic world, as Islamic nations would gravitate towards this alliance. Even the African continent, where Islam is by far the fastest growing religion, would re-orient itself towards Turkey. Germany could extend its influence to countries from Morocco to India, and possibly beyond, while the Ottoman Empire would be safe from the territorial desires of the European powers. Trietsch thinks that the awakening of the Islamic peoples would push back the major colonial powers, especially Britain, and shake off foreign domination. He anticipates that this process would begin in the Turkish and Arab 'heartland' of Islam, namely in Egypt, and would eventually extend to large parts of Asia and Africa. If Britain lost Egypt, he predicts, it would mean the beginning of the end of British global hegemony which 'has long since outlived itself' (p. 66). Germany, he argues, should support Turkey and defend the integrity and sovereignty of the Islamic states against the 'politics of violence of the colonial powers' (p. 81).

At the same time, Trietsch is keen to stress that an alliance with Turkey would serve German interests. Germany could help Turkey to develop its own industry and commerce, thereby creating strong economic ties, while Turkey would become independent from other European countries. This potential, he argues, is greatly enhanced by the strong presence of the German language in eastern parts of the Mediterranean, especially if German- and Yiddish-speaking Jews are counted in, including those currently emigrating to Palestine-Trietsch is a Zionist, after all. He fends off

the argument that it would have led to a world war if, a few years earlier, Germany had stood by Turkey and other Islamic states against other European powers, and if it defied French expansion in Morocco or British and Russian intervention in Persia. An alliance between Germany and the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, he argues, supported by Muslim nations around the world, would actually reduce the risk of war. It would be such a strong force that no other power would dare to confront it. Trietsch carefully wraps his conviction that this constellation would establish Germany and its allies as undisputed leaders into a defensive argument: because they would be invincible, there would be no need for them to engage in an armaments race with Britain. 'In a new Middle Kingdom (*Reich der Mitte*)', he writes, 'located at the heart of the three old continents, Germany, together with Austria and the Ottoman Empire would be [...] the strongest possible guarantee for world peace' (p. 108).

SIGNIFICANCE

Deutschland und der Islam was one of many publications by Trietsch in which he openly supported German imperialist aspirations and the country's quest for *Weltgeltung*, the status of a global power. This was not unique for a German Zionist of his generation. Until the First World War, many of them hoped that the German Empire would be a facilitator of Zionist settlement activities in Palestine, especially if it was an ally of Turkey. Also, for these Zionists there was no contradiction in being a German nationalist at the same time. Nevertheless, Trietsch's position was particularly radical in several respects. More than most other Zionists, he advocated a robust, if not aggressive, stance of the German Empire vis-à-vis Britain and France. During the war, he published a number of brochures and booklets in which he accused Britain of starting the war in order to prevent Germany from surpassing it as the world's leading power, and envisioned large-scale territorial gains for Germany both in Europe and in Africa. After the war, he imagined, Germany would annex the Baltic countries and parts of Russian Poland as well as parts of France and Belgium, so that together with its ally, the Habsburg Empire, it would dominate the complete continent. In Africa, it would expand its colonial possessions over the central part of the continent, connecting its original possessions in Togo, Cameroon and east and south-west Africa. This 'Middle Africa' would be connected with German-dominated Europe by an also greatly expanded Ottoman Empire.

Trietsch here was participating in a discourse that was also pursued by other turkophile German intellectuals and politicians such as Ernst Jäckh (*CMR* 22, 503-9), Carl Heinrich Becker (*CMR* 22, 537-61) and

Hugo Grothe, who believed that an alliance with the Ottoman Empire would lead to a German victory in the war and to the rise of Germany to one of the world's principal powers. The possibility of mobilising Islam against British, French or Russian imperialism, and therefore in favour of German interests, was discussed in these circles as well. These ideas even found their way into the German war strategy as, for instance, when in November 1914 the Foreign Office established the Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient (Intelligence Office for the East) under Max von Oppenheim (*CMR* 22, 510-17) in order to disseminate pro-German propaganda among the Muslim population in territories controlled by the Entente and among Muslim prisoners of war. Such policies were often legitimised by the claim that Britain or France would pursue a violent and oppressive form of imperialism, whereas Germany would conduct a policy of peaceful economic and cultural penetration that would also benefit non-European societies.

Trietsch subscribed to this notion, but he was convinced that Germany would not only use this to its own ends but actually be a partner of the Islamic world in its fight for self-determination against British and French imperialism. For him, the rise of the Islamic world to an anti-imperialist power of the first order was to the benefit of German interests, but it was also a legitimate project in itself. In order to reconcile these two positions, he redefined the imperialism of the German Empire as an anti-imperialist undertaking.

This redefinition was, of course, based on pure imagination, but it was shared by other German and Central European Zionists including, for instance, Martin Buber. It not only allowed Zionists such as Trietsch or Buber to throw their support behind the Central Powers, but also made it possible to assign an important role in this scenario to the Jews. If the goal of German interests in the Islamic world was not to subject these countries to German rule but to create a bridge between the Orient and the Occident, and also between Islam and Christianity, the Zionist settlement project in Palestine had a central and strategic position. Both geographically and culturally, it was a link between these two worlds. It made it possible for the Jews to regain agency and political significance, and at the same time guaranteed the supposedly benign character of German imperialism. For Trietsch, Zionism was in a way a part of the rise of the Islamic world. His own imperialism must therefore be seen in a specific light. It was an attempt to combine German nationalism with Zionism and Islamic anti-imperialism. It would soon become clear, however, that this combination was doomed to fail.

Whereas the idea of an alliance between Germany and Turkey had many supporters among German intellectuals and politicians, Trietsch's particular version of this never stood a chance of being realised, because the German government was only interested in Zionism insofar as it could be instrumentalised for its own purposes. Anyway, in the fullness of time Germany's (and Turkey's) defeat in the war made all these ideas futile.

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Der Aufstieg des Islam
'The rise of Islam'

DATE 1915

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Der Aufstieg des Islam, a short booklet of 43 pages was published in 1915. Its aim is to show what Turkey and Islam stand to gain through participating in the war. The Ottoman Empire at that point had already joined the Central Powers and declared war on Russia, Britain and France. Trietsch is very optimistic about the prospects for the country. 'Turkey has the chance,' he writes, 'to secure disputed territories, to win back lost territory with Muslim majorities, and to expand its influence to the whole of the Islamic world' (p. 7). This statement is followed by 21 brief sections, each of which addresses one of the territories and areas that Trietsch believes provide opportunities for the Ottoman Empire. They range from Cyprus and the Aegean Islands to the Balkans and North Africa, from the Black Sea to Persia, Central Asia and India, and from the Arabian Peninsula to the heart of Africa. In the final sections, Trietsch discusses differences within Islam and why they do not pose a problem for the strengthening of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the advantages such a strengthening

would have for Germany. He also reprints an article from 1910, in which he explains why he believes that the British grip on large parts of the Islamic world will soon come to an end. The brochure is concluded by tables of the numbers of Muslims in the various parts of the world and of the volume of Turkish trade relations, especially with Germany.

Trietsch sees opportunities for the Ottoman Empire to expand its territory and influence practically everywhere. It will regain control over the Aegean islands now controlled by Greece and Italy, end British rule in formally still Turkish Egypt and Cyprus, and win back territory with Muslim majorities in South-Eastern Europe which was lost during the Balkan wars. The same will be true for predominantly Muslim territories east of the Black Sea that fell to Russia during the 19th century, while Russian provinces in Central Asia will become Turkish protectorates. Muslim parts of Afghanistan and British India will strip away British rule or suzerainty and strive for Turkish protection instead. As an ally of a victorious German Empire, Turkey will, furthermore, be able to drive back British intervention and occupation on the Arabian Peninsula, re-establishing its own rule there. It will also be able to renegotiate with Italy its sovereignty over Libya, whereas Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco will remain European colonies, albeit with strong ties to the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate. All in all, the Ottoman Empire will establish itself as the predominant power in the Islamic world. This will not even be challenged by the schism between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, as this schism, he believes, is about to lose its significance in favour of unification under the banner of pan-Islamism. This also means, Trietsch concludes, that Germany stands to gain massive strength through a close and sustainable military as well as economic alliance with Turkey.

In one of the final sections, Trietsch discusses the roles of Islam and of Turkey on the African continent. He argues that German colonial rule over Muslims in central and southern Africa need not result in a conflict with rising Islam, because 'the Islam of the Turks and Arabs […] is, of course, culturally and politically very different from the Islam of the negroes of Inner Africa' (p. 29). Black Africans, he believes, will not be able to rule themselves for the foreseeable future. Therefore, African Muslims under German rule will be acceptable to Turkey and pan-Islamism, but much less so culturally 'advanced' Muslims in Arab or Asian countries under British or French hegemony. In fact, Turkey will be pleased to see the growing Muslim population of central and southern Africa under German instead of British or French colonial rule, as Germany, being an ally, would

allow for a much stronger cultural influence. Conversely, an alliance with the Ottoman Empire would support and sustain German colonial rule in an increasingly Muslim Africa.

SIGNIFICANCE

Trietsch's booklet belongs to a group of similar publications in which he fantasises about a world after Germany and its allies have won the war and replaced Britain as the predominant global power. Similar, for instance, to his *Kriegsziele gegen England* ('War aims against England', 1915) or *Afrikanische Kriegsziele* ('War aims in Africa', 1917), it imagines their hegemony in the three 'old' continents, ruling or controlling the largest part of them.

Trietsch's vision is as megalomaniac as that of many other German nationalists at the time, though it differs from most of them in that it assigns the Islamic world an independent and self-confident place in this new world order. Turkey, the ally of the German Empire strategically located at the juncture of the three continents, is seen as the future leader of the Islamic world. In fact, the 'rise of Islam', as the title of the brochure has it, is practically identified with the rise of the Ottoman Empire to world power status. In contrast to *Deutschland und der Islam*, Jews are not mentioned in it, and neither is Palestine. This might be due to the fact that the booklet appeared during the war, and Trietsch was more careful not to argue as a Zionist but as a German patriot. Seen in the context of his other publications, however, it is clear that the rise of the Islam, for him, also provides the framework for the self-empowerment of the Jews through Zionism.

Even though it is not as clearly spelled out as in *Deutschland und der Islam*, Trietsch again portrays Germany as an ally of the anti-imperialist struggles of the Islamic peoples who were under British and French rule. At the same time, he affirms German colonialism in Africa, including in regions that are predominantly Muslim. He even envisions Germany as the 'principal colonial power in Africa' (p. 30), after it had gained enormous additional territory in the war (at a time when Germany had, in fact, already lost most of its African colonies). For Trietsch, this is not a contradiction. He explains it by differentiating between allegedly 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' Islamic peoples, black African Muslims belonging to the 'uncivilised' group. This helps him to reconcile his sympathies for the striving of non-Europeans to self-determination with his support for German colonialism. At the same time, he implicitly alludes to Islam and the Ottoman Empire's own imperialist and colonial history, particularly

in Africa. Trietsch's brochure thus inadvertently demonstrates the complex entanglements of imperialism and anti-imperialism in the relations between Christians, Muslims and Jews.

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Stefan Vogt

Johannes Lepsius

DATE OF BIRTH 15 December 1858
PLACE OF BIRTH Berlin
DATE OF DEATH 3 February 1926
PLACE OF DEATH Merano, South Tyrol

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Lepsius was born the youngest child of Karl Richard Lepsius and his wife Elisabeth, née Klein. His father was the founder of Egyptology in Germany and his mother was the great-granddaughter of the Berlin Enlightenment philosopher Friedrich Nicolai (1733-1811) and a devout supporter of Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-81), the founder of the *Innere Mission* ('Home Mission') that aimed to regenerate and reform society within Germany. Many important personalities of the German Empire from politics, culture and the church frequented his upper middle-class home. After graduating from high school, Lepsius began studying theology at the University of Erlangen in March 1878. After the first semester, however, he changed both subject and university and, in the winter of 1878/79, began studying mathematics and philosophy at the University of Munich, where he attended lectures on the history of philosophy by Carl von Prantl (1820-88), with whom he also received his doctorate in 1880. However, an academic career seemed too remote from his life, so he turned to theology again and completed his studies in Erlangen and Greifswald between 1881 and 1884. He was ordained as a pastor in the evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinde in Jerusalem in 1884 and worked there as an assistant pastor for two years.

Lepsius was greatly influenced by his stay in Jerusalem. There, he completed the pre-pastorate appointment as assistant chaplain in the German Protestant congregation and worked on the board of the Syrian Orphanage founded by Johann Ludwig Schneller (1820-96) in 1860. In the region, which at that time belonged to the Ottoman Empire, Lepsius was confronted with different religions and denominations as well as with political tensions and violence against Christian communities. During his stay in Jerusalem, Lepsius met his first wife Maria Hannah Margarete Zeller (1867-98), granddaughter of Samuel Gobat (1799-1879) and from the internationally known Württemberg missionary family. Her

father Johannes Zeller (1830-1902) was head of the Bishop Gobat School in Jerusalem and networked transnationally in Protestant missionary work. This influence enabled Lepsius to adopt a critical distance from the national Protestant orientation of many pastors in the German Empire in the years that followed.

After his time as an assistant preacher, Lepsius returned to Germany in 1886, where he took up a pastorate in Friesdorf (Harz) and founded a carpet factory in the spirit of the *Innere Mission* as a means of creating jobs in the structurally weak region. In 1895, together with close confidantes and companions, he founded a prayer association for the Orient, from which the Deutsche Orient-Mission (DOM, 'German Mission to the East') emerged a short time later, dedicated to missionary work among the ancient Christian population, and especially the Muslim population in the Near and Middle East. However, the Deutsche Orient-Mission took on a different orientation when the extreme extent of the Hamidian massacres of Armenians (1894-96) in the Ottoman Empire became known. The focus of the mission shifted to providing help to the needy Armenian population.

As the Magdeburg church refused Lepsius unpaid leave for his involvement in the Ottoman Empire, he resigned from church service and became an activist for Armenia in the following years. As early as 1896, he travelled to the Armenian settlement areas particularly affected by the massacres, masquerading as a carpet manufacturer. Together with Ernst Lohmann (1860-1936), also a pioneer of Armenian aid, Lepsius founded the Deutscher Hilfsbund für Armenien ('German Relief Association for Armenia'). This association was involved in setting up aid stations in the Ottoman Empire, Iran and Bulgaria and was able to rely on financial support from wide circles of the community movement in Germany as well as on an international network of missionaries. In his own journals *Das Reich Christi*, *Der Christliche Orient*, *Mitteilungen aus der Arbeit* and *Der Orient*, Lepsius published numerous reports on the work of the Deutscher Hilfsbund für Armenien and the situation of the Armenian population in order to raise funds for these aid stations. In 1896, he published the report *Armenien und Europa. Eine Anklage-Schrift wider die christlichen Großmächte und ein Aufruf an das christliche Deutschland* ('Armenia and Europe. An indictment against the great Christian powers and an appeal to Christian Germany').

Lepsius's plans to open a Seminar für die orientalische Mission ('seminary for the Oriental mission') in Friesdorf were frustrated by his work with the Deutscher Hilfsbund für Armenien. He increasingly distanced himself

from Wilhelm Faber (1858-1910), whose missionary approach did not fit in with the intensive theological training for missionaries that he himself planned. Inspired by the work of the Deutscher Hilfsbund für Armenien, he promoted in several writings indirect missionary work among Muslims through the Oriental Churches, which were first to be newly awakened, and through the impact of charitable institutions. He proposed a path of 'lived love', which consisted primarily of work in the medical field. In this way, he intended to lay the foundation for winning the hearts of Muslims in order eventually to be able to spread the message of Christianity. This idea could also be found among other missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, though they concentrated on the Oriental Churches due to the extremely limited success of the mission to Islam. In contrast, Lepsius emphasised that this could only be a partial approach to the mission and that missionaries needed to be trained specifically for Islam. Lepsius wanted to take over the teaching of the seminarians himself. He expected language support from his wife Margarethe and his brother-in-law, who was pastor of the neighbouring congregation, both fluent in Arabic. No doubt also prompted by the early death of his wife on 17 October 1898 and another trip to the Middle East (April-December 1899), he left Friesdorf. He moved back to Berlin in 1900 to re-found the Deutsche Orient-Mission and married Alice Breuning. On his journey to the Middle-East, he was accompanied by Johannes Awetaranian (1861-1919 *CMR* 22, 595-604), who was to provide Lepsius with considerable support in the development of his missionary approaches. Born the son of the dervish Hanizade Ali near Erzurum, Muhammad Shukri was a former mullah. He had converted to Christianity in 1885 and then adopted the Armenian name. As he repeatedly encountered difficulties in the Ottoman Empire because of his open mission among Muslims, he was mainly active in Bulgaria, where he gathered some converts around him. Among them were the brothers Mehmed Nesimi Efendi, a teacher, and Achmed Keşşaf, a shaykh of the Rifaiye Sufi order, both of whom were in contact with the Deutsche Orient-Mission and later became involved in its work.

Lepsius's far-reaching plans for his own training centre for theologians in the Islamic mission took place at a time when Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) was initiating a more active phase of Oriental policy through his trip to the East. In the emperor's famous speech in Damascus in November 1898, he had declared his friendship to 300 million Muslims, which had caused irritation among some European powers under whose 'protection' Muslims lived. After all, they had to deal with the danger that there might be resistance to colonial (Christian) rule on the part of the Muslims. Since the

German imperial government, in strong contrast to the policy of France and Great Britain, supported the Ottoman sultan and caliph in order to preserve the possibilities of informal imperialism, missionary approaches were hardly supported politically. Lepsius, on the other hand, saw Wilhelm II's declaration of friendship as a sign that German Christianity was taking responsibility and that the conversion of the Islamic world would become a serious concern.

On 15 November 1909, Lepsius finally founded the Muhammedanische Seminar ('Muhammedan Seminary') in Potsdam. The teaching programme consisted of Arabic and Turkish language courses, New Testament theology, Church history, Islamic dogmatics, Qur'an interpretation, history and constitution of the dervish orders, and philosophy of Sufism. Lepsius pointed out that, although extensive research had been carried out by Orientalists on the Qur'an and the history of Islam, the specifics of the popular faith were not sufficiently known. The various dervish orders were of particular interest here. The two converts, Mehmed Nesimi Efendi and Achmed Keşşaf, were to teach the techniques of meditation. Lepsius saw in the many different orders the mystical undercurrent of Islam, which he regarded as the antithesis of the legalistic religion of Islam and he looked in them for points of contact with Christian mysticism as well as for possibilities to refine missionary approaches. In this respect, he pursued a very communicative approach to Islam, even if the goal was not dialogue but evangelisation, which was linked to broad publication activity. The writings of the two brothers Mehmed Nesimi and Ahmed Keşşaf aroused great interest among scholars of Islam such as Martin Hartmann (1851-1918), the founder of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde (German Society for the Study of Islam), and William Henry Temple Gairdner (1873-1928), the director of the Church Missionary Society in Cairo. However, the enrolment of prospective missionaries in the seminary remained very low, so that the classes were discontinued in 1912.

After the First World War, Lepsius resumed his missionary plans. The radical population policy of the Committee for Union and Progress had led to the demographic composition of Anatolia being greatly changed in favour of the Sunnī population. The Christian population in particular had been largely annihilated during the First World War through expropriation, expulsion and, above all, systematic mass murder. Lepsius was involved in documenting the crimes and in providing aid on the ground to enable at least some of the Armenian deportees in the Arab territories to survive. He was undeterred in his plans to set up a training centre for missionaries. Four months before his death and already weakened, he had

rented premises for another attempt at founding a training centre for missionaries. Lepsius died during a stay at a health resort in Merano, South Tyrol, on 3 February 1926.

His tireless work in publicising and documenting the fate of Armenians has led him to be held in high regard. Armenia issued a postage stamp in his honour in 2013. His home from 1908 in Potsdam, 'Lepsiushaus', has been a memorial and remembrance site with a small exhibition and archive since 2011.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lepsius's writings about Islam and Christian-Muslim relations

DATE 1894-1916
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Lepsius had already formulated his basic views on the subject of missions with the first founding of the Deutsche Orient-Mission. When Pastor Wilhelm Faber sent out the first German Evangelical Lutheran missionaries to the Muslims in 1893, Lepsius gave a lecture in which he outlined his basic convictions about the necessity of mission among Jews, Muslims and Christians in the Middle East. Published as a 14-page article entitled 'Vortrag von Pastor Dr. Lepsius aus Wippra am Harz', it contains the essential convictions to which Lepsius referred in connection with the mission to Islam in all his subsequent writings. He did not want to accept the argument favoured by many of his contemporaries that mission among Muslims was a futile effort and basically impossible; rather, he saw the duty of mission to Islam as anchored in Jesus's Great Commission (Matthew 28:16-20), which should not be relativised by referring to obstacles and limited success.

In 1896, he published the report *Armenien und Europa. Eine Anklage-Schrift wider die christlichen Großmächte und ein Aufruf an das christliche Deutschland* ('Armenia and Europe. An indictment against the great Christian powers and an appeal to Christian Germany'), a book of 245 pages in the original German edition and 331 pages in the English translation (which is used here), divided into five chapters, of which ch. 4 comprises a list of atrocities and ch. 5 reports from the German embassy. An extensive unnumbered epilogue details and catalogues the massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909).

The opening chapter, 'The truth about Armenia' (pp. 1-153), includes a section entitled 'Religious liberty in Turkey' (pp. 40-5), in which Lepsius

relates examples of Christians being killed after refusing to convert to Islam, also of 'priests forced as Mullahs or Muezzins to insult their former office by proclaiming the name of Mohammed' (p. 42). The 'Statements of delegates' (pp. 280-319) gives details of atrocities and the 'attitudes of the authorities and the population' to them for each *vilayet*. Statistics of deaths and destruction are given in tables (pp. 320-31).

The book was translated into several languages and Lepsius became a recognised national and international expert on the so-called Armenian question. As he criticised the German government for its tolerant attitude towards the Ottoman sultan, his activities were looked on with suspicion by the Foreign Office.

In his writings on Islam as a faith, Lepsius presented a more open attitude. In 1900, in 'Der Herausgeber an die Freunde unserer Arbeit' ('The editor to the friends of our work'), he described Islam as a kind of Judaism for pagans, which the initially Christian Muḥammad had fashioned because – as Lepsius regretted – the Jewish form of Christianity had been buried early on due to the pressure to conform to ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Muslims were therefore not to be met as pagans ('Der Herausgeber', p. 7).

When the Deutschen Orient-Mission was re-established in 1900, Lepsius set out its purpose in 'Neu-Konstituierung der Deutschen Orient-Mission', only two pages long. He stated that the goal of the mission was not only conversion but also an invitation to a Muslim reform, which was to be understood as 're-constitution' ('Neu-Konstituierung', p. 10).

During the Protestant First Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan World, which took place in Cairo in 1906, Lepsius gave a paper entitled 'Relation of missions to Moslems and missions to pagans'. It has never been published, although the discussion that followed it appeared in *Methods of mission work amongst Muslims* (London, 1906, pp. 23-8). Lepsius argued that the early Church had 'made a mistake in insisting on uniformity between Jewish and Greek Christians', that there 'should have been a Jewish form of Christianity', that 'Islam is an attempt to attain that position – hence they are Gentile-Jews of a Gentile-Judaizing sect', making 'a clear and correct statement showing that Moslems are not heathen' (pp. 23-4). Points that were drawn out of the paper include the view that classified Islam as a Judeo-Christian sect that has merits; that it had been demonstrated that Muḥammad was a nominal Christian in his earliest years; whether the God of Islam and the God of Israel are one and the same, with Lepsius being of the view that they were; 'missions to Muslims are for the *reconversion of those who have lapsed*' (pp. 24-6).

Also in 1906, in 'Wege und Ziele der deutschen Orient-Mission' ('Paths and goals of the German Orient-Mission', 8 pages), Lepsius specifically argued for a mission which, in cooperation with the churches and the entire Protestant population, aimed for a comprehensive 'rebirth of the Orient' ('Wege und Ziele', p. 146) and thus also for a reshaping of Ottoman society in line with Christian values. In order to come closer to this goal and to prepare fertile ground for the proclamation of the Gospel, he envisaged very extensive and time-consuming preliminary work. First of all, Islam had to be thoroughly researched and possible points of contact with Christianity identified. This was then to give rise to a contextualised theology that could make an impact in an Islamic environment. For such necessary new approaches, he was prepared to make changes to his own convictions, even with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology, because these reflections arising from the encounter with Islam were at the same time to lead to a deeper understanding of biblical doctrine. But the primary goal remained the founding of his own training school for missionaries.

The essays published by Lepsius on this Islam mission and the numerous references in other writings are not only to be understood as a further development of his missionary approach but also as a general justification for Christian mission. Within the Deutsche Orient-Mission, the mission to Islam was already controversial from the beginning. Fundamental criticism came from the founder of Protestant missiology, Gustav Adolf Warneck (1834-1910), who feared the new missionary approaches would cause a fragmentation of mission forces and generally did not see the time had come for a comprehensive Islam mission. Furthermore, prominent Protestant publicists, such as Paul Rohrbach (1869-1956), who together with Lepsius founded the Deutsch-Armenische Gesellschaft ('German-Armenian Society'), were much more committed to an imperial cultural Protestantism through intensive economic and cultural work in the Ottoman Empire than to direct missionary work. Imperial policy and the associated ideas of civilisation were no longer necessarily linked to Christian mission. The goal of the German imperial government was rather to stabilise the Ottoman government, so an Ottoman policy of strengthening Sunnī Islam was pragmatically accepted. Lepsius, on the other hand, complained that German military aid and massive economic investments in the Ottoman Empire were not linked to mission. Although Lepsius had many supporters for the Armenian relief work, there remained little interest in the mission to Islam for which he was hardly able to mobilise financial support despite

many attractive appeals. In 1908, he wrote in 'Die Generalversammlung der Deutschen Orient-Mission' ('The general assembly of the German Orient-Mission', 6 pages) that it would seem easier to spark a crusade than to equip even a small number of missionaries for the preaching of the Gospel in the Muslim world ('Die Generalversammlung', p. 92).

In 1908, following the conference in Cairo, Lepsius wrote the article 'Muhammedaner-Mission! Ein Aufruf an die deutsche evangelische Christenheit' ('Muhammedan Mission! An appeal to German Protestant Christianity', 6 pages), in which he challenged the opposition in the German-speaking world to mission among Muslims on several points and warned that Islam itself had a strong record of missionary success. He interpreted the political changes in Iran, the Ottoman Empire, Transcaucasia and the Balkan countries as a sign that these regions were now more open to the Gospel than before. The German population would now be given the task of carrying out Islamic missionary work where economic and political connections already existed. In connection with this, Lepsius referred to Detwig von Oertzen's translation of the New Testament into Kurdish (begun in 1905 but only completing the Gospel of Mark) as an important cornerstone of this work.

Lepsius participated in the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 and spoke of the need for literature and missionary training, having employed 'mullahs' who had converted to Christianity as teachers at his seminary in Potsdam.

> The most efficacious method of destroying Islam at this time would be to create for the Mohammedan world a Christian literature of the highest type of Christian and Mohammedan education and culture. This is the chief problem we aim at in our Mohammedan Seminary in Potsdam. With regard to the formulation of Christian doctrine suited to the Mohammedan mind, we are convinced that the greatest mistake would be to accommodate Christian truth to Mohammedan error. […] It may be that the Gospel to the Moslems will give us a deeper conception not only of the unity but also of the Trinity of God than that which we received from Greek dogma. ('Islam', p. 309)

Because of his close contacts among important Armenian personalities, Lepsius was involved in the Armenian reform negotiations of 1913/14. His commitment to the Armenian population and especially the survivors of the genocide during the First World War was particularly intensive. His meeting with Enver Pasha (1881-1922) in Constantinople in 1915 is related in Franz Werfel's novel *The forty days of Musa Dagh* (Berlin, 1933). In 1916, he published *Bericht über die Lage des armenischen Volkes in der Türkei* ('Report on the situation of the Armenian people in Turkey', 303 pages),

in which he documented what was happening to the Armenians. This violated German censorship regulations, which were intended to keep the extermination of the Armenian population out of the German public eye due to the alliance with the Ottoman Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lepsius is known above all as the 'guardian angel of the Armenians'. From this perspective, his reception as a historical and theological figure has neglected his thinking and actions in pursuit of his vision of mission as Jesus's commission. In his writings, he repeatedly formulated no less a goal than the rebirth of the East on the basis of the Gospel. Mission among Muslims took up a great deal of space in this undertaking.

For Lepsius, the essence of Islam was a heresy that arose from Judaism and Christianity. Islamic doctrine was a challenge for Christian mission because it was a half-truth as a result of its close relationship to the other two religions, though this could only be demonstrated by well-founded argumentation. For this reason, he thought it necessary to provide in-depth training for missionaries. He felt that the missionary institutions in Germany, which were geared towards mission to the heathen, were not equipped for these tasks. His aim to reach not only Muslims but also Islamic scholars and imams required appropriately well-educated theologians who could be trained in a seminary for prospective missionaries to the East and then deployed in mission to Islam.

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Christin Pschichholz

Karl Beth

DATE OF BIRTH 1 December 1872
PLACE OF BIRTH Förderstedt
DATE OF DEATH 9 September 1959
PLACE OF DEATH Chicago

BIOGRAPHY

Karl Beth, born in 1872 near Magdeburg, underwent his scholarly formation at the University of Berlin. While studying there in the 1890s, he was largely influenced by figures such as Adolf von Harnack, Otto Pfleiderer, and Wilhelm Dilthey. In 1898, he obtained a doctorate in philosophy for a dissertation on Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and three years later, in 1901, he gained a *Habilitation* in systematic theology. In the same year, he received a stipend that enabled him to conduct field research among Orthodox Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean region for five months. This field trip resulted in the outstanding *Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer* ('The Eastern Christianity of the Mediterranean countries'), published in 1902, and also a series of related entries in the second edition of the encyclopaedia *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. It was during this journey that Beth encountered Islam and had the opportunity to interact with Muslims and these experiences extensively informed his later scholarly work on Islam.

In 1906, Beth moved to the University of Vienna, where he became professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology. In the same year, he married Marianne Weisl (1890-1984), daughter of the Jewish lawyer Ernst Franz von Weisl. Beth was actively involved in the ecumenical movement and headed the Austrian branch of the World Alliance of Churches for Promoting International Friendship after the First World War. Having retained his interest in the Christian East, he undertook a journey in 1929 to Ethiopia, where he conducted research on the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Beth became one of the pioneers of the psychology of religion and did a lot to set up it as an independent field of study. He helped to establish the Research Institute for Psychology of Religion in Vienna in 1922, was editor of the *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie* from 1927 to 1938 and was instrumental in the foundation of the International Association for the Psychology of Religion.

The annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in 1938 brought an end to Karl Beth's academic career in Europe; he was dismissed from his position because he was married to a Jewish woman. These developments led him to emigrate to the United States the following year. In 1941, he joined the teaching staff of Meadville-Lombard Theological School in Chicago, where he taught history of religions until his retirement in 1945. He died in Chicago on 9 September 1959.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer 'The Eastern Christianity of the Mediterranean countries'

DATE 1902
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer (in full, *Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer. Reisestudien zur Statistik und Symbolik der griechischen, armenischen und koptischen Kirche* ('The Eastern Christianity of the Mediterranean countries. Travel studies on statistics and doctrine of the Greek, Armenian and Coptic Churches') is a 427-page book written after Beth's journey across the Eastern Mediterranean region. It consists of two parts. The first, under the title 'Current state and organisation of churches', comprises three chapters: 'The Greek Orthodox Church' (Beth uses this expression as an umbrella term for all churches of the Byzantine tradition), 'The smaller Orthodox Churches' (by this term Beth refers to churches that are not part of the Byzantine tradition), and finally 'Churches united with Rome' (Uniate churches). The second part, under the title 'Religious life of Eastern Churches', includes four chapters: 'Interconfessional relations', 'Liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church', 'Doctrine and popular piety in the Greek Orthodox Church', and 'Ecclesial and religious life in the Armenian and Coptic Churches'. Since Beth conducted his research among Christians living predominantly in Muslim-dominated societies, the theme of Christian-Muslim relations plays an important role throughout the whole work. He mentions that he deliberately does not include the Russian Orthodox Church within the scope of his study because it exists in a significantly different socio-cultural context and should be analysed separately.

The book offers a highly nuanced overview of the situation of Orthodox Christians living in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time. Whereas Christians living in the Ottoman Empire had a legal status that was clearly inferior to that of the Muslim population, Beth describes the overall attitude of the state towards religious minorities as indifferent. Even though this did not denote an amicable attitude, it did have positive implications for Christian communities. In this regard, he mentions the characteristic

opinion of one of the former ecumenical patriarchs, who claimed that Ottoman rule was indeed a divine blessing for his church, for while Byzantine emperors at times tended to intervene in and determine doctrinal discussions, the Ottoman rulers took no interest in interfering in Christian theological debates (p. 6). Nevertheless, churches were by no means free in their administration, which can be illustrated by the fact that the heads of the churches – notably ecumenical patriarchs – were frequently removed from office under the influence of the Ottoman government. Furthermore, the book documents a number of other cases of direct intervention by the state in church life. Another sensitive topic in Christian-Muslim relations that Beth touches upon is the problem of forced religious conversions. He argues that conversions of Christians to Islam did not take place because of Muslim missionary work but as a result of social and economic pressures and influences.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book was in several ways a pioneering study. Conventionally, German theologians had approached Orthodox Christianity, if at all, exclusively from an historical perspective. *Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer*, however, for the first time offered a detailed overview of the then current state of Orthodox churches, their structure and teachings. By doing this, it demonstrated that Orthodox Christianity was by no means a fossil of the past, as some Liberal Protestant theologians tended to understand it, but rather a dynamic religious tradition. Not the least novel element was the methodological approach taken by Beth. Instead of relying on secondary literature about the region, he travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean to encounter Orthodox Christians, gather his own impressions and collect first-hand information.

Providing new information on a wide range of issues, the book set the state of the art in the study of contemporary Eastern Christianity. However, its significance was not limited to the provision of the latest material. It introduced a new way of looking at Orthodox churches, which, instead of judging them from a Protestant perspective, argued that Eastern Christianity can only be properly comprehended if it is seen as a distinct and historically independent form of Christianity in its own right. As he saw it, Orthodox churches should be understood as a result of the mutual inculturation of the East and Christianity. Hence, the fact that the majority of Orthodox churches had existed over centuries in predominantly Muslim societies should also be kept in mind as one of the factors that shaped the process of inculturation.

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'Warum macht die Mission des Islam so große Fortschritte?'
'Why does the mission of Islam make such great progress?'

DATE 1917
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

'Warum macht die Mission des Islam so große Fortschritte?' is a 23-page article that appeared in 1917 in *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, a journal published by the German Protestant Association for Mission Studies. In this contribution, Beth deals with the reasons for the success of Islam's mission among so-called 'primitive peoples' (*Naturvölker*) in earlier decades. In order to explain the phenomenon of the rapid spread of Islam in various parts of the world, particularly focusing upon sub-Saharan Africa, he employs methods used in comparative religious studies, history of religion and psychology of religion.

Comparing Christianity and Islam, Beth highlights several features of the Muslim faith that, in his opinion, help it to find a better reception among so-called 'primitive peoples'. He suggests that Muslim eschatology, which is based on notions of law and retribution and also emphasises the sensual joys of paradise, is much closer than Christian eschatology to the world view of 'pagan' peoples. He further argues that the very idea of God as it has been developed in Islam can be more easily incorporated into the worldview of 'primitive peoples' than the Christian one. Whereas the elaborated notion of sin enables Christianity to conceptualise Jesus's death as a redeeming and reconciling act of divine self-giving love, Islam gives less credit to the idea of sin and hence diminishes divine love.

Furthermore, Beth suggests that the distinct ecstatic character of Islamic mysticism has resemblances to mystical traditions found in African cultures. Among other fundamental similarities between Islam and the traditional African worldview that foster the rapid spread of Islam, he mentions circumcision, belief in demons, the practice of magic and the exclusion of women from ritual celebrations. In summary, the main argument of the article is that Islam has essential proximity to the religious worldview of 'primitive peoples' and that the acceptance of Islam – in contrast to Christianity – does not require radical conversion from them.

SIGNIFICANCE

'Die Mission des Islam' was a pioneering attempt to reflect critically on new missionary achievements of Islam and its transformation into a 'world religion' (*Weltreligion*). Another significant feature of the article was its methodological approach in combining various fields of study, largely drawing upon new findings of comparative study of religions. The theoretical foundations of some major observations expressed in the article had already been laid out in Beth's *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Frage nach den Anfängen der Religion*, published in 1914.

When he wrote 'Die Mission des Islam', Beth had in mind both the growing academic community interested in religious studies and Protestant missionaries working in Africa who increasingly found themselves in competition not with traditional African religions, but rather with Islam. Hence, this article not only contributed to the way Muslim missionary activity was perceived in German academic circles but it also impacted Christian-Muslim encounters on the mission field.

Most importantly, this short work made a significant contribution to the debate about the relationship between Islam and politics. Whereas some notable German Orientalists claimed that Islam was rather passive in religious terms and could only survive with the help of political power, Beth argued that Islam should not be identified entirely with political ideas within it but should rather be regarded as a religion in its own right. Moreover, he claimed that Islam experienced a religious strengthening after every external weakening of its political situation and pointed to the political crisis of the Ottoman Empire, which did not prevent the success of the Muslim mission.

PUBLICATIONS

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Stanislau Paulau

Friedrich Schrader

Ischtiraki

DATE OF BIRTH 19 November 1865
PLACE OF BIRTH Wolmirstedt, Magdeburg
DATE OF DEATH 28 August 1922
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Friedrich Schrader was born the son of a *Schönfarber* (a creator of fabric patterns). After completing his early studies in Magdeburg, he gained his undergraduate degree in philology, Oriental studies and art history at Halle University and his PhD in Indology. He worked in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft ('German Oriental Society') from 1889 to 1891. After three years there he moved to Istanbul, where he remained until 1918. He first taught German language and literature at the American Robert College (İstanbul Özel Amerikan Robert Lisesi) in the Bebek district until 1895. Later, in an article on the college, he wrote that the American values of civil liberty that were instilled in the Bulgarian, Armenian and Greek students at this school found more fertile and welcoming ground in Turkey than did German militarism (Schrader, 'Robert College', p. 167). There he established contacts with figures such as Tevfik Fikret, one of the leading Turkish intellectuals of the period. In 1900, Schrader became a lecturer at the Armenian-French high school in Pera. During this period, he also took an active role in the German high school in Istanbul.

From 1900 onwards, he wrote articles expressing sympathy for Turkey that were were published in various German magazines such as *Vorwärts* and *Die Neue Zeit*. Using the pseudonym 'Ischtiraki', he criticised elements in the German Empire that looked on the Ottoman state as a colony. In the article 'Das geistige Leben in der Türkei und das jetzige Regime' (*Die Neue Zeit. Revue des geistigen und öffentlichen Lebens* 18/45 (1900) 548-55), he argued that Turkish authors such as Namık Kemal and Şinasi would be unlikely to flourish under the oppressive regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909). Just before the Young Turks' Revolution in 1908, he was working as a lecturer at the Russian Commercial School in Baku, Azerbaijan,

but after a year he returned to Giresun and then to Istanbul. In 1908, he became the co-founder and deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Osmanische Lloyd*, which he ran until 1917.

Osmanische Lloyd, published in French and German, emerged as a project of the German Foreign Office and was expected both to serve the German colony in Istanbul and to further German political interests in Ottoman public opinion. In his letter to Adolf Marschall von Bieberstein (1842-1912), the German ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Schrader mentioned the importance of publishing *Osmanische Lloyd* in Turkish, but this proposal was not realised due to the lack of resources (Farah, *Die deutsche Pressepolitik*, p. 95).

Schrader's earlier critical attitude towards German imperialism and his position as editor-in-chief of this newspaper may seem contradictory. Lennart Pfahler takes the view that Schrader was not against the establishment of a German power base in the Ottoman state; on the contrary, he wished to contribute to it. But he thought that Germany's presence in the Ottoman state should offer the Turkish people enough freedom to ensure their political, intellectual and economic development (Pfahler, 'Beobachtung und Verstrickung', p. 35). Schrader's articles in *Osmanische Lloyd* evaluating literature, culture and art in the Ottoman state were compiled into the book *Konstantinopel in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* ('Constantinople. Past and present', 1917). As a close follower of Istanbul's cultural and literary activities, he also tried to give it direction. To this end, he staged Friedrich Schiller's play *Die Räuber* ('The robbers') in 1909, in honour of the 150th anniversary of the playright's birth.

As a way of promoting Turkish ideas among German readers, Schrader also made translations from Turkish, among his most successful being Ahmed Hikmet's novel *Haristan ve Gülistan* (*Türkische Frauen*, 'Turkish women') in 1906 and Halide Edip's novel *Yeni Turan* (*Ein türkisches Frauenschicksal*, 'A Turkish woman's fate') in 1916. He was known as a 'peaceful imperialist'.

With the start of the First World War, Schrader took on the role of war correspondent for *Osmanische Lloyd*. Irmgard Farah draws attention to the nationalist tone in his article 'Vor den Dardanellen. Die Riesenverluste der Verbündeten' ('Before the Dardanelles. The huge losses of the Allies'), dated 31 August 1915 (Farah, *Die deutsche Pressepolitik*, p. 317). As a result of his criticisms of the Young Turk administration, his position in *Osmanische Lloyd* was terminated in 1917. After that, in the last year of the war, his articles appeared in *Am Bosporus. Deutsche Soldatenzeitung*

('On the Bosporus. German Soldier's Newspaper') in Istanbul. He became a member of the Municipal Commission of Constantinople for the collection and cataloguing of Islamic and Byzantine monuments. The Allies' occupation of the city in November 1918 compelled him to leave, an experience he deals with in *Eine Flüchtlingsreise durch die Ukraine* (1919).

When he returned to Berlin, he had difficulty finding a suitable academic or diplomatic position. In 1919-20, he worked for the executive committee of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD, 'Social Democratic Party of Germany'). In his last years, he wrote articles for *Die Neue Zeit* and worked for the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, where he published a historical novel, *Im Banne von Byzanz* ('Under the spell of Byzantium'). He died in 1922.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Konstantinopel. Vergangenheit und Gegenwart
'Constantinople. Past and present'

DATE 1917
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This 246-page book is a compilation of the articles on Istanbul written by Schrader for *Osmanische Lloyd* over the ten years between 1908 and 1918.

Although this newspaper was a propaganda organ of the German Foreign Ministry, Schrader's articles avoided politics and abstained from controversial issues. Through them, he hoped to strengthen the cultural dimension of the German-Ottoman alliance by informing his German readers about contemporary literary figures such as Namık Kemal, Abdulhak Hamid and Hüseyin Cahid and introducing topics on Ottoman art. In the process, he took issue with views that reflected Orientalist prejudices. He also wished to inform his readers about the history of Istanbul, particularly before the Ottoman conquest in 1453, by introducing them to the historical sites of ancient Constantinople with their particular stories, inquiring into the pre-Ottoman meanings of the names of districts such as Kasımpaşa, Samatya, Istinye, Cihangir and Beşiktaş, describing the churches that had been converted into mosques, and tracing the Christian origins of the mausoleums that were frequented by Muslims.

The articles compiled in the book, full of anecdotes and stories about the rich past of Istanbul, added a strong cultural dimension to discussions under the German-Ottoman alliance, which, in the period before and during the First World War, otherwise tended to focus on political, military and economic matters.

SIGNIFICANCE

On the eve of the First World War, propaganda works about the Ottoman state inevitably focused on military, economic and political issues. With these articles, however, as well as with his translation work, Schrader attempted something else, which was to open the doors of Ottoman Muslim culture to German readers. In this way, he also conveyed to the Young Turk political elite the message that Germany was interested in Turkish-Islamic culture and that dialogue was both possible and desirable.

In addition, by frequently focusing on the period before the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and also on the cultural life of Istanbul, and thus intentionally or unintentionally constructing an involved history of the city with its ancient Christian sites that shaped it in his own time, he indirectly conveyed a message about Muslim-Christian relations. This was controversial during the First World War, for, with the declaration of holy war by the Ottoman sultan in 1914, Christian-Muslim relations moved to a very fragile position. Further, given the ultra-nationalist attitude of the Young Turk administration, it was extremely difficult to refer explicitly to the Christian past of Istanbul. Schrader emphasised the point that the entangled history of Istanbul made it impossible for it to be seized by a single nation or religion. This message, which could not be stated openly

because of the delicate political position of *Osmanische Lloyd*, is implicit throughout his articles.

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Sevil Özçalık Dumanoğulları

Johannes Awetaranian

John Avetaranian, Johannes Avetaranian, Abdülmesih Yuhenna Avidaranyan, Avidaryan, Meḥmed Şükrī, Muhammed Şükri, Muhammed Schükri Emirzade

DATE OF BIRTH 30 June 1861
PLACE OF BIRTH Evrenli, Erzurum, eastern Anatolia
DATE OF DEATH 11 December 1919
PLACE OF DEATH Wiesbaden

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Awetaranian, originally named Meḥmed (Muḥammed) Şükrī, was a Turkish mullah from Eastern Anatolia who became a Protestant missionary in the late Ottoman period. He was born in the village of Evrenli near Erzurum to a Sunnī dervish father and a deaf-mute mother who was a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad.

In his early years, Awetaranian enjoyed a solid Sunnī education in Erzurum. At the age of 16, he began the life of a wandering dervish, following his peripatetic father, who had recently joined the Bektaşiyye order and later became an adherent of the Jologhli, the latter identified by Awetaranian as the Islamic 'sect' of Kızılbaş-Alevis. When his father fell ill, Awetaranian returned to his native village and assumed the position of mullah in the neighbouring Kızılbaş-Alevi villages.

Awetaranian came across a Turkish translation of the Gospels in a relative's house in Evrenli. Starting to study it in secret, he became a Christian inwardly while he pretended to be a mullah to the outside world. His distinctive Christian way of living caused irritation among the population of the Kızılbaş village, which led him to admit his true beliefs. Awetaranian finally resigned (or had to resign) from his position as mullah and went to Erzurum to study Protestant theology, which was taught in Armenian in the mission schools of the area. He therefore disguised himself as an Armenian, and learnt Armenian with the support of American missionaries.

At the age of 24, the former mullah received baptism from Abraham Amirchanjanz (1838-1913) in Tbilisi and officially took his Christian name, Johannes Awetaranian (Armenian 'Son of the Gospel'). Because of his

ambition to spread Protestantism among Muslims, he joined the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden (MCCS) in Tbilisi as a missionary in the Caucasus. In 1886, he was sent by the MCCS to Sweden, where he spent three years in Kristinenhamn, learning Swedish and receiving theological training as a missionary. From 1889, he was engaged by the MCCS in the Caucasus and even briefly in Erzurum as a secret missionary. From 1892 to 1897, he worked as a missionary in Kashgar, eastern Turkestan, where he was assigned to establish a mission for the MCCS, and at the same time he prepared the first translation of the Gospel into the Kashgari dialect of Uyghurian (*Yeñi Ehd yeñi İncil Şerif*). Due to some discrepancies in the translation, which led to disagreements with the MCCS, known in the research literature as the 'Bible dispute', his translation was postponed and it was not published till 1914 in Plovdiv, by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

On one of his trips to Europe, Awetaranian met the Protestant theologian and missionary Johannes Lepsius (1858-1926; *CMR* 22, 572-82), who had founded a Christian mission to Muslims in 1895, the Deutsche Orient-Mission (DOM). Awetaranian travelled with Lepsius to the Middle East in 1899 and then worked as head of the DOM in Bulgaria from 1900 to 1914. He became one of Lepsius's most loyal and important collaborators. His main tasks in Bulgaria were preaching, personal evangelism, publication activities and the establishment of a printing house, including the distribution of Christian newspapers and literature in Ottoman Turkish and in other Turkish dialects, as well as in Persian, Kurdish and Armenian. He also translated popular Christian works into Ottoman Turkish and popular Islamic literature from Turkish into German. His several essays concerning Islam, Muslims and their relation to Christianity are mostly included in the DOM's journal, *Der Christliche Orient.*

During his missionary engagement for the DOM, Awetaranian was involved in several debates with Muslim religious and political figures in Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire. In particular, his anti-Islamic statements and those of his colleagues in the Young Turks newspaper *Balḳan* and in his own Christian periodicals in Ottoman Turkish, *Güneş*, *Khurshīd* and *Şāhid'ül-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, caused open hostilities with Ottoman dignitaries. Awetaranian's contributions to these periodicals provide detailed information about his religious ideas, his worldview and his understanding of Islam and Christianity. They have been extensively analysed by Gabriel Goltz.

Awetaranian, who married Helene von Osterroth, was one of the co-founders of the Muhammedaner Seminar in Potsdam, an initiative

for training future missionaries to Islam launched by Johannes Lepsius in 1909. He was also a member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Orientkunde and joined the Dr Lepsius Deutsche Orient-Mission in 1918. He died the following year in the city of Wiesbaden.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Articles on Islam by Johannes Awetaranian

DATE 1900-14
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Johannes Awetaranian composed a number of articles in German that are primarily concerned with topics of Islam, Muslims and their relationship to Christians and Christianity. In almost all of them, he presents himself as an expert on his former religion.

One of his contributions, harshly critical of Islamic endeavours, is titled 'Die muhammedanische Presse und die Propaganda des Islam' ('The Muslim press and the propaganda of Islam'). Published in sections in *Der Christliche Orient*, the journal of the Deutsche Orient-Mission, from 1910 to 1911, this text deals with Muslim missionary ambitions and their success after the Young Turks' revolution in 1908 as recorded by the Muslim press. Awetaranian reports on current religious and political developments in Islamic regions, reflects upon Muslim missionary activities in Africa, China, India and Japan, and expresses his great unease at the spread of Pan-Islamism. As he sees the increasing numbers of converts to Islam, he urgently warns German-speaking readers of an impending and greatly expanding 'world domination of Islam'. At the same time, he criticises the *laissez-faire* approach of European and Christian powers, whose passivity was preventing the evangelisation of the Muslim population. By describing the hostile attitude of Muslims towards Christianity, Awetaranian continues to present Islam as an exclusively negative religion while he consistently associates Christianity with positive characteristics, claiming it is distinguished by political as well as religious impartiality and the promotion of peace. In addition, he enlightens the supposedly misinformed reader, who is being misled by the German and European press, about the 'true nature' of Islam as filled with prejudice and hatred.

Another polemical article, titled 'Die Ketten des Islam' ('The chains of Islam'), is based on a lecture Awetaranian gave in Turkish at the Evangelical Church in Sofia on 9 February 1912. The lecture was published in 1913 in *Der Christliche Orient* and was also translated into Bulgarian and printed in the Sofia daily *Utro*. Here, Awetaranian shows himself strongly opposed to Islam, which he regards as a regressive religion, completely inconsistent with Christian and European values. By using the title 'The chains of

Islam', he explicitly targets the *sharīʿa*, identifying it as the main evil of Islam because of its incompatibility with the Western idea of progress. Awetaranian first subjects the Five Pillars of Islam to a polemical revision and goes on to demonstrate the inequality of Muslims and Christians under Islamic law, observing that Christianity guarantees equal rights for all people. As he develops this major critique of the Islamic legal system, he attempts to prove its irrationality and hostility to civilisation and modernity in the private as well as the social and political domains. He does this by adducing miscellaneous, to some extent questionable, examples from Islamic customs and Ottoman regulations. He presents Muslims as brought up from childhood in arrogance and fanaticism, learning to abhor everything European. Since the *sharīʿa* is the enslavement of all human beings and 'the chain that prevents contemporary progress in civilisation and science' ('Die Ketten des Islam', p. 119), he considers that the only solution for the liberation of Muslims from the Islamic yoke will be their complete evangelisation.

Awetaranian's writings also include several brief stories of Muslims who converted to Christianity. They are based on personal encounters, letters, oral narratives and eyewitness testimonies, and include *Mirza Ibrahim, der Märtyrer aus Choi* ('Mirza Ibrahim, the martyr from Choi'), *Die erste Muhammedanertaufe in Schumla* ('The first Muslim baptism in Shumla') and *Abdullah und Sebt* ("Abdullah and Sebt'). The numerous parallels to his own life story are a common feature in them all. They deal with the difficulties faced by the converts during and after their conversion from Islam, leading to their persecution and, in several cases, flight from their homeland.

Other articles by Awetaranian are concerned with Islamic precepts and practices. In one of his early essays, titled *Ramadan*, he describes the life of Muslims during the fasting month of Ramaḍān. Rites, practices and the special religious observances are recounted. The text presents direct renderings of Islamic sermons, including Prophetic traditions, which speak of promises and rewards in the next life. Again, he critically emphasises the blind obedience to the Islamic law by Muslims, whom he refers to as the 'sons of Hagar'.

His 'Das Weinverbot und das Abendmahl' ('The prohibition of wine and the Lord's supper') deals in detail with the topic of abstinence and the Islamic prohibition of alcohol. Addressing the uninformed Christian reader, Awetaranian points out that, according to the *sharīʿa*, alcohol consumption is one of the most serious sins, corresponding to the mortal

sins of murder and apostasy. With his own interpretation of the Islamic approach to alcohol, he discredits the Islamic religion as completely irrational, though without substantiating his statements.

SIGNIFICANCE

Awetaranian's article 'Die Propaganda des Islam' was reviewed in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* in 1911 by the Orientalist Martin Hartmann (1851-1918), who accused him of an unscholarly and undifferentiated approach. Awetaranian defended his position in a short reply in the same journal. His anti-Islamic attitude in this essay is also evident in his later contributions, which are in line with the main agenda of other missionaries of his time such as Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-65), even if his style is more populist and crude.

In his article 'Die Ketten des Islam', Awetaranian serves as a typical representative of the Christian-European civilising mission of his time. In addition to his radical, pietistic Protestant personality, his patriotic, even nationalistic side as a Turkish convert is revealed; this is strongly coupled with an anti-Arab and pro-European stance. His criticism of his former religion, along with his way of arguing, shows great similarities to present-day Islamophobic attitudes and narratives. This article is not only relevant from a historical point of view but also interesting to compare with modern and post-modern perceptions of Islam.

Awetaranian's conversion reports might be interesting as case studies for trajectories of individual conversions in the long 19th century, while his articles about religious precepts and practices are also of value for research on Christian-European receptions of the Islamic religion and culture in his day. Awetaranian conveys a curious image of Muslim culture and faith that in his descriptions, at least, are full of superstitions and contradictions. His texts are tendentious, providing a populist view of Islam and Muslims.

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Geschichte eines Muhammedaners, der Christ wurde 'The story of a Muslim who became a Christian'

DATE Main part 1905. Supplementary not later than 1919
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Awetaranian's autobiography, *Geschichte eines Mohammedaners, der Christ wurde* (*Die Geschichte des Johannes Awetaranian. Von ihm selbst erzählt*), is the main source of information about his life and career as a Protestant missionary. It was written by Awetaranian himself, though for stylistic reasons it can be assumed that it was reworked by his wife Helene, by whose hand 'most of the writings of Johannes Awetaranian were written' (Goltz and Meissner, 'Awetaranian, Helene'). The original text, published in 1905, deals with his life until 1900, and the second, extended edition, which was published in 1930 by his colleague and fellow missionary Richard Schäfer (1873-1946), takes his story further. The 1905 edition is 136 pages long and divided into 20 chapters, while the 1930 edition is 173 pages long and divided into 27 chapters. These follow the most important stages in the life of the former Muslim. Schäfer worked on the autobiography from 1900 onwards, based on Awetaranian's reports to the Deutsche Orient-Mission,

but he deleted some chapters from the original, particularly Awetaranian's description of his adventures with the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865-1952) in eastern Turkestan. Schäfer also inserts local place names in Awetaranian's homeland, which the convert had omitted from his autobiography because of the threat he had faced as an apostate.

A first, unfinished and unrevised version of Awetaranian's life story, which differs from these two editions in both phraseology and length, was printed in sections in the journal *Der Christlische Orient* between 1900 and 1902. This narrative ends abruptly during the convert's experiences with Sven Hedin. Awetaranian's reports to the Deutsche Orient-Mission, focusing on topics such as politics, Islam, Christianity and modernity, are included in the extended Schäfer edition.

Geschichte eines Mohammedaners offers illuminating insights into Awetaranian's Islamic background, describing in detail the process of his conversion, and the challenges he faced as a convert in Muslim and Christian circles. Besides his Christian networks and travel experiences, it contains significant information about his missionary zeal, which, in accordance with the goals of the Deutsche Orient-Mission, not only aspired to bring about individual conversions but also explicitly targeted the Protestantisation of Muslims as a whole. The narrative includes some basic instructions for winning Muslims over to Protestant Christianity. However, with regard to Awetaranian's aims, it ultimately becomes clear that Muslim reactions to both Awetaranian and his missionary work were extremely ambivalent. On the one hand, he repeatedly stresses his encounters with Muslims and their great interest in Jesus's message, which the Protestant pastor – mostly disguised as an Armenian – shared with them. However, in the entire period of his missionary activity, he recorded few individual conversions to Christianity.

A crucial part of the autobiography consists of his understanding of Islam and Christianity as well as his reflections on Christian-Muslim encounters. As an intermediary, Awetaranian conceives of Christianity as the epitome of freedom, progress and modernity in contrast to Islam, which he regards as a backward, irrational and unfree religion. The interpretation of both religions, completely opposing each other, is demonstrated not only on a theoretical level or through religious doctrine, but also by practical examples drawn from his own life and experiences: as documented in his reports to the Deutsche Orient-Mission, which are included in the extended Schäfer edition, a major episode in this regard concerns his heated debates with Muslim dignitaries and Ottoman

bureaucrats during his missionary work in Bulgaria. He clearly attributes their harsh reactions to what he says to the supposedly fanatical character of Islam and Muslims. Furthermore, throughout the entire book, special attention is repeatedly drawn to the religious superstitions of the Muslim population and to their bigotry.

SIGNIFICANCE

Awetaranian's work fits into a series of autobiographies of converts to Christianity that were common in the 19th century, e.g. those of Mahommah G. Baquaqua (1820?-1857?), ʿUmar bin Saʿīd (1770-1864), ʿImād al-Dīn Lāhiz (1822?-1900) and Emily Ruete (1844-1924). His narrative offers valuable insights into the study of renegades and Christian converts, particularly in the Ottoman area, and provides detailed information about the understanding of Christianity and Islam from the perspective of a Muslim convert to Christianity. In addition, it presents the activities and networks of Protestant missionary movements in the Islamic world, especially in the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and East Turkestan in the long 19th century, with special focus in the extended edition on the missionary goals of Johannes Lepsius's Deutsche Orient-Mission. The autobiography also provides a close look at Islamic customs, rites and worship, the doctrine and practice in Kızılbaş Alevism, and ethnographic sketches of eastern Turkestan. Awetaranian's observations regarding contemporary political affairs and his assessment of the religious-political situation in Ottoman Turkey and the Balkans are of great value.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the autobiography was reviewed primarily in German newspapers and journals. The 1905 edition was translated into the Kannada language of south India by B. Lüthi in 1908. An English translation of the Schäfer edition of 1930 was published in 2002 by John Bechard and was reprinted in 2014 by a Christian missionary society in Germany. In recent years Awetaranian's autobiography has received increasing scholarly interest.

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Gülfem Alıcı

Josef Horovitz

DATE OF BIRTH 26 July 1874
PLACE OF BIRTH Lauenburg, Pomerania
DATE OF DEATH 5 February 1931
PLACE OF DEATH Frankfurt am Main

BIOGRAPHY

Josef Horovitz was the son of the well-known Frankfurt Rabbi, Markus Horovitz (1844-1910). He studied Oriental languages and literature at the University of Berlin and received his doctorate in 1898 under Edward Sachau (1845-1930) with a thesis on the early Arab historian al-Wāqidī (d. 823). In 1902, he completed his *Habilitation* at the university with an inaugural lecture on *Die älteste geschichtliche Literatur der Araber* ('The oldest historical literature of the Arabs'). After research trips in 1905-6 on behalf of Leone Caetani (1869-1935) through Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Constantinople, he was professor of Arabic at the Anglo-Mohammedean Oriental College in Aligarh in British India from 1907 to 1914. There, he worked from 1909 as government epigraphist for Muslim inscriptions, publishing *Epigraphia indo-moslemica* in 1912. In 1915, he became a full professor of Semitic philology and Islamic studies at the newly founded University of Frankfurt. As a member of the founding board of trustees of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he headed the Oriental Institute there as visiting director from 1926. His sudden death in 1931 snatched him away from a multitude of unfinished projects.

Horovitz's main areas of research were the historiography and literature of the early Arabs and the Qur'an. Under the direction of Sachau, he participated in the editing of the early Muslim scholar Ibn Sa'd's (784-845) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, contributing two sections, *Biographie der medinischen Kämpfer* ('Biographies of the Medinan fighters': *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*, vol. 3/2, Leiden, 1904) and *Die Feldzüge Muhammeds* ('Muhammad's campaigns': *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*, vol. 2/1, Leiden, 1909). At the very beginning of his career, he published *Die Hāšimijjāt des Kumait* (Leiden, 1904) and in the following years he also dealt with pre-Islamic poets. His publication of the poems of ʿAdī ibn Zayd, and a dictionary of ancient Arabic poetry remained unfinished.

Illustration 17. Josef Horovitz

During his time in Frankfurt, Horovitz devoted himself mainly to studies on the Qur'an. Highlights of this work are *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Qur'an* (1925) and *Koranische Untersuchungen* ('Qur'anic investigations', 1926), a two-part monograph in which the legends about the prophets in the Qur'an and their proper names are examined. The writing of a complete commentary on the Qur'an, which he prepared for by the publication of numerous individual studies, was not realised.

Horovitz also dealt with the 'modern Orient' and was committed to improving the relations between the West and the Jews in Palestine and the Muslim-Arab world. He discussed his experiences of the Muslim educational system in British India in *Indien unter britischer Herrschaft* ('India under British rule', 1928), while at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem he advocated the recruitment of Arab scholars and the recognition of modern Arabic as a second language of knowledge. In 1917 he founded the Wissenschaftliches Instituts für die Literatur und Wirtschaft des modernen Orients ('Scientific Institute for the Literature and Economy of the Modern Orient') at the University of Frankfurt. In this context he promoted, among other things, student exchanges between Germany and Turkey.

Although Horovitz approached Islam from the perspective of Judaism, he nevertheless exerted a strong influence on Christian engagement with Islam.

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Gudrun Jäger

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

'Zur Muhammadlegende'
'On the legend of Muḥammad'

DATE 1914
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

What is related about Muḥammad in the Qur'an differs greatly from accounts about him in later tradition, for, while the Qur'an emphasises that he did not possess supernatural abilities, Islamic tradition tells of numerous miracles he is supposed to have performed. In this article on what he terms 'the legend of Muḥammad', Horovitz explores the question of how this difference can be explained. In doing so, he starts from the premise (which he barely explains) that both Muḥammad's refusal in the Qur'an to perform miracles and the later embellishment of his biography with numerous stories of miracles he performed can be interpreted as reactions to doubts expressed about his prophethood and the divine origin of the Qur'an.

The question that Horovitz sets out to answer is: what specific sources might have been used to embellish Muḥammad's biography? He refers to the 8th-century biography of Ibn Isḥāq, which already contains numerous miracle stories, and looks for texts and traditions that could have been incorporated into its accounts of Muḥammad. His results are:

> Ancient Arabic motifs [...], interpretations of qur'anic passages, Jewish tales of men of God and pious rabbis, apocryphal gospels and Christian legends of saints, ancient pagan, Buddhist and Zoroastrian elements, all of which were used to decorate the image of the Prophet in the first century of the Hijra. (p. 48)

However, since Ibn Isḥāq based his biography of Muḥammad on earlier traditions about which nothing is known, the question of the origin of the stories of Muḥammad's miracles, or more precisely, their borrowing to make his life as the prophet of Islam more persuasive, finally remains unanswered.

In this article, Horovitz assumes that the hagiographical descriptions of Muḥammad in the early biographical works must be explained by systematically applied philological and historical methods.

SIGNIFICANCE

The tradition of literary research, looking for parallel passages to this within the Islamic tradition, has been continued in the Corpus Coranicum project under the direction of Angelika Neuwirth (https://corpuscoranicum.de). The work of Horovitz stands as an early example of this approach.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

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'Muhammeds Himmelfahrt'
'The ascension of Muḥammad'

DATE 1919
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In this relatively short article of 24 pages, Horovitz seeks to give a plausible and persuasive interpretation of Q 17:1, which refers to God taking 'His servant' to 'the farthest mosque'. Horovitz starts from the assumption that the verse reflects a situation in which doubts had been expressed about Muḥammad's prophetic status and the divine origin of the Qur'an. He rejects the common interpretation that God miraculously took Muḥammad physically from Mecca, and argues that the verse and its context suggest a 'rapture' in which Muḥammad 'felt abducted into a faraway place' (p. 160), 'a nocturnal journey to a distant, wonderful place' (p. 161). However, this alone was not enough to answer opponents: 'The Prophet is aware that even his rapture into the heavenly sphere would not be recognised by his fellow countrymen as a testimony to his divine mission' (p. 164).

Horovitz adduces passages that parallel this incident in texts and traditions that Muḥammad might have known, particularly from Jewish apocalyptic works including the books of *Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. On the basis of these, he argues 'that the "farthest

masjid" is not Jerusalem, not a place on earth at all, but in heaven' (p. 162), which fits into the conceptual world of the Qur'an. For him, it is not surprising that Jewish apocalyptic works were the source for Muḥammad's idea of an ascension to heaven 'when one considers how close Muḥammad's conceptual world was to the heavenly raptures of pious men in prehistoric times' (p. 165).

Horovitz's analysis is based on the assumption that the Qur'an ultimately goes back to Muḥammad (i.e. that it was his own creation), and he presupposes that Muḥammad was prone to mystical experiences and was thoroughly familiar with numerous sources of the Jewish tradition – whether in written or oral form. He took elements from them, reshaped them according to a specific 'logic' and integrated them into the Qur'an.

SIGNIFICANCE

The article well illustrates Horovitz's method of interpretating the Qur'an. It suggests that his unfinished commentary would have followed such lines by envisaging a 'conversation' between the Qur'an and traditions from elsewhere that were known to Muḥammad.

PUBLICATIONS

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Johannes Twardella

Ernst Troeltsch

Ernst Peter Wilhelm Troeltsch

DATE OF BIRTH 17 February 1865
PLACE OF BIRTH Haunstetten, Bavaria
DATE OF DEATH 1 February 1923
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Ernst Troeltsch was among the most prolific and provocative theological thinkers of Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany. As a public intellectual, his thinking had impact beyond the academy, shaping political debates and public discourse both inside and outside the country. Born in a small town in Bavaria, now part of Augsburg, Troeltsch studied theology at several universities in Germany before completing his doctoral and post-doctoral dissertations at the University of Göttingen. He insisted that, if Christianity is a religion, it should be studied like any and all religions, regardless of whether it is approached theologically from the inside or sociologically from the outside. His insistence that theology should not isolate itself from the study of religions stirred up controversy among his contemporaries. He was soon known as the systematician of the History of Religions school, a network of scholars who concentrated on comparisons between Christian and non-Christian religions as a methodological key to the study of religions.

After his appointment as professor of systematic theology at the University of Heidelberg in 1894, Troeltsch worked closely with colleagues from across the humanities. He opened his theology up to sociology and philosophy in order to meet the challenges that confronted Christianity in the processes of modernisation. In Heidelberg, he delivered lectures on the Christian faith that made comparisons between religions a tool for systematic theology in what he theorised as a turn from the 'doctrinal method' (*dogmatische Methode*) to the 'historical method' (*historische Methode*; see *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, pp. 729-53, listed below in Publications).

In 1915, Troeltsch moved to Berlin to take up a professorship in philosophy at the Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität (now the Humbolt-Universität). Dedicated to studying the significance of culture for religion and of

religion for culture, he regarded the professorship as tailor-made for himself, although his appointment had been far from easy. Theologians had rejected him as too philosophical and philosophers had rejected him as too theological, so he was offered a chair that the faculty of theology had handed over to the faculty of philosophy. Nonetheless, he thrived in Berlin, where he became increasingly involved in politics.

A staunch supporter of democracy in the new republic that was under attack from the right and the left, he turned into a public theologian *avant la lettre*. Concern for the reconstruction of Europe in the aftermath of the First World War ran through both the academic and the non-academic writings he published in Berlin. He was the first German scholar to be invited to the United Kingdom after the war, but he died before he could cross the channel to deliver his lectures.

Troeltsch neither continued nor created a school of thought, but he had a significant impact across the academy. The critical edition of his oeuvre comprises more than 20 volumes. Comparisons between Christian and non-Christian religions are a core concern in almost all of them.

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F.W. Graf, *Ernst Troeltsch: Theologe im Welthorizont. Eine Biographie*, Munich, 2022 (the most authoritative biography of Troeltsch, listing earlier sources)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam in the works of Ernst Troeltsch

DATE 1895-1923
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Troeltsch gained most of his knowledge about Islam from books, though there is evidence that he made a trip to Constantinople. He wrote to a friend that this trip was 'straightforwardly wonderful, the most splendid and the strangest that I have ever seen. I was in the area of a foreign religion for the first time.' While the trip increased Troeltsch's appreciation of Islam, he insisted that 'Europeans could not live with such a religion at all' (cited in Graf, *Ernst Troeltsch: Theologe im Welthorizont*, p. 186, listed above under the biography).

Given the significance of comparisons between religions for Troeltsch's methodology, it is no surprise that Islam is a recurrent referent in his theological, sociological and philosophical publications. However, the references are so scattered that they have to be traced throughout his oeuvre in order to grasp how he interprets Islam. His interpretation of the faith is determined by the examination and evaluation of similarities and dissimilarities between the Abrahamic religions in both the origins and the outcomes of their development throughout history. For Troeltsch, the Abrahamic religions, of which Islam is one, are rooted in what he refers to as the *prophetische Reformation* ('prophetic reformation'; *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, p. 698). The shared origins in 'prophetism' (*Prophetismus*) are the reason why they can be regarded as siblings (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 351). Revolving around scriptures that give guidelines for individual and communal life (p. 352), they are proof of the significance of prophetism for the history of the world (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4, p. 42).

In Troeltsch's view, the Prophet Muḥammad was a true prophet (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5, p. 225), which renders Islam a world religion that reaches across the globe (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, 351-2; *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, p. 627). At its roots, then, Islam is a universal religion, addressing all persons and all peoples in all places throughout history. Because of this universal character, Troeltsch suggests that the proselytising of Muslims – whether by Christians or non-Christians – should be stopped (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 802;

Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 6, pp. 503-4). However, despite growing from the same roots as the other Abrahamic religions, for Troeltsch Islam is still inferior to Christianity both theologically and sociologically (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 352).

Theologically, Troeltsch identifies omnipotence as the core characteristic in Islam's conception of God, who is perceived as 'absolute will' and 'arbitrary will' (*Glaubenslehre*, pp. 139-40).

> The great will of God, alongside which nothing else can stand, is the great pathos of Islam. […] The grandiose concept of the will overwhelms everything. Before this will, there can only be awe […]. God guides everything; but his guidance has no meaning, so that Islam loses warmth' (*Glaubenslehre*, pp. 155-6).

Accordingly, Troeltsch speaks of the *finsteren, fatalistischen, ächt semitischen Allah* ('the sombre, fatalistic, and authentically semitic Allāh'; *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, p. 527, vol. 5, p. 226). This interpretation of Islam shows that his studies were not free from racist and religious discrimination, including antisemitism, although he uses 'culture' rather than 'nature' as a core category, thus avoiding the biological theories of race that were growing increasingly popular during his lifetime.

Troeltsch contends that, in contrast to Islam, Christianity characterises God as more than will. In this faith, God's 'essence' (*Wesen*) points to God's trustworthiness (*Glaubenslehre*, p. 128), so it follows that, in Christianity, God is perceived as absolute but not as arbitrary. As a consequence, Christianity revolves around God's grace. In Islam, however, grace is of secondary rather than primary importance because Islam is tied to the letter of its *heiliges Gesetzbuch* ('sacred code of law'), the Qur'an (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5, p. 226). Salvation, then, depends upon a person's deeds. It is actions in accordance with the laws stipulated in the Qur'an that save the Muslim (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5, p. 194).

Sociologically, Troeltsch argues that the significance of the law makes Islam particular rather than universal (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5, p. 193). Islam 'arabicised' (*arabisiert*) the prophetism in which all the Abrahamic religions are rooted, making it, like Judaism (*Glaubenslehre*, pp. 127-9), a 'national religion' (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, pp. 527-8). For Troeltsch, this close connection between religion and nation is evidenced by the fact that, with the expansion of Islam, non-Muslims were subjected to taxation rather than turned towards the faith (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, pp. 527-8). The importance of their contribution to the empire's finances outweighed the importance of their conversion to the empire's faith.

As a religion of the law, Islam for Troeltsch cannot allow for any distinction between religion and politics or economics (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, pp. 158-9, vol. 4, p. 29; *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 17, pp. 158-9). Rather, Islam revolves around the political principle of military power (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 16, p. 1045) so that it is spread through war (*Glaubenslehre*, vol. 4, pp. 111-12). As he sees it, the intertwining of religion with economics and politics is *the* limitation of the faith (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 16, p. 1045). Whereas the history of Christianity up to the Middle Ages shows how 'powers that are dependent on each other make pacts' – pacts that retain at least an analytical distinction between religious and non-religious realms – Islam is characterised by the complete and comprehensive identification of the two (*Glaubenslehre*, vol. 2, p. 158). He presents the principle of the caliphate as a case in point (*Glaubenslehre*, vol. 4, p. 62).

Crucially, Troeltsch takes the European Enlightenment as his hermeneutical key to the theological and sociological differences between the Abrahamic religions. He explains that East and West – the two cultural circles that correspond to the Abrahamic religions – have a *gemeinsames Gepräge* ('common characterisation', *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 13, p. 488). At the core of all three Abrahamic religions are 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism', which impacted the development of both Western and Eastern cultural circles up to the time of the culture of unity in the Middle Ages (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 13, p. 489). In Europe, this culture of unity was ended by the Enlightenment (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6, pp. 72-3), bringing about the difference between East and West. It is in the outcomes rather than the origins of the development of the Abrahamic religions, then, that Troeltsch locates the differences between them. Yet connections remain. They continue to influence the cultures that have developed from them, in the past, the present and potentially in the future.

SIGNIFICANCE

Troeltsch's interpretation of Islam is paradigmatic for his methodology. Instead of isolating Christian from non-Christian religions, this methodology required comparisons. Based on a comparative account of the developments in the history of the religions, the scholar was supposed to evaluate which religions had and which had not (yet) accomplished these developments. For Troeltsch, the decisive normative developments were the universalisation and individualisation of religion. By these criteria, he concluded that Islam was superseded (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, pp. 515-16): Christianity was the absolute religion.

Of course, Troeltsch's evaluation of the history of religions has raised suspicions among scholars, not least because the very criteria he applied to this evaluation of history ensured that Christianity was placed above all other religions. The most influential and incisive criticism comes from Tomoko Masuzawa, who suggests that this conceptualisation of religion supported the ideology of European imperialism (Masuzawa, *Invention of world religions*, pp. 309-22).

Troeltsch's interpretation of Islam has received very little attention. In its focus on the significance of the law, his characterisation of the Abrahamic religions was shaped by confessional polemics between Catholicism and Protestantism. Once the polemical idea that the Protestant Reformation had overcome the legalism of the Catholic Church was transplanted from intra- to inter-religious relations, Islam came into view as a religion bound by the law. Since in this interpretation Christianity revolves around God's love rather than God's law, it supersedes Islam in the development of the history of religions. Troeltsch's interpretation of Islam, then, is supersessionist.

However, it is crucial to note that it was Troeltsch's turn from the doctrinal to the historical method that opened the way for suspicions about his interpretation of Islam in the first place. Without the insistence that Christianity should be studied like all other religions, scholars – not only theologians – could still assume that Christianity alone developed from a revelation from God. Interestingly, Troeltsch admitted that the evaluation of the history of religions could not provide evidence: 'Certainty is always a matter of faith' (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, p. 436). The differences between the 1902 and the 1912 edition of his study on the absoluteness of Christianity, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums* (detailed in *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5), are evidence that he became less and less convinced of his evaluation during his career. Today, theologians such as Reinhold Bernhardt suggest that Troeltsch could offer important impulses for comparative theology (Bernhardt, 'Ernst Troeltsch').

Overall, Troeltsch stressed that comparisons between religions require that there is something shared between them (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, p. 627). Against scholars who were concerned with the isolation of Christianity, he argued that all religions are to be considered responses to the revelation of a *Transzendenz* ('transcendence') in history (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1, p. 702) because God reveals Godself in the historical development of religions. This argument has crucial theological and sociological consequences. According to Troeltsch, the revelation of God in

history requires the scholar to think of history as unfixed and unfinished; it cannot be closed. Troeltsch considered the consequences of this openness only for Christianity. Yet if it is indeed due to a transcendence that reveals itself in the history of all religions, then all religions are beyond conceptual control. At least in between the lines, then, Troeltsch offered a theological tool to critique the supersessionism that runs through his own interpretation of Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

There have been many editions and translations of Troeltsch's works. The list below contains only the earliest and the most recent editions and translations.

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Ernst Troeltsch, *Historism and its problems. First book, The logical problem of the philosophy of history*, trans. G. Hartmann, Tübingen, 1922 (English trans. of vol. 1 of *Gesammelte Schriften*; typewritten MS); 5707890$7i (digitised version available through Harvard Library)

Ernst Troeltsch, *Christian thought. Its history and application. Lectures written for delivery in England during March 1923*, trans. F. von Hügel, London, 1923, repr. 1957, Westport CN, 1979, Eugene OR, 1999, Alexandria VA, 2014 (English trans. of *Der Historismus und seine Überwindung*)

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Ulrich Schmiedel

Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift

Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*

DATE 1874-1923
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift (*AMZ*), subtitled *Monatshefte für geschichtliche und theoretische Missionskunde* ('Monthly issues for historical and theoretical study of missions'), became the leading Lutheran missiological journal in the German-speaking world in the 19th century. It was founded in 1874 by Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), who was its chief editor until his death, when Julius Richter (1862-1940) and Johannes Gustav Warneck (1867-1944) took over until it ceased publication in 1923. Each volume had an average of about 600 pages, though the volumes published after World War I grew thinner. There were also separately paginated *Beiblätter* ('Supplements') of about 100 pages each year accompanying the issues from 3 (1876) to 44 (1917). In this entry, the material on Islam and Christian-Muslim relations published in all 50 volumes of the journal will be discussed. *Neue Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (published 1924-39) strays beyond the period covered by *CMR*.

Warneck intended *AMZ* to be a platform on which to provide an overview of Christian missionary activities not only among so-called pagan peoples but also among Jews and Muslims, initially conducted by the Lutherans (*evangelische Kirche*) but then also by the Roman Catholics and the Greek Catholics (1 [1874] 6). That overview was to be accompanied by theoretical reflection on Christian missionary activity. Warneck presented his views on Islam and mission among Muslims on no more than three pages in an article almost 50 pages long in which he explains the apologetic significance of mission to pagans (10 [1883] 151-3, the section on Islam). Apparently, he held to these throughout his life. He perceived Islam as more a political power than a religion, thus a force that subdues people but does not win them over. Islam erased Christianity from North Africa because the churches there had too little spirit and Christian life in them, while Islam spread with fire and sword. Christian

missions during the Middle Ages also used the same method but it was a denial of the fundamental truth of the gospel. Meanwhile, the violent mission of Muslims took place in accordance with the fundamentals of Islam. While Christianity brings the inborn and enlivening power of God, Islam brought only a short period of the flowering of science and arts that did not elevate the subdued peoples either spiritually or morally. However, the reason for the fanatical aversion of the majority of Muslims to the Christian faith lies not in the violent power of Muslims but in the sort of Christianity they encounter, the Oriental Churches. The Lutheran mission tries to reshape and reinvigorate these churches and thus find a foothold for its mission among Muslims. The time for mission among Muslims is near, but Christianity has not yet begun its struggle against Islam.

The journal did not contain a special section dedicated to Islam, and articles on Islam appeared at irregular intervals. That said, 66 relevant items (several of them in two or more parts) can be identified. They are of various types – from news and event reports, through book review articles (book reviews are not included in the current survey) to articles that could claim some academic merit. While Warneck tended to publish 'ordinary reports' of missionary encounters in the 'Supplement' issues, the articles in the journal are more scholarly in character, although often devoid of notes and references. Some authors used their personal experiences as sources but quite a number of items drew heavily from published British sources, such as missionary magazines and books (in such cases very basic references to the sources were included). Some contributions began as a book review article of sorts or a report on current church events and developed into discussions on more general topics of Christian-Muslim relations or the current situation in the world of Islam (e.g. the articles by Moritz Lüttke (*CMR* 22, 313-27), 2-5 [1875-8] and Franz Zahn, 15 [1888]). A chronological list of identified publications on Islam and Christian-Muslim relations is given below, selected on the basis of their title explicitly addressing Islam and Christian-Muslim relations or being indicated as such in *AMZ* registers. The list could be enhanced further by book reviews published in the journal or articles with no obviously relevant titles but relevant content, as well as overviews of missionary news.

In order to systematise the material in this entry, geographical allocation has been used as the main criterion for the breakdown. Texts that do not meet it have been grouped under the heading 'general' and some of them are presented below in detail. This is not necessarily an indication that they are more important or interesting but it is because they are not

included in the regional overviews of the material that appeared in other volumes of *CMR*, while the geographically allocated items could, in principle, have been referred to.

Africa

Of eight contributions concerning Africa, four take as their main theme rivalry between Christians and Muslims regarding the spread of their religions (Alexander Merensky, vol. 21 [1894] 18 pages; Julius Richter, 32 [1905] 21 pages; Friedrich Würz, 37 [1910] 24 pages; and Franz Zahn, 17 [1890] 5 pages, the last of which addresses the topic in an argument with another writer). The other four deal with the slave trade in East Africa (Alexander Michelsen, 2-3 [1875-6] 68 pages); the situation of Islam in East Africa (Martin Klamroth, 37 [1910] 28 pages); Karl Kumm's (*CMR* 19, 332-9) report on Islam and pagan tribes in the Sudan (Emil Strümpfel, 39 [1912] 11 pages); and a discussion with a Muslim leader in Dar-es-Salaam (Martin Klamroth, 40 [1913] 16 pages of Supplements). In his article, Franz Zahn (17 [1890]) defends Christian mission by pointing out that, through the twelve centuries of its existence, Islam has been unable to conquer any continent entirely, so that present-day Christians should not ask why Islam is making such progress in new areas and what Christians can learn from it, but instead should ask why Islam has not yet conquered Africa, and what mistakes it has made so that Christians can avoid repeating them. As he sees it, Muslims have either left religion aside in their endeavours in Africa or included it only superficially, so that Islam has not become deeply rooted in Africa and has not grown or produced any significant fruit. Islam has failed to plant religion in 'people's hearts', which is exactly what Protestant Christianity has been doing.

Indonesia

The situation in Indonesia, especially on the island of Sumatra, is addressed in six contributions (August Schreiber, 3 [1876] 45 pages; Gottfried Simon in four articles: 27 [1900] 24 pages, 33 [1906] 18 pages, 36 [1909] 21 pages, and 44 [1917] 6 pages; and Nicolaas Adriani, 35 [1908] 11 pages). Schreiber and Simon were missionaries of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft among the Batak on Sumatra, while Adriani was a Dutch linguist addressing the situation on the island of Celebes (Sulawesi). Johannes Warneck

translated Adriani's text into German and added a page-long commentary explaining to German readers Adriani's different perspective and concerns.

India

Reports on the situation in India mainly relied on British publications. A long review article by Paul Wurm on James Vaughan's book *The trident, the crescent and the cross* (5 [1878] 32 pages) was the first, though Islam was only a part of the broader picture painted there. A few brief reports on mission among Muslims in Bombay (16 [1889] 46-7 Supplements; 20 [1893] 137-40) and a Christian-Muslim debate (22 [1895] 13-6 Supplements) followed. In the same volume, a woman teacher and missionary reported on a convert named Gulsam Begum (21 [1894] 64 Supplements) and gave a glance into the house of a revered (holy) Muslim man (22 [1895] 17-26 Supplements). Paul Richter published an article based on the new book by Herbert Alfred Birks, *Life and correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, first bishop of Lahore* (24 [1897] 25 pages). Wilhelm Schlatter published an article based on the autobiography of D. Imad-ed-din (ʿImād al-Dīn Lāhiz), a convert to Christianity and a theologian who died in Amritsar on 28 August 1900 (30 [1903] 16 pages). A few years later, Richter published a biographical account of another convert, Sheikh Salih (1765-1827), baptised in Calcutta at Pentecost 1811 (35 [1908] 2-16 Supplements).

The Arabian Peninsula

The situation in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula was presented in another biographical article on the English missionary Archibald Forder written by Günter Kurze (1850-1918) (36 [1909] 33-48 Supplements).

Iran

Information on missionary activity in Iran appeared mainly in news reports. In one of the early items (11 [1884]), the editor reported on the distribution of Bibles in Yazd and added a short account of the growth of Bābism despite its persecution by Iranian officials, commenting on the positive attitude of its leader 'Beha'/*Bahā' Allāh* towards Christianity. A later article on Bābism by D. Meyer (21 [1894] 7 pages) gave information about further persecutions of Bābīs and their struggle for tolerance. Meyer applauded this struggle but remarked that, if the Bābīs had the upper

hand, they would have been equally intolerant of other believers. He was surprised that people were ready to die for what he saw as 'a faith that had no practical and religious value' (p. 333). Earlier, in vol. 21, Warneck set out the dangers that converts to Christianity encountered in Iran and announced the publication of the conversion story of Mirza Ibrahim (published in 21 [1894] 37-41 Supplements).

China

The topic of Islam in China was only addressed once, by W. Dietrich (21 [1894] 16 pages), and later only mentioned briefly in a two-page article in 39 [1912].

The Mediterranean region

A total of 12 contributions focused on the Mediterranean region, comprising today's Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Libya and Morocco. An early report in the news review section (2 [1875] 286) informed readers about growing Muslim fanaticism directed against Christians, especially in the Ottoman Empire. In a review of news from missions (11 [1884] 321-2), the editor reported that one of the leading newspapers in Istanbul (its name is not given but the report ends with the reference 'Bo. Herald 2') had published a series of articles in defence of Christian missions. He remarked that it was an astonishingly unique case of a Muslim newspaper publishing some sort of apology for Christianity. Eleven years later, Henry Harris Jessup reported on the American missions in the Ottoman Empire (22 [1895] 9 pages), while still later Günter Kurze wrote on missionary work in Morocco (35 [1908] 31 pages) and on the work of the American Presbyterians in Egypt and Sudan (36 [1909] 20 pages), and a little after this (39 [1912]) there was William H.T. Gairdner's contribution on Al-Azhar and its work (15 pages), an account by Paul Richter of the Lutheran missions in Syria (31 pages), and an account by G. Kurze of the situation in Tripolitania (8 pages). In 41 (1914), Gottfried Simon wrote a 56-page report on the situation of Islam in Turkey and 17 pages on the general state of Islam in Egypt, which was further addressed by Jakob Enderlin (Supplements 3 and 4 of 42 [1915] 30 pages). Two other articles belong to the same group: a long contribution by D. Flex (intended initially by Warneck for 'Supplements') on his stay in Istanbul while covering for one of the vicars who was on sick-leave (24 [1897] 53 pages), and a report by Karl Fries on the conference of the World Student Christian Federation there on 24-8 April 1911 (38 [1911] 7 pages).

In 36 (1909) there were two notices on the difficulties faced by Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the first on the message from the sultan to the Armenian patriarch, the second on the massacres of the Armenians, and there is also a longer article (10 pages) by Karl Rohrbach on the situation in Adana in south-eastern Turkey.

General

Sixteen articles by nine authors and two short pieces in 'Supplements' cannot be allocated geographically. The latter include an anecdote, 'Mohammedanische Apologetik' (3 [1876] 16), and a sermon-like text, 'Ein Wort über den Mohammedanismus', by a Dr Gundert (9 [1882] 78-80). The list of 16 articles on general topics begins with one by Karl Heinrich Plath (1 [1874] 3 pages), a short but seemingly seminal piece (see below). It is followed by a critical review of John Mühleisen Arnold's book (*Islam*, 1874[3]), which developed into a lengthy presentation of Islam by Moritz Lüttke (2 [1875] 30 pages; 3 [1876] 46 pages; 4 [1877] 51 pages; and 5 [1878] 40 pages; see the entry on Lüttke in *CMR* 22, 313-27). The article by Franz Zahn (15 [1888] 40 pages) in part follows the same pattern. It begins with a report on two church conferences in England during which a cleric used statistical data – according to Zahn too creatively – to misrepresent the numerical growth of Muslims and Christians in India (a lengthy report by Alexander Merensky on the same conference appears in the same volume). Then, he vehemently opposes the views of Edward Wilmot Blyden (*CMR* 19, 210-18) and Reginald Bosworth Smith (*CMR* 17, 294-306), although he admits that he knows Blyden's publication only from Bosworth Smith's review, and accuses the latter of being 'pro-Islamic', and only in the third part of his article, does he give his own view about the spread of Islam.

August Schreiber contributed two articles to *AMZ* in the 1890s (18 [1891] 15 pages, and 24 [1897] 15 pages); these are described below. Gottfried Simon, already known to *AMZ* readers for his article on mission in Sumatra, contributed five further articles: (36 [1909] 6 pages; 37 [1910] 26 pages; 39 [1912] 23 pages; 40 [1913] 14 pages; and 44 [1917] 17 pages). The last of these reflects a new interest of the editors in historical topics. It was preceded by three earlier articles: one on Raymund Llull (42 [1915] 8 pages) by Julius Richter, and two on Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (43 [1916] 14 pages) and on Luther's reception of Riccoldo's work (43 [1916] 18 pages) by Hermann Barge. In two other articles on historical themes, by Elisabeth Warnholtz and Leonhard Rost, which appeared in the last volume of *AMZ* (50 [1923]), both authors begin by referring to newly published works but go on to

discuss Islam and Christian-Muslim relations. Warnholtz writes on the role of al-Ghazālī for Islam and Christian-Muslim relations, starting from Samuel Zwemer's *A Moslem seeker after God* (London, 1920), while Rost addresses similar concerns starting with a new edition of the supposed 9th-century correspondence between the Muslim al-Hāshimī and the Christian al-Kindī issued by the Bible Lands Mission Aid Society (1912 edition – see *Apology of al-Kindī* in *CMR* 1, p. 591).

The remaining three articles in the general group include a provocative essay by Karl Axenfeld (41 [1914] 25 pages – see below), a presentation of scholarly contributions on 'The vital forces in Islam and Christianity' by Richter (42 [1915] 24 pages), and an article on the same topic by Zwemer in the same volume (8 pages). Richter presents answers from seven scholars to the question put by the editors of *International Review of Missions* (1912-13; later reprinted in *The vital forces in Christianity and Islam*, Edinburgh, 1915).

It is important to say that many of these articles deserve more than a brief mention. The lengthy contributions of Moritz Lüttke and Gottfried Simon are described in individual entries elsewhere in this volume. The contributions of three others, Heinrich Plath, August Schreiber and Karl Axenfeld, are summarised below.

Karl Heinrich Christian Plath (1829-1901)

The first volume of *AMZ* contains a short article, 'Warum und mit welchem Auge will der Islam angesehen sein?' ('Why and how should Islam be considered?', 1 [1874] 35-7), by Karl Heinrich Christian Plath, the mission inspector of the Goßnersche Mission (Berlin II) and private lecturer at Berlin University (from 1882 professor of mission and religious history). Here, he maintains that an educated Christian (principally a theologian or a missionary) should have more than a superficial knowledge of Islam; school knowledge is not enough. He emphasises that the past successes of Muslims in spreading Islam cannot be accidental. Islam shaped world history and the cultures of many peoples. He points out that 'the political' and 'the religious' should be considered simultaneously and taken as equally important in Islam, and he pleads for maintaining objectivity in investigations (neither 'caricatures of true faith and ideal life' nor 'idealising the reality', p. 37). He puts forward the point that Islam should be perceived from five perspectives, of which the 'historical-philosophical' is the overarching one. But he was a Christian missionary and his contribution

was not a eulogy of Islam. He ends his contribution with a rather enigmatic comment: 'Whoever, then, has looked at Muhammedanism with an eye open to history and the philosophy of religion, and has then feasted his eyes on the truth and the many-sided depths of the Christian faith, will be granted a wondrous wealth' (p. 37).

His article was not 'programmatic' for *AMZ*, although a series of articles by Moritz Lüttke that appeared in the following volumes of the journal seems to have been inspired by it. It is not clear whether Lüttke was commissioned to write them, or wrote them on his own initiative. It seems, though, that he overstrained Warneck's patience with his lengthy contributions (see the entry on Lüttke) and during the following 13 years (1878-91) only a few short pieces on Islam appeared in *AMZ*. Then, Warneck gave August Schreiber a chance to address the current situation of Islam in a longer article (18 [1891] 545-59).

August Schreiber (1839-1903)

Schreiber studied theology in Halle and Erlangen, and worked as a missionary among the Batak in Sumatra (1866-73). After his return to Germany, he taught in the mission seminary of the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (1873-89) and then held the office of inspector of that missionary organisation (1889-1903). He points out ('Die gegenwärtige Lage des Islams', pp. 545-6) that more than half of the Muslim population of the world live under the political control of what he calls Christian powers and about half of the remaining population live in areas that retain only nominal independence. The Ottoman Empire will lose its remaining European provinces sooner rather than later and Constantinople will return to Christian control. Although no one dreamt of it at the beginning of the century, the political collapse of Islam is in sight. It is happening because Islam is incapable of any development. Stuck where it has always been, it is unable to participate in the development that is going on in other parts of the world. In contrast to Christianity, Islam is not only a faith (*Glaube*) or a life principle (*Lebensprincip*) but a system with firmly established forms and rules affecting the social and political life of its adherents.

In order to explain the significance of the political decline of Islam for Muslims, Schreiber draws a parallel with the current situation of the papacy. Both were at one time spiritual and also political powers and both lost their political significance. Seeing how the pope and Catholics struggled for the restoration of the papal state, the pointlessness of

their struggles was obvious. Worldly power was superfluous for the pope because his office and the Roman Catholic Church gained more meaning and significance when it no longer possessed it. The case with Islam was completely different, because Islam was a political power more than anything else. When that power was lost, Islam was in danger. But Schreiber points out that, apart from the sultan in Istanbul, Mecca and the Hajj are also focal points for all Muslims. They are similar to a 'cauldron' (*Hexenkessel*) from which pilgrims from all over the Islamic world are filled anew with fanaticism and hatred towards Christians, which they disseminate on their return home. But it is important to know that, due to the dangers of the journey, many did not ever return home: statistics show that about 24 per cent of pilgrims from Dutch India (Indonesia) never came back. Looking at the situation in various Muslims regions, Schreiber remarks that anti-Christian resentments are strongest where Muslims live under political subjugation by Christians. He notes efforts made in the Ottoman Empire to counter the work of Christian missionaries – the construction of new mosques, the establishment of new schools, the foundation of youth groups, the introduction of additional opportunities for prayer – though Schreiber doubts the effectiveness of these 'intra-Muslim mission' activities. Recalling the opinions of various missionaries and scholars, he is convinced that all these activities have their origin in hatred of the new experience of domination by Christians and so are not enough to bring about any Islamic religious revival. The history of Islam shows its rigid immutability, inability to develop and thoroughly political-religious character. Nevertheless, Islam will not simply vanish from the world stage. Turbulent times are still to come, as Islam is currently spreading in western China, Indonesia, India and Central Africa. Still, the situation of Christian missions has changed for the better. There is hardly any Muslim region where Christian missionaries cannot work among Muslims. Although in some places conversion is still dangerous, there is no real threat of bloody persecutions. Schreiber regrets that Lutheran Christianity still does not recognise the new opportunities and remains entrenched in the old conviction that missionary work among Muslims is futile.

Six years later, *AMZ* published Schreiber's paper 'Der Islam und die evangelische Mission' ('Islam and the Protestant Mission', 24 [1897] 145-59), which was first presented at a missionary conference in Halle in 1897. Its tone is confrontational, even aggressive towards Muslims. Building on his previous article, he underlines that mission among Muslims is as important as among any other non-Christian peoples and he examines Islam from four perspectives: as a competitor, or opponent of Christianity;

as an alleged forerunner of Christianity; as a sworn enemy of Christianity; and as an object of Lutheran mission. Considering Islam as the most dangerous competitor of Christianity in its attempt to win the whole world for itself, he says that those Christians who try to see Islam and Christianity as equally valid religions and those who foster Islam as more suitable for Africans have no idea of the salvific value of Christianity. Even if the two religions are compared from an unbiased scholarly perspective, it has to be admitted that Islam cannot compete with Christianity on the level of either religious teaching (*Glaubenslehre*) or morality (*Sittenlehre*). Islam insistently stresses that God is a unity but that God is not the living God who is Love. Instead, it proclaims an indifferent and rigid Fate and does not have much to say about the God it promotes. It stresses God's mercy, but cannot explain how God could grant mercy to a sinner without forfeiting God's holiness. On the level of morality, Islam is even less a competitor with Christianity. It is enough to look at Muḥammad's relationships with his eleven wives. In addition, his treatment of the Jews was appalling – no wonder at the massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Still, all that is nothing in comparison with the fact that he used his so-called revelations to suit his lustful desires (against all criticism and moral standards). Muḥammad was the greatest false prophet (*Lügenprophet*) of all time, so how could he become the founder of a world religion? This can best be explained only when it is acknowledged that Islam is not a religion but an earthly empire (*Weltreich*) for which religion is only used as a fig leaf and which is supported only by the spiritual force of fanaticism. Islam cannot compete with Christianity on many other levels. It has no notion of the love of neighbour and it limits itself in outreach to other peoples because it maintains an unbreakable bond with the Arabic language.

Whoever wants to judge Islam rightly has to see it as a sworn and implacable enemy of Christianity. When Muḥammad's hope for gaining acceptance by Jews and Christians turned out to be in vain, he became their bitter enemy. It is foolish to expect tolerance from Islam, because it has proved its enmity towards Christianity wherever it could: it is more intolerant than the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, it is remarkable that Islam is more intolerant towards the Protestant Churches than towards the Roman Catholic Church. That surely proves it recognises that true Christianity is found in Protestantism.

Officials and officers in the German colonies should take Islam's enmity seriously and learn from the experiences of the British and the Dutch. There are two things to do, knowing that Islam is a sworn enemy of Christianity. First, noting that Islam tends to spread among pagans,

Christians should reach out to these people before Muslims do. Second, Christians should more intently approach Muslims themselves with the proclamation of the gospel. Schreiber looks at the result of earlier missionary efforts and expresses his regret at their meagre results, though he also notes that English and American missionary boards are active in Islamic lands, and a new German Muhammedanermission has just been founded. Finally, he remarks that, by massacring the Armenians, the Ottomans have undermined their empire because the Armenians controlled trade and it would be difficult to run the state without them.

Karl Axenfeld (1869-1924)

Karl Axenfeld, born in Smyrna in the Ottoman Empire, was the newly appointed director of the Berlin mission who, just before taking up office, had made a research journey through the German colonies in the south of Africa. He states in his provocative article (41 [1914]) that the attitude of Christians towards Muslims must change. Many have concluded that missionary work among Muslims is pointless because earlier attempts at missionary outreach have brought only meagre results, and have directed efforts towards adherents of native religions (the so-called pagans). Axenfeld remarks that, apparently providentially, the Islamic world has now ceased to be impenetrable for Christians. Missionaries should recognise and accept the change, and be reconciled to the fact that they have been sent to Muslims as well as others and should therefore take up the missionary task honestly and with dedication. However, no changes in the Islamic world should be expected before crucial changes have taken place in the Christian world. The first signs of this are already evident, but more must be done. The political power of Islam is unstable, though it is futile to expect that the downfall of Islamic political structures will bring the downfall of Islam as a religion, because the Islamic world will build on religion as the only way Muslims can establish their unity. Meanwhile, the situation has developed in such a way that the West (and Christianity together with it) has become the world's master. All other peoples must learn from Westerners if they want to participate in modern development. For Muslims, the situation is particularly difficult because power relations have been reversed.

Both Muslim reformers and conservatives strive to move Muslim societies from their current state of stagnation, but by different means. They blame one another for causing the downfall of Islam (either by

'non-Muslim' reforms, or by holding on to outdated tradition). Looking at both groups in a critical light, Axenfeld says that the reformers are trying to 'update' the Islamic world but they learn from the West in order to strengthen the world of Islam against the West. They defend Islam in the West and argue against Christianity, drawing from anti-Christian debates within the Western milieu. On the other hand, one can understand the concerns of the conservatives because not all that the Muslim reformers and the Western powers promote in the world of Islam is acceptable (e.g. atheist publications, morally dubious ideas and actions destructive of Islam). The conservatives suspect that many reformers have actually lost their Muslim faith. Loss of faith has also been one of the reasons for Ottoman defeats in recent wars (when half of the soldiers are no longer believing Muslims, the religious zeal that formerly mobilised Muslims to fight for their faith has been lacking).

Muslims have a strong willingness to learn, but that willingness does not include openness to Christianity. Muslims, both reformers and conservatives, want to learn from the West but remain 'Orientals'. The fact that many Christians have left their religion to become Muslims, giving in, for example, to economic pressure (Muslims are required to pay lower taxes), has given Muslims an impression of the weakness of Christianity and the current moral example of people they consider Christians reinforces it. Axenfeld adds that Christian worship (because of its distinctiveness) is unattractive to Muslims.

Axenfeld regrets that during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, in which a league of Balkan states attempted to evict the Ottomans from Europe, the Bulgarians explicitly likened this war to the Crusades (the Italians in their Tripoli campaign tried to avoid this term but, in the popular perception, it was still a 'war against Islam'). Axenfeld points out that the image of a military campaign has always been applied to Christian missionary activity; he acknowledges the possible biblical support for this and admits its existence in Christian hymns and popular expressions, but he strongly urges all Christians to renounce it. He argues that Muslims link it immediately and firmly with the historical Crusades. Recent wars and (mis)treatment of Ottoman prisoners of war – widely reported in the Western press (which is accessible to Muslims) – have not made meetings between Christians and Muslims easier. If Christians want to reach out to Muslims with their message, they should avoid making the task difficult for themselves. But renunciation of militant imagery also has significance for Christians because Christ and his followers fight against sin, not

against people. Christians should talk about service (*Dienst*) rather than struggle or war in their contacts with Muslims. If one needs love to win over pagans to Christ, one needs twice as much love to win over Muslims, because Muslims doubt that Christians approach them with love.

Christian missionaries should distance themselves from the political and economic claims of the Western powers and also from the negative heritage of Christian-Muslim contacts. They should not doubt their own power, which comes from Christ, but should not overestimate the power of Islam (a mistake repeated by many Westerners). Everyone sees that not all Muslims practise their religion sincerely. Indeed, some Muslim religious leaders complain about the neglect of religious practices by Muslims, just as a Christian priest might in an unenthusiastic urban parish, but many still repeat the mantra 'every Muslim is a missionary of his faith'. Christian missionaries tend to perceive Muslims not as recipients of their proclamation but as rivals, while they see pagans as the 'lost' who have to be brought back and saved. Have Muslims also the right to be saved? Or are the missionaries only sent to 'save the others from Islam'? The real missionary follows the example of the Apostle Paul's attitude towards the Jews – despite their opposition, he prayed for them and searched for ways to reach out to them with Christ's message.

SIGNIFICANCE

AMZ was the leading German Lutheran missiological journal and the articles published in it shaped its many readers' vision and understanding of Christian mission and Christian attitudes towards other believers for at least 50 years. Given the spirit of the times, it is no wonder that many contributions in the journal were rather polemical and written in a spirit of competition with Islam in winning over the peoples of the world to Christianity. Quite a number of them are also marked by what would nowadays be called arrogant self-confidence. It is remarkable, though, that in the first 17 volumes of this leading German missionary journal (up to 1890) – apart from two contributions (the very short one by Plath and the detailed one by Lüttke) – Islam is addressed only incidentally. More than half of the articles that consider Islam appeared in the last 15 years of the journal's existence (after 1908).

Despite leaving aside the task of monitoring Christian missionaries' contacts with Muslims, the editors of the journal still published a few influential articles. The frequency of the appearance of articles and information on Islam and Christian-Muslim contacts increased when Gustav Warneck's son, Johannes Gustav, took on a larger editorial role.

Although much has been written about the various aspects of the German colonial enterprise, no studies devoted to analysis of the issues raised by the contributors to *AMZ* have yet appeared.

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Stanisław Grodź

Johann Gottfried Wetzstein

DATE OF BIRTH 19 February 1815
PLACE OF BIRTH Oelsnitz, Vogtland, Saxony
DATE OF DEATH 18 January 1905
PLACE OF DEATH Berlin

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Gottfried Wetzstein was a 19th-century German Arabist who had excellent ethnographic knowledge of Syria and of classical and colloquial Syrian Arabic, which he acquired in large measure during his time as a Prussian diplomat in Damascus. Born in the small town of Oelsnitz in Saxony, he first attended the secondary school in Plauen. After graduating from the Thomasschule in Leipzig, he studied Protestant theology at Leipzig University from 1836, where his first teacher was Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller (1768-1835). Under the influence of Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-88), with whom he always remained in close contact, he soon turned to Oriental philology. He received his doctorate in 1839 with a dissertation on legends of the prophets by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 1455). In 1846, he worked towards his *Habilitation* in Berlin with Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866; *CMR* 22, 271-80) in Oriental literature and worked there as a private lecturer in Arabic and Persian.

From 1849 to 1861, Wetzstein was the first Prussian honorary consul in Damascus. There he maintained close contacts with local personalities, scholars and Bedouin shaykhs. He invested in agricultural projects and undertook several expeditions, including to the Hawran (1858) and the East Bank (1860).

At his own request, Wetzstein ended his work in Damascus after 12 years and returned to Berlin in 1861. He had wanted this for some time, as his family had been living in Berlin since 1857 for health reasons. The massacres of Christians in Damascus in 1860, which he experienced at first-hand (Huhn, *Johann Gottfried Wetzstein*, pp. 143-98), once again fuelled his desire to return to Germany, where he hoped to be appointed to a Prussian university. From 1867 to 1875, he again taught as a private lecturer at Berlin University and also at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. He was not granted a further academic career after his return to Prussia even though he was highly esteemed as a teacher. Among his

pupils were Ignác Goldziher (1850-1921; *CMR* 22, 328-37), Eugen Prym (1843-1913) and Albert Socin (1844-99).

Thanks to his profound knowledge of the Syrian region and colloquial Arabic, he was often called upon in Berlin as an adviser on foreign policy issues. In the autumn of 1870, together with Gerhard Rohlfs (1831-96), he took part in a political mission to Tunisia on behalf of the Foreign Office. He died in Berlin in 1905.

One of Wetzstein's lasting contributions to Oriental studies was the development of first-rate collections of Arabic manuscripts, which were purchased by German libraries. The purchase of the Rifāʿiyya library by the University of Leipzig (1853) preserves the only private library from Ottoman Damascus that has survived intact to the present day. The Wetzstein collections in Berlin (1851 and 1861) and Tübingen (1864) together comprise more than 2,400 volumes and contain indispensable sources for the study of Islamic sciences and literatures. Particularly noteworthy are the extensive volumes of early Qur'an fragments. Wetzstein was probably the first European to obtain information about the important collection of Kufic Qur'an fragments in *Qubbat al-khazna* of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (Liebrenz, 'Fire, consuls, and scholars', pp. 83-7; Rauch, '"Im Wettkampfe mit den Bibliotheken anderer Nationen"', pp. 110-11). A focus of his interest continued to be Arab popular literature, which is documented with some 800 volumes of popular works (*sīra shaʿbiyya*), especially in the Berlin collection. The preserved documents prove that Wetzstein selected his collections in Damascus from far more extensive offers presented to him. In doing so, he kept an eye on current developments in European Oriental studies as well as on the market situation in Europe.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Works on Islam, Christianity and the ethnography of Syria

DATE 1849-1929
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Wetzstein's works were comparatively few and often published in journals that are difficult to access. Although he was highly esteemed by his Orientalist colleagues who were close to him, his publications were hardly recognised among international experts.

Among his early publications from the period when he studied with Fleischer is the edition of al-Zamakhsharī's Arabic-Persian dictionary. His dissertation on the prophetic legends of al-Bisṭāmī, mentioned above, was printed in parts in various articles (1841) in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, the supplement to the journal *Der Orient*, which was edited by his teacher Julius Fürst (1805-73).

Wetzstein's writings were and still are important for our understanding of rural and nomadic life in the Syrian steppe. For example, the description of his journey to the Hawran, published in 1860, was the first

comprehensive account of southern Syria. He contributed substantially in the fields of ethnography, linguistics and geography, and during his excursions he was also anxious to copy ancient inscriptions. From the context of his education, he highlighted the importance of his studies for biblical archaeology and exegesis. As he saw them, the nomads of the desert lived in a 'state of nature' and represented a society that had not changed in its main features since biblical times (Meier, 'Looking at man'). His numerous geographical, linguistic and ethnographic reports in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* and other periodicals attest to his thorough knowledge of the region, the Arabic language and the customs of the Arab tribes. Particularly noteworthy is his essay 'Der Markt in Damaskus' (1857), in which he vividly presents very detailed information about trading activities in the city.

Wetzstein contributed regional and linguistic studies on Syria to several commentaries on books of the Old Testament written by his student friend Franz Delitzsch (1813-90). These were also translated into English. His assumption that the poetry of the Song of Songs was closely connected with rural Syrian wedding customs had some influence on historical biblical exegesis at the end of the 19th century, though in later years methodological doubts grew about this very direct comparison. Not only was his interest in Bedouin life connected with research into the environment of the Old Testament, but his preoccupation with partly orally transmitted Arabic folk literature can also be seen in this context. Beyond his teaching of Qur'an and its exegesis, ethnographic and linguistic interests may also have inspired his partial German translation of the Qur'an, which has been preserved in his scholarly estate.

In his publications as well as in numerous documents and manuscripts preserved in his estate, Wetzstein drew a factual, well-founded and often sensitive picture of the Arabs and various aspects of Arab culture. Like many of his Orientalist contemporaries, however, he saw the decline of traditional Arab-Islamic education as an irreversible process and was not free from prejudices against other ethnic groups in the Middle East.

Planned larger publications, such as a multi-volume work, *Sprache und Leben der Wanderstämme Syriens* ('Language and life of the nomadic tribes of Syria'), and a catalogue of the Berlin Wetzstein manuscripts, eventually remained unrealised for various reasons. The ambitious project of an edition of the *Sīrat ʿAntar* failed for lack of finance. From his scholarly estate, the translation of an Arabic folk play, *Die Liebenden von Amasia* ('Lovers of Amasia', 1906), the adaptation of an Arabic book on fortune-telling, *Die Königslose* ('Lottery of kings', 1929), and a partial translation of the Qur'an

(I. Huhn and H. Kurio [eds], *Die ersten 11 Suren des Koran*), have been published to date.

SIGNIFICANCE

Wetzstein's importance lies in his research and collecting activities. With regard to Christian-Muslim relations, his collections are of considerable value for current research. In this context, the extensive volumes containing early Qur'an fragments are particularly noteworthy.

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Christoph Rauch

Poland and Lithuania

Józef Mikosza

DATE OF BIRTH 1744
PLACE OF BIRTH Uncertain
DATE OF DEATH 1825
PLACE OF DEATH Kamieniec Podolski

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Józef Mikosza. Some sources say he was born in Belarus, others Kamieniec Podolski (in present-day Ukraine), and he was probably of noble birth. According to Jan Reychman ('Mikosza Józef'), he was dispatched by King Stanisław August Poniatowski of Poland (r. 1764-95) to Constantinople in 1782 to teach Polish in the Polska Szkoła Orientalna (Polish Oriental School) that had been established there. He was also to acquire knowledge about the Ottoman Empire and explore the possibility of engaging in commercial cooperation. Mikosza himself also intended to learn French and Italian. From 1783, Mikosza sent reports from Constantinople to Warsaw in which he described the Turkish state. These were collected and published in Warsaw in 1787.

In 1795, when Mikosza came into conflict with the Polish community in Istanbul, which may have been caused by his long-standing collaboration with the Russian residency in Turkey, he left for Kamieniec Podolski, where he assumed the task of translator to the governor of Podolia. He died in Kamieniec Podolski in 1825.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Obserwacye polityczne państwa tureckiego 'Political observations on the Turkish state'

DATE 1787
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

This work, dedicated to King Stanisław August Poniatowski, was published in 1787 by Michał Gröll, 'the court bookseller of His Royal Highness' (its title in full is *Obserwacye polityczne państwa tureckiego, rządu, religii, sił iego, obyczaiow i narodow pod tymże żyiącym panowaniem, z przydatkiem myśli partykularnych o człowieku moralnym i o edukacyi kraiowey, przez Imci Pana Mikoszę, w czasie mieszkania iego w Stambule*, 'Political observations on the Turkish state, government, religion, its power, customs and the nations living under its rule, with addition of particular thoughts about the moral man and local education, by Mr Mikosza during his stay in Istanbul'). It comprises two parts, totalling 415 pages. Part I contains chs 1-7 (pp. 3-190), and Part II chs 8-15 (pp. 191-415) together with an unnumbered Supplement, which is about the education of young people in Poland and abroad. It should be pointed out that many Turkish terms Mikosza uses are spelt wrongly, making them hardly recognisable.

In ch. 1, Mikosza describes his journey from Warsaw to Constantinople, mentioning the regions he passes through and places of interest along the way. The following chapters (2, 3, 4) discuss law, public security and the tax system in the Ottoman state. Ch. 6 is devoted to military matters, the structure and organisation of the Ottoman armed forces and the fleet. In Ch. 7, Mikosza outlines the administration of the Ottoman state and discusses its history and its multi-national population. Chs 8 and 9

discuss the sultan's court, its organisation, everyday life and celebrations, the sultan's council (*divan*) and the tasks and obligations of the vizier and other important officials of the court. Questions about cooperation with other countries, including possibilities of commercial collaboration, are discussed in chs 5, 11 and 12. National minorities (the Greeks, Armenians and Jews) within the empire are discussed in chs 13, 14 and 15 respectively. When he discusses Christian minorities, Greeks and Armenians, Mikosza accuses the Greek patriarchs of bribery and corruption, and criticises the Armenians for holding a religion based on fanaticism and following clergy who are uneducated. In ch. 10, he describes Ottoman customs and celebrations, including circumcision, marriage and funeral ceremonies, and in ch. 11, in addition to the matters mentioned above, he shares some brief remarks about astronomy, music, medicine, the school system and Turkish craftsmanship.

In his discussions on the Turkish state, Mikosza frequently refers to questions associated with Islam. His first remarks about the importance of the Qur'an in ch. 2, where he writes that it is the 'foundation and principle' of the state and 'of all universal jurisdictions' (pp. 44-5). He also directs the reader's attention to the significant fact that, in the Turkish state, customary law is on a par with qur'anic law. He observes that Turks learn the verses of their scripture from childhood and that many know it by heart (ch. 11, p. 339).

The major part of ch. 10 (pp. 254-323) continues the theme of religion. In his description of the hierarchy of Muslim clergy (the ulama, the mufti, mullahs, imams) and the tasks they perform, Mikosza emphasises that they use religion to serve political purposes. He claims that Muslim clergy assert the right to supervise all kinds of courts, and in this way they assume control over society. He mainly criticises the ulama, whom he compares to Christian bishops and who 'have the facility to direct the mind of the people' (pp. 255-6, 260). He also denounces the mufti, referring to him as 'the supreme bishop' (p. 255) because, since he is paid by the sultan, he may often follow a policy contrary to the opinion of the ulama and even more contrary to the interests of the faithful. Remarks about Muslim theology are also contained in ch. 11. Mikosza asserts that Muslim theological literature is as rich as Christian, though Muslim theology (which he refers to as 'Turkish' theology) is made to consolidate the authority of the 'clergy' over the people. This topic appears again in the Supplement at the end of Part 2, where Mikosza emphasises that the education the people receive from Muslim clergy is based on superstition and fanaticism, thus ensuring obedience to the authorities (pp. 408-9).

Mikosza discusses divisions in Islam and names the four principal schools of Muslim law, Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and Mālikī (although he misspells these names,) in ch. 10, where he identifies their origins and gives the names of other, lesser known schools, which he refers to as 'sects' (p. 283). He also gives details of various Sufi brotherhoods, their observances and practices, and calls their members 'dervishes', 'people who embrace poverty voluntarily' (pp. 261-80). He adds that, in the early years of Islam, there were many Christian monasteries upon which Muslim orders modelled themselves, drawing attention to certain similarities between Christian monastic communities and certain Sufi brotherhoods such as the observance of fasting, poverty and celibacy. As he explores this, he points out the contradictions between the observances and practices of the Sufi brotherhoods and the rules set out in the Qur'an (pp. 283-90).

In his discussion of holy days, he compares Muslim Friday to Christian Sunday (p. 305), and he also mentions the two most important Turkish religious festivals, Greater and Lesser Bayram, though he misunderstands them, comparing Greater Bayram to the Christian Easter and identifying Lesser Bayram as the commemoration of Muḥammad's birth (pp. 305-7).

Regulations stipulated by Muslim law and by the Turkish state regarding Christians appear in ch. 2. Mikosza refers to the taxes and tributes paid by Christians and Jews but not by Muslims, and to the more humiliating form of capital punishment meted out to Christians and Jews than that imposed on Muslims (pp. 48, 66-7). He notes that any war against Christendom is traditionally considered a holy war (though there have been recent changes in this attitude) and that all available resources, including those belonging to Muslim clergy, are supposed to be used to support it.

SIGNIFICANCE

The German translation of *Obserwacye polityczne państwa tureckiego*, which was published six years after the original, suggests that Mikosza's work enjoyed some popularity towards the end of the 18th century.

PUBLICATIONS

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Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś

Józef Drohojowski

Józef Iwo Drohojowski

DATE OF BIRTH 28 October 1739
PLACE OF BIRTH Zamość
DATE OF DEATH 13 December 1811
PLACE OF DEATH Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Józef Drohojowski was born to Józef Drohojowski, castellan of Przemyśl (today in south-eastern Poland), and Barbara Wolska in 1739. After a short time at the Diocesan Major Seminary in Przemyśl, he joined the Reformed Franciscans in the 'Małopolska' Province of Our Lady of Angels on 3 April 1756 and took his religious vows on 23 April 1757. He studied rhetoric in Zakliczyn, philosophy in Zamość, and theology in Kraków and Lublin. After ordination in 1762, he served as a preacher in Przemyśl, Zamość, Lublin and Kraków. He taught grammar and mystical theology in Zakliczyn (1776-7) and was successively custos (religious superior) in the Franciscan house in Kęty (1773-4, 1778-9) and Kraków (1781-3, 1786-7), and secretary of the province and definitor (councillor assisting a religious superior, 1783-6). He went on to serve in the Custody of the Holy Land (1788-91).

For this position, he arrived in Alexandria on 1 August 1788 and 10 days later left for Jerusalem, where 50 monks had died due to epidemics. Initially (14 September 1788-6 January 1789), he served in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He was elected as representative of the 'northern nation' (Germany) to serve for three years on the council of the Custody the Holy Land and, as substitute for a bishop who was ill, he was nominated by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to act as the apostolic visitor for the Middle Eastern dioceses from May 1790. He went on to become vice-prefect of the apostolic mission in Cyprus (also the guardian in the Franciscan house in Larnaca) and the adjacent islands from the end of August 1790 to 19 November 1791.

In 1791 Drohojowski returned to Poland, where he served as guardian of the Franciscan house in Kraków (1796-8). He was also the general visitator of the Franciscan-Reformati 'Wielkopolska' Province (1797), custos of the 'Małopolska' Province (Western Galicia, 1798-1801), and then provincial

(1804-6) until the Galician houses (eastern and western) were amalgamated into one province. He died in 1811.

Choosing the Franciscan way of life, Drohojowski rejected the privileges that he inherited as a nobleman, including membership of the Przemyśl Cathedral Chapter, which he had held as a seminarian. He was remembered as a cheerful, modest, approachable and friendly man. For that reason, he was sought after as a confessor, especially by those who expected an imminent death. His report from his stay in the Holy Land, *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej, Egiptu, niektórych wschodnich i południowych krajów* was published in 1812. His other publications were sermons.

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J. Tokarski, 'Polscy pielgrzymi w Ziemi Świętej, Ojciec Józef Drohojowski', *Sodalis Marianus* 2 (1964) 22-7

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej
'A pilgrimage to the Holy Land'

DATE 1812
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej (in full, *Pielgrzymka x. Józefa Drohojowskiego, reformata. Do Ziemi Świętej, Egiptu, niektórych wschodnich i południowych krajów, odbyta w roku 1788, 89, 90 i 91. Pobożno-ciekawej publiczności ofiarowana*, 'A pilgrimage by Fr. Józef Drohojowski, Franciscan-Reformati, to the Holy Land, Egypt and various eastern and southern countries made in 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791. Dedicated to pious and interested readers') was published in two volumes in 1812. The first volume comprises 295 pages of main text divided into 113 chapters, of which two contain detailed descriptions of Islam (altogether 30 pages) and other religions and religious groupings, and the second volume comprises 244 pages and is structured as an alphabetical lexicon, with 212 entries on individuals, peoples, towns, rivers, mountains etc. and sites of important events. Some of the entries refer to Islamic beliefs and practices.

Drohojowski gives a long list of sources at the end of vol. 2. He draws most of his information about Islam from *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* by Paul Rycaut (1629-1700), which had been translated into Polish as *Monarchia turecka opisana przez Ricota sekretarza posła angielskiego u Porty Ottomańskiey residującego z francuskiego języka na polski przetłumaczona przez szlachcica polskiego* (Słuck, 1678, pp. 123-202; see *CMR* 8, 413-18). He partly copies and partly paraphrases Rycaut's text (he presents the account from a third person perspective) and he sharpens the anti-Islamic tone of the original, introducing additional invectives against Muḥammad and Islam. He also translates parts of *Peregrinus affectuose per Terram Sanctam et Jerusalem a devotione et curiositate conductus tam in pietate notitia instructus expedit in Christianitatem Graecii* (Sumptibus Danielis Walder Bibliopolae Augustani, 1713, pp. 335-7) by Konrad Hietling (ante-1680-post-1720) and *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio* (vol. 1, Antverpiae, ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1639, pp. 129-31) by Franciscus Quaresmius (1583-1650). He most probably used the latter work for details about the life and activities of Muḥammad, as well as *Prontuario de le medaglie de piu illustri, et famosi huomini et donne,*

dal principio del Mondo insino al presente tempo, con le lor vite in compendo raccolte (Lione, Apresso Guglielmo Rouillio, 1581, part 2, p. 109), a lexicon by Guillaume Rouillé (c. 1518-89), and in addition took information about Muḥammad's death from Hietling's *Peregrinus*. Drohojowski also refers to Lucas of Tuy (*Chronicon mundi*; *CMR* 4, 271-2), Gregory Palamas (*CMR* 5, 101-8), Euthymius Zigabenus (*Panoplia dogmatikē*, ch. 28; *CMR* 3, 338-40), and John of Damascus (*CMR* 1, 295-301).

Drohojowski presents the essential (standard) facts about Muḥammad's life from these sources and enhances them with curiosities. For example, he writes that Albunor, a follower of Muḥammad who was supposed to have poisoned him in order to witness his resurrection, buried Muḥammad's bones in the town of Madviaraziel, arguing that the sarcophagus in Mecca (Drohojowski was convinced that Muḥammad's grave was there) was empty, while the practice of pilgrimage to Muḥammad's grave was promoted by the Turks, who linked it with the Prophet's promise to erase the believer's sins (Drohojowski writes about the promise of 'obtaining justification', using Christian terminology).

As Drohojowski sees it, Islam is an eclectic religion. In order to attract new adherents, Muḥammad borrowed from other religious traditions, including Judaism, Manichaeism and pagan Arab beliefs. The resulting lack of consistency in the new teaching led to a ban on questioning and discussion, under the threat of death. Following Zigabenus, Drohojowski observes that Islam is based on 'people's fanaticism and obscurantism' (1812 edition, vol. 1, p. 177).

He identifies three dimensions of Islam: confessional, ritual-ceremonial and moral or customary. Then he lists the five most important provisions of law belonging to the ritual or ceremonial dimension: cleanliness of the body and clothing, prayer five times a day, observing the Ramaḍān fast, giving alms (he thinks they are given to people and dogs), and pilgrimage to Mecca. Circumcision, participation in Friday prayer, and abstinence from pork and blood depend solely on a believer's piety. Following Rycaut, he regards Muslim civil law as subordinate to religious regulations and thus difficult to separate from them because both are divine in origin.

Drohojowski takes his description of the history of Christian-Muslim relations in the early centuries of Islam from Rycaut. Initially, Muslims were weak and for this reason peaceful, open and tolerant towards other religions. In order to strengthen its social position, Islam offered far more attractive moral norms than Christianity, including acceptance of sexual licence: '[It] led [people] away from the holy faith through debauchery, sexual laxity, and lust' (p. 181). The adherents of the new religion adopted

a strategy of tolerance towards Christianity and searched for superficial theological convergences, acknowledging that Jesus was a greater prophet than Moses (but only a prophet), that he was the son of Mary and free from original sin, and that he was the Word of God with the power to heal the sick and raise the dead to life.

Concerning the moral aspect, in order to attract adherents, Muḥammad promoted polygyny, which privileged male sexual pleasure, and a materialist attitude towards life. This led him to describe heaven in strongly materialist terms. The departed could endlessly enjoy carnal pleasures with beautiful women, enjoy banquets and satisfy their gluttony. Drohojowski assumes that, because not all Turks believe this message, which in his view defies common sense, many are ready to accept Christianity, particularly Turkish women who are inspired by their Christian slaves.

Drohojowski includes the *Pact of Muḥammad with Christians* from Rycaut (pp. 125-8), shortening it slightly and partly paraphrasing it. He sees the Muslims at first concluding the pact and later breaking it as a sign of their mendacity, similar to their tendency to make tactical alliances at moments of military weakness (one of the more significant motifs of anti-Muslim literature). He particularly criticises what he calls the *Surah of the sword* (in fact, the single verse Q 9:5) in which Muḥammad ordered forced conversions and the killing of those who refused. The Turks are convinced that to die in battle against Christians will give them instant access to paradise, regardless of whether they live good lives. For this reason, Muslims are extremely brave in battle and disregard the risk of death. They see military victories as signs of the truth of their religion because they consider God, who is on their side, as the giver of good fortune. Muslims hate the followers of Judaism, believing that God made them devoid of bravery, abandoned them and made them into wanderers without a leader, army, state or ruler, and also without an altar or sacrifice. For this reason, they do not allow the Jews (including converts to Islam) to be buried in Muslim cemeteries because they are not worthy to participate in human community.

Following Rycaut, Drohojowski names the main factions among Muslims, the Turks (Sunnīs) and the Persians (the Shīʿa). The Sunnīs are satisfied that Muḥammad was the last prophet but the Shīʿa add belief in ʿAlī, who was to receive more frequent and clearer visions from God. Turks are forbidden to read Persian books under the penalty of expulsion from the community and they condemn such readers as God-forsaken and blasphemers against the Prophet. It is forbidden to accept Persians into the

Ottoman court schools because they have developed particular customs and rules of life, allowed their knowledge to develop in its own way, and refused to acknowledge the first three caliphs. Drohojowski names the four schools of law and religious factions, underlining the lack of unity in Islam.

Drohojowski mentions that adherents of Judaism, Christianity and Islam of various nationalities live together in the Holy Land and Egypt. This has come about because of common traditions, sacred spaces (Muslims tend the grave of Rachel), beliefs (the valley of Jehoshaphat will be the place of the Last Judgement) and practices (Jews, Turks and Orthodox Christians stone the grave of Absalom together). But he also talks of rivalries, resulting in Muslims taking over Christian churches and turning them into mosques – al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem is built on the ruins of the Jewish Temple. Christians are forbidden to enter the Temple Mount under penalty of death (with the exception of a Franciscan doctor who treated the mufti living there). Despite this, there is a degree of sharing between the faiths: both Christian and Muslim women take water from the spring in the grotto where Jesus was born, and Turkish dignitaries participate in Christian ceremonies such as the Palm Sunday procession in Jerusalem (pp. 62-5) and celebrations on Holy Saturday (pp. 74-6).

In Egypt, Drohojowski mentions Rosetta, whose inhabitants consider it to be the birthplace of Muḥammad, as a potential goal of Muslim pilgrimages in case Muslims should lose Mecca and Medina. He describes the call of the muezzins, notes the multi-national and multi-confessional character of Egyptian towns and describes their funerary customs.

SIGNIFICANCE

Drohojowski follows the practice of presenting a negative image of Islam that had been started by John of Damascus in the 8th century and was continued by later Christian writers, pointing out the eclectic origins of Islam and also maintaining the image of an aggressive religion. He also presents an Islam comprised of ridiculous beliefs contrary to common sense, and practices that were corrupt and yielding to carnal passions.

The popularity of *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* during the first half of the 19th century in regions belonging to the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is attested by three new editions, two in Vilnius in Lithuania in 1822 and 1846, and one in Berdyczów in Ruthenia (present-day Berdychiv in Ukraine) in 1829. It should, however, be pointed out that these re-editions witness to interest in matters concerning the Holy Land. For the great majority of readers Islam was only a matter of minor importance.

PUBLICATIONS

Józef Drohojowski, *Pielgrzymka x. Józefa Drohojowskiego, reformata. Do Ziemi Świętej, Egiptu, niektórych wschodnich i południowych krajów, odbyta w roku 1788, 89, 90 i 91. Pobożno-ciekawej publiczności ofiarowana*, 2 vols, Kraków, 1812; 139053/139054 (digitised version available through Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu)

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Bystroń and Kantak, 'Drohojowski Józef'

Bystroń, *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej*, pp. 64-73

Michał Kuran and Magdalena Kuran

Ceremonie żałobne w intencji zbawienia duszy Tadeusza Kościuszki

Mourning ceremonies for the salvation of Tadeusz Kościuszko's soul

DATE 1818
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

The publications discussed here are accounts of the ceremonies held by Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in mosques in Wilno (present-day Vilnius) and Minsk in 1817 and 1818 to mourn the death in 1817 of the famed Polish general, Tadeusz Kościuszko. They indicate that Christian representatives were in attendance, and suggest that efforts were made by the Muslims conducting the ceremonies to demonstrate that they all subscribed to common principles. Accounts of the ceremonies are included in the following publications:

Zbiór mów w różnych miejscach mianych oraz opisów obchodu żałobnego nabożeństwa po zgonie ś.p. Tadeusza Kościuszki ('A collection of speeches delivered in various places and descriptions of the memorial service after the death of the late Tadeusz Kościuszko'), ed. Aleksander Żółkowski, Wilno, 1818, pp. 75-6;

Opisanie obchodu żałobnego nabożeństwa za duszę ś.p. Tadeusza Kościuszki, odbytego w Mińsku dnia 7 marca 1818 roku w kościele katedralnym ('Description of the memorial service for the soul of the late Tadeusz Kościuszko, held in Minsk on 7 March 1818 in the cathedral church'), ed. Aleksander Żółkowski, Wilno, 1818, pp. 35-9.

The first is a report of the services held in Wilno and some smaller towns in neighbouring eastern provinces of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as in Warsaw and Poznań. The second contains a description of the commemoration in Minsk. Both have the same layout and follow the same structure as descriptions of such ceremonies held by other religious confessions. First, they give the place and time of the ceremony and the people who participated, then they give the texts of the sermons delivered by the imams, followed by the text of a prayer for Kościuszko's soul (reported to have been translated into Polish from Arabic, though this was not correct). Comparison shows either that the

Minsk imam borrowed from the text of the sermon preached by the Wilno imam, or that they cooperated in preparing their sermons.

Within the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that had been truncated by the neighbouring states of Russia, Austria and Prussia, an attempt was made to oppose Russia's imperial policy, which had made the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a Russian protectorate. An uprising took place in 1794, led by General Tadeusz Kościuszko, who was known for his recent military successes in the war with Russia in 1792 and earlier in the American War of Independence between 1776 and 1784. In 1794, the Kościuszko Uprising, as it was called, was defeated by the Russian army, which then carried out a barbaric slaughter of Warsaw's civilian population. Kościuszko, seriously wounded at the Battle of Maciejowice, was imprisoned with thousands of his officers and followers, and he was only released from captivity after the death of Tsarina Catherine II in 1796. Although he spent the rest of his life in exile, he became a symbol of the Polish struggle for freedom for the next century and beyond (even today he is regarded as a hero in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus). This international hero, and 'as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known' – as Kościuszko's friend, Thomas Jefferson, described him (*Thomas Jefferson to Horatio Gates*. -02-21, 1798. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/item/mtjbib008962/) – was commemorated with a statue at West Point Academy, USA, and the naming of the highest mountain in Australia (Mt Kosciuszko). He was known not only for his military talents but also for promoting democratic, republican ideals and human rights, including the abolition of slavery in America.

Kościuszko's death in October 1817 in exile in Solura, Switzerland, inspired numerous commemorations throughout the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth over the months that followed. Although they were also patriotic political demonstrations, they received the approval of Tsar Alexander I (r. 1801-25), who at the time was attempting to gain acceptance and gratitude from his new Polish subjects. He even supported the idea of bringing Kościuszko's body to Kraków to be buried in the royal crypt of Wawel Cathedral, but this hypocritical show of respect was soon replaced by repressions and restrictions on freedoms, and it ended with the November Uprising of 1830-1, when the tsar, who in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna had usurped the title of King of Poland, was dethroned by Polish insurgents. All these circumstances formed the background to the very remarkable events in which representatives of Polish Christians attended religious ceremonies conducted by Muslim

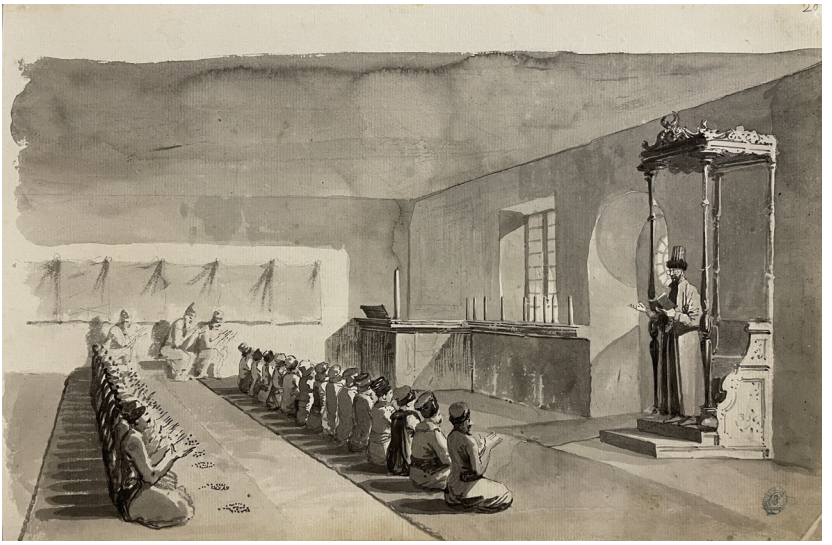

Illustration 18. Franciszek Smuglewicz's drawing of Tatar Muslims at congregational prayer in their mosque near Wilno

Polish-Lithuanian Tatars and Tatars organised them following the model of their Christian neighbours, in this way showing how they were participating in the nationwide gesture of mourning.

The first Muslim ceremony was held on 21 December 1817 in a mosque in the Wilno suburb of Łukiszki. The sermon was given in Polish and the ceremony was conducted by the imam, Daniel Szabłowski. The second was held in Minsk on 15 March 1818, conducted by the imam, Jakub Zdanowicz.

It should be emphasised that in the second half of the 18th there were considerable numbers of Tatars in the officer cadres of Polish-Lithuanian cavalry regiments and also in the higher ranks, forming perhaps the most effective part of the Commonwealth army. The most famous Tatar cavalry officer, a veteran of numerous European and Polish-Russian battles, General Józef (Jusuf) Bielak, had been commander-in-chief of Kościuszko's insurrectionary force in the Lithuanian provinces of the Commonwealth in 1794 (he died in this campaign). In one of the handwritten Tatar copies of the Qur'an from that time, the anonymous owner noted that in the defence of Warsaw in 1794 'many Muslims were killed, including several dozen officers' (Stanisław Kryczyński, 'Ze starych modlitewników', *Przegląd Islamski* 4 [1936] p. 8). This commitment of the Tatars during the Kościuszko Uprising must be taken into account in order

to understand fully the shared involvement and interest of Christians and Muslims in the memorial services held in Catholic and Muslim places of worship in Wilno and Minsk after Kościuszko's death.

The military involvement of Tatars in the Kościuszko Uprising was strongly emphasised in the accounts of the services held in the mosques and in the sermons and prayers offered by the imams, in which they recalled those 'who stood up to the battle in the ranks under the command of the late Tadeusz Kościuszko' (this was not made so explicit in the commemorations conducted by other faiths). It should also be remembered that Kościuszko's former Tatar officers and soldiers were at that time part of the local nobility, and their way of life, language and everyday culture did not differ much from that of their Christian neighbours. Emphasising the social status and noble titles (as *murza* or *kniaź*, 'prince' in Ruthenian and Polish) of the Tatar participants in the mosque ceremonies, as can be seen in the accounts of these celebrations, was typical of the customs of the Tatars, many of whom were families of dynastic origin or had descended from the aristocracy of the Golden Horde.

The Muslim Tatars were not the only non-Catholics who engaged in the mourning ceremonies after Kościuszko's death. The mood of that time is well reflected in the words of Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861), an eminent Polish scholar, historian and political activist:

> Everywhere in Poland: in Warsaw, in Poznań, in Kraków, in Wilno, in the 'Kingdom' [the truncated Kingdom of Poland made a Russian protectorate at the Congress of Vienna] and in the 'Polish governorates' [the eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1772-95], all denominations celebrated a memorial service [for Kościuszko], Christians of all rites, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists. Bernardine priests in Wilno decorated a catafalque in the Evangelical church for this rite. The followers of the Mosaic confession, that is, Jews, and Mohammedans, also performed a mourning service, and prayed sincerely that God would accept the soul of the Christian Kościuszko into His glory. Yes, all Christian and non-Christian denominations, regardless of the fact that Kościuszko was a Catholic, all honoured his virtue religiously according to their rite. O children, consider that Poland set the only example of such brotherhood among the various denominations, and that the humble Polish citizen Kościuszko became the reason for the manifestation of this brotherhood. (J. Lelewel, *Polska odradzająca się, czyli dzieje polskie od roku 1795 potocznie opowiedziane*, Bruxella [Brussels], 1836, p. 38)

According to the accounts of the two Muslim commemorations, members of the local elite of Christian society, including women as well as men,

attended the Tatar ceremonies. Even the marshals of the noble assembly of the Wilno Governorate, who represented the highest official levels, were present at the mosque in Łukiszki, Wilno. The presence of a Christian gathering in a mosque, although only as witnesses of the service, must have had a significant impact on the Muslim event, if only in terms of the arrangements and ritual requirements, such as removing shoes in the prayer room (which was not the custom among Christians, and was outside the etiquette and manners of the nobility) and segregating men and women during the service. Mosques of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars were distinguished by having separate rooms for men and women with a horizontal slot in the wall to enable communication between them. (Such an arrangement was not known in mosques of other Muslim communities.)

The appearance of the interior of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatar mosque at that time and the services held are well depicted in a drawing from 1785/6 by Franciszek Smuglewicz (see illustration 18, p. 661) showing a service in the mosque in Wilno where the commemoration for Kościuszko in 1817 took place. The Christian guests witnessing this ceremony would have had the same view as in this picture.

The most significant aspect of the two accounts is the way in which they show the ceremonial being adjusted to suit the occasion. The full course of the Tatar ceremonies is not known because the two publications only list the names of those who were present and quote the sermons and prayers delivered by the imams. In attempting to reconstruct their outline, it must be borne in mind that there is no provision in Muslim services of prayers for the salvation of a deceased person. Although Tatar practices include very extensive forms of prayer and recitation of the Qur'an and prayers for the salvation of the deceased, these are private rituals and take place outside the mosque at home or at a grave. The Tatars did not have any ritual that would be similar to a Christian funeral or requiem mass (or even the Jewish *kaddish*), and the *sharīʿa* did not include provisions for it. Nevertheless, the two accounts of the commemorations show that the Tatars created a ritual that included prayers for Kościuszko's soul, at the same time conforming to Muslim norms. Furthermore, while it can be assumed that both ceremonies were based on the form for Friday communal prayers, including the *khuṭba* preached by the imam, arrangements were made to hold them on Sundays, the Christian holy day, instead of Fridays. These additional features indicate how they were made to suit this particular occasion.

Besides the question of ritual, crucial doctrinal questions would have arisen. Among these must have been whether a Christian could be

admitted to the Muslim paradise. The imams' sermons and prayers quoted in the two publications reveal that they had no doubts about this. The imam of the Minsk mosque said, 'God has taken care of him and summoned him to Himself as his faithful servant, for an eternal reward' (*Opisanie obchodu żałobnego nabożeństwa*, p. 38). Moreover, both imams agreed that a 'place in the Kingdom of Heaven' is open for 'all those who have died for our Homeland', employing the typically biblical term 'Kingdom of Heaven'. This 'inclusiveness of salvation' and 'eternal ecumenism' in the imams' words were matched by other denominations. In Wilno Evangelical Church, the pastor had no doubt that even though Kościuszko was a Catholic, he 'went to that common Homeland, where he receives the reward of his eternal work', while the Jewish cantor in Wilno also sang in Hebrew that he 'lives at the court of God's throne in the heavenly city of heights' (*Zbiór mów w różnych miejscach*, pp. 44, 79).

Both accounts of the commemorations emphasise that the imams spoke in 'pure Polish', which was a departure from the normal practice of conducting Tatar worship in Arabic. It is extremely significant that the prayer in the Minsk mosque, beginning with the words 'Lord Almighty, God of our Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their righteous generation ...', was for the most part adapted from the *Prayer of Manasseh* in the Old Testament Apocrypha. Even more significant is the possibility that it could have been adapted from the anti-Trinitarian Polish translation of the Bible by Szymon Budny, published in 1572 and known as the *Nieśwież Bible*. This Old Polish Protestant work, which was widely used by Tatars as well as Protestants, was distinguished by the extraordinary care taken over the accuracy of the translation, which was made directly from the original languages. It would have been because of the doctrinal similarities between anti-Trinitarianism and Islam that this particular translation was chosen by the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars as a source for stories and religious arguments. The question is whether the prayers of the two imams that are recorded as having been 'translated from Arabic' were actually recited in Polish during the two commemorations in Wilno and Minsk, or whether they were delivered in Arabic in conformity with normal Muslim practice, and Polish translations were then given to the publisher.

The social and political aspects of the two ceremonies are crucial. It is significant that the Tatar imams did not hesitate to recall the participation of the Tatar community in the struggle led by Kościuszko for independence, because it shows that they regarded Poland as their homeland and were prepared to demonstrate openly their identity with their fellow Poles

against the Russian rulers. As the Minsk imam says in his sermon: 'There are still many among you who stood ready for battle in the ranks under the command of the late Tadeusz Kościuszko, who have been gathered today in this temple dedicated to God; you are eyewitnesses of his brave deeds and heroic virtues' (*Opisanie obchodu żałobnego nabożeństwa*, p. 38). The Tatars 'followed the brave Poles, whose bravery, faithfulness and obedience to their monarchs are known to the whole world. Such a perennial spirit, residing in this nation, set an example for our [Tatar] knights who have been living on this land for over four centuries, as evidenced by numerous privileges and bestowals of the Polish kings for the merits of our faithful [Tatar] chivalry' (*Opisanie obchodu żałobnego nabożeństwa*, p. 37). As the imam saw it, Tatars adopted the Western chivalric ideal, understood here as military service for the homeland, that was shared by the Polish nobility.

SIGNIFICANCE

The declarations expressed by the imam of the Minsk mosque reveal how fully the Tatars living within the Commonwealth identified with it and its ideals. This is eloquently demonstrated by the care taken by the creators of the liturgies to produce texts that could be endorsed by the non-Muslims who were present. While the imams remained faithful to traditional Muslim liturgical practice, the adaptations they made reveal the extent to which they valued the place of their communities within wider Polish society.

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Andrzej Drozd

Ignacy Hołowiński

DATE OF BIRTH 24 September 1807
PLACE OF BIRTH Ovruch, Volhynia (present-day Ukraine)
DATE OF DEATH 13 October 1855
PLACE OF DEATH St Petersburg

BIOGRAPHY

Ignacy Hołowiński was born in Ovruch, Volhynia, the part of the former Polish Commonwealth incorporated into the Russian Empire when the country lost its political independence at the end of the 18th century. He studied first at the school run by the Piarists in Międzyrzecz Korecki (Velyki Mezhyrichi), then at the theological seminary in Lutsk from 1825 to 1826, and finally at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Vilnius from 1826 to 1830. In 1830, he was ordained a priest in Lutsk, then worked as a religious teacher. In 1835, he became a canon of the cathedral in Zhytomyr and, in 1837, a lecturer in religion and chaplain at the University of Kiev. In 1839, he made a six-month trip to Palestine, which he described and published as *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* ('A pilgrimage to the Holy Land').

From 1842 until his death, he was rector of the Roman Catholic Academy in St Petersburg (Akademia Duchowna, moved there from Vilnius in 1842), where he taught dogmatic theology, patristics and homiletics. He prepared an academic textbook, *Homiletyka* ('Homiletics'), published posthumously in 1859 but used in teaching for many years afterwards. He also published the sermons of other priests as models for preachers. In 1848, he was made a bishop, and in 1851 became the metropolitan of Mogilev (in present-day Belarus) and chairperson of the Roman Catholic theological college in St Petersburg (Kolegium Duchowne Rzymskokatolickie, founded in 1801). He was known for his conservative views and conciliatory stance towards the Russian government, and was thus accused of undermining the democratic aspirations for independence of the Poles, who were forced to live under foreign domination after their country was partitioned between Prussia, Russia and Austria in the late 18th century. Despite these accusations, he corresponded in secret with the Roman Curia, informing it about all the government's moves regarding the Church.

In addition to his church and academic activities, Hołowiński was interested in literature. Under the pseudonym Żegota Kostrowiec, he

Illustration 19. Ignácy Hołowiński

wrote poetry and stories, mainly on religious and historical subjects, e.g. *Teka rozmaitości* ('Miscellanea', 1844), *Dzieciątko Jezus* ('Child Jesus', 1846), *Rachel* (1848). He also translated Western European literature under the pseudonym Ignacy Kefaliński; from 1840, he published translations of Petrarch's sonnets in the annual publication *Rusałka* ('Water nymph') and in 1840-1 he edited the first Polish translation of six of Shakespeare's plays. Both his translations and his poetry were heavily criticised by his contemporaries (he was cruelly derided by the leading Polish poet Juliusz Słowacki in the poem 'Beniowski') for his monotonous rhymes and over-literalism, although his translations of Shakespeare are regarded much more favourably today.

Ignacy Hołowiński died of cancer on 13 October 1855 in St Petersburg. At his funeral, his friends remembered him as a deeply pious person, open-minded and tolerant towards all religions. In particular, they praised his skills as a preacher and attempted to explain his conciliatory attitude towards the tsarist government. Four of the funeral orations were published in 1856.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej
'A pilgrimage to the Holy Land'

DATE 1842-5
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej ('A pilgrimage to the Holy Land') was published twice during the 19th century. It first appeared in five volumes in octavo in Vilnius in 1842-5. It was divided into unnumbered chapters and subsections, generally with geographical titles. The narrative, which is continuous and chronological, takes the form of letters to a certain Brother Jan. The first volume (246 pages) describes Hołowiński's departure from Kiev, the journey through Ukraine to Odessa, the boat trip through the Black Sea and four weeks in Istanbul. The second volume (452 pages) covers the sea route from Istanbul to Beirut, with descriptions of places visited such as Smyrna, Samos, Patmos, Kos, Rhodes and Cyprus, followed by a caravan trip to Lebanon and Syria – from Beirut to Baalbek, Damascus, Sidon and Tyre. In the third volume (478 pages), Hołowiński describes visits within the Holy Land, including to Haifa, Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Tiberias, the surroundings of the Sea of Galilee, Samaria and Jerusalem. In the fourth volume (369 pages), he describes the region of the Dead Sea, Jericho and Bethlehem, and in the fifth volume (336 pages), the journey back from Bethlehem to Jaffa via Jerusalem, the return to Istanbul and a few trips around the area (the Princes' Islands, Bursa, İznik, İzmit) and finally his return to Kiev via Odessa.

The main aim of Hołowiński's journey, as he admits, was to visit the Christian holy places in search of deep religious experiences. He decided to write down his impressions in order to dispel misconceptions about the hardships of pilgrimage and to show that it is only 'a short and most enjoyable ride in the world' (*Pielgrzymka*, 1853, p. V; this edition, 'revised and enlarged' but not differing in any major way from the original, is cited in the references below). The work somewhat resembles guidebooks, with a chronologically linear construction and containing a host of historical details, quotations from the Bible and descriptions of religious emotions. Hołowiński's erudition and his desire to conduct research are evident throughout. He makes use of many valuable scholarly sources, which are often given in properly constructed footnotes. Besides works of Church

Fathers and theologians, he quotes ancient historians and geographers (e.g. Strabo), travellers to the East (e.g. Mikołaj 'The Orphan' Radziwiłł, Anzelm Polak, Józef Drohojowski, Edward Radziwiłł), Orientalists (e.g. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Johann Burckhardt, Wacław Rzewuski) and even articles from the *Journal Asiatique*. In addition, with the curiosity of a researcher, he records all the inscriptions he encounters, climbing several ladders in the ruins of Baalbek to read and copy the high inscriptions (p. 168). He walks around every ruin, climbs every peak and scrupulously keeps notes of everything. Based on his own observations and information taken from other books, he includes in his diary many historical notes in the form of essays. For example, while he is visiting the ruins of the ancient Monastery of Stoudios in Istanbul, which was involved in the struggle with iconoclasm during the 8th and 9th centuries, he writes several pages on the history of the iconoclastic controversy (pp. 26-39); and again, influenced by his visit to İznik, the ancient Nicaea, he describes in detail the deliberations of the Council of Nicaea (pp. 634-43).

Hołowiński is most interested in Christian antiquities, looking at the present through the prism of the Christian past. That is already noticeable in Istanbul during his visit to Hagia Sophia. In spite of the edifice being the first mosque he describes and the reader's first contact with Islam, Hołowiński looks for traces of its former Christian splendour (the place where the altar was, crosses carved on the gates of the gallery, remains of Christian mosaics), and devotes just a few sentences to an explanation of the significance of the main Muslim elements such as the *mihrāb* (which he calls a 'frame'), where a copy of the Qur'an was exhibited, the green pulpit from which the imam reads Friday prayers, the place where the sultan prayed (*maqṣūra*) and 'some green wooden boxes dreadfully fixed to the columns' (probably the medallions with the names of Allāh, Muḥammad and the Rightly-Guided Caliphs; pp. 14-16). In Jerusalem, he follows in the footsteps of Jesus Christ, hardly paying attention to the modern city, which he does not like (pp. 359-90). He repeats the words of the Psalm: 'O God, the nations have come into your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple' a few times. According to Jan Stanisław Bystroń, Hołowiński shows 'a lack of understanding of the culture and landscape of the East' (*Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egipcie*, p. 185). In fact, Eastern themes, including religious ones, are not particularly interesting to him. Religious and cultural issues appear as if by chance, because Hołowiński wishes to prove that 'this famous plague and robbers of Arabia are not as terrible as the wanderers describe' (*Pielgrzymka*, p. VI). He treats Muslims with friendliness and trust, and is not inclined to attribute bad intentions

to anyone. Observing the Arabs, he states that there are many contradictions in their character – they are both savage and delicate, dissolute and righteous, but the good side of their nature always wins (p. 562). According to his observations, the Turks, representatives of the ruling nation, are the noblest of all the eastern nations, while the worst are the Greeks, degraded by centuries of slavery (p. 62). He appreciates that the Turks keep their word, behave moderately in drinking and eating, treat slaves like family members, show mercy to humans and animals and love nature. He particularly praises the lower classes, who he thinks lead an ordered and hard-working life (pp. 65-7).

Religious tolerance is the theme that attracts Hołowiński's attention in particular. Already in Istanbul, at the beginning of the journey, he is fascinated by the presence of the cross wherever he turns and listens with pleasure to the sound of church bells ringing at every hour of the day. He enumerates the churches in the city and emphasises that the religious freedom in the Ottoman Empire is the same as in Rome. The Turkish government does not interfere in the affairs of Catholics, and the clergy remain under the direct authority of Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (pp. 49-50). Hołowiński treats this as a sign that the Turkish fanaticism of former times has disappeared, which he thinks will lead to the fall of Islam. He regrets that at this crucial moment there is a lack of missionaries with a knowledge of Turkish or Arabic who could convert Muslims to Christianity (p. 51). The Christian-Muslim relations, shown by Hołowiński somehow accidentally, seem to develop harmoniously.

However, it must be said that Hołowiński's view of Islam is very superficial. He is not particularly interested in it, and repeats vague information obtained from dragomans without checking it or going into theological complexities. His explanation of Ramaḍān, given in one sentence only, can serve as an example: 'It is a one-month holiday; during the day they do not eat anything, but when the imam shouts from the gallery of minarets in the evening, they eat and revel all night' (p. 628). Hołowiński visited Bursa during Ramaḍān and suffered difficulties because of the fasting period – during the day he could not get food, horses or people and at night he could not sleep because of the noise (p. 628). It is worth pointing out that Hołowiński did not devote a chapter or even a paragraph of his book to Islam, its history and beliefs, while he included theological reflections on Catholicism at every step. Nevertheless, he published a very valuable translation of seven Muslim prayers, made by August Żaba, a Lithuanian married to a Greek woman, who worked as a dragoman at the Russian consulate in Smyrna (p. 76). Hołowiński decided to include the prayers

to satisfy readers' curiosity and to present the way in which Muslims pray seven (*sic*) times a day, which according to his understanding are sunrise, after midday, in the afternoon at four o'clock, at sunset, one and a half hours after sunset, at midnight, at dawn, and one and a half hours before sunrise (pp. 76-87). Unfortunately, he does not reveal from whom or from where August Żaba collected these prayers and gives only distorted Arabic equivalents of their names in brackets. He praises the erudition of Żaba, who had a large collection of Oriental books, and promised to translate more than just prayers.

Hołowiński is a model of a 19th-century pilgrim – he does not have the characteristics of a typical tourist who looks for the exotic but combines the passion of a historian with Christian theological fervour. Getting to know foreign cultures was not a priority for him during his six-month trip to the East, and his encounters with Islam seem to be quite accidental and involuntary. He is primarily interested in the signs and remains of Christianity, and Islam is just the background imposed by the current political situation. Paradoxically, this approach gives a useful indication of Christian-Muslim relations in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire. The Catholic priest moved freely throughout the Empire in a cassock or in European clothes, while his friend, the priest Maxymilian Ryłło, was arrested in Kos when he was taken for a Turk because of the Oriental clothes he liked to wear. A Turkish official advised Hołowiński not to relinquish European clothing, because it is 'universally respected in the East' (p. 108). During the trip, he dispels prejudices over the dangers waiting for Europeans in a Muslim country.

Hołowiński does not appear to be prejudiced against Muslims and he does not treat them as 'curiosities' to be described and made familiar for the Polish reader. Muslims appear in his stories as though by chance – though he is grateful for all their help during his visits to places important in Christianity and for not disturbing him while he is taking in their ambience.

SIGNIFICANCE

This mode of the Christian pilgrim's conduct in the world of Islam was to be duplicated by other Polish travellers to the Holy Land and many of their accounts were modelled on Hołowiński's book. Traces of *Pielgrzymka* can be found in the travel books of, among others, Eustachy Iwanowski, Marcin Tyburcy, Tadeusz Padalica, Feliks Gondek, Ignacy Domeyko, Jan Gnatowski and Karol Niedziałkowski. The last of these names Hołowiński's journal as 'the most popular description of pilgrimage in Poland' (*Wrażenia z pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej*, p. 2).

The popularity of Hołowiński's book is evidenced by the growing number of subscribers (a list of 700 was included in vols 4 and 5 of the first edition), and also by the fact that the second revised edition in one volume (667 pages) in quarto was published in St Petersburg in 1853. The *Pielgrzymka* became the most popular Polish travel book on the Holy Land in the 19th century. It frequently served as a guide to those who were going to the East, and was also called 'the best Polish description of the pilgrimage' by Jan Bystroń (*Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egipcie*, p. 136). This was the fulfilment of Hołowiński's desires. He expressed the hope that his book would contribute to the creation of similar, or even better descriptions and thus to the enrichment of Polish literature. Sadly, the book's popularity ended with the beginning of the 20th century and it is nowadays virtually forgotten.

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Sylwia Filipowska

Dionizy Chlewiński and Ignacy Domeyko

DATE OF BIRTH Chlewiński, 1793; Domeyko, 1802
PLACE OF BIRTH Chlewiński, unknown; Domeyko, Niedźwiadka Wielka (Belarusian, Vialikaya Miadzviadka)
DATE OF DEATH Chlewiński, 1870; Domeyko, 1889
PLACE OF DEATH Chlewiński, Ejszyszki (Lithuanian, Eišiškės); Domeyko, Santiago de Chile

BIOGRAPHY

Dionizy Chlewiński and Ignacy Domeyko both came from families that belonged to the middle nobility in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was under Russian rule following the partition and annexation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Dionizy Chlewiński was born in 1793. He was educated at the theological seminary in Wilno (Lithuanian, Vilnius) and was ordained a Catholic priest in 1816. He continued his academic studies at the University of Wilno, where he also held the position of vicar of the university Church of St John. In 1819, he joined the semi-secret Towarzystwo Filomatyczne ('Philomath Society'), where he met Ignacy Domeyko. This society had been created by a small group of university students and mentored a larger group of university and junior high school youths associated with the Zgromadzenie Filaretów ('Filaret Association'). Both these societies were mainly educational in character and aimed at moral improvement, though they also promoted patriotic values. Their activities were considered by the Russian authorities to be directed against their regime and became a pretext for repressions against both societies in 1823-4. These events came to be crucial to the modern Polish system of national and political values, which was aimed at regaining independence and then defending it. The Russian repressions became the basis for the masterpiece of Polish Romantic literature, the mystical drama 'Dziady' ['Forefathers' eve'], written by the poet Adam Mickiewicz in exile in 1832. Among the characters immortalised in this drama was Ignacy Domeyko (under his nickname Żegota), one of the translators of the Qur'an. Many participants in these societies, including Chlewiński and Domeyko, played an important role in the formation of a new intellectual elite after the November Uprising of 1831, both in Poland-Lithuania and in exile.

In 1821, Chlewiński left Wilno to work in the church in the village of Starojelnia near Nowogródek. A few years later, in 1828-9, he and Ignacy Domeyko, who had settled on his uncle's nearby estate in the village of Zapole in 1824, translated the Qur'an into Polish for local Tatars, working with another neighbour, the Tatar Muslim Józef Sobolewski. Chlewiński spent 15 years in Starojelnia, after which he moved on to parishes in Lida, Ossowo and lastly Ejszyszki, where he died in 1870.

Nothing is known about any literary activity by Chlewiński after 1829. He does not appear to have been involved in any attempt to publish the translation. Nevertheless, he must have been aware that a translation based on his and Domeyko's work was published under the name of Jan Murza Tarak Buczacki in Warsaw in 1858, because the name 'Revd Chlewiński, priest and dean of Lida' appears on the list of subscribers.

Ignacy Domeyko led a somewhat more complicated and more public life than Chlewiński. Born in 1802, he was the son of a middle-ranking noble from the Lida-Nowogródek region. After his father's early death, his childless uncle took over his care. In his youth, he showed interest in the natural sciences, chemistry and mineralogy and, from 1816 to 1822, he studied in the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the University of Wilno. In 1819 he joined the Towarzystwo Filomatyczne and, in 1823, was arrested with other members by the Russian police, expelled from Wilno and ordered to settle in the countryside under police supervision. In this way, he came to move to his uncle's estate in Zapole, which he looked after until 1829. There, in 1828-9, he worked with Chlewiński on the Qur'an translation.

When the Polish November Uprising against Russia in 1830-1 started, Domeyko joined the Polish insurgent army and took part in the campaign in Lithuania. When the uprising failed, Domeyko – like many others – was forced to go into exile in order to avoid Russian reprisals. Naturally, the Prussians did not welcome the 'rebels' from over the border, so he was probably interned in Prussia for some time. He found his way to France, where he continued his studies in Paris and graduated from the École des Mines de Paris in 1837. Later that year, he received the offer of a professorship in chemistry and mineralogy in Coquimbo, Chile, where he quickly gained recognition for his expertise. He laid the foundations for the Chilean natural resources economy, mining industry and higher education, modernised and reformed the Universidad de Chile in line with the model of the University of Wilno, and from 1867 he was its rector. He married and started a family in Chile, but still maintained close contacts

with the Polish community in exile in Europe and in the last four years of his life made a number of visits to Europe. He died after returning to Chile in 1889. It should be noted that 2002 was announced by UNESCO as the Year of Ignacy Domeyko.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Koran, Alkoran

DATE 1828-9 (printed between 1830 and 1836)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

The earliest signs among intellectuals in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of interest in the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars came out of changed thinking following the Enlightenment in the later 18th and early 19th centuries. The first scholarly works on Tatars by Tadeusz Czacki date from this time, along with the first depiction of them during a service in a mosque in the village of Łukiszki (now a district of Vilnius) by Franciszek Smuglewicz (1785-6). But anyone wishing to develop an interest in the Tatars faced immense difficulties. At the beginning of the 19th century, the University of Wilno, which had become the leading educational and intellectual centre in the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, sought to establish a department of Oriental languages, but it was unable to do this because of the lack of teachers. Further, in 1809 Józef Zawadzki (1781-1838), typographer of the university, complained that the academic library did not have books needed for learning Arabic apart from Thomas Erpenius's 17th-century *Grammatica arabica* and a copy of the Qur'an that had recently been printed in Russia (T. Turkowski, *Materjały do dziejów literatury i oświaty: Z archiwum drukarni i księgarni Józefa Zawadzkiego w Wilnie, z lat 1805-1865*, vol. 1. *Czasy Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego po rozbiorach [do roku 1841]*, Wilno, 1935, p. 22).

In a letter to Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734-1823), one of the most eminent and active politicians, intellectuals and promoters of education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Zawadzki suggested the publication of an edition of the Qur'an with a parallel Polish translation:

> How agreeable it would be to publish the Alkoran in Arabic for our good Tatars, with a Polish translation adjacent to it. These people say prayers and read the Alkoran without understanding a word. This would be a contribution of great importance to our noble fellow citizens, and it would increase the knowledge of the language so famous, which has always belonged to the languages of scholarship. (Turkowski, *Materjały*, p. 23)

A few years later, in 1816, he planned to publish an Arabic primer for local Tatars and also 'a book for daily worship in Arabic text with a Polish translation' (Turkowski, *Materjały*, p. 106). One of those involved in this was

the Catholic priest Jan Chryzostom Gintyłło (1788-1857), the author of *Nauka czytania po polsku dla młodzi wyznania starozakonnego* ('Learning to read in Polish for young people of the Jewish faith'), a Polish primer for Jews written in Hebrew characters and published in 1817. Like Dionizy Chlewiński, Gintyłło served as vicar of the church of the University of Wilno, and the two undoubtedly knew each other. Sadly, Zawadzki's plans to publish printed books for Tatars were not realised at this time.

Although there was no Oriental studies department in the University of Wilno, there was interest in the Islamic world and its languages among scholars and students there, just as in other parts of Europe at the time. Interest in the East contributed to the activities of Orientalists such as Julian Sękowski, Ignacy Pietraszewski, Antoni Muchliński and Wojciech Kazimirski, and led to an awareness of the need for a cultural mission to the Muslim Tatar population. Among those who were interested in this was Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861), a professor of history at the University of Wilno, who was later to participate in the efforts to print Chlewiński and Domeyko's Polish translation of the Qur'an.

It was in this atmosphere that, in 1828, Chlewiński and Domeyko began working on their translation. Their letters show that they cooperated on the task, though Chlewiński appears to have been the main translator. It is not clearly known why they decided to undertake this task at this time, though the possibility cannot be ruled out that they were prompted by meeting Tatar landowners who had estates in the area of Nowogródek and Lida. This is supported by a passage in one of Domeyko's private letters from 1829, in which he writes that he has concluded

> a contract on the printing of Alkoran with [Teofil] Glucksberg [the Glücksbergs were a family of Polish booksellers and publishers of Jewish origin operating in the 18th and 19th centuries mainly in Wilno, Warsaw and Kiev] on behalf of the Nowogródek Tatars, and the Polish manuscript was handed over to the Wilno censorship, which if it did not accept it, the Tatars would submit a request to the Emperor [Tsar Nicholas I, r. 1825-55] for permission to print their books for worship. (Wójcik, 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', p. 18)

It is interesting that Domeyko mentions in this passage that he has handed over 'the Polish manuscript' to the censorship, not just 'the manuscript'. It can be deduced from this that the edition of the Qur'an could have been planned in 1829 as a bilingual publication with the original Arabic text and a Polish translation, as Józef Zawadzki had intended in 1809. (Printing of the Arabic text was technically possible even though there were no fonts

in Wilno at this time, because works in Arabic characters were already being published in the Russian Empire, mainly for the Kazan Tatars.)

Based on documents discovered in Russian archives by Tamara Bairašauskaitė ('Pirmasis Korano vertimas', pp. 11-15; *Lietuvos Totoriai*, pp. 164-8), it is known that the Russian censors in Wilno refused to allow the publication of the Polish translation, and a petition was accordingly submitted to the tsar by Józef Sobolewski, a Tatar nobleman from the Nowogródek region. It seems probable that Domeyko and Chlewiński established contact with the local Tatars through him. This could have happened during the assembly of local nobility (*sejmik*) held in Nowogródek in March 1827, at which Domeyko could have been an observer together with the Tatar landowners. At this assembly, Sobolewski was the only Tatar elected as one of the 15 border judges (officials responsible for resolving minor property disputes). It is entirely possible that personal acquaintance with the Nowogródek Tartars led Domeyko to decide to turn the vision of intellectuals such as Zawadzki and Czartoryski into a reality, and he persuaded Chlewiński to collaborate with him.

Józef Sobolewski belonged to a Muslim Tatar noble family that, in earlier centuries, had settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. His father, Dawid Sobolewski, owned an estate not far from Nowogródek. According to Bairašauskaitė's archival findings, he was included in the lists of assemblies of Nowogródek nobles 1810 and appeared at the 1821 assembly with his son Józef. Taking into account that the right to vote in regional assemblies was granted at the age of 18 and the right to take up elected office at 23, it can be assumed that in 1828 Józef Sobolewski was still a relatively young man, of a similar age to Ignacy Domeyko. In 1824, he was elected by the Nowogródek nobility to the lower land court (district police) for three years, and in 1827-9/1830 he was also elected as a border judge of the Nowogródek district, and later applied for a civil service post in the Grodno governorate or the Białystok district. His later life is unknown (Bairašauskaitė, 'Kilka uwag o wydawaniu', p. 86).

As Domeyko expected, the local censor did not grant permission to print the Polish translation of the Qur'an, so at the end of 1829 or the beginning of 1830 Sobolewski forwarded the request to Nicholas I, asking both for permission to print the work and for a subsidy towards the cost. Interestingly, Sobolewski presented himself as the translator of this work and stated that he had based it on a Russian translation. The request was delivered to the head of the Main Directorate for Foreign Religions in Petersburg, Count Dmitry Bludov, who thought that permission could be

granted after the censor had approved the manuscript. But the matter had to be decided by Nicholas I himself, and on 12 January 1830 he wrote in his own hand (in pencil) on Bludov's report: 'I do not see any advantage in this, because it is desirable that, as they [the Tatars] live among Christians, they should join Christianity someday' (Bairašauskaitė, 'Pirmasis Korano vertimas', pp. 11-13; Bairašauskaitė, *Lietuvos Totoriai*, pp. 164-8; Kryczyński, 'Historia', pp. 7-8). With this, the issue of publishing the translation of the Qur'an into Polish in the Russian Empire was closed.

A little earlier, in the autumn of 1829, Sobolewski had applied for permission to print his Muslim catechism that he had written in Polish in Latin characters, 'Wykład wiary mahometanskiej' ('Exposition of the Mohammedan faith'). The Russian censor in Vilnius was uncertain about some parts of this work and referred it to the higher censoring authority in St Petersburg. They granted permission and Sobolewski's catechism was printed in Wilno in 1830 (Wójcik, 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', pp. 18-19). It was the first – and until the 20th century the only – religious work by a Polish-Lithuanian Tatar to be published. The fact that most (though not all) of the Qur'an passages in Polish translation included in this catechism turn out to be identical, or almost identical, to the text of the translation made by Domeyko and Chlewiński clearly indicates that Sobolewski cooperated with them and that their two works were composed at about the same time, though the translation of the Qur'an, which was begun in the spring of 1828, may have preceded the writing of the catechism by a few months.

The failure of efforts to obtain the tsar's consent to print the Qur'an translation did not end the matter. Its further history can be partially reconstructed on the basis of correspondence between some of those involved and also through comparison between a fragment of the work that was published by 1836 and the full revised edition that was published in Warsaw in 1858 (see below).

The key figure in this history was the leading Polish historian Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861), who was interested in the East. He was a mentor of the new patriotic generation, including Philomaths and Filarets at the University of Wilno, a politician and one of the leaders in the Polish emigration after the failure of the November Uprising of 1830-1.

When in 1830 it turned out that the translation could not be published in Wilno, Domeyko managed to get a section of it passed to Lelewel in Warsaw (it is not known why he did not send the whole text). At this time, the city was still the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, a Russian satellite state created in 1815 and thus separated from other Polish-Lithuanian

provinces annexed by Russia, so the manuscript had to be smuggled across the border illegally. When he received the translation, Lelewel sent it to Poznań to Count Bernard Potocki (d. 1874, the son of the traveller and Oriental enthusiast, Jan Potocki, d. 1815), who undertook to print it even though it was not complete (Wójcik, 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', p. 18).

It is not certain when Potocki started this work. Scholars have until now generally followed the suggestion of the Polish bibliographer Karol Estreicher that it was in 1848 (see K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia*, vol. 6. *Dopełnienia* (*A-O*), Kraków, 1881, p. 379; Wójcik, 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', pp 15, 21), but this opinion should be revised. Careful reading of Domeyko's and Lelewel's letters shows that Potocki may have printed it even as early as the autumn of 1830, as Domeyko hints in a letter to Onufry Pietraszkiewicz, and probably no later than 1836 (Wójcik, 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', pp. 20, 21). In a letter to Domeyko dated 28 October 1836, Lelewel reports that he has met with Potocki and has been assured by him that he will complete the printing (which had apparently already started) as soon as he has received the remaining part of the manuscript, which he asks to be sent to Poznań.

Since Lelewel did not possess the full text of the translation, in 1841 he considered having the missing part translated by the Polish Orientalist Wojciech Kazimirski, who, after the November Uprising, like many others had taken refuge in France (where he was known as Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski; *CMR* 21, 226-34), and had published his famous French translation of the Qur'an in Paris in 1840. But this idea was not implemented and ultimately Potocki's edition of the Polish translation was never completed. According to Estreicher (*Bibliografia polska XIX stulecia*, p. 379), Potocki destroyed his printed edition, so that today only three copies are known, all from Kórnik castle library (Wójcik, 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', p. 15), which was established by the Działyński family, relatives of Bernard Potocki, who might thus have given these copies to the castle library. (One of the copies remains in Kórnik library and two others have been transferred to the National Library in Warsaw.)

The part of the translation printed by Potocki comprises Suras 1-7 in a volume of 352 pages. It does not have a title page, and there are no names of translators or publisher, no place or date of publication. The only indication of the title is on the first page, where it is written *Koran* in Polish at the top of the page above *Sūrat al-fātiḥa*. The binding was probably made by the library.

An intriguing question about this work is: What translation did Chlewiński and Domeyko use for their translation of the Qur'an? It could

not have been an Arabic original because neither of them knew this language, and there was no Arabic specialist in the University of Wilno at this time.

One possibility is that their work was an adaptation of a translation into Polish that had been made among the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in the 17th century. Handwritten copies of the original Arabic text with a Polish interlinear translation written in Arabic characters had long been used by Tatars. However, detailed analysis shows that Domeyko and Chlewiński did not adopt this translation from Tatar manuscripts, though some passages could probably have been compared with it. This can be indirectly evidenced by interpretations in a later edition of the so-called Buczacki Qur'an from 1858, which was based on the translation by Domeyko and Chlewiński. These interpretations are similar to the translation from Tatar manuscripts, but at the same time they have no equivalent in the European translations of Qur'an that were accessible to Domeyko and Chlewiński (Drozd, 'Rękopisy tatarskie', p. 44). However, some influences from the Tatar translation may have appeared only later, at the stage of Buczacki's revision. In any case, a detailed comparative analysis of the text printed in Poznań as well as the Czombrów manuscript (see below) and Nowolecki's 1858 edition will be necessary to determine the precise extent to which the Tatar manuscript tradition influenced the work of the two Philomaths (and therefore to what extent Tatars were involved in it).

Zbigniew Wójcik has correctly suggested ('Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', p. 20) that Chlewiński and Domeyko based their work on the French translation by Claude Savary (1750-88; see *CMR* 13, 745-56), which was published in 1783 and reissued in 1821 and 1828, and so would have been relatively easy for them to find. Examination of the text printed by Bernard Potocki shows that it is generally an accurate translation of Savary's French edition (Drozd, 'W sprawie autorstwa', p. 81), while its editorial details and lay-out are also very similar, such as the titles of suras and the lack of numbering of verses, which are arranged in paragraphs. The clearest evidence is the identical location of the footnotes in Potocki's edition, as well as the similarity of their contents to those of Savary.

The history of Chlewiński and Domeyko's translation does not end with the edition printed by Potocki. As mentioned above, Lelewel still hoped that this would be completed in 1841 (Wójcik 'Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', p. 20), but the full text of the translation was not accessible. The fate of this edition is probably explained by the fact that in 1857, Jan Buczacki, a 26-year-old Tatar from the Podlasie region, delivered the text of the Polish translation of the Qur'an to the publisher Aleksander Nowolecki in Warsaw. According to Nowolecki, Buczacki declared that

this translation had been made by his father Selim Buczacki together with an unnamed Tatar imam. It is worth explaining that the Buczacki family was among the prominent families of Tatar landowners who had settled in Podlasie, east of Warsaw.

Jan Buczacki died unexpectedly in Warsaw in 1857. Before his death, he allegedly made corrections to the translation he had offered to Nowolecki, using Kazimirski's French translation, *Le Koran*. Nowolecki's collaborator, Władysław Kościuszko, an enthusiast of the East, continued this work and a two-volume edition (expanded to include a collection of studies on the history of Islam and Poland) was eventually published in 1858. Wójcik ('Filomacki przekład Alkoranu', pp. 22-4) has rightly pointed out the similarity between the texts printed by Potocki and Nowolecki. A detailed comparative analysis leads to the conclusion that, in fact, 'Buczacki's' text is mostly a duplicate of this known in Potocki's edition with minor stylistic modifications (Drozd, 'W sprawie autorstwa', p. 70). This may prove that Nowolecki's edition included the entire translation made by the two Philomaths, for which Potocki had waited in vain and which must therefore have been passed to the Buczackis beforehand. Perhaps it was Jan Buczacki's grandfather, Jakub Buczacki (d. 1838), known as the first Tatar member of the Polish Parliament (*Sejm*), who helped to smuggle Chlewiński and Domeyko's manuscript from the annexed Polish-Lithuanian lands via Warsaw to the western Polish provinces (Poznań) under Prussian rule in 1830 and it may not then have moved further than his manor house in the village of Małaszewicze in Podlasie.

Contrary to the information contained in the introduction to Nowolecki's edition about the authorship of this work, on the title page Jan Murza Tarak Buczacki (to give him his ancestral Tatar title) was identified as the author. This confusion led to the authorship of the work (wrongly thought to be the first translation of the Qur'an into Polish) being accepted in publications and studies for almost 140 years. As recently as 1995, Zbigniew Wójcik ('Filomacki przekład Alkoranu') and Tamara Bairašauskaitė ('Pirmasis Korano vertimas') have reconstructed the history of Chlewiński and Domeyko's work on the basis of the scattered correspondence of the Philomaths, and Bairašauskaitė ('Pirmasis Korano vertimas') has identified Sobolewski's involvement in the attempt to publish it. A comparative textual analysis of both editions and the identification of fragments of the translation from Potocki's and Nowolecki's editions in Sobolewski's catechism made subsequently by Andrzej Drozd has completed the history of the translation during the decades after it was first produced.

Confirmation of these conclusions has unexpectedly come from another source. In 2014 the Polish heir to the manor in Czombrów near

Nowogródek (today in Belarus) revealed an anonymous manuscript copy probably written in the second quarter of the 19th century containing suras 69-71 and 89-111 of the Qur'an in Polish translation, sections that were not included in Potocki's edition. It was saved together with other documents from the Czombrów manor house, which was burned down by Soviet partisans in 1943. Czombrów is a significant place for Polish culture, because the poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) resided in this estate during his childhood and this manor became the setting for his well-known epic poem 'Pan Tadeusz'. Unfortunately, despite links with the milieu of the Philomaths such as this, today nothing certain is known about the origin of the Polish Qur'an manuscript found there (Puchalska, 'O odkryciu fragmentu polskiego przekładu Koranu'). Nevertheless, its connection with Chlewiński and Domeyko's work is clearly traceable when comparison is made with Nowolecki's 1858 edition.

The result of this comparison is interesting. Some parts of the two versions are almost identical, some are only similar, and other parts are unrelated. At the same time, certain textual details in the Czombrów manuscript clearly prove that this text was produced with some participation from Tatars, which again seems to confirm their involvement in the work of the Philomaths. All this shows that these two versions, the one from Czombrów and Nowolecki's edition, are related; the manuscript from Czombrów was clearly not copied from Nowolecki's edition, but they may have come independently from a common source.

Perhaps it should be assumed that the similarities and differences within them reflect the relationship between the unpreserved part of the original translation by Chlewiński and Domeyko and Nowolecki's edition. The Czombrów version might have been a copy of Chlewiński and Domeyko's translation.

SIGNIFICANCE

As a translation of the Qur'an from one European language to another, *Koran* by Chlewiński and Domeyko may not seem of great interest, though it must be emphasised that it has not yet been studied sufficiently to appreciate in full its value as a work of literature or translation. It is certainly characterised by elegance of style and ease of reading (unlike the more accurate but more difficult translation from Arabic by Józef Bielawski published in 1986). Moreover, as Dariusz Pniewski has pointed out, the text of the Philomaths is composed in rhyme, employing Polish syllable accent rules, which allows it to be considered a literary masterpiece (Pniewski, 'Koran romantyków', pp. 128-129). Comparison between the Polish text

and its French antecedent may possibly bring to light whether and how the two Polish translators showed biases resulting from their Christian loyalties. This could provide interesting avenues for research because, unlike other Western European translations, this one was created for use by Muslims.

The importance of the work lies not so much in the text itself as in the circumstances and reasons that brought it into being and its early history.

Its uniqueness lies especially in the fact that its co-author Dionizy Chlewiński (who probably did most of the work) was a Catholic priest whose intention was not to criticise or argue with Islam, nor to convert Muslims to Christianity. On the contrary, by making the Qur'an available in Polish, this translation was intended – even if this was not explicitly expressed – to sustain the Muslim religious identity and the national Polish-Lithuanian loyalty of the Tatars. This religious identity was in fact accepted and considered as an unchanging and even natural component of local traditional society, which was, at this time, beginning to face political and cultural pressure from a hostile Russian regime. In such circumstances, the national loyalty of the translators outweighed their Christian loyalty. It should be noted that their action was consonant with the character of Polish-Lithuanian society through the centuries. The enterprise of Christians translating the Qur'an for Muslims stands as a characteristic, if particularly estimable, manifestation of a tradition that had long been followed within the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Polish-Lithuanian state. What is also significant is the interweaving in or around this enterprise of personalities important in the history of Poland and the region of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including A. Mickiewicz, J. Lelewel, A.K. Czartoryski and T. Działyński. This also shows that Tatars had become an integral part of this society and its history.

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Tamara Bairašauskaitė and Andrzej Drozd

Manswet Aulich

DATE OF BIRTH 21 August 1793
PLACE OF BIRTH Komorniki, present-day northern Poland
DATE OF DEATH 21 February 1861
PLACE OF DEATH Cracow

BIOGRAPHY

Manswet Aulich was born in Komorniki, a village located in the part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that was taken over by Prussia during the last quarter of the 18th century. His father was a country school teacher. In 1811, he entered the Franciscan Order of the Reformati in Solec (present-day Solec nad Wisłą) and was ordained in Sandomierz in 1820 by Bishop Adam Prosper Burzyński, who had worked as a missionary in Egypt and Syria between 1791 and 1810. Bishop Burzyński's example was to exert a strong influence on Aulich. At the beginning of his *Dziennik dwunastoletniej misji apostolskiej na Wschodzie* ('Diary of a twelve-year apostolic mission in the East'), he states that he had dreamed about being a missionary for years, but he could neither find the possibility of learning Eastern languages nor gain his superiors' permission (vol. 1, pp. 7-8). After ordination, Aulich spent a few years in Solec, then in 1828 he was appointed as administrator of the monastery in Stobnica and also served as a novice master. In July 1830, he was transferred to Cracow as deputy to the prior of the community.

At the same time, an opportunity arose to go on a mission to the East. Szczepan de Medem, the provincial superior, received a letter from the prior of mission in Istanbul asking for new missionaries, and he proposed Aulich as a candidate. It took one year to gain permission from the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in the Vatican, and then Aulich had to pass a theology examination before he could prepare for the journey. The next 12 years of his life are best known through his diary. He left Cracow on 28 December 1831 and reached Istanbul on 29 March 1832. Living in a monastery in the district of Pera, he learned the Illyrian language in order to be able to minister not only to Poles but also to Illyrians and Roman Catholics of other nationalities. In April 1833, he was sent to Smyrna to serve as a priest to the 'Slavic population' there and then,

in June 1835, he received a letter from the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith with an order to go on a mission to the Caucasus. He hurried to Istanbul and started preparations for the journey, but he could not obtain a Russian passport and had to come back to Smyrna in January 1836. He spent the next two years in Smyrna and became the prior of the Franciscan community there, but he left the town again in April 1838 to establish a mission in Tehran to Poles who had deserted from the Russian army. He reached Tabriz through Istanbul, Trabzon and Erzurum, but had to return because he had failed to obtain the Russian consul's permission. The mission was cancelled after an agreement was signed between the Russian and Persian governments requiring all deserters to be handed over to the Russian authorities.

After twice falling sick with cholera, Aulich reached Istanbul in October 1838 and stayed there until August 1842. He spent the last year of his mission in Smyrna and then, in obedience to the orders of his superiors, he returned in August 1843 to Cracow, where he served as novice master in the Franciscan house and became well-known as a preacher. He was in Istanbul again between 1856 and 1859, but his diary notes of that visit have not been published. He died in Cracow on 21 February 1861.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dziennik dwunastoletniej misji apostolskiej na Wschodzie
'Diary of a twelve-year apostolic mission in the East'

DATE 1850
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Dziennik dwunastoletniej misji apostolskiej na Wschodzie ('Diary of a twelve-year apostolic mission in the East') was published in Cracow in 1850, seven years after Aulich's return from Turkey. It comprises three volumes of 215, 240 and 255 pages respectively. The first two volumes retain a diary layout with continuous numbering of chapters, of which there are 16: the first three describe the journey from Cracow to Istanbul, the fourth is on Christian monasteries in Turkey and the remaining twelve relate the events of the years 1832-43. The third volume is a collection of information grouped into four thematic sections: Islam, Turkey, Istanbul and the Bosphorus. It is clear that Aulich carefully collated his notes in preparation for printing, and he supplemented them in vol. 3 with general information that he had collected himself during his stay in Turkey and had also acquired from other sources. Most of the authors of the works he cites come from the 16th and 17th centuries, among them Paul Rycaut (1629-1700), Lope Obregón (d. after 1550), Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621) and Maciej Stryjkowski (1547-93), meaning that he did not use any recent sources. He recorded both his own activities and observations on life in Turkey, and also everything that seemed to be important and interesting to him, such as fires, earthquakes, pestilences, Muslim, Christian and Jewish festivals, arrivals of important personalities, performances by European artists, meetings with compatriots and, finally, dramatic events such as murders, robberies or the birth of conjoined twins. He included in the diary both his official and personal correspondence.

One of the most important issues raised by Aulich is Christian-Muslim relations, both in his description of the facts and in his comments about them. He leaves Cracow convinced that the task of his mission will be the conversion of the infidels and he repeatedly mentions his concerns about the 'savage and barbaric Muslims' (*Dziennik*, vol. 1, p. 22) while his friends bid him farewell as a potential martyr – all fears that reflected the general

perceptions prevailing in Poland at the time. On the road to Istanbul, however, in Ruse Aulich meets Turks for the first time and is surprised that, despite his Franciscan habit, everyone is friendly towards him, talking to him and offering him coffee. He makes his first observations on religion and Turkish customs, such as the call to prayer six (*sic*) times a day, removing shoes before entering houses and mosques, sitting cross-legged on the floor at low tables, the lack of cutlery. He tries to explain what he sees by drawing Polish equivalents, such as calling an imam a 'parson' and Friday the 'Turkish Sunday'. After arriving in Istanbul, he realises that, because of the ban on evangelism among Muslims, his task will be not the conversion of Muslims but serving as a priest for Catholics living in Turkey.

Aulich's fears about the 'savage and barbaric Muslims' are quickly dispelled. In *Dziennik*, Turks are depicted very positively as hospitable, helpful, fair and merciful to animals, the image of them warmed by numerous anecdotes about, for example, whole Turkish families looking at the Christmas crib and listening to organ music in church, a Turk who sits down in a pew and begins eating lamb with bread, or people on the street who laugh at the the way a nun is dressed. The villains in Aulich's account are not Muslims but Greeks, who, for a Roman Catholic, are schismatics, and he portrays them as cunning, greedy and jealous, often criminals and thieves; he more often describes the arguments of Catholics with Greek Orthodox than of Catholics with Muslims. Aulich himself does not experience any persecution from Muslims; on the contrary, he describes numerous cases of disinterested help and hospitality, as when an imam shows him round the mosque in Kağıthane or a Turk offers him his own water pipe in a coffee-house.

Aulich's report shows not only individual Muslims' sympathies for Christians living in Turkey in the 19th century, but also the scale of religious freedom and support from public authorities. He witnesses that the centres of Catholicism function very well, as in his reference to seven monasteries of the Catholic mission in Turkey. In the monastery at Pera, which he describes in most detail, there are six monks at one time and they make wine, wax, snuff and vodka for the monastery's needs. There is a parish school in the monastery, and about 50 children receive their first communion every year. Religious freedom is evidenced by mass being celebrated on a daily basis, church bells being rung three times a day and rituals such as processions and funerals taking place in public without any hindrance and even with the help of the Turkish police freeing the road. Moreover, for a public procession on the feast of Corpus Christi on 18 June

1840 the Lazarists from Galata invited a Turkish military orchestra, and the Dominicans did the same for the Octave of Corpus Christi. Christians also celebrate Shrove Tuesday as a festival by strolling along the streets wearing masks. New churches are erected without any obstacles: thus, for 4 September 1842, Aulich describes the dedication of a new church near Smyrna. In April 1840, the sultan helped Catholics to rebuild the Catholic hospital in Istanbul, donating ground, stones, lime and 10,000 piastres. All such examples show the level of religious freedom in Turkey, which contrasts with the tragic situation of Catholics in Persia – Aulich painfully recalls the martyrdom of Lazarist missionaries there in 1841.

According to Fr. Józef Krzyszkowski, Aulich's biographer, the entire diary 'is maintained in a tone of kindness towards Muslims' ('Aulich Manswet'). There is no doubt that Aulich felt at ease in Istanbul and Smyrna, did not experience any persecution from Muslims and was able to work without restriction as a priest, though at the same time he continued to look on Islam as something inferior and with the conviction that truth is found only in the Catholic faith. This is evidenced in the biography he provides of Muḥammad in chapter 1 of volume 3, where he calls him 'a crook' who tried to present himself as a prophet in various ways (*Dziennik*, vol. 3, p. 9). Aulich repeats familiar examples of this, such as that of the dove trained to sit on Muḥammad's shoulder and peck peas from his ear (supposedly the Holy Spirit speaking to him), and he tends to repeat hearsay and legends, such as: 'They say that when [Muḥammad] minded the camels, there was always a dark cloud seen above him (to shield him from the sun), even in the rainy and most inclement weather.' (vol. 3, p. 6). Aulich's account of Muḥammad also contains many errors and inaccuracies, such as that he had 40 wives and that he married his own daughter. He predictably regards the Qur'an, excerpts from which he quotes in Polish without giving the source of the translation, as a mixture of stories from the Old and New Testaments combined with 'fairy tales and absurdities' (vol. 3, p. 18).

Although this first chapter of volume 3, which contains a 60-page description of Islam, is written from an outsider's perspective and with the conviction of Christian superiority, it is very valuable. Aulich describes Muslim religious rites, such as the ceremonies for child naming (with a list of the most popular names), circumcision and weddings, funeral rites, prayers and ablutions before prayer. He evidently does not consider everything in Islam wrong but in fact admires ablutions before prayers, the willingness to give alms and perseverance in fasting.

Among the most interesting passages is the one in which Aulich discusses the reasons for the continuance of Islam, including principles of

faith that please God and religious freedom for Christians. Here Aulich also blames Christians for living in disagreement with one another after the Great Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and thus giving a bad example to Muslims. The continuance of Islam is, therefore, a kind of divine punishment for Christians (vol. 3, pp. 36-40).

Although Aulich disapproved of many Islamic precepts and considered them absurd, he never explicitly criticises the religion and does not ridicule its followers. This approach, which he adopted from the beginning of his time in Turkey, prevented him from entering into conflicts with Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Dziennik was Aulich's only publication (notes from his second trip to Istanbul in 1856-9 remain in manuscript in the Franciscan Provincial Archives in Cracow). It is without doubt an original work, the first such extensive Polish report on Christian missions in the Ottoman Empire, expanded with information about Turkish religion and culture. Works about Turkey had been written in Poland since the 16th century, though these were primarily descriptions of political legations, in which religious issues were presented only briefly and were written mainly by travellers who were only visiting Turkey for short periods, and sometimes even by people who had never been to the Ottoman Empire, such as Szymon Starowolski and Marcin Paszkowski in the 17th century. Even those who spent years in Turkey, such as Józef Mikosza at the end of the 18th century, were mainly interested in political or economic matters, while in Aulich's *Dziennik* the issue of Christian-Muslim relations remains at the heart of the narrative.

Unfortunately, in spite of spending many years among Muslims, Aulich still repeated erroneous views about Turkey and Islam. He confused Turks with Arabs, believing that they descended from Muḥammad and claiming that they had many Eastern Christians under their rule from the 7th century. His use of obsolete sources, mainly from the 16th and 17th centuries, is perhaps the reason for this. However, he personally verified many things he included and this is the greatest matter of value of his diary: he helped to combat familiar stereotypes and misconceptions, starting with the most important one, that Turks were a 'savage and barbaric' nation, a notion that was widespread in Poland in the early 19th century. Before the publication of his diary, this function was fulfilled by the letters he sent home, which were awaited impatiently in Poland. Father Joachim Majewski, whose correspondence is cited in the diary, asked Aulich to record all the 'curiosities' he encountered and write as often as possible.

In the second half of the 19th century, Aulich's *Dziennik* served as a source of knowledge about the East and Islam for travellers and pilgrims to the Holy Land, among them Józef Pelczar (see *CMR* 22, 708-16), although it was never as popular as Ignacy Hołowiński's *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* ('A pilgrimage to the Holy Land', 1853), in which, incidentally, Hołowiński records that he met Aulich in Istanbul (see *CMR* 22, 667-75). Perhaps the reason for this is the low literary value of Aulich's work, which is written in simple, everyday language, in a reporting style without sophisticated rhetorical terms.

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Sylwia Filipowska

Biblical polemics of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars

DATE 17th-19th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

By the 17th century, the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, Muslims who had settled in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 14th and 15th centuries, had come to prefer local Slavic languages, Polish and Belarusian, as their medium of expression. In written works on religious topics they chose the Arabic alphabet adapted to represent the sounds of these languages. Most of these works, which can be dated to the 17th century and are nearly all by anonymous authors, are known only from 18th- or 19th-century copies (Drozd, 'Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich'). They continued to be copied throughout the 19th century.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the works discussed here is the inclusion of references to the Bible and quotations from it to demonstrate the validity of points made in the Qur'an and Muslim tradition and the error of opposing Christian positions. In this, the Tatar authors were employing a strategy similar to those of predecessors in the Islamic world during the first centuries of Islam, though there are no signs that they were borrowing from earlier Muslim polemics and it appears that they searched through the Bible themselves, most likely following methods they witnessed used in arguments between Christian groups in the centuries immediately following the Reformation.

Polish-Lithuanian Muslim authors favoured a particular translation of the Bible, the *Nieśwież Bible*, a Polish translation so called because it had been printed in 1572 in Nieśwież (now Nesvizh in Belarus), one of the centres of anti-Trinitarian teaching in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This translation had been made by Szymon Budny (d. 1593), a prominent Hebraist and the leading representative of Polish-Lithuanian anti-Trinitarianism. As the anti-Trinitarians were active in the regions where the main Tatar communities lived, the Tatars must have been aware of the similarities between this doctrine within Christianity – that is the denial of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the divinity of Jesus – and their own Islamic teachings. Budny probably made his translation directly from the original Hebrew and Greek and this encouraged the Tatars to have

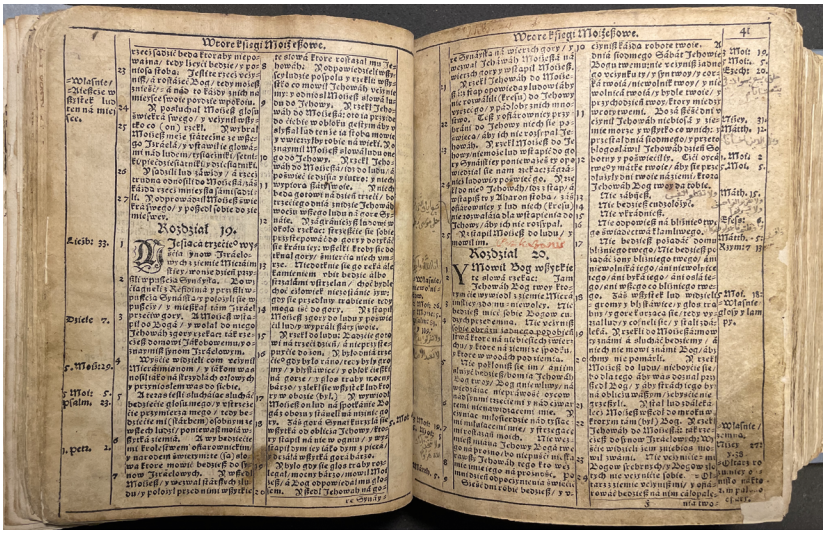

Illustration 20. Pages 40-1 from the *Nieśwież Bible*, Exodus 18:22-20:24 containing the Ten Commandments, with notes in Arabic of comparable passages from the Qur'an

confidence in it because, as Muslims sensitive to the purity of the revealed word, they would have considered his work more trustworthy than other Bible translations. By a remarkable twist of history, among the few copies of this translation that survive today, one that was evidently used by Tatar authors has been preserved in the Library of the University of Warsaw. It contains numerous hand-written marginal comments in Polish, Arabic and Turkish written in Arabic characters, which clearly indicate that the Tatar readers compared the text of the Bible with the message of the Qur'an and the teachings of their faith.

Another remarkable aspect of some of the works discussed here is that their style and elements of their argumentation are sometimes clearly different from what is usually found in Tatar texts and are typical of sophisticated Polish Protestant literature from the end of the 16th century. This allows the possibility that passages in them could have been derived from otherwise unknown anti-Trinitarian polemics composed by Unitarian Christians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Further research may show more fully how the Muslim authors used these sources and even what they were in their original form.

Tatar authors made use of the Bible to create a coherent and comprehensive vision of the origins of the world and of humankind, and also to demonstrate the legitimacy of Islam. This is significant because, although

Islam recognises many of the prophets referred to in the Bible because they are also referred to in the Qur'an, from early times Muslims accused Jews and Christians of corrupting their scriptures, thus making them unreliable as sources of arguments or proofs. Nevertheless, the Tatar authors did not hesitate to use the Old Testament as an authoritative source of knowledge about the progress of history leading up to the advent of Islam. In this way, biblical messages became part of their own religious view, supplementing the Qur'an and the Muslim tradition, often – and particularly in the case of the Genesis narratives and the stories of the prophets – even replacing them (Drozd, '"And Eve raised up her hands to praise God"'). Like many Muslims before them, these Tatars evidently realised that this was a more effective source than the Qur'an in arguments with Christians.

The Polish-Lithuanian Tatar polemical and apologetic treatises were usually written in prose and were relatively brief, although some are more extensive. The language in which they were written is entirely the eastern dialect of Polish. The earliest copy of one of these polemics, preserved in a 17th-century prayer book from the collection of the Silesian Protestant biblical scholar and Orientalist Andreas Acoluthus (d. 1704; *CMR* 14, 437-44), indicates the early origins of this type of work, even though most extant copies come from the second half of the 18th century or the 19th century. Below are presented three examples of Tatar polemical works that make use of the Bible and were clearly intended to be used in dialogue with Christians.

Przeciw niedzieli Pan Bóg począł stwarzać świat

The first work is a compilation on a number of different topics, probably composed by a single author. It starts with the words *Przeciw niedzieli Pan Bóg począł stwarzać świat* ('On the eve of Sunday, the Lord God began to create the world'). It is preserved in several *kitab*s (collections of religious treatises, stories and works of advice) found in public and private collections, the oldest in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius, which was copied around 1740. Copies, usually 14 or 15 pages long, were made throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

The introductory part of this treatise contains the biblical account of the creation of the world, composed of verses from Genesis interwoven with quotations from Esdras Book IV (2 Esdras 6:38-53; see Akiner, 'Cultural hybridity', pp. 415-16), and the genealogy of the Old Testament prophets. The Tatar author unhesitatingly includes Muḥammad in this

biblical line of Ishmael's descendants, thus emphasising his noble origins: 'The Lord God Himself called the sons of Ishmael princes. From Kedar descended the Quraysh, and of the tribe of Quraysh Muḥammad the Prophet was born, and the other Quraysh were the uncles of Muḥammad the prophet, Arab princes from Ishmael the prophet' (*kitab* from Niemież, after 1817, p. 133a).

The argument moves on to issues of Muslim ritual practice. First, it demonstrates with the help of quotations from the Bible that Muslim religious practices are proof that Islam preserves commands given by God Himself, including ablutions and purity during prayer, *abdest* (from Persian 'ritual purification') and *ghusl* (Arabic 'ablutions'; Exodus 30:20-1; Leviticus 15:16, 18:24, 22:3), circumcision (e.g. Genesis 17:14), animal sacrifice (e.g. Isaiah 60:6-7) and the ban on alcohol and pork (e.g. Jeremiah 35:1-8):

> God commands them to be pure – *Bab* [Arabic 'chapter']: Third Book of Moses, chapter fifteen; and everything about purity between husband and wife is written in the sixteenth verse – because God punished the pagans who were before us for impurity. *Bab*: Third Book of Moses, chapter eighteen, verse twenty-four: then the earth will throw you out also when you defile yourselves. Read on to the end. And the impure are to be eradicated, whoever enters God's house without *abdest*. […] Whoever eats without *ghusl* and *abdest* will be uprooted (*wykorzeniony*). Third Book of Moses, chapter twenty-two, verse three. […] And whoever is uncircumcised is to be uprooted. – First Book of Moses, chapter seventeen, verse fourteen. (*kitab* from Niemież, after 1817, p. 131a)

This first work also suggests that the captivity and exile of the Israelites was a punishment for breaking God's commandments and that the coming of Islam was a further consequence of this. Thus,

> the Lord God accepts the supplication of these people who pray to Him, even if they are not Israelites. […] And in verse sixty-three Moses says to the Jews of Israel: If you do not obey Jehovah your God, then so it will be as when Jehovah rejoiced over you, treating you well and multiplying you, so will Jehovah rejoice over you, extinguishing and destroying you, so that you will be eradicated from the land where you are going, O Israel, to possess it. (*kitab* from Niemież, after 1817, p. 132b)

It also contrasts the sins of the Jews, particularly idolatry, with the purity of Islam. The fact that the Muslims, who are the heirs of Ishmael, triumphed in the Holy Land appears to be the fulfilment of God's warnings in the Old Testament:

> As Isaiah says in chapter sixty, verse six, the nation of Ishmael is to be in Jerusalem forever. The Kedar of Nebuchadnezzar, Arabs of Medina, are to perform *kurban*s ('animal sacrifices'), and they are to rebuild the house of God, the one which King Sulayman built in Jerusalem. (*kitab* from Niemież, after 1817, p. 131a)

Finally, the work refers to the prophetic status of Muḥammad, a core issue for Muslims. The Tatar author builds on statements in the Qur'an (e.g. Q 61:6) that he was foretold in the Gospel by Jesus (e.g. John 16:12-14) and adds other verses from the Torah and Isaiah (who is not named in the Qur'an but is frequently connected with the warning of punishment issued to the Israelites, mentioned in Q 17:4:

> As the Lord God says through Isaiah the prophet in the forty-second chapter: Behold, my servant, lean on him, he will be my chosen one, he is pleasing to my soul. I have put my spirit upon him, he will make judgement on the nations, he will neither cry out, nor raise his voice, [...] in truth he will judge [Isaiah 42:1-4]. The Qur'an is a judgement on the earth to Muslims. In the eleventh verse [Isaiah 42:11], [it says] that this prophet will be from Kedar, that is Muḥammad the Prophet, his Excellency. (*kitab* from Niemież, after 1817, p. 133a)

O wywodzie narodu ismaelskiego

This anonymous polemical poem appears in Polish-Lithuanian Tatar manuscripts under at least two titles: *O wywodzie narodu ismaelskiego* ('On the origin of the Ishmaelite nation') and *Wywód narodu naszego i syna Abrahamowego starszego* ('The origin of our nation, and of the elder son of Abraham'). It is in three parts, each possibly by a different author, and is concerned particularly with the first generations of Abraham's descendants, as mentioned in Genesis. The various versions contain between 610 and 690 verses. The handwritten *kitab*s that contain it date from the late 18th and 19th centuries, but the work itself, or at least its essential parts, can be dated to the 17th century. The Tatar scholar Ali Woronowicz (d. 1941) was the first to discover a version of it and he published extensive passages in 1935. Since 1994, Andrzej Drozd has discovered and made studies of several other versions (Woronowicz, 'Kitab Tatarów'; Drozd, 'Nowe odkrycia'; Drozd, 'Staropolska poezja Tatarów').

This poem has intrigued Polish scholars for many years because of references in it to a facetious epigram (*fraszka*) in which Abraham's son Ishmael is called a 'bastard'. It says that this epigram was composed by

'Polish poet Sir Kochanowski', an apparent reference to the most celebrated Polish poet of the Renaissance Jan Kochanowski (d. 1584). Since Kochanowski devised this literary form in Polish literature, the Tatar poem was thought to refer to an unknown piece by him. Then, in 2010 Joanna Danielska discovered that the Tatar author was in fact writing in response to a work entitled *Historyja o Abrahamie* ('The story of Abraham'), included in *Rotuły do synów swych* ('Teachings to my sons'), which was written not by Jan Kochanowski but by his brother Mikołaj (d. 1582). It was a Polish adaptation of brief rhymed commentaries related to a series of 16th-century Dutch engravings that illustrate the story of Sarah, Hagar and Ishmael (Danielska, 'Historyja o Abrahamie', pp. 72-7).

The first of the three parts of the poem describes the story of the exile of Hagar and Ishmael, the biblical ancestor of the Arabs and also identified by the Tatar author as the ancestor of Muslims. The second part, which is the most interesting and earliest, is a refutation of the poem by Mikołaj Kochanowski. It defends Ishmael against the insults levelled at his lineage and argues that his noble origin is attested by God's protection of him and his mother Hagar (who, according to the Tatars, was from Pharaoh's court; see Genesis 16:1, 21:9). This part also draws on the Old and New Testaments and the history of the Catholic Church to raise a series of genealogical and moral polemical arguments against Christians.

The Tatar author challenges the accusation against Ishmael by listing examples of 'harlots' among the biblical ancestors of the Jews and Christians, suggesting that it is inconsistent for Christians to condone the immoral deeds of these women while rejecting Hagar's upright behaviour. First are Lot's daughters, 'who made their father drunk with wine' (Genesis 19:30-8), then Sarah, wife and 'sister' of Abraham (Genesis 12:10-20), Tamara, with whom Judah begot Pares 'by giving her a goat' (Genesis 38:12-19), Ruth, 'who got under the covers with Boaz' (Ruth 3:6-13), Rahab, the harlot of Jericho (Joshua 2:1), and finally Bathsheba, the 'wife of Uriah', 'who did not guard her womb [well] enough' ('why did she wade before the royal presence [of David] with her white body?', 2 Samuel 11:2) (see on this *Jeśliby Żydzi mieli zadawać naszoj Hagary i Ismailu …* ['If the Jews were to accuse our Hagar and Ismāʿīl'], in *CMR* 7, 535-6; there is a clear literary connection between this copy and the poem discussed here). Following this, the author criticises celibacy ('God has never detested marriage'), referring, among other matters, to St Paul's Letter to Titus 1:6-7: 'He ordered to choose and elect married bishops and deacons'; and to examples from the history of the Church: St Peter and Popes Soter [r. 167-74] and Callixtus II [r. 1119-24], who 'was seduced by treasure:/ He took

wives away from bishops and priests,/ Because they would not give church treasures as dowry'). It is amazing that such words should come from a Muslim polemicist criticising the Catholic Church for deviating from its own teachings:

> That is why they broke God's law so clearly,
> Which stands in abundance in the Old Testament,
> And in the glorious New Apostolic Canon. [...]
> It is more dignified for us to cling to the teachings of Paul
> than to those of the made-up Roman, the pope. (Drozd, 'Staropolska poezja Tatarów', p. 62)

He also criticises the practice of fasting on Fridays that was instituted in Poland as penance for the killing of Bishop Stanisław (d. 1079): 'It is not known in Rome, though in Poland it is strict, accepted for a hundred years after the bishop was killed, But now this custom is still perpetually observed' (Drozd, 'Staropolska poezja Tatarów', p. 62). Finally, the Tatar polemicist discusses the credibility of the Evangelists: 'We cannot trust your unadorned words and cannot trust these Gospels. Show us what Jesus himself wrote. Apparently, he took it to heaven, as I heard it right' (*kitab* from Mir, after 1791, p. 81a). The poet's indignation also focuses on the so-called 'brothers of the Lord' whom the Evangelists ascribe to Jesus (e.g. Mark 6:3), here apparently defending Mary against the charge that she was not a virgin:

> This is how you speak with us in shallow language according to the Gospel, and you remain with the Jews. For the Jews consider the Virgin Mary to be dishonest; and the Lord Jesus – God save him! – they consider him a bastard. (*kitab* from Mir, p. 81a)

The third part of the poem deals with the story of Esau and Jacob, the sons of Isaac, and focuses on the trick by which Jacob, who was the ancestor of the Israelites, stole his older brother's birthright and paternal blessing (Genesis 25:29-34; 27:5-29). As the Tatar author contrasts the cunning Jacob with the chivalrous hunter Esau, he makes use of the classical Greek and Roman symbolism that was habitually used by the Polish nobility in the Renaissance and Baroque era, referring to Charon and the River Styx, Mars, Mercury and other elements of what, for Christian readers, would have been a familiar mythological realm. This is one of many manifestations of cultural adaptation and Latinisation by Tatars in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The content of the poem in general testifies to the erudition of the Tatar authors who composed its parts. For example, in the passage about the food eaten by Hagar and Ishmael after they were saved by the Archangel Gabriel, the author says that this was also the food eaten by John the Baptist in the desert and gives it its Greek name *akrides* instead of the usual translation 'locusts'. Here, the Tatar author shows he was aware that the meaning of this Greek word was a matter of dispute among Bible commentators (with some explaining it as a carob) and therefore used the original Greek term.

The Tatar authors' practice of referring to verses from the Old and New Testaments to support and illustrate their arguments is possibly an indication of the influence of Protestant Reformers. References to the teachings of St Paul also suggest Reformation influences (Drozd, 'Wpływy chrześcijańskie'; Drozd, 'O twórczości literackiej Tatarów').

O łonu Abrahamowym

The polemical treatise *O łonu Abrahamowym* ('In the bosom of Abraham') is a testimony to the importance attached by the Tatars to the reliability of biblical translations, and is also further evidence of their use of Protestant works. It appears to be a compilation of fragments from a Protestant polemic from the beginning of the 17th century, possibly an anti-Trinitarian work, which was developed by a Tatar author and amplified with quotations from Budny's Bible translation of 1572. The only known copy of this text (20 pages long) was discovered by Andrzej Drozd in a *kitab* belonging to the Szynkiewicz family from the town of Mir. It dates to after the year 1791 (Drozd 'Nowe odkrycia').

This treatise criticises the Catholic teaching of 'the abyss of the Holy Fathers' who 'died in the grace of God before the Lord Jesus was born, until He opened heaven with His death'. It contains quotations from numerous passages from the Old and New Testaments and comments on them, including the interpretation of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus in Luke 16:19-31 that is given by St Jerome (Hieronymus), the translator of the Vulgate. It attacks him vehemently because he will not allow the possibility that Lazarus could have gone to heaven when he died because Abraham would not yet be there:

> Jerome, their [the Christians'] saint, explains about Lazarus that he rested and was comforted in the bosom of Abraham, but in hell not in heaven! The perversity and blindness of this Jerome defiles and falsifies Holy Scripture

> because it makes such presumptions about holiness a great dishonour to holy people, as though they were not worthy of paradise. (*kitab* from Mir, p. 84a)

Again, this reverence for Christian scripture in a Muslim text is quite astonishing, particularly when Jerome is criticised for 'false confession against the Holy Scriptures and against the Holy Gospel'.

Criticism on this point is also levelled at Jakub Wujek (d. 1597), the Jesuit translator of the Vulgate into Polish (the first edition of his translation was published posthumously in 1599 and became the main Catholic edition of the Bible in Poland), as follows:

> And due to this obvious mistake made by Jerome and Father Wujek, he forged the entire Bible by having applied such rashness and boldness in his work. This error was made in one Hebrew word named *sheol*, in Greek *adys*, and in Latin *infernum*, which in all languages translates as the 'bottom, grave, death, ditch and hell'. So, wherever it was written 'They went to the tombs', he, Father Wujek, wrote 'He went down to hell', even though this was a prophet or a holy man! (*kitab* from Mir, p. 85b)

The Tatar author takes Wujek's 'mistaken' translations further when, for example, he refers to Jesus's promise to the Good Thief:

> And the Lord Jesus, when he was on the cross, forgave the robber who hung next to him [...] – Luke 23:43 – and said: 'Today you will be with me in Paradise.' The Lord Jesus himself gives confirmation, so hence it is known that righteous people will not be in hell – they will be in paradise. (*kitab* from Mir, p. 85a).

This passage reveals the clear influence of Christian doctrine on the religious imagination of the Tatars because, according to Muslim tradition, based on Q 4:157, Jesus was not crucified but was miraculously saved by God from crucifixion.

It is significant that the criticisms of 'the abyss of the Holy Fathers' in the polemic is of Protestant Calvinist and anti-Trinitarian origin. The Tatars' riposte to it was not accidental, because the doctrine of 'hell, where the saints who preceded Christ entered the *limbus patrum*, invented by Catholics' (*kitab* from Mir, p. 87b) contradicted the teachings of Islam, according to which the place of the prophets was undoubtedly paradise.

SIGNIFICANCE

These three Tatar works, whether original polemical works or adaptations of Polish Protestant polemics, demonstrate the closeness of contacts between Muslims and Christians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

and also the apparent confidence of Tatar authors both in borrowing arguments from Christians for use in defending Islam and also in employing the Bible itself for this purpose. Similarly, they show the openness of the Muslim community towards the ideas and religious culture of their Christian neighbours. All this points to a certain sense of security among the Tatars, the only Muslim community (apart from the Iberian Moriscos) that lived and developed its culture for any length of time in a Christian state in the early modern period.

The self-assurance demonstrated by the Tatars in their responses to Christian teachings (and presumably to the Christian authors who drew them to the Tatars' attention) and in their openness to argumentational strategies employed by Protestant Christians can be attributed to an unusual social and political compact. On the one side, the state recognised their right to a religious identity of their own (which in the legal and social conditions of the time was necessary for them to fulfil their military duties on behalf of the state) and, on the other, they themselves recognised that they were an integral part of the state. Thus, paradoxically, the polemics and apologetics they composed, like other literary works adapted by Tatars from Polish religious writings, are evidence of the extensive cultural integration of Muslims within Polish-Lithuanian Christian society.

PUBLICATIONS

Most of the known copies of the Tatar works have not been published and remain in private hands.

The quotations cited from *Przeciw niedzieli Pan Bóg począł stwarzać świat* are from an unedited manuscript *kitab* from the village of Niemież (dated after 1817) in a private collection, '*kitab* from Niemież'.

The quotations cited from *O wywodzie narodu ismaelskiego* are based on the version in the *kitab* by the copyist Mustafa Szahidewicz of the town of Słonim (today in Belarus), from 1852, compared with the version in the *kitab* of the Szynkiewicz family of the town of Mir (after 1791) and partly edited by Andrzej Drozd ('Staropolska poezja Tatarów'). Both manuscripts are in private collections.

The only known copy of *O łonu Abrahamowym* was discovered by Andrzej Drozd in a *kitab* of the Szynkiewicz family from Mir. It dates after 1791 (Drozd, 'Nowe odkrycia').

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Andrzej Drozd

Józef Pelczar

DATE OF BIRTH 17 January 1842
PLACE OF BIRTH Korczyn, near Krosno
DATE OF DEATH 28 March 1924
PLACE OF DEATH Przemyśl

BIOGRAPHY

Józef Sebastian Pelczar was born in Korczyn in the south-eastern part of present-day Poland (at the time, the north-eastern part of the Habsburg Empire). He came from a prosperous family of farmers. In 1858, he entered the major seminary in Przemyśl and was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1864. He worked briefly as an assistant parish priest and went to Rome to study in December 1865. He obtained two doctorates, in theology (1866) and canon law (1868). After returning home, he briefly resumed work as an assistant parish priest and then became prefect of the seminary in Przemyśl and taught canon law and pastoral theology at the diocesan theological institute. In 1872, he went with a friend, Karol Krementowski, on a three-month pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, in 1875, he published a memoir from his journey entitled *Ziemia Święta i islam*.

In 1877, he was appointed professor of Church history in the Faculty of Theology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. In addition to teaching and research, he dealt with administrative and organisational matters, and advanced his academic career; he briefly even became the rector of the Jagiellonian University (1882-3). He was involved in the reorganisation of the theological faculty and, together with a group of reformers, strove for the strengthening of its position and for the expansion of the university.

Pelczar's conservative views were not always widely accepted, though his social activity was commonly appreciated. He belonged to various charities, established a workhouse for unemployed servants, and founded a new religious congregation of Sister Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. In 1899, he was ordained a bishop and a year later was appointed bishop of Przemyśl. For more than 20 years, he was active in raising the quality of ecclesiastical and social life in his diocese: he reorganised its territorial and administrative divisions, emphasised the education of the clergy, invested in building brick churches (replacing wooden ones), founded various charitable and pastoral organisations and organised

three synods. He died on 28 March 1924 in Przemyśl. He was beatified in 1999 and declared a saint of the Roman Catholic Church in 2003.

Pelczar's literary output was vast. A bibliography of his works consists of 630 items and, in addition to numerous monographs and handbooks, it also features articles, pastoral letters, sermons, proclamations, occasional speeches, reflections, official announcements and others (Bar, 'Autobiografia', pp. 216-65). His publications on ascetic and pastoral issues, begun in his first book, *Życie duchowne, czyli doskonałość chrześcijańska* ('Spiritual life or Christian perfection'), published in 1873, are the most valued items.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ziemia Święta i islam
'The Holy Land and Islam'

DATE 1875
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Ziemia Święta i islam (in full, *Ziemia Święta i islam, czyli szkice z pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej, którą w roku 1872 odbył i opisał Ks Dr Józef Pelczar*, 'The Holy Land and Islam, or essays from the pilgrimage to the Holy Land made and described by Fr Dr Józef Pelczar') was published at Pelczar's own expense in Lviv in 1875, three years after he returned from his journey. All proceeds from the sale were intended for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the orphanage founded there by Father Marie-Alphonse Ratisbonne (1814-84). The book comprises two parts, *Ziemia Święta* (464 pages) and *Islam* (232 pages), and is in general ordered chronologically. The first part describes Pelczar's journey by train to Vienna and Trieste, his sea voyage to Jaffa and his tour of the Holy Land. The second part contains a description of Egypt and his return home through Constantinople and Varna, and, most importantly, an 80-page 'supplement' about Islam, which is connected to the chronologically-ordered content by the phrase: 'Before we leave Constantinople, let us examine the Muslim religion which prevails in the East, otherwise the life of Eastern people will remain an unsolved mystery for us' (Part 2, p. 136). The division between the two parts must be regarded as artificial since Pelczar entered the Ottoman Empire and began to encounter Islam at the beginning of his journey in a ship transfer in Smyrna.

At first glance, *Ziemia Święta i islam* resembles the descriptions of pilgrimages published as guidebooks to the Holy Land that were popular among 19th-century Polish readers. Pelczar himself did not hide this intention: he revealed in his biography, which he started in 1910, that he had intended his book to be a guide for other pilgrims. Apart from descriptions of religious experiences intermingled with prayers and quotations from the Bible, he includes in the work numerous pieces of advice for pilgrims, such as ticket prices for steamers, hotel prices, exchange rates, details about sightseeing and topographical information. In addition, he tries to create something of a compendium of knowledge about the Holy Land – hence the added data on climate, population, administrative divisions, the

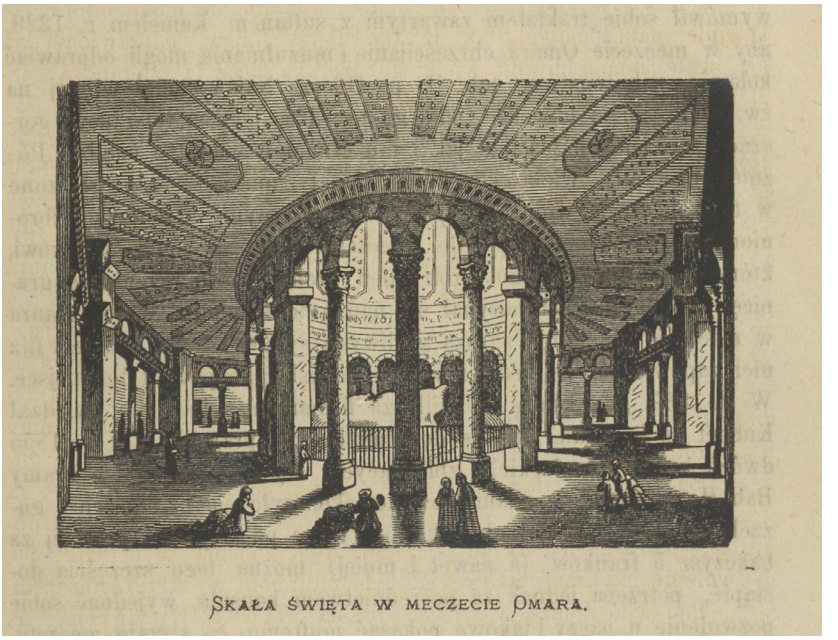

Illustration 21. Engraving of the holy rock in the Mosque of Omar, from *Ziemia Święta i islam*

tax system, the judiciary, education and literature. All in all, he provides a great amount of detail and statistical data, often revealing in footnotes the sources of the information he has acquired. However, his attempt to describe so many different elements results in a text that is overloaded with an array of knowledge that is often laconic and generalising, as in the case of a short, two-sentence remark about Turkish literature, 'which is not very rich' (Part 2, p. 135).

It is the supplement 'Islam or Muslim religion', referred to in the preface as 'studies in Islam', that distinguishes Pelczar's book from other 19th-century guides. This explains the principles of Islam, its liturgy, feasts, religious services, institutions, laws and customs. Pelczar also adds his own assessment of Islam, which obviously comes from the perspective of a Catholic priest, who almost 40 years later was to write in *Obrona religii katolickiej* ('A defence of the Catholic religion'): 'Only one Catholic religion has pure truth and the whole truth' (p. 112). However, it must be admitted that he put considerable effort into learning about the principles of Islam. He did not content himself with scraps of information heard from dragomans and repeated by travellers, but used studies considered scholarly in his time, among them *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad* by

Aloys Sprenger (Berlin, 1861-5), *Mohammed der Prophet* by Gustav Weil (Stuttgart, 1843) and the essay *Muhammed's Religion* by Ignaz von Döllinger (1838).

He begins his discourse on Islam by outlining the life of Muḥammad and the religions of the Arabian Peninsula he would have known. Then, he describes the principles of Islam: God, prophets, angels, humankind, final judgement, paradise, hell, and explains what the Qur'an and Sunna are, quoting passages of the Qur'an from Sprenger's book. Then he discusses the Five Pillars of Islam, focusing on ethical issues regarding religious prohibitions and commands. He devotes a great amount of space to Muslim holy days and prayers, quoting even the translation of a sermon he had heard in a mosque (Part 2, pp. 178-9). In a separate passage, he also discusses Islamic mystical brotherhoods, which he refers to as sects (Part 2, pp. 206-10).

Pelczar's descriptions of historical facts or issues regarding the principles of Islam are relatively reliable (he even quotes Arabic terminology in brackets), without major factual errors, although he sometimes presents common Muslim interpretations of the Qur'an as though they were theological and textual certainties, e.g. the popular explanation of the denial that Jesus died on the cross in Q 4:157 and that Judas Iscariot was crucified instead (Part 1, p. 196). At the very beginning of the supplement, Pelczar admits that it is difficult to find anyone in history as influential Muḥammad, although he quickly reveals his negative attitude by calling him a cheat who pretended to be a prophet and tried to manoeuvre between Christianity, Judaism and the beliefs of the Arab tribes, leaving in Islam a little from each in order to please all his followers. Islam itself is 'a monstrous mixture of ancient Arab, Jewish and Christian religion' (Part 2, p. 153) enshrining principles that are contradictory and chaotic with a lack of 'true' clergy and a 'true' liturgy, which, as a Catholic priest, is something he would notice. He also emphasises the difficult situation of Muslim women, who are handicapped not only in public but even at home. He regards polygamy and divorce as the reason for the moral laxity he sees among Muslims. Although he himself did not experience any harrassment, he repeats the popular opinion that Islam is dominated by wild and cruel fanaticism and hatred towards infidels, although he thinks that his own time is witnessing liberalisation in approaches to Christians, which is a symptom of the impending fall of the power of Islam (Part 2, pp. 60, 63). Referring to the opinions of earlier travellers in Islamic countries, including Heinrich von Maltzan, Ármin Vámbéry, Henryk Leopold Bartsch, William Gifford Palgrave, Aloys Sprenger and Edward Lane, he

argues that the end of Islam is close and calls it 'a graveyard full of the bones of the dead' (Part 2, p. 216). He encourages his readers to pray for the conversion of Muslims and to learn to appreciate 'the greatness of the treasure that is the Catholic religion' (Part 2, p. 216).

Pelczar's views on Islam grew more radical over the years, as is evidenced by a passage in his later *Obrona religii katolickiej. Jak wielkim skarbem jest religia katolicka i dlaczego ta religia ma dzisiaj tylu przeciwników* ('A defence of the Catholic religion. What a great treasure the Catholic religion is and why this religion has so many opponents today', Przemyśl, 1911, 1920[2]). In this, he refers to other religions and places Islam as the lowest among them because he believes it is difficult even to define it as a religion on account of its lack of a clerical hierarchy or liturgy. It is no more than *jałowy deizm* ('arid Deism'; *Obrona*, 1920 edition, p. 70), hampering all progress and development of science or education. Muḥammad was inclined to hallucination and fanaticism, a cunning, cruel and lewd individual (as shown by the number of his wives), while the popularity of Islam can be explained by the simplicity of its principles, adapted as they are to the low intellectual standards of its adherents and allowing for the satisfying of sexual needs both in this life and after death. Further, some modern Islamic reform movements that call for reforms in the spirit of science are dangerous, as are some attempts to Islamicise people of Africa or India by accommodating local beliefs rather than by force. When he published the second, extended edition of this work in 1920, Pelczar was even more convinced than half a century earlier that the end of the power of Islam was imminent. As confirmation, he cited the occupation of Jaffa and Jerusalem by the British army in 1917 and the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which specified the partition of the Ottoman Empire.

In both the supplement to *Ziemia Święta i islam* and also *Obrona religii katolickiej* Pelczar unquestionably evaluates Islam, as well as all other religions, negatively. In his view, there are fragments of truth in them but these are mixed up with errors. Interestingly enough, in the main part of *Ziemia Święta i islam*, the description of his pilgrimage, the image of Islam and its adherents that he presents is not totally negative. Having probably read about Muslim fanaticism before he set out, he was surprised by the fact that Arabs were polite, courteous and hospitable and invited Christians to sit down at table with them, while he considered Turks to be good-natured, gentle, temperate and honest in trade. He praised the compassion shown by Muslims, who willingly gave alms, the respect shown by children for their parents, and their love for their homeland. He admired how eagerly they prayed, even in public places such as bazaars, although

he was outraged by what he considered the abuse of God's name. At the same time, he continued to believe in the superiority of Christian values, even in matters of Muslim practice. Thus, while he esteemed Muslim prayer, he ultimately considered it a thoughtless repetition of set formulas at the appointed time without feeling the 'spirit of prayer'.

It seems that peaceful coexistence between people from different nations and religions was the greatest cause of surprise to Pelczar. He had experienced this on the ship sailing from Smyrna to Jaffa, where he was accommodated in one cabin with Greek monks, an American pastor and a dervish. Admittedly, here too, there is a tone of superiority in the narrative, which manifests itself in unsavoury jokes about the habits of roommates. But Pelczar assures his readers that, despite their differences 'they lived in harmony and even greeted each other' (Part 1, p. 30). Interestingly enough, he criticises Orthodox Greeks much more than Muslims, and his comments about the violence between Christian denominations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem sound extremely disappointed: 'Nothing else remains but that Muslims should keep the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and thus, to the disgrace of Christians, they should maintain apparent reconciliation between them' (Part 2, p. 68).

Pelczar was the author of one of the most reliable Polish studies on Islam published in the 19th century. He described the principles of faith according to a novel methodology, which was to use current European sources because he could not read Arabic, Persian or Turkish books. However, although he presented the doctrine of Islam in the style of a lecture and with some scholarly objectivity, his evaluation was extremely subjective. As a pious Catholic theologian who considered Catholicism to be the only true religion, he could not treat Muḥammad other than as a cheat who created a new system of beliefs in opportunistic ways. Pelczar also repeated theories that were popular in 19th-century Europe, such as that Muḥammad's visions stemmed from hysteria and epilepsy. But he primarily criticised Islamic ethics, and he considered polygamy to be the greatest evil. In light of this, his statement that the encounter of Islam with European civilisation affected the Muslims in a disastrous rather than favourable way makes sense. But he did not see any contradiction between his negative opinions about Islam in general and his appreciation of individual Muslims whom he met during his pilgrimage.

Pelczar was not a typical European traveller who went on pilgrimage and felt obliged to write (or rather copy) some information about Islam, evincing limited interest in it. Admittedly, he emphasised that his expedition was primarily a pilgrimage (after arriving in a new place he went

to a church to celebrate a mass; he was seeking traces of Christianity everywhere and, in his accounts, he mentions first the Christian history of the places he visited). But at the same time he made an exploration of Islam, paradoxically to show more clearly the beauty and truth of Catholic Christianity. Whatever the case, it is evident in *Obrona religii katolickiej*, written 40 years after his pilgrimage, that he used the knowledge about Islam he had acquired during the pilgrimage to give an apology for Catholicism.

SIGNIFICANCE

Pelczar is known primarily for his ascetic and pastoral writings, although Catholic apologetic holds a special place among his literary achievements. *Ziemia Święta i islam* is the only work in which he directly focuses on Muslim issues, though it cannot be doubted that his contact with Islam, which took place relatively early, when he was 30 years old and was just beginning his writing activities, had a great impact on the crystallisation of his theological views. This issue has not so far been explored in studies of his writings and *Ziemia Święta i islam* has not yet been analysed in a separate study. It is treated as no more than a description of a pilgrimage, not as a 'study in Islam' as Pelczar intended.

Unfortunately, Pelczar's effort to give a reliable account of Islam to Polish readers while at the same time praising Catholicism was appreciated neither by his contemporaries nor by posterity. Ludwik Powidaj in his review of *Ziemia Święta i islam* in *Przegląd Polski* ('Polish Review') in 1876 considered it too scholarly and difficult for the average reader, and he recommended that, after finishing it, the reader should reach for *Podróż na Wschód* ('Journey to the East') written 20 years earlier by Maurycy Mann (1814-76). Neither was the work appreciated by Jan Stanisław Bystroń (1892-1964), an authority on Polish descriptions of the Holy Land, who thought it oversaturated with erudite information and, despite attempts to approach the subject of Islam in a scholarly manner, an example of indifference towards the Islamic world. Others who wrote about it focused exclusively on its pilgrimage aspects, treating them as the realisation of a desire to seek God's blessing, obtain inner peace and find a way forward in life. In studies devoted to Pelczar, the subject of Islam hardly appears. This is perhaps not surprising in recent publications, most of which are booklets that popularise him as a saint and were issued by Catholic publishers in the year of his canonisation, but this lacuna is nevertheless surprising.

It is worth adding that Pelczar planned a second edition of *Ziemia Święta i islam*, to be printed in Rome in 1914 but, for unknown reasons, he

failed to complete it; perhaps the outbreak of the First World War stopped him. This idea, however, shows that he valued the work of his youth and saw the need to make it available to readers again.

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Sylwia Filipowska

Karol Kalinowski

DATE OF BIRTH 21 January 1821
PLACE OF BIRTH Kalinowo, Kingdom of Poland, Russian Empire
DATE OF DEATH 1882
PLACE OF DEATH Warsaw

BIOGRAPHY

Karol Kalinowski was born in 1821, the son of a minor Polish aristocrat. His family lived in the village of Kalinowo near Augustów in the Kingdom of Poland, which at that time was in union with the Russian Empire. He was sent as a child to Warsaw, where his father's brother, a Basilian monk serving in the local monastery, saw to it that he received a good education in a *Gymnasium*. As a teenager, he befriended several other young men who were secretly studying political literature prohibited by the Tsarist censors. In 1839, he was arrested and accused of planning to emigrate, but released after four months for lack of evidence. He started to work in a factory as a draftsman, then for a railway company as an assistant engineer. In 1844, he was arrested again and accused of possessing and reading subversive texts. This time, he was sentenced to become an unpaid private in the imperial army and was assigned to the Caucasian Corps. In December 1844, he was dispatched to the Caucasus and the Vnezapnaya fortress on the Aktash river.

In 1846, Kalinowski fell seriously ill. While he was recovering, he was kidnapped by two Muslims, who sold him to a Chechen. He was then resold to an Andi merchant, whom he had to accompany during his business travels in territories inhabited by Lezgins and Avars. Falling ill during a journey, he was left to recover in the household of an Avar man. The payment that the man demanded from Kalinowski's owner led to an open conflict, and the local leader, who was to judge the case, Imam Shamil, took Kalinowski for himself. Soon, he was taken to Shamil's headquarters in Vedeni. The imam gave him to an old man called Fahridin, a Tatar who had deserted from the Russian army. Kalinowski's new owner treated him well and persuaded him to embrace Islam in order to become a free man.

Having converted and now no longer a slave, Kalinowski participated in Shamil's military campaigns against the imperial army.

Kalinowski fell in love with a young Chechen girl called Ezend, who returned his feelings, but she had been promised by her father to another man. Ezend's father asked the sharia court presided over by Shamil to invalidate the arrangement so that she could marry Kalinowski but in vain and, soon after the wedding, Ezend was killed by her husband. Kalinowski fell into a depression and then decided to try to return to the Russian side.

In 1848, Shamil allowed Kalinowski to leave his troops and settle down in Chechnya. He moved to a village near the territory controlled by the imperial army and, after several months, in winter 1848-9 he managed to flee. Luckily, the Russian officers to whom he was taken believed his story of being kidnapped by Muslims so he avoided a death sentence, which was usually the fate of deserters.

Kalinowski again joined the imperial army as a private. In 1851, he became a standard bearer and, in early 1854, an officer. He was seriously wounded during military expeditions against Chechens in 1852 and 1855 and then, in 1856, the new Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855-81) extended an amnesty to Poles sentenced to serve in the imperial army, which enabled Kalinowski to leave the service and go back to his native country in 1858, by which time his parents were dead. He gained employment with a railway company in Warsaw as an assistant engineer. He died in Warsaw in 1882.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pamiętnik mojej żołnierki na Kaukazie i niewoli u Szamila od roku 1844 do 1854
'Memoir of my soldiering in the Caucasus and in Shamil's captivity from 1844 to 1854'

DATE 1883
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Pamiętnik mojej żołnierki na Kaukazie is mainly an account of Kalinowski's life in the Caucasian Imamate. It is 250 pages long in the 1883 edition, which is used here. Although Kalinowski makes it clear that a non-Muslim would not have been able to live as a free person in any of the Caucasian highlanders' communities (because he would not have been accepted), he does not pay much attention to describing the religious aspects of life there. His first remark about this appears only on p. 55, where he says that the Chechens are 'not fanatical when it comes to religion' and adds in a matter-of-fact manner that the mosques look neglected but cemeteries are well kept, and that women do not attend mosques. When he later arrived in an area inhabited by the Tauli people, he noticed that mosques there were bigger and better maintained (p. 77).

Kalinowski writes about the social systems and cultures of the Andis, the Avars, the Lezgins and the Chechens, offering a meticulously detailed description of each and showing them as coherent and functional, established on Islamic religious rules. He writes about their social structures, economy, architecture, cuisine and costumes, beliefs and religious rituals. He notes the differences between these peoples, while seldom comparing them with Europeans, even when he writes about institutions and customs that differ from Polish and Russian ways, e.g. polygamy (p. 66) and bride price (p. 191). In his account, these are facts of life rather than exotic traditions, parts of a larger picture of life shaped by religion that is decent and enjoyable even if very conservative and modest.

After he converts to Islam, Kalinowski duly observes the customs and religious rules of the Chechen community, praying and fasting alongside other members (p. 162). But nowhere in the book can be found any expression of intellectual interest in the doctrine of Islam to match the keen interest he shows in the customs of the Muslim highlanders. Nor

does he claim to have spiritual needs that Islam could satisfy better than Christianity. Having been educated by his uncle, a Catholic monk, whom he remembered very fondly, Kalinowski was a Christian believer who regularly prayed to God when he arrived in the Caucasus, and after his return to the imperial army he automatically resumed his Christian identity. After his purely utilitarian conversion to Islam, he demonstrates neither the neophyte's strictness in practising the faith nor any desire to deepen it. His lack of interest in the intellectual and spiritual dimension of Islam results in a relative scarcity of information about it in his book. Nevertheless, he always writes about Islam respectfully, as a religion whose foundation is the belief in one God and which forms the basis for a coherent moral order, just like Christianity. Kalinowski writes about the religious dimension of Shamil's war against the Russian imperial army (p. 111), in which he himself fought on both sides, but he only emphasises personal differences between individuals rather than between faiths, showing that he met upright and mean people among Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book was written in order to tell the story of Kalinowski's adventures in the Muslim communities of the northern Caucasus. The story it told was interesting enough to the Polish reading public for it to be issued several times. First, extracts were published during Kalinowski's lifetime in the newspaper *Gazeta Lubelska* in the late 1870s and in the weekly magazine *Wędrowiec*, where extracts were added to issues 1038-53, published between 23 November 1882 and 8 March 1883. Then it appeared as a book in Warsaw in 1883. The writer Wincenty Dawid, whom Kalinowski befriended while he was serving in the imperial army, was instrumental in all three cases, and he most probably polished Kalinowski's original text. In 1908, modified excerpts of the 1883 book were published in Lviv by Józef Ciembroniewicz. The latest edition, containing a critical introduction by Przemysław Adamczewski, was printed in Warsaw in 2017.

Kalinowski's book is unique in European literature as a first-person account of life inside the Caucasian Imamate. It is also a rare detailed eye-witness account of the traditional cultures of the Caucasian Muslim highlanders. Being of interest for historians and ethnographers, it also contributed to educating the Polish reading public about the principles and rituals of Sunnī Islam practised in the Caucasus. The stories of Polish soldiers forced to fight in the ranks of the Russian imperial army, especially in the distant Caucasus, incited considerable interest in their compatriots, and many authors who had never been to the Caucasus published fictitious

stories – both poems and novels – featuring such soldiers who were happy to desert the Russian army and join the idealised Muslim highlanders. On the other hand, there were also authors who, having been to the Caucasus, published memoirs describing the Caucasian Muslims as bloodthirsty fanatics fighting a universal holy war. Only Kalinowski offered a balanced and well-informed account, even if he was not successful enough to dismantle the myth of the noble Muslim highlander ready to treat every Pole as a brother, or the hackneyed vision of the Muslim as an aggressive religious fanatic. In a quasi-anthropological way, he described the principles and rituals of Islam, showing how they were observed and how they shaped the daily life of the whole Muslim community. He showed the life of the Chechens and other Muslim peoples of the Caucasus as decent, natural and often enjoyable, yet made it clear that non-Muslims would not be allowed to be fully-fledged members of the communities in which he had lived.

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Aleksandra Porada

Henryk Sienkiewicz

DATE OF BIRTH 5 May 1846
PLACE OF BIRTH Wola Okrzejska, Podlachia region (today in eastern Poland)
DATE OF DEATH 15 November 1916
PLACE OF DEATH Vevey, Switzerland

BIOGRAPHY

Henryk Sienkiewicz, one of the most outstanding Polish writers of the second half of the 19th century, whose works were translated into almost 50 languages, came from an impoverished noble family with an intriguing genealogy. According to the historian Stanisław Dziadulewicz, Henryk's ancestors were Lithuanian Tatars who had been knighted for service to the Crown in the 17th century. His mother came from a rich Podlachian noble family, well connected in Lithuania. The Sienkiewicz family sold their small property in 1858 and moved to Warsaw, where Henryk attended school and then enrolled in the law faculty of Szkoła Główna (a higher education institution with Polish as the teaching language, which later became the Russian University of Warsaw). He later changed his course of study and eventually graduated from the faculty of philology and history in 1872, with his outlook shaped by his studies.

Siekiewicz began to work as a journalist during his student days and continued until the early 1880s. A collection of short stories that appeared in 1872 is considered his literary debut. Subsequent works had an autobiographical background revealing his ambivalent attitude towards the past and – interestingly enough – also to his own ancestry and to Islam.

In 1876, he went as an official correspondent of *Gazeta Polska* to the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia. He remained in the USA over three years and travelled widely, returning to Warsaw in the autumn of 1879, where he was welcomed as a brilliant correspondent. His *Listy z podróży do Ameryki* ('Letters from a journey to America', 1876-8) established his reputation in Poland and began his golden period as a writer of short stories and novels.

From 1882, he was head of a conservative journal, *Słowo* (published in Warsaw), but left to devote his time to writing. *Ogniem i mieczem* ('With fire and sword', 1883) was the first of a series of three historical novels that

Illustration 22. Henryk Sienkiewicz

were his most famous publications. The plot is set during the wars fought by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the mid-17th century, first against the Cossack forces during the Khmel'nits'ky uprising, then during the Swedish invasion and finally against the Ottoman Empire.

Travelling widely, in December 1890 Sienkiewicz left for Egypt, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, but his trip ended early because of health problems. *Listy z Afryki* ('Letters from Africa', published as a book in 1893) were the fruit of this journey, which also influenced *W pustyni i w puszczy* ('In desert and wilderness', 1910-11), a novel for young readers that was set in the time of the exploits of the Mahdi in the Sudan. In 1900, he celebrated the 25th anniversary of his literary activity and was awarded a 'national gift', the estate of Oblęgorek in the Kielce region. Today this houses his museum.

In 1903, he published *Na polu chwały* ('On the field of glory'), the first volume of a planned but never completed series of novels set in the time of King Jan III Sobieski (r. 1674-96). In 1905 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for his body of work, particularly his historical novels. In 1910, he published *Wiry* ('Whirls'), a novel loosely linked to the events of the 1905 revolution and directed against the methods of terror used by the socialists. *Legiony* ('Legions', the final episodes were printed in a newspaper in September 1914), set during the time of Napoleon, was his last and unfinished novel.

In 1881, he married Maria Szetkiewicz. She died in 1885, leaving two children. After a failed marriage to Maria Wołodkowiczówna in 1893, he married Maria Babska in 1904.

During the First World War Sienkiewicz was in Switzerland, where he was deeply engaged in public activities and diplomacy. He was the chairman of a humanitarian organisation, the Comité général de Suisse de secours pour les victimes de la Guerre en Pologne, from 1915. He died in Vevey on 15 November 1916. His remains were brought to Poland in 1924 and buried in the crypt of St John's Cathedral in Warsaw.

Though Sienkiewicz did not emphasise his ancestry during his lifetime, the frequent occurrence of Tatar threads in his writings is significant. He was a good friend of Bruno Abdank-Abakanowicz (1852-1900), a Tatar born in Wiłkomierz (today Ukmergė, Lithuania), an engineer and inventor, who migrated to France and was a patron of Polish art and culture there.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Early works 1875-80: *Stary sługa, Hania, Selim Mirza*; *Niewola tatarska*
'The old servant', 'Hania', 'Selim Mirza'; 'Tatar captivity'

DATE 1875-80
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

The so-called 'little trilogy' of *Stary sługa*, *Hania* and *Selim Mirza* reflects Sienkiewicz's background. Henryk, a young noble who is friendly with Selim Mirza, the son of a Tatar from the Dawidowicz family and a Georgian woman, is the narrator throughout. The plot involves these two young men who are bound by their childhood and youth, including their love of and rivalry for the hand of the same girl, Hania. Selim's hot-tempered abduction of the girl brings the love story to an end and causes much chaos in the life of everyone and particularly the girl, who finally decides to enter a convent, though it does not destroy the friendship between the men. Indeed, when they find themselves as volunteers in a French partisan unit fighting against the Prussians in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1, they show great bravery (*Selim Mirza*). The first book of the little trilogy, *Stary sługa*, brings in memories of the earlier struggle for the country's independence and sets the background for understanding the events in the following volumes. The protagonist is an impoverished nobleman, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars who serves in one of the local manor houses. When he dies, he entrusts his young daughter Hania to the care of the heir to the manor.

Niewola tatarska ('Tatar captivity') is styled as the diary of a 17th-century Polish nobleman. The main character, Aleksy Zdanoborski, falls in love with a girl from a higher social class. To enhance his material status through war-booty, he takes part in the war on the south-eastern border of the Commonwealth, but he is soon taken captive. He has a chance to observe his Muslim captors at close hand, though his accounts are couched exclusively in stereotypes. As he sees them, the Tatars live only from plunder and are lazy and extremely wild. They treat him well only because they hope for a large ransom. Iłła, the daughter of Suleyman, who falls in love with Aleksy, is the only sympathetic character. However, Aleksy, the young Christian, remains steadfast in his religious affiliation.

SIGNIFICANCE

These early works of a journalist and writer with a bright future, as Sienkiewicz then was, drew public attention. The character of the young Tatar Selim Mirza, who experiences great internal conflict because he belongs to an ethnic and religious group that is other than he would wish (in Poland of the nobles) is a much more interesting creation than the rather shallow character of Henryk, who narrates the story. Selim is not only physically more attractive but also more unpredictable. The Tatar blood in his veins makes him capable of deeds and bravery beyond ordinary measure. *Selim Mirza* is one of Sienkiewicz's most mysterious works. Many details indicate that it alludes to some unknown realities from Sienkiewicz's family history, in particular to his brother Kazimierz, who went missing during the Franco-Prussian war.

In both the trilogy and *Niewola tatarska*, the fundamental tension arises from the specifically conceived category of foreignness. Islam can be tamed, even in a way neutralised, as is shown in the attitude of Selim, who wants to break with the religion of his fathers and does not take his ethno-religious identity seriously. Or, Islam can be hostile, as in *Niewola tatarska*, in which Zdanoborski's rather obvious notions and observations (which, incidentally, do not differ from what can be read in other Polish memoirs of the time, such as the *Pamiętniki* ['Memoirs'] of the 17th-century nobleman Jan Chryzostom Pasek) have been stylised in line with the principle voiced by the 17th-century Spanish author Pedro Calderón, 'I will bend but will not be broken'. Thus, while Zdanoborski is not a heroic character but a common nobleman who goes to war for booty, he still holds onto the hope that he is a part of the 'Christian bulwark' against Muslim Turks and Tatars. Sienkiewicz used the motif of constancy in faith in his later novel for young readers, *W pustyni i w puszczy* (see below).

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The trilogy: *Ogniem i mieczem, Potop, Pan Wołodyjowski*
'With fire and sword', 'The deluge', 'Sir Michael'

DATE 1883-8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

This series of connected novels, which have the character of romance stories set against the background of historical events, is set in the turbulent times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's struggle with the internal problem of the Cossack uprising in Ukraine and the external problems of the Swedish invasion and war with Turkey. *Ogniem i mieczem* ('With fire and sword') follows the years 1647-51, *Potop* ('The deluge') 1654-7, and *Pan Wołodyjowski* ('Sir Michael') 1668-72. Muslims, mainly Tartars, feature in all three works. In *Ogniem i mieczem* they are allies of the Cossacks against the Commonwealth, in *Potop* they are on the side of the Poles against the invading Swedes, and in *Pan Wołodyjowski* they appear on both the Polish-Lithuanian and the Ottoman sides. Many Tatars, both historical figures such as Toğay bey/Tughai Bey (c. 1601-51 or 56) and Islam III Giray (1604-54), and fictional ones such as Azja Mellechowicz, the son of Tughai Bey (Tuhajbejowicz), appear throughout the series.

These well-known historical novels earned Sienkiewicz a reputation as a cult writer who upheld Polish national identity during the partition period when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth lost its independence and its lands were annexed by neighbouring states through the long

19th century (1795-1918). Together they give a very diverse picture of the followers of Islam. On the one hand, the Tatars (and almost without exception the Turks) are shown as savage, implacable enemies, while on the other they are valued for their bravery and even become allies. Thus, as they carry out their political agenda in the middle of the 17th century, the Crimean Tatars strike various alliances and change sides many times, as stated above, though wherever they fight they are portrayed as brave but wild and fierce warriors (also when they raid the Duchy of Prussia under the Polish command, described in *Potop*). On the other hand, there are examples of voluntary alliances, or sworn brotherhoods, between individual fighting men in opposing camps. Such individuals were obliged to help each other when they found themselves on opposing sides (Sir Zagłoba explains this to the wife of Colonel Wołodyjowski in the third volume of the trilogy). Thus, Colonel Wołodyjowski (Sir Michael) has two sworn brothers among the Tatars, Aga-bey and Habareskuł.

Azja, son of Tughai Bey, in *Pan Wołodyjowski* is one of the most striking characters in Polish literature. The personification of ambition, pride in his origins, forbidden love and crazed revenge give him almost Shakespearean complexity. After Bohun, the legendary commander of the Cossacks depicted in *Ogniem i mieczem*, he is one of Sienkiewicz's best creations. It is taken for granted in the novel that Azja and other Tatars are Muslims but the religious aspect of their 'Muslimness' is not developed by Sienkiewicz in any prominent way.

Sienkiewicz had an excellent sense of cultural particularities. He showed followers of Islam (Turks, Tatars) in many activities of their lives, mainly in battle and often in everyday affairs. He rarely showed them at prayer, though this did not mean he was completely oblivious to that dimension of life. In a private letter to Jadwiga Janczewska from the trip he made to Istanbul via Romania, Bulgaria and Greece in 1886, before he finished *Pan Wołodyjowski*, he describes a Muslim evening prayer, emphasising the emotional and aesthetic aspects of the ritual:

> They turn always to the east in prayer. Imagine that moment when the sun has gone down, the evening aurora is shining, and the first stars are shining in the flushed sky, and you will understand that the whole forms a poetic picture. Those head ties and clothes (*zawoje*) touching each other with the steady motion of the earth, those dark faces, the eyes raised, a certain sadness and concentration in the countenances, all these command some respect and explain the strength of Islam. It has it so far, because the followers believe very strongly. Naturally, I am not talking about the upper classes, who are everywhere sceptical. (H. Sienkiewicz, *Listy*, ed. M. Bokszczanin, Warsaw, 1996, vol. 2, t. 1, p. 204, Letter 24)

Despite this, he considered Islam a religion that was unsuitable for the contemporary world (though he held a similar opinion about Orthodox Christianity).

The letters to Janczewska provide testimony to his rather complicated interest in the East (Sienkiewicz, *Listy*, vol. 2, t. 1, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 172-274, Letters 19-34). On the one hand, he expressed satisfaction at the weakening presence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and did not succumb to the charm of Istanbul, portraying the city as filthy and chaotically built, with packs of dogs roaming the streets. But on the other, he was fascinated by the 17th-century clothes and weapons in the Janissaries' museum. He wrote about the end of Ottoman power and wondered whose flags would fly over Istanbul. Travelling through Greece, he professed joy over the rebirth of the 'cradle of European culture' after years of Ottoman captivity, expressing this in his letters and also in 'Wycieczka do Aten' ('A trip to Athens'), a report published in the Warsaw journal *Niwa* (1889, nos 1-5). Nevertheless, he brought home many Turkish souvenirs to decorate his study in Warsaw, including a mosque lamp, carpets and weapons.

SIGNIFICANCE

Sienkiewicz became one of the most successful Polish writers, and sales of his books reached record numbers. Poles in all the annexed territories, Russian, Prussian and Austrian, read his novels extensively from the very first episode in the cycle. They contributed to consolidating certain perceptions and stereotypes of Tatars and the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, but also to fascination with the Orient. After Polish independence in 1918, his works featured on school reading lists. Images of his characters (the novels were filmed only much later: *Pan Wołodyjowski* in 1969, *Potop* in 1974 and *Ogniem i mieczem* in 1999) and references to situations and sayings from the novels have become a unique communication code between Poles of different generations.

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'Letters from Africa'; 'In the desert and wilderness'; 'The Teutonic Knights'; 'On the field of glory'

DATE 1891-1911
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION
In December 1890, Sienkiewicz fulfilled his dream of travelling in Africa. Although frustrated by delays at the start, he finally arrived in Zanzibar and set off into the interior (the region of present-day Tanzania). However, his plans were further thwarted by illness. He returned to Europe in April 1891 and relayed his impressions and experiences in *Listy z Afryki* ('Letters from Africa'), most of which were written after his return.

Listy z Afryki was not as popular with Polish readers as *Listy z podróży do Ameryk* ('Letters from a trip to America', 1876-8), nor did it capture the

imagination as strongly. Nevertheless, in addition to recording experiences characteristic of exotic journeys, the account also contains many valuable and unexpected reflections. Thus, filled with admiration for Western European civilisation and its Christian mission, Sienkiewicz writes:

> Apart from their purely religious activities, they [Christian missions] also have other meanings. First, they fight against slavery and support the European humanitarian anti-slavery movement more than any other means, even more than armour and guns. Second, they fight against Islam, the greatest plague of Africa, which [...] makes the black man a wolf to his fellow black man and from which all evil results, slavery itself as well as the bloody wars, the chaos in relationships as well as the doom of entire peoples. (*Listy z Afryki*, vol. 1, p. 236)

He links Islam with the Arabs, whose activities he observed along the East African coast, and sees Islamic civilisation as one that lacks respect for life, cruel and disdainful towards the weak. He has a clear Eurocentric vision of Africa in which Europeans are to play the leading role, otherwise the Arabs would have done it in a much crueller way (e.g. *Listy z Afryki*, Warsaw, 1893, vol. 1, pp, 236-44; vol. 2, pp. 10-14), although he also says that Europeans cannot really settle and work in Africa due to the harshness of the climate. He expresses hope for some kind of cooperation, in the outcome of which the descendants of Europeans and Africans would create a flourishing 'united states of Africa' (*Listy z Afryki*, vol. 2, pp. 13, 33). Consequently, his views differ from the standard attitudes common at the time. He is filled with admiration for the tribes who, in murderous climatic conditions (he often refers to Africa as a 'corpse farm', *trupiarnia*), cultivate the land, breed animals and engage in trade and, in contrast to hunters and gatherers, elsewhere have created significant states such as Uganda and Unyoro (*Listy z Afryki*, vol. 2, p. 32).

Many years later, he used his African experience to write an adventure novel for young readers. Entitled *W pustyni i w puszczy* ('In the desert and wilderness'), it was set in 1885 during the period of the Muslim Mahdi state in the Sudan even though Sienkiewicz had not been there. The action takes place in the turbulent times of the Mahdists, who are shown one-dimensionally as savages seeking revenge and riches. In fact, when Sienkiewicz was actually in Africa, the uprising led by the Mahdi (Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh [1844-85] – in Sienkiewicz's version Mohammed Achmed) and his successor was coming to its end.

The novel tells the story of Staś Tarkowski and Nel Rawlison, two children of European engineers working in Egypt who have been kidnapped

by Arab slave traders and taken to the Sudan. When the Mahdi asks Staś publicly whether he will accept Islam, Staś declines, knowing that his clear answer could put him and his young English companion in grave danger.

In the novel, Sienkiewicz shows what a staunch opponent he was of the Arabs and thus of Islam, because there is not a single positive Arab character in the entire book; they used their cultural superiority to subjugate the indigenous inhabitants of Africa and carry out the shameful slave trade (*W pustyni i w puszczy*, Warsaw, 1978, pp. 7, 14). This conviction determines the meaning of the novel. Although it is much under attack today by proponents of post-colonial studies (e.g. A. Kłobucka, A. Cichoń and the authors mentioned in Axer and Bujnicki, *Wokół 'W pustyni i w puszczy'*), it is not as unequivocal as it is commonly believed. It is certainly a testament to the beliefs of Europeans about Africa's colonial past in the early 20th century.

In *Krzyżacy* ('The Teutonic Knights'), Sienkiewicz portrays the followers of Islam as part of the multi-ethnic Polish-Lithuanian state, serving the Polish king faithfully and rendering him great service on the battlefield, for example in the clash with the Teutonic Order (1410). *Na polu chwały* ('On the field of glory') is, in turn, a novel that was to be the beginning of a larger entity (perhaps even another trilogy, in which Sienkiewicz intended to reconstruct the history of the Polish-Turkish War of 1683-99), the action of which takes place a few months before Jan III Sobieski's expedition to Vienna (1683).

SIGNIFICANCE

Religious matters were not Sienkiewicz's primary concern. Nevertheless, they were interwoven into the full picture of the events and characters he describes, as one element among many. His role in providing material for the building of stereotypes cannot be summed up simply. He often portrays Muslims and Islam negatively but he presents the Tatars, who were without doubt Muslims, in a more complex way, sometimes as allies, sometimes as foes, though neither alliance nor enmity are based on religion.

These two historical novels strengthened beliefs among Poles in the historical mission of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the bulwark of Europe, defending it against Islam.

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Full details of editions and translations can be found in *Nowy Korbut* 17-3; https://rcin.org.pl/Content/61258/WA248_80303_III-4042_nowy-korbut-17-3_0.pdf. Only the first edition and earliest translations are given here.

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H. Sienkiewicz, 'Letters from Africa', trans. I. ze Slupskich Young, [n.p.], 1892 [or 1893] (English trans.; extracts)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Listy z Afriký*, trans. J. Paulík, Prague, 1901 (Czech trans.)

H. Sienkiewicz, 'Letters from Africa', trans. H. Bojarski, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 51 (1958) 227-31 (English trans.; extracts)

H. Sienkiewicz, 'Krzyżacy', published in instalments in the periodical *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 5-52 (1897), 1-52 (1898) and 4-53 (1899; not in every issue); first edition (vol. 1 and part of vol. 2) Warsaw, 1898; *Krzyżacy*, 4 vols, Kraków, 1900 (numerous later editions; see *Nowy Korbut* 17-3, entry 209, pp. 157-64); 89772660 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

Translated into 39 languages, including:

H. Sienkiewicz, *Kriestonoscy. Istoriczeskij roman*, trans. F.W. Dombrowskij, St Petersburg, 1897 (Russian trans.); 58020143 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *The knights of the cross, or Krzyżacy*, trans. S.A. Binion, 3 vols, New York, 1899 (English trans.); 102875025 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

H. Sienkiewicz, *The knights of the cross*, trans. J. Curtin, 2 vols, London, 1900 (authorised English trans.); 49846409 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Die Kreuzritter. Historischer Roman*, trans. C. Hillebrand, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1901 (German trans.); 58020144 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Na polu chwały*, first published in instalments in the periodical *Biesiada Literacka* 1-7, 9-23, 43-53 (1904); full edition, *Na polu chwały*, Warsaw, 1906 (numerous later editions; see *Nowy Korbut* 17-3, entry 289, pp. 178-80); 49846475 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

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H. Sienkiewicz, 'Na pole sławy. Istoriczeskaja powiest' iz wremien Jana Sobiesskogo', trans. D. Sližeń [D.Bohan], *Siewiero-Zapadnyj Kraj* 12 (1903), 1-3 (1904) and 1-3 (1905) (Russian trans.)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Na pole sławy. Istoriczeskij roman iz wriemien Jana Sobiesskogo*, trans. N. Wasin, Moscow, 1906 (Russian trans.); 49846473 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *The field of glory. An historical novel of the time of King John Sobieski*, trans. J. Curtin, London, 1906 (English trans.); 49846490 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Na polí slávy. Velký historický roman z dob krala Jana Sobeského*, trans. B. Prusik. Prague, 1906 (Czech trans.); 58020156 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Auf dem Felde der Ehre. Roman aus der Zeit König Johann Sobieskies*, trans. T. Kroczek, Berlin, 1906 (German trans.)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Au champ de gloire. Roman héroïque*, trans. B. Kozakiewicz and A. Wodzinski, Paris, 1907 (French trans.); 58020155 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, 'W pustyni i w puszczy', first published in instalments in the periodical *Kurier Warszawski* 297-360 (1910; not in every issue) and 3-241 (1911); full edition, *W pustyni i w puszczy*, 2 vols, Warsaw, 1911 (numerous later editions; see *Nowy Korbut* 17-3, entry 394, pp. 200-5); 89753080 (digitised version of 1912 edition available through Polona.pl)

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H. Sienkiewicz, *In desert and wilderness*, trans. M.A. Dreznal, Boston MA, 1911 (English trans.); 128966483 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Durch Wüste und Wildnis*, trans. I. Rasch, Regensburg, 1911 (German trans.); 128969179 128966483 (digitised version available through Polona.pl); 128969179 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

H. Sienkiewicz, *Kroz pustinu i prašumu*, trans. J. Milorad, Belgrade, 1912 (Croatian trans.); 128966480 (digitised version available through Polona.pl)

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J. Sztachelska, *Mity sienkiewiczowskie*, pp. 142-62 ('Petroniusz patrzy na Afrykę [O "Listach z Afryki" Henryka Sienkiewicza]')

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Travellers to the Middle East from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Islam and Muslims

The Middle East attracted travellers from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the Commonwealth of Two Nations) through the centuries for reasons that were mainly diplomatic and religious. Many members of the legations that went there wrote their impressions in reports that formed one of the most important sources of information about the Middle East and Muslims available in the Polish language. Descriptions of pilgrimages to the Holy Land were another easily accessible source of information.

In the 19th century, reasons for travelling to the Middle East changed. While the number of pilgrimages (and descriptions of them) increased significantly thanks to favourable political conditions and the growing ease of travel, the era of diplomatic journeys ended with the final partition of Poland in 1795, so that official reports were replaced by accounts by private individuals seeking refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, in parallel with the growth of Oriental Studies in European universities, a new type of traveller appeared in the Middle East: academics wishing to improve their knowledge of Eastern languages. At the same time, there were also Romantics, who followed the fashion for travelling to the East and sought refuge there from European society. In the middle of the 19th century, as a result of better and faster means of travel, more and more tourists appeared in the Middle East because a visit could now be made in a few weeks instead of several months. Maybe unsurprisingly, the increase in the number of Polish travellers in the 19th century did not always go together with the quality of the descriptions they produced. Writing around 1930, Jan Stanisław Bystroń commented aptly: 'Travelling is becoming easier – and the less heroic are the types who appear as pilgrims the more and more colourless are their descriptions' (Bystroń, *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej*, p. 260).

Some regions of the Middle East were more popular than others among 19th-century Polish travellers. As might be expected, Palestine was the place most visited and there the same pilgrimage route was used for centuries. Pilgrims often also visited Lower Egypt, though they rarely ventured further than Cairo. Few ventured deep into the Arabian Peninsula or into Anatolia, not to mention the mountains of Iraq or the Caucasus.

Generally, Iran was the least accessible region throughout the 19th century, as is shown in such reports as those by Manswet Aulich in 1838 (*CMR* 22, 690-6) and Maria Ratuld-Rakowska in 1894. Istanbul was one of the most frequently visited cities in the second half of the 19th century, easily accessible thanks to the Orient Express. It was often treated as the 'East in a nutshell', and a stay there of just a few days or weeks was taken to represent the total experience of the Middle East.

Islam was not a religion commonly known in 19th-century Polish society despite there being a large number of Polish-language sources on the Ottoman Empire, both original and translated from other European languages; religious issues were mostly mentioned as additions to descriptions of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, there was still a need to educate Polish society about Islam, as is demonstrated by the article entitled 'Wschód muzułmański' ('The Muslim East'), published by Aleksander Jabłonowski in the Warsaw periodical *Ateneum* in 1876. Here, he summarises and comments on three works: *Islam w dziewiętnastym stuleciu* ('Islam in the nineteenth century', translated and published in Warsaw, 1876) by Ármin Vámbéry (see *CMR* 22, 380-410), *Tureckaja cywilizacja* ('Turkish civilisation') by W. Smirnov (published in 1876 in the Russian periodical *Wiestnik Jewropy*) and *Religions et philosophies dans l'Asie centrale* by Arthur de Gobineau (published in Paris in 1866). Poles formulated their views on issues related to Islam primarily on the basis of newspapers and magazines, where political information from the Ottoman Empire was closely followed. Reports of trips to the Middle East published there were read even more eagerly. Travel memoirs grew at a great rate in the 19th century, such that specialist journals were introduced, among them the weekly *Wędrowiec* ('Globetrotter') founded in 1863, though travellers' impressions were serialised in almost every Polish magazine. In addition, dozens of travel reports were published in book form in all regions of the partitioned country. Apparently, the reading market had still not been saturated when Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812-87), an eminent Polish novelist, issued a call in 1842 to publish more travel reports from the Middle East.

Despite all this, travellers rarely acquired reliable information about Islam during their time in the Middle East, even though they might later be treated as experts in all matters Oriental. Most often, their knowledge was as superficial as that of the rest of society, based on the stereotypes of Muslims as barbaric and cruel that had originated from the 17th-century Polish-Ottoman wars and were grounded in polemical literature. In 1839, Ignacy Hołowiński had to persuade his readers that the famous 'robbers of Arabia' were only a legend (*Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej*, p. V), and

the Polish emigrant Wacław Koszczyc acknowledged in 1874 that Eastern issues were so neglected in Polish literature that the image of the 'charming Orient' from the *Thousand and one nights* still persisted (*Wschód. Ze Stambułu do Angory*, p. 8). Often Poles only met Muslims in person for the first time in their life on a trip to the Middle East. They scrupulously recorded their first observations on religious and cultural customs, such as praying several times a day, removing shoes before entering a house or mosque, sitting cross-legged, eating without cutlery, wearing turbans and fezzes, drinking coffee and smoking water pipes. Most remarks and comments repeat one another and it is evident that travellers read reports of earlier journeys before they set out; often they did not hide this, but rather boasted about the number of these books they had read.

Polish travellers to the Middle East in the 19th century can be divided into the following categories: pilgrims, political migrants, experts in Oriental Studies, Romantics and tourists. This may look artificial, as some travellers can be allocated to more than one group, though it is usually possible to place individuals according to the prevailing features of the narrative they wrote.

Pilgrims

In the 19th century, when 'the sultans' thrones began to shudder' (Tyburcy, *Opowiadania pielgrzyma*, p. 2), travel time grew shorter and costs came down so Polish pilgrimages to the Holy Land became accessible to all, such as the burgher Paweł Orzechowski with his wife, or the peasant Feliks Boruń. Group pilgrimages organised by religious societies offered many advantages. Kazimierz Dorszewski, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1872 with a pilgrimage from Vienna, noted that their caravan consisted of 16 people, including 10 clergy, and the oldest, a retired priest, was 77 (*Zapiski i wrażenia z podróży do Ziemi Święte j i Egiptu*, 'Notes and impressions from a journey to the Holy Land and Egypt', 1872, pp. 306-7). Clergymen outnumbered other pilgrims though there were also lay people, both Catholics and Protestants (Filipowska, *Próba typologizacji*, p. 69).

From the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations, the following reports deserve mention (they are chronologically ordered according to travel dates): Ignacy Hołowiński, *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* ('A pilgrimage to the Holy Land', 1839; *CMR* 22, 667-75); Feliks Laassner, *Pielgrzymka misyjna do Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egiptu* ('A missionary pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Syria and Egypt', 1843-9); Maurycy Mann, *Podróż na Wschód*

('Journey to the East', 1853); Feliks Gondek, *Wspomnienia z pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej* ('Memoirs of pilgrimage to the Holy Land', 1859); Marcin Tyburcy, *Opowiadania pielgrzyma* ('Stories of a pilgrim', around 1860); Henryk Bartsch, *Wspomnienia z podróży do Kairu i Jerozolimy w roku 1861* ('Memories of the journey to Cairo and Jerusalem in 1861', 1861); Hieronim Kajsiewicz, *Listy ze Wschodu* ('Letters from the East', 1862); Eustachy Iwanowski, *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* ('Pilgrimage to the Holy Land', 1863); Feliks Boruń, *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej* ('Pilgrimage to the Holy Land', 1863); Kazimierz Dorszewski, *Zapiski i wrażenia z podróży do Ziemi Świętej i Egiptu* ('Notes and impressions from a journey to the Holy Land and Egypt', 1872); Józef Pelczar, *Ziemia Święta i islam* ('The Holy Land and Islam', 1872; *CMR* 22, 708-16); Adam Sierakowski, *Listy z podróży* ('Letters from travels', 1883); Paweł Orzechowski, *Pielgrzymka do Częstochowy i Jerozolimy* ('Pilgrimage to Częstochowa and Jerusalem', 1884); Karol Niedziałkowski, *Wrażenia z pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej* ('Impressions from the pilgrimage to the Holy Land', 1894); Antoni Julian Nowowiejski, *Z podróży do Ziemi Świętej* ('From the journey to the Holy Land', 1896).

A desire to see the Christian holy places, a wish to enter into religious experiences and obtain grace for themselves, and to offer the pilgrimage for the intention that Poland might regain independence (often not openly expressed because of censorship) were among the common reasons for going on pilgrimage. Such focused intentions made pilgrims' attitudes towards Islam quite definite. They assumed in advance that Islam was hostile towards Christianity and, even before they set out, they looked on Muslims as invaders who had seized the holy places that belonged to Christians. Thus, Antoni Julian Nowowiejski wrote in his diary that Islam 'marked all holy places with shame and slavery' (*Z podróży do Ziemi Świętej*, p. 45) and his opinion was not isolated, because almost all pilgrims bemoaned the fact that the holy places were in 'foreign' hands. However, attitudes towards Muslims often changed in the course of the journey. Surprised by the religious freedom they witnessed in the Ottoman Empire, some went as far as Maurycy Mann, who declared that: 'Even in many Christian countries, our Church does not experience such freedom as in Turkey' (*Podróż na Wschód*, vol. 3, p. 419). Their diffidence towards other Christian denominations, mainly Orthodox Greeks and non-Catholic Armenians, seemed to be stronger than their dislike of Muslims. According to Józef Pelczar, it was better for the holy places to remain in the hands of Muslims, who maintained relative peace there, than in the possession of different Christian denominations that would fight one another for access (*Ziemia Święta i islam*, vol. 2, p. 68).

Although pilgrims were in general treated well by the locals, they still noticed traces of the former Muslim hatred towards Christians. For example, Kazimierz Dorszewski mentions Muslim women spitting from their windows upon Christians who were visiting the Mosque of 'Umar in Jerusalem (*Zapiski i wrażenia z podróży*, p. 93), and Hieronim Kajsiewicz describes an imam's wife kicking the stool on which a Christian merchant was sitting ('Listy ze Wschodu', p. 117). Their superficial knowledge of Islam, acquired hastily during the journey, can be illustrated by the example of Henryk Bartsch, who came back to his hotel in Istanbul tired after a day of sightseeing and then read about Islam at night, writing down the information from memory (*Wspomnienia z podróży do Kairu i Jerozolimy*, pp. 32-48). Often pilgrims compared Islam with Christianity, inevitably to its disadvantage. They especially criticised polygamy as a reason for 'laxity and disorder' in family life (Pelczar, *Ziemia Święta i islam*, vol. 2, p. 127) and 'the privilege of debauchery for the rich' (Hołowiński, *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej*, p. 65). Neither did they understand the idea of Ramaḍān, especially in comparison to the principles of Lent; Stanisław Koźmian called the fasting month a 'sphinx, half-fast and half-carnival' ('Ramazan jest sfinksem, na pół postem, na pół zapustami', Koźmian, *Podróże i polityka*, vol. 2, p. 123). While they praised the piety of Muslims, which was manifested in fulfilling the duty of prayer five times a day, they simultaneously questioned the quality of this prayer – based, as they saw it, on mechanical actions and far from the 'beauty of Christian prayer' (Niedziałkowski, *Wrażenia z pielgrzymki*, p. 102). Almsgiving was the only element of Muslim culture that was widely appreciated by newcomers.

Pilgrims were interested more in Christian antiquities than in Islamic art and culture, and were more willing to visit churches than mosques. Paweł Orzechowski, the poor burgher, is the best example here. Being able to leave his ship for only a few hours in Istanbul, the first Islamic city on his pilgrimage route, he used that time to visit the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes rather than visit any Ottoman monument (*Pielgrzymka do Częstochowy i Jerozolimy*, p. 73). The descriptions of the Jerusalem churches (mainly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) occupy most space in the pilgrims' reports. While visiting mosques, pilgrims focused on curiosities such as taking off one's shoes before entering or treating the mosque as a meeting place where some sleep, others pray or talk loudly and children run around. Moreover, visiting former churches converted into mosques (e.g. Hagia Sophia), pilgrims looked for traces of Christianity such as the remains of mosaics or the site of the altar.

Many pilgrims wanted to see the Middle East as it had been in biblical times. They walked the streets of Jerusalem as if they were walking in the footsteps of Jesus Christ, not noticing the Muslim city around them. Kazimierz Dorszewski wrote that people there lived in the same way as they had thousands of years before: they erected their tents in the way Abraham and Lot had done and ate the same things as the patriarchs had eaten (*Zapiski i wrażenia z podróży*, p. III). Muslim culture is treated only as a background, even more a temporary background (19th-century travellers were convinced of the imminent end of Islam), a kind of addition to the description of biblical sites, churches, monasteries, masses and processions. This is quite evident in the composition of many reports, where the principles of Islam and the 'national character' of the Turks or Arabs are discussed in a separate chapter or sub-chapter.

Political emigrants

In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire became a place of refuge for hundreds of Poles, among them insurgents fleeing from the repressions imposed by the occupying regimes and defectors from the Russian army. They pinned the hope of national independence on the many conflicts between the Ottomans and the Russians, and they were most politically active during the Crimean War (1853-6), when attempts to establish Polish armed forces in Turkey were made by Michał Czajkowski, Władysław Zamoyski and Adam Mickiewicz. There were many jobless emigrants, who 'dragged sabres on the streets and dulled spurs on the pavement' ('ciągano szable po ulicach, tępiono ostrogi na bruku', Czajkowski, *Moje wspomnienia*, p. 30), so a few initiatives were taken to help them: the foundation of a 'Polish village' named Adampol (today Polonezköy, Istanbul district) in 1841 by Adam Czartoryski, and a farm near Baghdad by Karol Brzozowski. Many emigrants made use of their technical education, working in Turkey on the construction of roads or telegraph networks; their contribution to the civilisation and technical development of the Ottoman Empire was widely appreciated. Others succeeded in research, especially in the archaeological, geographical, cartographical, geological and botanical fields. Moreover, sympathising with the Kurds, they laid the groundwork for Kurdish Studies in Europe (August Kościesza Żaba, Karol Brzozowski, Aleksander Chodźko).

From among Polish researchers and explorers, who were often members of expeditions run by other nationals, only the work of Karol

Brzozowski provides information on Islam and Muslims. In addition to publishing research results in academic journals, he sent memoirs and reports to Polish newspapers. Daily companionship with local Muslims features prominently among them, but religious topics hardly arise, giving way to intellectual issues and sightseeing.

Most emigrants' publications were political reports or correspondence focusing on the details of their efforts towards national liberation. For this reason, they are often used as sources for the history of Polish emigration. In contrast, complete autobiographical texts or memoirs of years spent in the Middle East are the most valuable from the point of view of the approach to Islam and Muslims. These are: Michał Czajkowski, *Moje wspomnienia o wojnie 1854 roku* ('My memories of the war of 1854', 1841-72); Michał Budzyński, *Wspomnienia z mojego życia* ('Memories from my life', 1845-6); Władysław Zamoyski, *Jenerał Zamoyski 1803-1868* ('General Zamoyski 1803-68'; he was present in the East several times in the years 1847-57); Franciszek Sokulski, *W kraju i nad Bosforem* ('In the homeland and on the Bosporus', 1850-81); Teodor Tomasz Jeż, *Od kolebki przez życie* ('From cradle through life', 1850-8); Adam Michałowski, *Trzyletni pobyt na Wschodzie* ('A three-year stay in the East', 1853-6); Jadwiga Zamoyska, *Wspomnienia* ('Memoirs', 1854-7); Adam Mickiewicz, *Listy* ('Letters', 1855); Wacław Koszczyc, *Wschód. Ze Stambułu do Angory* ('East. From Istanbul to Ankara', c. 1864-70); Władysław Jabłonowski, *Pamiętniki z lat 1851-1893* ('Diaries from 1851 to 1893', 1866-94).

These 'travellers by necessity' (Burkot, *Polskie podróżopisarstwo romantyczne*, p. 34), busy with political activities, were not much interested in learning about the religion, culture or customs of foreign nations. Teodor Tomasz Jeż (alias Zygmunt Miłkowski) commented on his arrival in Turkey in 1853: 'I immediately fell into the whirl of political work' (*Od kolebki przez życie*, vol. 2, p. 76). Some, like Adam Michałowski, did not intend to write about anything that was not related to emigrant issues. Complaints about Eastern indolence and slowness, which prolonged formalities with officials, were a frequent thread in emigrants' reports. The authors ascribed this to the influence of Islam (prayer breaks during the day, Ramaḍān as a time of stagnation in business). Islam and Muslims were therefore interesting for emigrants only as helps to dealing with political issues.

They also treated conversion to Islam in the same way. It should be noted that political emigrants, such as Michał Czajkowski (Sadık Bey), General Józef Bem (Murad Paşa), General Antoni Aleksander Iliński (Mehmed İskender Paşa) and Konstanty Borzęcki (Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa), formed the largest group of converts. It seems that they did not

regard conversion as a religious act – there are no theological reflections in their memoirs – but as a way to avoid extradition and start a career in the Turkish army. According to Władysław Zamoyski's wife, Jadwiga, who did not like Czajkowski, there was another reason for his conversion to Islam, which was the possibility of marrying Ludwika Śniadecka, despite having a wife in Paris (*Wspomnienia*, p. 197).

Wacław Koszczyc (alias Walery Wacław Wołodźko) complained that Polish emigrants were not interested in describing the Middle East, despite their thorough knowledge of the region and its society gained from their many years spent there (*Wschód*, p. 4). He filled this gap by writing his own memories of a trip from Istanbul to Ankara and comments on Turkish culture. Koszczyc regarded Islam as a religion based on tales of miracles and superstitions that were spread by dervishes (pp. 272-5). He exposed hypocrisy in Muslims' pretended abstinence from drinking alcohol, claiming that they got drunk secretly (pp. 250-1) and regularly visited public houses (p. 262). Due to his long stay in the Ottoman Empire, Koszczyc considered himself an expert on social and moral issues, though in reality Polish emigrants did not have access to Muslim homes. Often, the only way to see the family life of Turks was to peep through a telescope on them, as Teodor Tomasz Jeż confessed he did (*Od kolebki przez życie*, vol. 2, p. 233).

Orientalists

The reports of Polish Orientalists (students of Eastern languages and cultures) who travelled to the Middle East in the 19th century differ significantly from descriptions by other travellers who did not know Eastern languages or local situations before they left Polish territory. Orientalists went to the Middle East while they were engaged in their Oriental studies courses or just after, in order to practise languages or to take jobs as interpreters. Admittedly, emigrants also learned Turkish, Arabic, Persian or Kurdish while living within the Islamic world, but they felt compelled to do this and, as already mentioned, they were not interested in describing cultural and religious matters (in fact, emigrants' memoirs often contain Turkish phrases used incorrectly, casting doubt on their knowledge of the language). In contrast, Orientalists in search of facts about the Middle East wanted to discover the reality of Eastern countries and 'verify the myths popular in European literature' (Burkot, *Polskie podróżopisarstwo romantyczne*, p. 72). Thanks to their proficiency in Eastern languages, they understood things not intended for the ears of foreigners (such as Józef

Sękowski, who was staying in Alexandria during the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence and was able to describe anti-Greek sentiments), read and quoted newspaper articles and made friendships with citizens of the vast Ottoman Empire. Staying in the East longer than the average traveller, they had opportunities to make relatively objective observations and visit places inaccessible to 'lords and magnates being driven in horse carriages around the town', as Pietraszewski observed (*Dziesięcioletnia podróż po Wschodzie*, p. 34). He added: 'Proficiency in their language, not a higher-class language, but the language of simple people, is, in my opinion, the first and the most necessary condition to learn about the customs and history of foreign nations' (*Dziesięcioletnia podróż po Wschodzie*, p. 4).

There are a lot of scattered and implied remarks about the image of Islam and Muslims in the reports of Orientalists. They often sympathised with the local population, describing numerous examples of good treatment, hospitality and willingness to help. First and foremost, they demonstrated interest in Islamic culture and felt the need to see and understand as much as possible. Wacław Seweryn Rzewuski is the most frequently discussed example of such an approach. Living in Aleppo between 1818 and 1820, he undertook numerous expeditions into the desert, to today's Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Iraq and even reached the gates of Mecca. That was only possible because he travelled dressed as a Bedouin, which was not just a simple disguise. In order to get to know the Bedouins, he adopted their customs and behaviour, taking part even in the tribes' fighting expeditions. Rzewuski admired the hospitality of the local population, their positive attitude to life and their respect for religion and tradition. Thanks to his approach, he won Bedouins' trust and received from them the title of 'emir' (Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy*, pp. 91-114).

A similar approach was adopted by Ignacy Pietraszewski. Immediately after his arrival in Istanbul, a friend advised him: 'Don't run alone among the Turks, you haven't got a moustache yet and the Turks don't like it; moreover don't be angry when they call you a giaour dog, because that is their way of speaking' (Pietraszewski, *Dziesięcioletnia podróż po Wschodzie*, p. 59). Following this advice, Pietraszewski imitated the Turks in dress and behaviour; wearing Turkish clothes, he was able to enter every one of Istanbul's mosques when they were still scarcely accessible to Christians.

Being able to speak the language, Orientalists were sometimes invited into Muslims' houses. They left descriptions of their visits, with such details as the way of sitting, hand washing, blessing the food and even the customary eructation. Orientalists also had opportunities to participate in religious ceremonies such as weddings, circumcisions and funerals.

After seeing the wedding procession of the sultan's daughter on 1 May 1834, Pietraszewski described the wedding rites in great detail, over several pages (*Dziesięcioletnia podróż po Wschodzie*, pp. 46-57). A large number of anecdotes not only make the reports livelier but also lend them more credibility.

Orientalists explained social, cultural and religious issues from their own observations and using original terminology, without rewriting entire paragraphs from other books, though it must be pointed out that they raised these issues more often in their scholarly works than in their travel reports. For example, in 1819 Józef Sękowski translated and published in *Dziennik Wileński* extensive excerpts from *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman* by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (see *CMR* 21, 154-67), giving a basic explanation of Islam to Polish readers. He provided even more explanations in the extensive footnotes to his translation of the Ottoman chroniclers in his *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich* ('Collectanea from Turkish chroniclers'), published between 1824 and 1825 in two volumes. He described on several pages the status of the Ottoman woman, explaining that the common conviction among Europeans about the unhappy fate of Muslim women results from differences in upbringing and mentality. Calling Eurocentric views into question, Sękowski claimed that there were more happy marriages in Turkey than in Europe (*Collectanea*, pp. 22-31).

In such ways, Orientalists had a real chance to refute stereotypes regarding Islam and Muslims. It is unfortunate that, having such knowledge and ability, so few wrote descriptions of their travels (in fact, some are lost, such as the accounts of Rzewuski's and Muchliński's journeys). The most important reports of Polish 19th-century Orientalists are: 'Emir' Wacław Seweryn Rzewuski, *O koniach wschodnich i wywodzących się z ras orientalnych* ('Concerning Eastern horses originating from Arabian breeds', 1817-20); Józef Sękowski, 'Wyjątki z opisu podróży w Nubii i wyższej Etiopii' ('Excerpts from the report of a journey to Nubia and Higher Ethiopia', 1822) and 'Powrót z Egiptu przez Archipelag i część Azji Mniejszej do Konstantynopola' ('Return from Egypt through the Archipelago and part of Asia Minor to Constantinople', 1819-21); Aleksander Chodźko, 'Widok Gilanu' ('View of Gilan', 1830-41); Antoni Muchliński, 'Wyjątek z podróży po Wschodzie' ('An excerpt from a journey to the East', 1832-5, and a few shorter journeys); Ignacy Pietraszewski, *Dziesięcioletnia podróż po Wschodzie* ('A ten-year journey to the East', 1832-40) re-edited as *Uroki Orientu* ('The charms of the Orient', 1832-40); and Jan Grzegorzewski, *Z pod nieba wschodniego. Nowele i fragmenty z podróży* ('Under the eastern sky. Stories and pieces from travels', 1877-8, perhaps earlier).

Romantics

Bored with European tidiness, from the beginning of the 19th century Romantic authors tended to seek simplicity in the East, perceived as 'uncontaminated by civilisation' and a land of mysterious, mystical and irrational wisdom. This trend never really extended through Polish society after the failure of the November Uprising against the Russians in 1830-1, though there are a few examples of purely Romantic journeys to the East in Polish literature. Perhaps the best-known among them is that of the famous Romantic poet Juliusz Słowacki (1809-49) in 1836-7, which is known primarily from his diary and his private correspondence with his mother – although at the same time it can be classified as the pilgrimage of an emigrant praying for the freedom of his homeland. Other examples are: *Listy z Konstantynopola* ('Letters from Constantinople') by Jan Gnatowski (1855-1925), who spent several weeks in Istanbul in 1882 or 1883, and *Wspomnienia Wschodu* ('Memories of the East') by Zygmunt Skórzewski (1828-1901), who travelled to Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Turkey and Greece in 1850. Bystroń also regards 'Emir' Wacław Rzewuski, who inspired many Polish Romantic writers, such as Juliusz Słowacki, Adam Mickiewicz, Wincenty Pol and Lucian Siemieński, as himself a Romantic author (*Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egipcie*, p. 90).

Typically, the reports of these travellers are characterised by Romantic aesthetics. They wrote in exalted language, emphasising emotion and expression of feelings. They travelled to the East to find there (or to feel like) Byronic heroes, lonely and mysterious, at odds with the world, experiencing extreme passions. Even when the East turned out to be plain, mundane and grey, they enjoyed the search for 'Eastern ugliness' (Filipowska, *Obraz dziewiętnastowiecznego Stambułu*, p. 141). Convinced of the superiority of Eastern culture, which as yet remained unpolluted by 'civilisation', they idealised Muslims: Rzewuski envied the freedom of the Arabs, Skórzewski found calm in the sleepy atmosphere of Islamic cities, and Gnatowski insisted that 'you can spend weeks among Turkish porters and beggars in safety with a diamond from the Mughal Empire in your tie clip and Rothschild's fortune in your wallet' (*Listy z Konstantynopola*, p. 177). Gnatowski warned only to avoid Christians and Jews, who were likely to steal everything you possessed (*Listy z Konstantynopola*, p. 177). Only Juliusz Słowacki seemed to notice that 'agile Arabs' from Romantic epic literature resembled vultures (*Pisma pośmiertne*, p. 43) and women in black chadors were similar to coffins (p. 40). While in his literary texts Słowacki attributed a dark mysteriousness to the East, his actual experiences were much more prosaic – in correspondence to his mother he

describes the childlike joy of climbing a pyramid and the discomforts of riding a camel (*Pamiętniki. Listy do matki i rodziny*, pp. 109-10). In fact, the journey made by the greatest Polish Romantic poet turned into a mundane tourist trip.

Tourists

Arrivals in the Middle East by tourists grew in intensity around the middle of the 19th century. Often, because of limits on time, they decided to visit only one city and Istanbul seemed to be the most popular due to its location and accessibility. Tourists wanted to get to know foreign culture and customs, although, following their dragomans, they rarely left the beaten track. Thus, their reports tended to be schematic, with religious subjects as one of the obligatory elements. The following reports of tourists are worth mentioning: Władysław Wężyk, *Podróże po starożytnym świecie* ('Journeys around the ancient world', 1839); Antoni Waśniewski, *Sześć tygodni na Wschodzie* ('Six weeks in the East', 1846); Stanisław Tarnowski, *Z Dzikowa do Ziemi Świętej* ('From Dzików to the Holy Land', 1857-8); Michał Tyszkiewicz, *Dziennik podróży po Egipcie i Nubii* ('A travel diary of Egypt and Nubia', 1861); Józef Popiel, 'Z notatek podróżnych' ('From travel notes', periodically between 1869 and 1878); Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Wschód muzułmański* ('The Muslim East'), *Z pamiętnika podróży w 1870 roku. Anatolia* ('From a travel diary in 1870. Anatolia'), *Noc w wąwozie Anty-libanu* ('The night in the gorge of Anti-Lebanon'), *Wyprawa po Eufracie* ('Expedition on the Euphrates'), and a few articles collected later in the sixth volume of *Pisma* ('Writings') entitled *Wschód muzułmański* ('The Muslim East') (several journeys in the 1870s); Leopold Starzeński, *Wspomnienia z wyprawy myśliwskiej do Syrii roku 1881* ('Memories from a hunting expedition to Syria in 1881', 1881); Ignacy Domeyko, 'Ze wspomnień podróży na Wschód' ('From memories of travelling to the East', 1886); Antoni Zaleski, *Z wycieczki na Wschód. Notatki dziennikarza* ('From a trip to the East. A journalist's notes', 1886); Henryk Sienkiewicz, 'Listy z podróży i wycieczek' ('Letters from journeys and trips', 1886); Józef Rogosz, 'Wrażenia z wycieczki na Wschód' ('Impressions from a trip to the East', 1887); Stanisław Koźmian, *Podróże i polityka* ('Travel and politics', 1890); Maria Ratuld-Rakowska, *Podróż Polki do Persji* ('A Polish woman's journey to Persia', 1894-6); Stanisław Bełza, *W stolicy padyszacha. Wrażenia z podróży do Konstantynopola* ('In the capital of the Padishah. Impressions from a trip to Constantinople', 1894-8).

By and large, tourists were not interested in Islam as a religion; they treated it as a curiosity, an element of Eastern exoticism. Immediately

on going ashore in the first Islamic port, they heard calls to prayers, saw women in yashmaks and were aware of other traces of 'Muslim fanaticism' (Gnatowski, *Listy z Konstantynopola*, p. 237). Watching Sufi rituals was an obligatory tourist attraction next to visiting a mosque. It was particularly popular to watch the Sufi ceremonies in Istanbul: in the Mevlevi lodge (*tekke*) in Galata and the Rufa'i lodge in Üsküdar. There was a place prepared for spectators at these services, and 'a doorman, picking up visitors' shoes, gave a cloakroom token' (Kajsiewicz, 'Listy ze Wschodu', p. 140). Poles witnessed Muslim rites without understanding them, treated them as a kind of show or spectacle and felt like the audience in a theatre. They visited mosques as though they were museums, without feeling the atmosphere of 'a holy place'. Filth and turmoil were determinants of the Islamic city for them, but they themselves stayed in the best hotels, often managed by foreigners, where living conditions were similar to those in Europe, in accordance with the 'environmental bubble' rule. As Europeans, from the beginning they felt as though they were better than Eastern people; they waved their passports and expected to be served first in the customs office.

It seemed that tourists (just like pilgrims) were more interested in the situation of Christians in the Middle East than in Islam. They were surprised by the multinationalism and multi-confessionalism of the Ottoman Empire, providing (very divergent) statistical data on the number of inhabitants of different religions and describing the customs of the Copts, Maronites and Armenians as frequently as those of the Turks and Arabs. They noted that three feast days were celebrated in the cosmopolitan Eastern cities: Friday (Muslims), Saturday (Jews) and Sunday (Christians). Religious freedom was one of the more frequent topics raised by tourists, surprised by the presence of crosses in public places and the clang of church bells.

Tourists' stays in the Middle East were usually short and intense. They tried to see and experience as much as possible, but their observations, especially those concerning Islam and Muslims, were very superficial. They made many mistakes, among them very basic ones such as confusing Muslim holidays or reporting that Muslims pray three, four or even six times a day. They showed ignorance in not seeing ethnic differences between Turks and Arabs. Tourists described their stays with flair, often entertainingly, including a lot of anecdotes and guide information, clearly taking into account the expectations of their readers. A short extract from the very popular *Podróże po starożytnym świecie* ('Journey around the ancient world') by Władysław Wężyk (1st edition 1842) is a good example. Visiting Bethlehem, he seemed to be delighted: 'Everything is beautiful!

Very beautiful! – I repeat with exultation ... however, I felt the lack of something in my life ... I remembered that I had not eaten breakfast yet ...' (*Podróże po starożytnym świecie*, 1957, p. 207).

SIGNIFICANCE

Interest in social, cultural and religious issues in the reports of 19th-century Polish travellers understandably differs, depending on their reasons for travelling to the East. Most of the material concerning Christian-Muslim relations can be found in descriptions of pilgrimages, while emigrants were least interested in this subject. Reports from groups of travellers also vary in their credibility – the most reliable information was provided by those who were intent on studying the East and emigrants, while tourists often showed ignorance of the most basic issues, and Romantics idealised the Middle East and Muslims. Regardless of the motivation for travelling to the East (there were often several mixed reasons), there are many similarities in the reports of travellers when it comes to presenting Islam and Muslims. First, they were written from the perspective of Christians and Europeans. This feeling of superiority is visible on a few levels: from grumbling about dirty and crowded streets, through complaining about Eastern indolence, to criticising and ridiculing more serious matters such as religious rituals. This is quite evident in the description of the rituals performed by the Mevlevi or Rufa'i Sufi orders; all types of travellers used in their descriptions of these derogatory terms such as: 'Paris fleapit' (Zaleski, *Z wycieczki na Wschód*, p. 459), 'operetta' (p. 460), 'comedy' (Hołowiński, *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej*, p. 47), 'epileptic dance' (Mickiewicz, *Listy*, p. 438), 'religious waltz performed by living windmills' (Kajsiewicz, 'Listy ze Wschodu', p. 140) or simply 'oddity' (Skórzewski, *Wspomnienia Wschodu*, p. 217).

The position of woman in the East was an obligatory subject of reports and one that clearly reflected the European sense of superiority. Travellers deplored the fate of Eastern women, considering them incapacitated and blaming Islam for allowing polygamy. The conviction that Islam was about to come to an end is another view repeated by most Polish travellers in the 19th century. Antoni Zaleski declared in 1886 that 'the old Mohammedan Turkey is disappearing completely' (*Z wycieczki na Wschód*, p. 266) and whoever wants to see the real Istanbul, not the 'Eastern Rome', must hurry. Religious freedom and Muslim friendliness towards Christians were, according to many travellers, among the symptoms of the fall of Islam. Strangely enough, regardless of the degree of interest in Islam as a religion or social entity, and despite the desire to learn about foreign culture, there is generally no aversion to the simple inhabitants of the East, with whom

Polish travellers came in contact every day. Muslims who are referred to in travel reports somehow accidentally are not considered a 'religious other' but are portrayed as hospitable, helpful and honest people. The private correspondence of famous Poles travelling to the East (Adam Mickiewicz, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Jan Matejko, Władysław Zamoyski, Jacek Malczewski, Józef Bem) shows clearly that Islam did not 'disturb' the everyday life of travellers; religious issues are simply not discussed.

The works listed in the bibliography below are only a portion of 19th-century Polish travel literature on the subject of the Middle East. There are many more sources, both books and press publications. They represent various literary genres, among which the most popular are: diaries, memoirs, autobiographies and letters. Their literary and informative values are very different, of course, but they all help to create the image of Islam and Muslims in Polish literature of the 19th century. They reflect underlying Christian perceptions that have been handed down from earlier times and do little to challenge or overturn them. At best, they portray Muslims as varyingly exotic 'others', so diminishing any meaningful reflection upon, or engagement with, interreligious relations let alone theological intercourse.

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Sylwia Filipowska

South-Eastern Europe

Dimitrije Obradović

Dimitrije 'Dositej' Obradović

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1739 and 1742
PLACE OF BIRTH Czakova (Ciakova), Banat, Habsburg Empire
DATE OF DEATH 7 April 1811
PLACE OF DEATH Belgrade

BIOGRAPHY

Born and raised in the Habsburg Empire, where about half of the Serb population lived at that time, Dimitrije Obradović, known as Dositej, is one of the most renowned figures in Serb cultural history. He was a polyglot writer, philosopher and educator, and, in his final years, the minister of education of the newly established Serb administration in Belgrade.

Dositej only spent his last five years in Serbia proper. He was born at some point between 1739 and 1742 in a Romanian and Serbian bilingual setting in Czakova in the Banat region of the Habsburg Empire (present-day Ciakova in south-western Romania) where he received his first school education, including learning Ancient Greek. Following his schooling, he moved to Temeschwar (Timișoara) to work for a quilt maker and then, at the age of 20, he spent a year in the Hopovo monastery in Syrmia, also in the Habsburg Empire. After some years along the Adriatic (particularly in Agram/Zagreb and Knin) as a student and a teacher, he found his way to the Ottoman Empire via Corfu, Epiros and Patras, and met with scholars of the 'Greek revival', most importantly during his three-year stay at the school of Hierotheos Dendrinos in Smyrna/Izmir.

From the age of 30, Dositej spent six years in Vienna, and then, with some detours to Syrmia, Trieste, Venice, Constantinople/Istanbul, Galacz (Galați) and Jassy (Iași), reached the pietist centre Halle, and then Leipzig, where in his early forties, he published his *Zhivot" i prikliucheniia* ('Life and adventures', 1783). After short stays in Paris and London, he continued to travel in Central and Eastern Europe, and spent all of his fifties in Vienna. Finally, he made his way to Serbia (Ottoman Empire) for the first time. After the first Serbian revolution of 1804, he founded what would become Belgrade University and also a department of education, precursor to the Serbian Ministry of Education in Belgrade. He died there in 1811 aged about 70.

Dositej was, for most of his life, a supporter of Emperor Joseph II's (r. 1765-90) enlightened despotism and church reform programme. He publicly appealed to the rulers of Austria and Russia to intervene in the Balkans on behalf of the Ottoman Christians and to conquer and modernise these regions. A fierce critic of the Orthodox Church hierarchy, especially in the Ottoman but also in the Habsburg Empire, in so far as they did not follow Joseph's reforms, Dositej is famous for his rhetorical attacks on monks and for his support for the emperor closing unproductive monasteries.

Dositej's intellectual influences were Greek and Serbian Orthodox traditions, classical Latin and ancient Greek, and European Enlightenment sources. His thinking derived from English and Scottish moralism (Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume) and the Leipzig school (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Christian Wolff), as well as French Enlightenment thought (René Descartes, Montesquieu). One of his major achievements was to establish connections between these traditions. In his writings, he propagated a form of pragmatic Deism (Stojković, *Filozofski pogledi*, pp. 52, 64, 67, 75).

Dositej's most important works, other than those discussed in detail below, are *Sovieti zdravago razuma* ('Counsels of sound reason', 1784) and *Mezimac* ('The last-born', 1818). The former is a collection of moral-philosophical considerations whose chapters consider themes such as love, reading, love of nature and patriotism, also including several narratives translated from French and German authors, of which *Mezimac* is the posthumously published second part. The treatment of Muslim-Christian relations in them is quite similar to that in the works described below.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Zhivot" i prikliucheniia Dimitriia Obradovicha 'The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović'

DATE 1783
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION
Zhivot" i prikliucheniia Dimitriia Obradovicha (in full *Zhivot" i prikliucheniia Dimitria Obradovicha, narechenoga u kaluđerstvu Dosithea: nim' istim" spisat' i izdat'. Prva chast'*, 'The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović, who as a monk was given the name Dositej, written and published by himself. First part') was first published in 1783 (and from the tag *Prva chast'* was evidently intended to be read together with an epistolary novel that Dositej published five years later as an annex to *Basne*). It starts with a letter 'to Haralampije' (who is identified in the work as a Croatian merchant in Trieste, but is otherwise unknown), in which he sets out what the work contains, and a preface, followed by an account of the author's early life in the Banat region and in the Hopovo monastery in Habsburg Syrmia, where he spent three years. (While this is in the form of a fictional narrative, the dates and places of the autobiography are mostly correct and traceable for the monastery years and from 1782 onwards.) This account is interspersed with frequent complaints about the poor standards of learning among the Orthodox clergy in both the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. It is about 100 pages long and intended for well-to-do Serbs, especially merchants, officials and clergy in the two empires.

The book is a literary work, a political pamphlet in the guise of the story of an adventurer. The tone is at times sentimental but when Dositej speaks directly it can be humorous. Only a few characters speak authoritatively, some of them historical, whose office and standing qualify them for this: a *hegumen* (head of a monastery) from Dechani monastery in Kosovo; an archimandrite, who is a guest at the house of the honorary Malenica in Timișoara; the author's elder brother; a probably fictitious *hegumen* at Hopovo monastery. The book ends with a fictitious dispute between a learned Greek called Zilotije (Zealot) and Dositej himself.

One of Dositej's central demands is that the enlightened regimes, especially Austria, should overthrow Ottoman rule and liberate the Balkan peoples. He claims that he is not motivated in this by the fact that the Ottomans are not Christians but by the injustice and ignorance throughout their empire that has led to such ills as the spread of the plague (*Zhivot"*, 1783 edition, p. 28).

Muslims are only mentioned indirectly in the work, and less frequently than in *Basne*. The main target of criticism is the Orthodox clergy, especially those within the Ottoman Empire. As in *Basne*, Dositej accuses them of collaborating with the Ottomans, collecting taxes for the Ottomans and keeping the masses ignorant (*Zhivot"*, pp. 28, 65).

In the few other passages where 'Turks' and 'Turkey' are mentioned, they serve as points of comparison. Thus, in the final section, the character Zilotije paints the superstitiousness of Orthodox monks in stark colours and derides it, saying they are despised for it even by Turks (*Zhivot"*, p. 125). In an earlier episode, Dositej refers to his own younger self as over-enthusiastic and filled with mistaken teachings about the Christian faith by describing himself as 'like a Turk' and explaining that the Turks are too much like the Orthodox in the way they revere unbalanced people as saints (*Zhivot"*, p. 102).

As far as Balkan Muslims are concerned, however, there is also a paradoxical streak in the passages on 'Bosnia and Albania', as Dositej called them. Several times he acknowledges the existence of a Serbo-Slavic nation and also implicitly includes in it Croats and Bosnians, explicitly stressing that whereas religion and faith can be changed, race and language cannot (*Zhivot"*, 1783 edition, p. 18). It could be argued that his trans-confessional vision logically transcended such differentiations between Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs because they ran along confessional lines, but he also suggested the possible inclusion of Albanians in such a common political project on the grounds of their shared historical roots. It is open to interpretation as to what role he intended in such a project for Balkan Muslims.

The epistolary novel that makes up part 2 of *Zhivot"* was included as an annex in the first publication of *Basne*. After a short introduction, the work continues with 12 letters to an unnamed friend. These are dated from the first half of 1788 to 1 January 1789, and they were supposedly written at the locations where Dositej was then living, Shklov, Sesvegen, Riga, Klassen, Königsberg, Berlin, Wittenberg and Leipzig. Part 2 is remarkable because it includes descriptions of Dositej's travels in the Ottoman Empire. However, the text contains very few anthropological descriptions of this region (except an observation that the situation in the empire gets worse

the further one travels from Istanbul). When it comes to Turkey, the main topic is yet again the Orthodox clerics under the Ottomans, whom Dositej portrays extremely negatively, with the exception of the philosophical schools that are known as the 'Greek enlightenment'. He also speaks of 'Christians and Turks' in similar terms several times, when he describes the situation in Smyrna and in Epirus, and especially when he criticises both the Orthodox and Muslim clergy from whom 'the poor Turks and the poor and oppressed Christians [...] would like to hear something intelligent' (*Zhivot"*, p. 391).

SIGNIFICANCE

Dositej is one of the three central founding figures invoked in Serb cultural contexts, along with the medieval St Sava (c. 1170-1236) and the philologist Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864). He stands for cosmopolitanism, rationalism, humanism and Westernisation. For people brought up in the educational tradition of Serbia and Yugoslavia, he is the reference point for tolerance and humanism. *Zhivot" i prikliucheniia*, the best known of his works, is a standard school textbook in Serbia and has been republished many times since its first appearance, though maybe not as often as *Basne*, and usually together with it.

What made Dositej's account so outstanding in the nascent Serb discourses of his times was his criticism of the Serbian and Greek Orthodox clerical elites and their relations with the Muslim Ottoman administration. However, it is striking that, although large parts of the narrative are set in the Ottoman Empire, the characteristics of this Muslim environment are almost never mentioned, apart from the few examples given above. It could be argued that this was a rhetorical way of de-Islamicising the Ottoman Balkans before it was actually de-Islamicised by force in the 19th century, though the Ottoman reality was not necessarily something that Dositej needed to tell his readers about since many of them lived in or near to the Ottoman Empire, or had travelled in it.

PUBLICATIONS

Zhivot" has been published many times and translated into many languages. The list below contains only the earliest and most recent editions and translations.

D. Obradović, *Zhivot" i prikliucheniia Dimitria Obradovicha, narechenoga u kaluđerstvu Dosithea: nim' istim" spisat' i izdat*, U Laipsiku [Leipzig], 1783 (part 1 of the first edition); http://digital.bms.rs/pub.php?s=R18Sr-II-67 and COBISS.SR-ID – 101166343

D. Obradović, Annex in *Ezopove i prochikh" raznikh" basnotvorcev, s" razlichni ezika na slavenoserbski ezik" prevedene, sad" prvi red" s" naravouchitelnimi poleznimi iziasněniami i nastavlěniami serbskoi iunosti posvećene Basne*, U Lajpsiku [Leipzig], 1788, 310–430 (part 2 of the first edition); http://digital.bms.rs/pub.php?s=R18Sr-II-32 and COBISS.SR-ID - 97811207

D. Obradović, 'Bruchstücke aus der Selbstbiographie des D. Obradović', *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 3 (1810) 16-20; http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/1051C36F (German trans. of the letter to Haralampije)

D. Obradović, 'Vollständiger Auszug aus der serbischen Selbstbiographie des Demetrius Obradowitsch (als Kalugjer Dositheus genannt), eines österreichischen Illyriers. Ein Beitrag zur Menschen-, Völker- und Länderkunde', *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* 2 (1811) 267-72 (German trans. of extracts from pp. 17-46 of the 1783 original); http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/104EA294

D. Obradović, 'Bruchstücke aus der Selbstbiographie des D. Obradović', ed. F. Miklosich, *Barth. Kopitars kleinere Schriften sprachwissenschaftlichen, geschichtlichen, ethnographischen und rechtshistorischen Inhalts*, Vienna, 1857, 49-56 (German trans. of extracts); https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3723274

D. Obradović, 'Vollständiger Auszug aus der serbischen Selbstbiographie des Demetrius Obradović (als Kalugjer Dositheus genannt), eines österreichischen Illyriers. Ein Beitrag zur Menschen-, Völker- und Länderkunde', in F. Miklosich (ed.), *Barth. Kopitars kleinere Schriften sprachwissenschaftlichen, geschichtlichen, ethnographischen und rechtshistorischen Inhalts*, Vienna, 1857, 79-93 (German trans., extract); 003240857 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)

D. Obradović, *Zhivot Dositeia Obradovića. Iz niegovikh dela sastavio Tihomir Ostojić*, Novi Sad, 1911 (contains a useful commentary)

D. Obradović, 'Zhivot i prikliucheniia', in *Dela Dositeia Obradovića. Drzhavno izdanie*, Belgrade, 1911, 7-49, repr. 1932, 1953 (the 1911 anniversary Complete Works edition with a useful index, available in libraries internationally)

D. Obradović, *Život i priključeniia Dimitrija Obradovića* [...], Zagreb, 1921

D. Obradović, *Zhivot i dozhivliaii*, Novi Sad, 1940

D. Obradović, *The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović*, trans. G.R. Noyes, Berkeley CA, 1953 (English trans.)
D. Obradović, *Život i priključenija Dimitrjia Obradovčia, narečenoga u kaluđerstvu Dositejia, njim istim spisat i izdat*, Belgrade, 1964 (Roman script)
D. Obradović, *Oameni şi fapte. Pagini alese*, Novi Sad, 1989 (Romanian trans. in Roman script)
D. Obradović, 'Zhivot i prikliucheniia', in *Vibor zoz tvorokh*, trans. Djura Latjak, Novi Sad, 1989, 29-68 (Ukrainian trans.)
D. Obradović, 'Život a príhody', in *Výber z diela*, trans. A. Lazarević, Novy Sad, 1989, 27-56 (Slovak trans.)
D. Obradović, *Vie et aventures*, trans. M. Aubin, Lausanne, 1991 (French trans.)
G. Neweklowsky (ed.), *Dositej Obradović. Leben und Abenteuer. Erster Teil, Leipzig 1783. Konkordanzen. Wortlisten*, Vienna, 1995
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D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliucheniia*, Gornii Milanovac e. a., 2003
D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliucheniia Dimitriia Obradovicha narechenoga u kaluđerstvu Dositeia niim istim spisat i izdat*, Valievo, 2004
D. Obradović, *Pismo Kharalampiiu; Zhivot i prikliucheniia*, Belgrade, 2007 (with a critical commentary and index) https://dositej.unilib.rs/objekat/?q=&o=2&p=1 University library Svetozar Marković, Belgrade
D. Obradović, *Vita e avventure*, Lecce, 2007 (Italian trans.)
D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliucheniia*, 2 vols, Belgrade, 2015
D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliucheniia*, vol. 1, Novi Sad, 2016, repr. 2017, 2020
D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliuchenie Dimitriia Obradovicha narechenog u kaluđerstvu Dositeia niim istim spisat i izdat*, Zemun, 2016
D. Obradović, *Zhizn' i prikliucheniia Dimitriia Obradovicha, narechennogo v monashestve Dosifeem, im samim opisannye i izdannye*, Belgrade, 2017 (Russian trans.)
D. Obradović, *Pismo Haralampiiu; Zhivot i prikliucheniia. 1 i 2*, Belgrade, 2018, repr. 2020
D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliucheniia*, vol. 1, Belgrade, 2019
D. Obradović, *Zhivot i prikliucheniia. Sovieti zdravago razuma*, Panchevo, s.a
D. Obradović, *Leben und Abenteuer*, trans. E. Beermann, Weimar (German trans., in preparation)

STUDIES

Given its autobiographical character, practically all studies of Dositej are also studies of *Zhivot i prikliucheniia*. Only outstanding and very specialised studies are listed here.

J. Deretić, *Poetika Dositeja Obradovića*, Zrenjanin, 2016

W. Fischer, *Dositej Obradović als bürgerlicher Kulturheld. Zur Formierung eines serbischen bürgerlichen Selbstbildes durch literarische Kommunikation 1783-1845*, Frankfurt, 2007

G. Neweklowsky, 'Neka nova zapažanja o jeziku Života i priključenija Dositeja Obradovića', *Srpski Jezik* 1-2 (1996) 269-80

G. Neweklowsky, 'Zur Sprache der Autobiographie von Dositej Obradovic (1783). Slavonismen und volkssprachliche Elemente', *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1992) 129-52

G. Neweklowsky, 'Characterizing the vocabulary in Obradovic' autobiography "Zivot i Priklucenija"', *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 51 (1991) 343-66

G.R. Noyes, 'Introduction', in D. Obradović, *The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović*, trans. G.R. Noyes

P. Popović, 'O grčkom prevodu Dositejeva "Života" i rumunskom prevodu "Sobranija"', *Prilozi za Književnost, Jezik, Istoriju i Folklor* 8 (1928) 177-9

M. Laskaris, 'O grčkom prevodu Dositejeva "Života"', *Prilozi za Književnost, Jezik, Istoriju i Folklor* 18 (1938) 67-8

Basne
'Fables'

DATE 1788
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slaveno-Serbian

DESCRIPTION

This book is usually known as *Basne* ('Fables') or *Dositejeve Basne* ('Dositej's fables'), though its full title is *Ezopove i prochikh raznikh basnotvortsev, s razlichni ezika na Slavenoserbski ezik prevedene, sad pri red, s naravouchitelnim poleznimi iziasněniami i nastavlěniami izdate i Serbskoi iunosti posvećene Basne* ('Fables of Aesop and various other fabulists, translated from different languages into the Slaveno-Serbian language, now for the first time published with useful moral explanations and instructions, and

dedicated to Serbian youth'). It was first published in Leipzig in 1788 (and it has an annex of 120 pages containing an epistolary novel which is the second part of *Zhivot" i prikliucheniia Dimitriia Obradovicha*, 'The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović'). *Basne* is about 310 pages long, though much shorter selections from it, usually meant for children and illustrated, have frequently appeared.

After a short preface, the fables follow, each accompanied by a moral, sometimes also another story and an interpretation, the 'useful moral explanations and instructions' referred to in the title.

Although Islam is not the central topic, it is in this book that Dositej most explicitly and amply formulated his position on Christian-Muslim relations. When he speaks of Christian-Muslim relations, he usually uses the word 'Turkish' rather than 'Muslim'. However, the words are not interchangeable nor always synonymous. From the context, we can understand that in some instances, 'Turkish' has an ethnic meaning but, in most cases, it does stand for 'Muslim'. In other instances, it refers to the Ottoman regime, especially in the Balkans.

An important event of this time was the Russo-Turkish war (1787-8) and the Austro-Turkish war (1788-91). Dositej mentions in one of the letters in *Zhivot"* that 'rumours started that the Turks were going to declare war on Russia' (*Zhivot"*, 1783 edition, p. 246). Dositej tackles Islam and Muslims most directly in the three fables 'The parrot and the other birds', 'A lion and a wild boar' and 'Two hermits and an axe'.

In the moral of 'The parrot and the other birds', Dositej claims that Ottoman conquest had turned Greece into a 'Turkobarbaria'. But he also describes the Orthodox Church in these lands as being corrupted by and complicit with Ottoman rule: 'through the Turkish and monks' cabal and cunning' [it] brought liars to power who 'suck the marrow out of the people's bones and spit it out for the Turks' (*Basne*, 1788 edition, p. 183).

In the moral of 'A lion and a wild boar', Dositej supports the war against the Ottoman Empire, saying that 'the Muslim' (one rare instance of his use of the word) had only lost what he (they) had previously taken from Christians by force and that the Islamisation of Bosnians and Albanians could also be revised in the future. However, he also stresses that the achievements of science and good government would benefit 'the human race in general' and that this was what both 'a Christian and a Turk, who has a human heart in his chest', actually desired (p. 30). In other words, a claim to re-Christianisation is rationalised here by arguing that it was the Austrian and Russian empires that championed enlightened despotism,

and by relativising the re-Christianisation claim with a universalist perspective that potentially includes Islam.

Universal humanism is stronger in the moral of 'Two hermits and an axe', about a Christian hermit and a Muslim hermit (the latter called 'dervish Osman') in the desert, who initially fight each other but, when the Christian falls ill, the Muslim saves his life, and vice versa. They become friends and, following the Muslim's death, other malicious Christian hermits try to prevent the Christian from giving the Muslim a good burial, after hearing him say: 'Righteous and gentle God, may my soul be with the soul of my Ottoman!' This can be interpreted as both a deistic argument and an optimistic perspective on future relations with Ottoman Muslims.

The universalist outlook is more visible in several fables that have an Islamic cultural setting, mostly those adapted from François de Baculard d'Arnaud's *Délassements de l'homme sensible ou anecdotes diverses* (Paris 1783-7). In these fables, Muslim characters appear as ordinary actors, such as the sultan and the dervish in 'The crow and nightingale'. The Deistic interpretation is bolstered by the fact that, in the last fable in the collection ('The swallow and the other birds'), which Dositej translated from Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Fabeln* (Berlin, 1759; https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/show/lessing_fabeln_1759) he likens himself to Lessing as also being persecuted by 'hardened and inflamed preachers and self-proclaimed philosophers and theologians', and he explicitly mentions the 'tragedy "Nathan" in which Lessing proves the wise providence of God in justice' (p. 305, referring to *Nathan der Weise*, 1779; see *CMR* 14, 218-24).

Besides Turcisms, Arabisms and Iranisms that are common in the Serbian language, Dositej uses the words *alkuran* (Qur'an) and, in the hermit story, the exclamation *Aman kardash* ('O brother') alongside the more obvious *dervish* and *sultan*, which suggests that he wanted to show respect to the Muslim scriptures and to humanise the Turkish-speaking hermit.

SIGNIFICANCE

The influence of these stories in Serbian discourses has been extensive (Jašović, *Uvod,* p. 297). This is the second best-known of Dositej's works. It has enjoyed wide circulation and many reprints because it is one of the standard fable collections in the Serbian language and is often published for children and students. In 2020 alone, four editions in Serbian appeared and there has hardly been a year since the 1950s that did not see an edition of it (*Online-catalog of the Serbian National Library*, www.nb.rs; see also Lazić, *Bibliografija*).

Although Muslim-Christian relations are not a central topic in Dositej's work, his universalist approach implies that humans of any religious background are to be considered equally worthy, as in 'a Christian and a Turk, who has a human heart in his breast' (*Basne*, p. 30).

The three fables referred to above have been included in most editions of Dositej's *Basne* (of 180 editions, only eight have omitted them altogether; see Lazić, *Bibliografija*, pp, 316-25). The third fable, 'Two hermits and an axe', is especially intriguing, the hermits being the most explicit treatment of Muslim-Christian relations and a clear statement of the primacy of moral qualities in a human being over nominal confessional belonging. This seemed to lend itself especially to the Socialist Federalist Yugoslav political project of the years 1963-92. It was included in most editions of *Basne* (34 times), if not as often as 'The parrot and the other birds' and 'A lion and a wild boar' (31 and 41 times, respectively). However, two shifts occurred in the 1980s. Dositej's *Basne*, like his other books, was traditionally published in Cyrillic script (in Serbo-Croat, with an exception in 1847). The first Latin Serbo-Croat edition appeared in Sarajevo in 1980. Both scripts were officially in use in Yugoslavia and are interchangeable in Serbo-Croat. The background to this was that, in the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional setting of Bosnia, a demand developed for non-Serbs as well as Serbs to have access to these books (the Communist Party newspaper was even using both scripts on the same newspaper pages). In these editions from Sarajevo, the 'Muslim-embracing' fable of the 'Two hermits' was included, while the anti-Ottoman and potentially offensive 'Parrot and the other birds' was not. In contrast, the 'Two hermits' fable was left out of editions published in Belgrade from the late 1970s onwards, arguably because these editions were now catering to a very young readership (they contained child-friendly illustrations and the title was now 'The best fables for children') (Lazić, *Bibliografija*, pp. 181-5). But it could also be argued that this was at a time of increasing nationalism in Serbian discourses.

PUBLICATIONS

D. Obradović, *Ezopove i prochikh" raznikh" basnotvorcev, s" razlichni ezika na slavenoserbski ezik" prevedene, sad" prvi red" s" naravouchitelnimi poleznimi iziasněniami i nastavlěniami serbskoi iunosti posvećene Basne*, U Lajpsiku [Leipzig], 1788; http://digital.bms.rs/pub.php?s=R18Sr-II-32 and COBISS.SR-ID - 97811207

D. Obradović, *Filozoficeşti şi politiceşti prin fabule moralnice învăţături*, În Buda [Budapest], 1814 (Romanian Cyrillic)

D. Obradović, *Basne* (*s někim malim proměnami*), vol. 1, Zagreb, 1847 (Croatian version in Roman script); 42792848 (digitised version available through Hathi Trust)
D. Obradović, *Basni*, trans. and ed. D. Nanevski, Skopje, 1967, repr. 1973, 1978, 1982 (Macedonian trans.)
D. Obradović, *Basne, Istina i prelest, Put u jedan dan*, Belgrade, 2007 (with a critical commentary and index); https://dositej.unilib.rs/objekat/?q=&o=3&p=1
D. Obradović, 'Basni', in *Vibor zoz tvorokh*, trans. Dûra Latâk, Novi Sad, 1989, 100-7 (Ukrainian trans.)
D. Obradović, 'Basne', in *Výber z diela*, trans. A. Lazarević, Novy Sad, 1989, 57-64 (Slovak trans.)
D. Obradović, *Fabule*, Timişoara, 2011 (Romanian trans. in Roman script)

STUDIES

Jašović, *Uvod*
Fischer, *Dositej Obradović als bürgerlicher Kulturheld*
Lazić, *Bibliografija*
A. Schmaus, 'Lessings Fabeln bei Dositej Obradović', *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 8 (1931) 1-47
K. Th. Radčenko, *Dosithei Obradovich 'i ego literaturnaja dělatnost'*, Kiev, 1897

Wladimir Fischer-Nebmaier

Juraj Maljevec

Pater Gregur Kapucin, Jurij, Maljevac, Malevac, Gregor, Gregorius Viniczensis

DATE OF BIRTH 2 March 1734
PLACE OF BIRTH Perudina, Vinica in Carniola, Slovenia
DATE OF DEATH 29 January 1812
PLACE OF DEATH Varaždin, Croatia

BIOGRAPHY

Juraj Maljevec was born in the village of Perudina in the historical region of Carniola, in the south-eastern part of present-day Slovenia. Christened Juraj, in older works he is better known by his monastic name Gregur Kapucin, with which he often signed what he had written (usually with the initials P.G.C. or P.G.K.). He joined the Capuchin Order in Zagreb in 1754 and was ordained priest in 1760. He was a guardian and preacher in the city in the early 1780s, and it was in Zagreb that he published all but one of his writings. After the closure of the Capuchin monastery in 1788, he moved to Varaždin, where he remained until his death. Although originally a Slovene, he became one of the most important and productive Croatian Kajkavian writers of his period.

In literary historiography, Juraj Maljevec's religious texts are considered the most important part of his oeuvre. In the book *Duhovni kalendar* ('Spiritual calendar', Zagreb, 1793), he paraphrases in verse Thomas à Kempis's *De imitatione Christi*. In an allegorical epic poem *Nebeski pastir pogubljenu ovcu išče* ('The heavenly shepherd is looking for the lost sheep', Optuj, 1795), he deals with the Gospel parable. Finally, the poetic text *Horvacka od Kristuševog narođenja vitija* ('Croatian poem about the birth of Christ', Zagreb, 1800) is a variant of the mostly dramatic texts that were popular in Central Europe, in which the months of the year compete for the date of Jesus's birth.

In the first phase of his literary work, Maljevec wrote occasional poems dedicated, for example, to the archbishops of Zagreb and the Croatian ban. To this genre belongs his speech on the occasion of the death of the Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740-80), *Trojverstna Marije Terezije rimske cesarice i apostolske kraljice krepost* ('The threefold virtue of Maria Theresa,

Holy Roman Empress and Apostolic Queen', Zagreb, 1781). In the second part of this speech, the Habsburg empress is presented as the epitome of a wise ruler, which she proved by maintaining peace with the Ottoman Empire after the end of the Seven Years' War. With her diplomatic skills, he says, including traditional gifts to the sultan, she prevented Zagreb from being conquered by the Turks, from having crescents on the bell towers in place of crosses, from praying to Muḥammad instead of the 'true God' (pp. 20-1). Unlike V. Dukat, the author of a comprehensive monograph on Maljevec, earlier literary historians such as I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, P. J. Šafařík and Š. Ljubić mention two lost works in which Maljevec encouraged soldiers to fight against the Turks in the Austro-Turkish War (1788-91): *Nagovarjanje soldatov na vojuvanje proti Turčinu* ('Persuading soldiers to wage war against the Turks', Zagreb, 1787) and *Nagovarjanje Vukasovičeveh dobrovoljcev na vojuvanje proti Turčinu* ('Persuading Vukasović's volunteers to wage war against the Turks', Zagreb, 1789). Maljevec's most comprehensive work, the three-part epic poem *Nestrančno vezdašnjega tabora ispivanje* ('Impartial description of the current war', Zagreb, 1789-91), his most important work on Christian-Muslim relations, is also concerned with this war.

In literary historiography, Juraj Maljevec has the reputation of being a skilled Kajkavian poet and one of the most conservative writers of his period. The latter is evidenced by his anti-revolutionary poem 'Horvat Horvatom horvatski govori' ('A Croat speaks Croatian to Croats') published in *Novi Kalendar* (Zagreb, 1801), which he himself edited at the time.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

T. Miklošič, *Izbor dugovanj svakovrstneh, na hasen i razveselenje služečeh*, Zagreb, 1821, p. 96

I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Bibliografia hrvatska*, vol. 1, Zagreb, 1860, pp. 46-7 (list of published works – as Gregur P. Kapucin)

P.J. Šafařík, *Geschichte der illirischen und kroatischen Literatur*, Prague, 1865, pp. 290, 320, 326-7, 360, 367, 372

Š. Ljubić, *Ogledalo književne poviesti jugoslavjanske*, vol. 2, Rijeka, 1869, p. 509

V. Dukat, 'Pater Gregur Kapucin', *Rad JAZU* 207 (1915) 137-261 (the most comprehensive and complete study)

Secondary

J. Lukec, art. 'Maljevec, Grgur', *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Zagreb, vol. 9, 2021, 468-9; https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=12058

A. Jembrih, 'Pogovor', in G. Kapucin [J. Maljevec], *Epska trilogija ili Nestrančno vezdašnjega tabora ispisavanje za leto: 1788, 1789, 1790*, ed. A. Jembrih, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 301-54

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nestrančno vezdašnjega tabora ispisavanje za leto 1788 [1789; 1790]
'An impartial description of the current war for the year 1788 [1789; 1790]'

DATE 1789, 1790, 1791
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

In the years 1789, 1790 and 1791, Juraj Maljevec published three books about the Austro-Turkish War (1788-91) with the single title *Nestrančno vezdašnjega tabora ispisavanje*. Together, they comprise the longest epic poem in the Kajkavian literature of north-western Croatia. Written mainly in 12-syllable couplets, in all they total 138 pages. Unlike Blaž Bošnjak, who published his epic about the war in 1792, Maljevec did not actually participate in the hostilities. He remained in Zagreb and his main source for his description was a publication that he refers to as 'Bečke osebujne Novine, Hofbericht zvane' ('a special Viennese newspaper, called Hofbericht'). Alojz Jembrih suggests that his source was the Viennese twice-weekly *Wiener Zeitung* ('Pogovor', pp. 329-30), which between 1788 and 1790 carried war reports as a 'besondere Beilage' ('special supplement') under the title 'Kriegsvorfälle' ('War occurrences'). Although the title 'Hofbericht' does not appear in these reports, their contents and issue numbers correspond with the places in the epic where Maljevec refers to his source in footnotes. A detailed comparison of the German prose source and the Kajkavian epic adaptation has yet to be carried out.

The first book deals with the events of the war in 1788. In its introductory chapter the causes of the war are considered from Ottoman, Russian and Austrian perspectives, and then in the following five chapters the events on the four main battlefields (Bosnian, Serbian, Bukovinian and the Black Sea), as well as the failed Austrian expedition to Montenegro and Shkodër, are described. The most important events of this first year of the war were the Austrian conquests of Dubica and Novi in Bosnia, Šabac in Serbia and

Chocim in Bukovina, as well as the Russian conquest of Ochakov on the Black Sea. In the last two short chapters, there is a list of senior Austrian officers who were killed and four epitaphs in verse, two for two generals, one for other senior officers and one for rank and file soldiers.

In the first chapter of the second book, Maljevec reminds readers of the most important events of the previous year, and outlines the diplomatic activity between the warring parties during the winter and their expectations regarding the continuation of the war. The second chapter describes the events on the Bosnian battlefield (the conquest of Gradiška), and the third on the Serbian battlefield (the conquest of Belgrade) as well as the battles in the Banat area and Wallachia in 1789. In the last chapter, Maljevec gives a list of fallen Austrian officers and accounts of the battles fought by the Russian army and the conquest of Bender in Moldavia.

The third book also begins with a brief account of the events during the winter lull in the war. In the very long second chapter, Maljevec first describes the Austrian-Ottoman battles in the Banat and the Ottoman conquest of Giurgiu, and then reports the death of General Ernst Gideon von Laudon, to whom he dedicates two lyrical epitaphs, before moving on to the peace negotiations in Bucharest. The penultimate chapter describes the events on the Bosnian battlefield, the Austrian conquest of Cetin and the armistice agreement, and the last chapter is again devoted to the actions of the Russian army, this time without significant changes on the battlefield.

In this detailed description of the events of the war, Maljevec includes military terminology and even numerical data and, in places, he supplements the poetic narrative with prose footnotes. He heightens the level of the language with lyrical interpolations, such as the epitaphs and the verse eulogy for fallen Austrian officers and General Laudon mentioned above. Here also belongs the sultan's lamentation after the fall of Ochakov (first book, pp. 46-8).

As the title proclaims, the accounts in the three books are mainly impartial. Even though the narrator of the accounts openly identifies himself as a supporter of the Austrian-Russian coalition, there are no examples of strong negative estimation of the Ottomans, who are neutrally labelled simply as *Turci* without additional epithets, and their successes, particularly the conquest of Giurgiu, are not ignored. Both sides are accused of war crimes, although only the Ottomans are accused of killing wounded and sick soldiers and abducting women and children; by contrast, the Christians are humane in their attitude towards the defeated,

allowing the evacuation of women and children. But the narrator particularly comments on the ways in which the Austrians show mercy to the defeated enemy when they leave the conquered city of Belgrade (second book, p. 32), in contrast to which is the narrator's slightly mocking attitude towards the defeated Ottomans in several places in the second book, for example in the depiction of the sultan's anger as he looks for those responsible for losses and either removes them from their positions or beheads them (second book, pp. 19-20, similarly pp. 11-12, 17-18, 30). Maljevec's conservatism (the label attributed to his entire work in literary historiography) is especially evident in the last book, when the narrator, as he comments on the peace negotiations, simply cannot understand why Prussia can ignore its Christian faith in seeking to achieve its political goals and support the Muslim Ottoman Empire and not its neighbouring Christian Habsburg monarchy (third book, pp. 29-30).

SIGNIFICANCE

Maljevec's epic is the most extensive Kajkavian account of the Turkish-Ottoman Wars and the only one that draws its material from newspaper articles. In its portrayal of the Ottomans, it is characterised by deliberate neutrality not only in the terminology it employs but also in its evaluation of events and in its reporting of Ottoman defeats and victories. Maljevec's programmatic neutrality in the portrayal of the Ottomans had no successor in Croatian Kajkavian literature: the next and last Kajkavian epic about Christian-Ottoman relations, Tomaš Goričanec's *Obsedenje i poboj Sišečki 1593* ('Siege and battle of Sisak 1593', Zagreb, 1837), presents the Ottomans in the traditional way as religious enemies and the Battle of Sisak 1593 as a battle by Croatian soldiers for Christianity, the fatherland and the Habsburg emperor. On the one hand, Maljevec's objectivity arises from the newspaper source itself, and on the other, it fits into the tradition of similar epic texts about contemporary wars, which also emphasise objectivity and factual reliability (for example, Josip Pavišević's *Kratkopis poglavtiji dogagđaja sadašnje vojske* ['A short description of the most important events of the current war'] on the Seven Years' War, Pest, 1762).

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P.G.C., *Neztranchno vezdassnyega tabora izpiszavanye za leto 1790*, Vu Zagrebu: Pritizk. pri Josefu Karolu Kotche, 1791

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Dukat, 'Pater Gregur Kapucin', pp. 160-210

Davor Dukić

Jovan Rajić

DATE OF BIRTH 11 November 1726
PLACE OF BIRTH Sremski Karlovci (Karlowitz)
DATE OF DEATH 11 December 1801
PLACE OF DEATH Kovilj, Novi Sad

BIOGRAPHY

Jovan Rajić, a theologian, historian, writer, professor, polyglot, traveller and monk, was one of the best educated and most important Serbians of his time. He was born in Sremski Karlovci, which, following the Great Migration of 1690, became the political, religious, educational and cultural centre of the Serbian people in the 18th century and the seat of the Serbian metropolitanate. Rajić spent 13 years studying, 14 years travelling and 27 years of his life at the Kovilj monastery near Sremski Karlovci as a monk and archimandrite. He began his elementary education in Sremski Karlovci, at a Russian-Slavic school. In 1744, he entered the Jesuit grammar school in Komárno (Hungary/Slovakia) and, having finished the sixth form (*sintaxis*) there, he went to Sopron (Hungary), continuing his education at the Protestant *líceum*. In September 1753, he went to Kyiv, where he enrolled in the Orthodox Christian Theological Academy and studied theology there until 1756. This kind of education made him one of the most competent and respected theologians among the South Slavs.

Having completed his studies in Kyiv, he spent some time in Moscow, from where he set off for Sremski Karlovci via Poland and Pest, expecting to obtain a teaching post at the Latin school. When he failed in this, he set off across Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia, through Kyiv and Constantinople to Mount Athos, intending to gather material for a history of the Serbs and other South Slavic peoples. Returning to Sremski Karlovci in 1759, he was given the job of lecturer in rhetoric and geography and, a year later, was made the principal of the Latin school. During his teaching career, he compiled from Latin and German textbooks a textbook on rhetoric in Latin, and one on geography in Slavic Serbian. From 1764, he taught at the theological school in Novi Sad. In 1770, when he rejected the offer to become a priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church of St George in Vienna and a proof-reader of Slavic books at the printing establishment of Josef Kurzbeck, he brought upon himself the anger of the Serbian clergy, as this

gesture was seen as a lack of obedience and unwillingness to submit to authority. It is this that most likely led him to enter a monastic order in 1772, hoping to find the spiritual life and peace necessary for scholarly work. He remained at the Kovilj monastery, as a monk and archimandrite, until his death in 1801.

Rajić spoke and wrote in the Slavic-Serbian language (a particular linguistic mixture of Serbian Church Slavic, Russian Church Slavic, and the Serbian folk vernacular, which was used as a literary language among the Serbs in the second half of the 18th century), Latin, German, Hungarian and Russian. Through his writings and translations, as well as adaptations and editing, he was, apart from Dimitrije Obradović (c. 1740-1811; *CMR* 22, 765-77), the most prolific Serbian intellectual of the 18th century. His writings can be divided into theological, historical and literary works.

His five-volume *Teologičesko telo* ('The theological body') was indebted to the Ukrainian polymath Theophan Prokopovich (1681-1736) and St Augustine, while his *Katihizis* ('Catechism', 1774), which was written at the request of the Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740-80) so that Orthodox Serbs in the Habsburg Empire would be able to use their own and not the Russian catechism, went through six printings during his lifetime alone, making it the most published Serbian book of the 18th century.

Rajić's preoccupation with history is the second dominant characteristic of his works. His four-volume *Istoriia raznyh" slavenskih" narodov" naipače Bolgar" Horvatov" i Serbov"* ('History of various Slavic peoples, first of all Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs', Vienna, 1794-5) in a sense represents an overview of Serbian history in the context of a broader perspective on the Slavic peoples of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Combining theology and history, his *Bezpristrasnaę istoričeskaę pověst ō razdělenïi vostočnïę i zapadnïę cerkve* ('An objective history of the division between the Eastern and Western Churches') was about the schism within Christianity and the development of the Orthodox Church.

Rajić wrote most of his literary works in verse. They include 50 or so lyrical poems, the epic poem *Boj zmaja sa orlovi* ('The battle of the dragon with the eagles') about the war between Russia, allied with Austria, and the Ottoman Empire (1788-91), and a historical drama entitled *Tragedïa sireč" pečalna pověst' o smerti poslědneg C[a]ra serbskago Uroša petago, i o padenïi serbskago carstva* ('The tragedy, that is, the sad history of the death of the last Serbian Emperor Uroš and the fall of the Serbian Empire'), printed in Buda in 1798. He also wrote two prose works, *Moreplavanie* ('Seafaring', 1758), a short travelogue about his journey to Mount Athos,

and his final work *Točnoe izobraženie katihizma* ('The correct interpretation of the catechism', 1795), a work about the creation of the first Serbian catechism which also contains his autobiographical portrait and elements of a memoir.

Rajić's correspondence is particularly important because it provides ample testimony to his place in society and the respect he commanded both within and outside Serbia. Apart from his correspondence with church dignitaries in the Karlovci Metropolitanate and other important Serbian public figures, it is known that he corresponded with the court in Vienna and the Russian Empress Catherine II (r. 1762-96), with printers in Vienna and Buda, and with other important public figures in the Habsburg and Russian Empires.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Boj zmaja sa orlovi
'The battle of the dragon with the eagles'

DATE 1791
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

Inspired by the events of the of the Austro-Turkish war with the Russian allies of 1788-91 and particularly the siege and capture of Belgrade in 1789, Jovan Rajić wrote *Boj zmaja sa orlovi* ('The battle of the dragon with the eagles') and published it in Vienna in 1791. The taking of the city by Christian forces after decades of Ottoman rule was a reason to glorify the alliance of the Habsburg and Russian Empires after their victory over the Ottomans.

This allegorical epic poem, 61 pages long in its first edition, was written in Serbian vernacular in pre-reform orthography. Rajić stated in a letter to Samuil Lazarević that he had deliberately written it in the vernacular instead of Russo-Slavonic, which was the official language of the Serbian clergy ('Pisma', pp. 166-8). He wanted to show that even the representatives of classical literature who expressed themselves in 'elevated' genres such as tragedy, poetry or history written in Russo-Slavonic, and were understood exclusively by the clergy and educated readers, were able to write humorously and in the vernacular, the language considered 'lowly' in the classical tradition.

The narrative is organised in five cantos, each of which begins with two introductory 13-syllable lines that concisely present its theme. In the first canto, a breach of the peace treaty between the Ottomans and the Russians and their allies is used to introduce the action. The Ottoman Empire had violated the peace agreement concluded with Russia in 1774, and the war against the Christian allies of Russia and Austria ensued. The second canto describes the decisive battle in the war fought near Ochakovo, in which the Ottoman army suffered a great defeat. The third canto is central, describing the siege of Belgrade, in which the Christian forces are victorious and liberate the city from Ottoman rule. The fourth canto describes the Battle of Bender, in which the Ottomans suffered another defeat, while the fifth canto gives an account of the complete collapse of the Ottoman army. In the narrative, the degradation and dethronement of one of the

two main characters, the dragon representing the Ottomans, is accompanied by the triumph of the other, the eagles representing the European powers. The epic ends with the defeat of the one and the 'resurrection' of the other and the renewal of its strength.

All the historical events underlying the poem are expressed allegorically, and the basic theme is set as a riddle in the opening verses. As the epic unfolds, Rajić reveals the identities of the dragon and the eagles, as well as the precise nature of the engagement between them, by developing the initial allegorical representation and also in explanatory notes to individual verses. He deals with the war on three levels: philosophically, as a struggle between the two principles of good and evil; historically, as a struggle between the two systems of government and society, one progressive and the other declining; and theologically as a struggle between the two civilisations of Christianity and Islam, Europe and Asia. M.S. Anderson states that 'every Russo-Turkish war was a religious, at least as much as a political, struggle to the ordinary soldier on both sides' (*Europe in the eighteenth century 1713-1783*, 2nd edition, New York, 1976, p. 179). The narrative of Rajić's epic proceeds very much in the spirit of this comment. On one side, the figure of a double-headed eagle appears on the coat of arms of the Russian Empire, with the arms of Moscow bearing the eagle with an escutcheon on its chest portraying St George slaying the dragon; a crowned double-headed eagle is also the heraldic representation of the Habsburg monarchy; and it appears on the Serbian coat of arms, Prince Lazar's cloak and the Despot Stefan Lazarević's coins. Thus, by evoking this image, Rajić achieves an immediate emblematic effect. On the other side, the dragon, which in Christian culture is a symbol of Satan following the Book of Revelation, clearly symbolises Muḥammad and the Ottoman Turks.

Besides the dragon and the eagles, the epic introduces the other allegorical characters of Jupiter, Vulcan, Aeolus, Neptune, Pluto, Mercury, nymphs and a faun, who perform the function of stirring up the battle between the two sides. Only the dragon comes into contact with them because he triggers the war at the outset. Rajić's decision to show Muḥammad interacting with pagan deities and the eagles relying only on Christian faith conforms to the Baroque reshaping of classical epic forms through the prism of Christianity.

Before Rajić, the conflict between Christians and Muslims was depicted in similar ways in epic poems written by Catholic Baroque poets from the Republics of Venice and Ragusa, such as Marko Marulić (*Judita*, 1501) and

Ivan Gundulić (*Osman*, 1622), as well as the Enlightenment poet Matija Antun Reljković (*Satir iliti diviji čovik* ['Satyr or the savage man'], 1762). All the poets who wrote works of this kind were inspired by Torquato Tasso's famous Italian epic *Gerusalemme liberata* ('Jerusalem delivered', 1581; see *CMR* 6, 594-601), in which the East is pitted in strong opposition against the West and Christians and Muslims are shown in contention.

SIGNIFICANCE

Boj zmaja sa orlovi gained enormous popularity when it was published, mainly because it was written in the vernacular and in a style resembling the folkloric tradition. Rajić wrote with the intention of imitating the oral folk epic poetry that was widespread in the South Slavic region at the time. As he stated in one of his private letters ('Pisma', pp. 166-8), he chose the vernacular in order to reach all levels of society. His choice of subject also made the poem popular. He wrote about the conflict between Christians and Muslims, knowing that his audience would include the generals, officers and other soldiers who had fought on the side of the 'eagles' against the 'dragon'. Further, the success of the poem was also helped by its Baroque style, which was very popular in Rajić's time.

Boj zmaja sa orlovi remained popular through the 19th century, together with Rajić's *Istoriia raznyh" slavenskih" narodov"* ('History of various Slavic peoples'). It influenced epics written in the first half of the century, particularly Romantic epics that told of the liberation of Christians from Ottoman domination. Sima Milutinović Sarajlija's *Srbijanka* (1826) and Petar Petrović Njegoš's *Gorskiĭ vienac'* (1846) were both indebted to it.

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M. Flašar, 'Antike Götter in "Des Drachen Kampf mit den Adlern"', *Živa Antika* 7/2 (1957) 193-203

Dragana Grbić

Blaž Bošnjak

Bazilije, Blasius, Basilius, Vaso

DATE OF BIRTH 10 July 1743
PLACE OF BIRTH Vrbova near Nova Gradiška, present-day Croatia
DATE OF DEATH 1807
PLACE OF DEATH Kamenica near Lepoglava, Croatia

BIOGRAPHY

Blaž Bošnjak was born in the village of Vrbova near Nova Gradiška in what at the time was western Slavonia. After finishing grammar school in Požega, he entered the Franciscan order in the Province of St John of Capistrano and received the monastic name of Basilius (Blasius). In about 1766, he went to study theology in Timişoara, Romania. From 1772 to 1775, he served in the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Cyprus, then for 24 years from 1775 to 1799 he was a military chaplain in the Habsburg army. He participated in the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-91 and received a medal for his bravery in the capture of Šabac. He describes this in the second canto of his long narrative poem *Ispisanje rata turskog pod Josipom cesarom II* ('Writing the Turkish war under the Emperor Joseph II', Osijek, 1792).

Three years later Bošnjak published his second work, a sermon in Croatian that he gave in the Franciscan church in Osijek, known under the Latin title *Sermo spiritualis de passione Christi* (Osijek, 1795), though this has not been preserved. He spent the last part of his life as a parish priest in Szentmiklós in the Banat region and in Kamenica near Lepoglava in north-western Croatia, where he died in 1807.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ispisanje rata turskoga
'Writing the Turkish war'

DATE 1792
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Ispisanje rata turskoga (in full, *Ispisanje rata turskoga pod Josipom cesarom II početog godine 1787, po jednome regementskom patru skupljeno i u stihove složeno za razgovor narodu iliričkom prikazano*, 'Writing the Turkish war under the Emperor Joseph II which started in 1787, collected and composed in verse by a regimental padre, presented for the amusement of the Illyrian people') is the last and one of the most extensive 18th-century Croatian epic works about the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-91. It was published anonymously and was therefore sometimes attributed to Tadija Bošnjaković, though Josip Jakošić, writing in 1795 (*Scriptores Interamniae*, p. 143), identifies Bošnjak as the author.

Ispisanje rata turskoga recounts the whole course of the war, though it describes only the battles in which the Austrian army took part together with the Russians against the Ottomans, not the battles in which the Russians fought alone. It consists of 18 parts or cantos, all except one with titles. Its language is the Slavonian literary idiom of the time and its style is extremely simple, close to that of folk poetry and the poems of the most popular book of 18th-century Croatian literature, Andrija Kačić Miošić's *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* ('Pleasant conversation of Slavic people', Venice, 1756, 1759[2]).

Bošnjak describes first and most fully the events of the war on the Serbian front and then turns to the events on the Bosnian and eastern fronts, following closely their gradual development. The narrator openly

supports the Austrian side, making his own comments and rarely letting the characters speak for themselves.

The main purpose of the poem is to inform the reader about what happened in the war, acting as a substitute for newspapers, which did not exist in Croatia at the time. It resembles Juraj Maljevec's three-part epic poem *Nestrančno vezdašnjega tabora ispisavanje* ('Impartial description of the current war', Zagreb, 1789, 1790, 1791; *CMR* 22, pp. 780-3), though, unlike Maljevec, Bošnjak does not name any sources, and these have not yet been identified.

The image of the Ottomans, who, in accordance with the south Slavic Christian epic tradition, are consistently labelled as *turci* ('turks', with a small initial letter), is ambivalent. On the one hand, their war crimes, such as burning houses, killing civilians and abusing Christian women, are highlighted, while on the other the bravery and heroism of Ottoman soldiers and individual instances of humane behaviour in war are also mentioned alongside the Christian Austrian army's merciful treatment of them (which is also common in other works on this war). This impartiality is also evident in the references to Christian cruelty in the description of the conquest of Cetin on the Bosnian-Croatian border, and in the descriptions of the Ottomans' successes and the tactical mistakes of the Austrian army. At the same time, like other authors of epic texts about this war, Bošnjak is silent about the infection that broke out in the Austrian army on the Serbian battlefield in 1788, from which more soldiers died than in the actual fighting (Stojić, 'Vojno-strateška analiza rata protiv Turaka', pp. 24-7).

That said, the more general image of the Ottomans conveyed in the poem, not linked exclusively to specific events in the war, is unequivocally negative. Thus, they are given the attributes of 'unreliability' or 'unfaithfulness', 'cunning' and, on the level of inter-religious relations, 'marked intolerance towards Christianity'. At the beginning of the sixth canto, entitled 'Obsidovanje i pridobitje Biograda' ('Siege and conquest of Belgrade'), the narrator points out in an address to the personified city that the Turks built mosques there instead of churches, trampled on the holy cross and elevated the crescent moon, and converted monasteries to cafes and churches to stables.

A particular feature of *Ispisanje rata turskoga* not found in other Croatian epic works on the 1788-91 Austro-Turkish War is its criticism of Ottoman rule over the south Slavic lands as exploitative and socially unjust. Thus, in the narrator's address to Belgrade, the injustice of the

Ottoman judiciary is emphasised, and similarly at the beginning of the fourth canto in an address to Nova Palanka (today part of Bačka Palanka in Vojvodina) the narrator describes the punitive taxes, both legal and informal, that have been imposed on Christians by the Turks.

SIGNIFICANCE

All in all, the poem repeats familiar portrayals of the Ottoman Turks as cruel and pointedly anti-Christian in their excesses. Despite some examples that show they are no worse than Christian fighting-men, it makes clear that the Austrians are fighting for the preservation of their Christian faith as well as their homeland.

Ispisanje rata turskoga was received with enthusiasm and is acknowledged as the second most popular 18th-century Slavonian literary work (J. Bösendorfer, *Crtice iz slavonske povijesti*, Osijek, 1910, p. 422; Dukat, 'Pater Gregur Kapucin', p. 98).

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Davor Dukić

Nikodēmos the Hagiorite

DATE OF BIRTH 1749
PLACE OF BIRTH Naxos, Greece
DATE OF DEATH 14 July 1809
PLACE OF DEATH Mt Athos, Greece

BIOGRAPHY

St Nikodēmos the Hagiorite was one of the important 18th-century theologians who ushered in a revival of traditional Orthodox Christian theology and practice. Born on the island of Naxos in 1749 to a devout family (his mother eventually became a nun), he was taught by Archimandrite Chrysanthos, the brother of Kosmas the Aitolian (1700 or after-1779), a major religious figure known as a teacher of the Greek nation and a neomartyr. Later, he studied in the famous Evangelical School, an Orthodox church-approved school in the city of Smyrna. He returned to Naxos to avoid massacres that took place as reprisals for the Orlov Revolt, the Russian naval victory at the Battle of Chesme in 1770. Influenced by priest-monks from Mount Athos, he befriended Metropolitan Makarios of Corinth (d. 1805), whom he visited on the island of Hydra. In 1786, Nikodēmos left for the Monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos, was tonsured as a monk and became secretary of the monastic brotherhood.

Under the mentorship of Metropolitan Makarios of Corinth, Nikodēmos embarked on studying, copying, editing, writing and publishing numerous religious and spiritual texts, including 26 books and multiple smaller works including hymnography. Among the most important is the *Philokalia*, a major collection of sayings and *vitae* of great ascetic figures, such as St Anthony the Great, St Maximos the Confessor and St Symeon the New Theologian, focused on the practice of hesychasm and spiritual struggle. Many of these works were published in Venice as well as in Constantinople. Another important work was the *Synaxaristēs*, which became the most comprehensive collection of the lives of the saints translated from ancient to modern Greek. In his attempt to strengthen the faith of Christians who faced pressure from Muslims he compiled the *Neon martyrologion* (1799), a compendium of lives of the martyr saints and liturgical texts in honour of individuals who were killed for their refusal to renounce their Christian faith.

Nikodēmos was also associated with the Kollyvades movement, which argued for a return to earlier liturgical practices such as frequent communion, and not allowing memorial services to take place on Sunday, the day that commemorates the Lord's resurrection. He lived an ascetic life, but continued to travel from monastery to monastery to study and write. He died on 14 July 1809 and was recognised as a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church on 31 May 1955 by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Neon martyrologion ētoi martyria tōn neophanōn martyrōn
'New martyrology or witness to the new martyrs'

DATE 1799
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Neon martyrologion ētoi martyria tōn neophanōn martyrōn: tōn meta tēn halōsin tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs kata diaphorous kairous kai topous martyrēsantōn ('New martyrology or witness to the new martyrs: those who have been martyred since the fall of Constantinople in various times and places') is a collection of 85 Christian saints' lives and seven commemorative liturgies of individuals martyred for their Christian faith in the Ottoman Empire between 1492 and 1799. The term 'neomartyr' refers to an individual who was killed by Muslims or others while confessing their

Christian faith. First used in the era of early Islamic expansion, it continued to be used in later times, including the Ottoman era.

The work has three parts: three brief epigrams, a lengthy introduction, and the 85 *vitae* with the seven liturgical texts interspersed (mostly through the second half of the work). First published in Venice in 1799, it was reissued in a second, expanded edition in Athens in 1856. The third and standard edition is the version corrected and published by Panagiotis V. Paschou in Athens in 1961, which is 295 pages long. It was expanded and republished in Athens in 1989 under the title *Synaxaristēs neomartyrōn*.

The main part of the work consists of *vitae* and liturgical texts in Greek that offer biographical descriptions and hymns of praise. Nikodēmos began compiling the collection in 1777 and completed the major part in 1794. He employed earlier versions of saints' lives that had originally been written in Greek and Old Church Slavonic from *vitae* of earlier authors such as Petro (a priest from Sofia), Nikolaos Malaxos, Theophanēs of Thessalonikē, Nikolaos Kyrkos, George Koressios (a Chiote intellectual of the 17th century), Bishop Meletios of Kythera, the intellectual Kaisarios Daponte, Hiermonk Ioakeim of Paros and Jonah the Kavsokalyvitē, the latter being responsible for twelve *vitae* covering the period 1650-83. Forty-six of the *vitae* and all of the liturgical texts can be attributed directly to Nikodēmos himself, including multiple accounts from his own time: neomartyr saints from Asia Minor and the Balkans, including Bulgaria, Romania and even Russia (*Neon martyrologion*, 'Prologue', pp. 6-7).

A larger compendium of saints' lives, *Megas synaxaristēs*, that includes accounts of neomartyrs, was compiled and published by Nikodēmos in 1807 under the patronage of the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V (r. 1797-8, 1806-8 and 1818-21), who is himself considered a neomartyr, lynched in Constantinople on the sultan's orders in reprisal for the Greek national revolt of 1821 (Marnellos, *Saint Nicodème l'Hagiorite*, p. 117).

The *Neon martyrologion* opens with three poetic epigrams addressed to the 'disciples of Christ' under the 'yoke of the Hagarenes' ('descendants of Hagar', the term habitually used in the Eastern Churches to refer to Muslims), encouraging them and calling on them to imitate the martyrs, and praising young and old, the 'friends of Christ', who were martyred in ancient times (p. 4). In his extended introduction, Nikodēmos explains the reasons for this compilation: to renew the entire Orthodox faith; to show that those who have fallen into conversion to Islam will only be able to defend themselves on the Day of Judgement if they shed their own blood in martyrdom; to praise and glorify the new martyrs, and censure and shame the heterodox; to offer examples of patience to Christians living

under Muslim rule; and to present examples of courage deserving of imitation to any that might face the same trials, but especially those who have already denied their faith (Vaporis, 'Price of faith', p. 191).

The *vitae* are a collection of hagiographies, primarily of common people who were killed for their faith by the authorities of the Ottoman Empire. In most cases they were individuals taken to the Muslim *kadi* court for adjudication on various capital charges, which ranged from insulting the Prophet Muḥammad or other blasphemies to fomenting political treason and promising to convert or actually converting to Islam and then recanting. While some accusations were true, others were apparently false, with some accusers being motivated by jealousy and others by the desire to force admirable and capable Christians to become a Muslim, a practice otherwise prohibited by Islam.

In each case involving the *kadi* court, in accordance with Ottoman jurisprudence the accused was granted three opportunities to repent of the offence and accept Islam in order to escape the death penalty. Often, the *kadi* is presented as a sympathetic figure who tries to persuade the accused to avoid pain and death by simple repentance. Cases that did not involve the *kadi* court include individuals who were captured or killed by Muslims in military campaigns, as well as Christian religious figures and institutions attacked by intolerant Muslim neighbours. There are also multiple cases of Muslims who converted to Christianity and were then charged with apostasy.

The liturgical texts that accompany the corresponding *vitae* of the neomartyr saints contain the entire service of hymns needed for vespers and matins, including the canonical odes dedicated to the individual saint. These poems fit the traditional melodies dedicated to martyr saints. The poetic phrases echo those for early Christian martyrs in praising the particular martyr's perseverance and commitment to Christ in the face of great torture and agony, and acknowledge that the crown of martyrdom has been placed upon them by God. They also refer to the individual experience of the saint by recalling their trial, torture and the death. There is no way of knowing whether these liturgical services were actually performed, though this was possible in the monastic setting of Mount Athos during Nikodēmos the Hagiorite's time.

SIGNIFICANCE

Understandably, relations between Christians and Muslims portrayed in neomartyr texts were predominantly hostile. Nikodēmos felt he was

responding to a historical situation in which Christians were 'enslaved' by the 'tyranny' of Muslim rule (*Neon martyrologion*, p. 14). However, the hagiographies also depict Christians and Muslims living together in close proximity in the Balkans, Anatolia and Istanbul. There are many examples of friendships crossing religious lines, as well as business partnerships. There are even romantic relationships across the religious divide. In many cases, Christians were living comfortably under Ottoman rule but, for reasons of jealousy, evil motivation and temptation, Muslim individuals in the narratives turn against their Christian neighbours.

By collecting and publishing these neomartyr accounts, Nikodēmos demonstrated to Christians that, rather than seeking a more wealthy and comfortable life, they should instead accept the divine will for the long subjection of the people and search for a life of freedom in God rather than in material comfort. Valorising the Christian martyr, Nikodēmos not only offered the teachings of the Church but presented a model to be imitated by Christians who might be meeting temptation or were too complacent with life in Muslim society.

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Tom Papademetriou

Sofroniy Vrachanski

Stoïko Vladislavov

DATE OF BIRTH 1739
PLACE OF BIRTH Kotel, present-day Bulgaria
DATE OF DEATH 23 September 1813
PLACE OF DEATH Bucharest

BIOGRAPHY

Sofroniy Vrachanski was born as Stoïko Vladislavov into a relatively wealthy family of stock traders in 1739 in the village of Kotel in the European part of the Ottoman Empire. He received a good education in Kotel, mastering calligraphy and bookbinding. He was ordained priest in 1762. Sixteen manuscripts, written between the 1760s and 1790s have been identified as from his pen, including two copies of *Istoria slavjanobălgarska* ('History of the Slavobulgarians') made in the years 1765 and 1781. Written in 1762 by Paisiï Hilendarski, a monk from Zograf monastery on Mount Athos, this work brought together sources about the history of the medieval Bulgarian kingdom and fed early ideas of a Bulgarian national consciousness.

Stoïko visited the monasteries of Mount Athos twice, in 1770 and in 1775. He also served for two years in the Anchialus eparchy before taking monastic vows under the name Serafim in 1794. Later that year, he was consecrated as bishop of the town of Vraca and started signing his name as Sofroniy Vrachanski ('of Vraca').

At the end of the 18th century, the region of Vraca and Vidin was experiencing great unrest because of armed clashes between local Ottoman rulers and the danger of attacks by bandit gangs. Consequently, the ruler of Vidin, Osman Pazvantoglu, kept Sofroniy for three years (1800-3) in his court, where he compiled two volumes known as *Părvi vidinski sbornik* and *Vtori vidinski sbornik* ('First Vidin miscellany' and 'Second Vidin miscellany').

During the last ten years of his life (1803-13), Sofroniy lived in exile in Bucharest under the protection of the Wallachian voivode Constantine Ypsilantis and the Ungro-Wallachian metropolitan Dositei Filitti. In 1805, he finished his four-part *Kniga za trite religii* ('Book on three religions'), which contains treatises on the superiority of Christianity over Judaism and Islam as well as his own autobiography (see below). In 1806, he

published the first Bulgarian printed book, *Kiriakodromion, sirech Nedelnik* ('*Kiriakodromion*, or Sunday service book'). His last work, dating from 1809, is a translation of Ambrogio Marliani's (1562-1632) *Theatrum politicum*.

Sofroniy's correspondence with Russian officials during his time in Bucharest indicates that during the Russian-Turkish war of 1806-12 he was acting for Bulgarian political interests. He died in 1813.

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Nadezhda Alexandrova

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kniga za trite religii
'Book on three religions'

DATE 1805
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION

Written in Bucharest in 1805, *Kniga za trite religii* is a compilation of four works totalling 369 folios in the single manuscript in which it is found.

It opens with a brief introduction, followed by the three main parts, on Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and concludes with Sofroniy's autobiography. The introduction (fols 1-4) is accompanied by a coloured self-portrait of the author (fol. 5). The first part, *Pravoslavnoe izpovedanie very* ('The Orthodox confession', fols 6-78), is a translation from Petru Movilă (1596-1647), metropolitan of Kiev and Rus, together with earlier writings by Sofroniy himself. Petru Movilă originally wrote his work in Latin and it was later translated into Greek and then into Church Slavonic and published several times in Russia. Sofroniy used a Russian version of the book for his translation into Bulgarian. The second part, *Povest o vere i obichai evreiskia* ('A history of the Jewish confession and rituals', fols 78v-179v), is an abridged translation of the Italian Jewish convert Paolo Medici's *I riti e costumi degli Ebrei confutati dal dottore Paolo Medici sacerdote fiorentino* (Florence, 1736). Sofroniy used a Greek translation of this work (*Thriskía kaì éthi tōn Hevraíōn*, Venice, 1755, second edition, 1780). The third part, *Sistima i religia mohamedanskia* ('The Muḥammadan system and religion', fols 180-352), is a translation of *De Curani etymologico nomine* by Dimitrie Cantemir, voivode of Moldavia (1673-1723; *CMR* 14, 304-22), first written in Latin then translated into Russian under the title *Kniga sistima ili sostoianie muhammedanskiia religii* ('The system or structure of the Muḥammadan religion', St Petersburg, 1722). Sofroniy used the Russian version. Cantemir was one of the great experts on the East and the author of a Latin *Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae Othomanicae* ('History of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire'). The fourth part is Sofroniy's autobiography, *Zhitie i stradania greshnago Sofronia* ('Life and sufferings of the sinful Sofronius', fols 353-62).

Sofroniy's Bulgarian translation of Cantemir's treatise, which comprises 167 chapters, presents the main teachings of Islam, including the creation of the world and its ultimate end, the Garden of Eden, the Qur'an, Muḥammad and his wives, angels, devils and jinn, the annual pilgrimage, women and eunuchs, prohibited foods and marriage regulations. The translation is accompanied by comments from Sofroniy, who repeats the mistakes about Islam in Cantemir's original.

As he declares in the introduction, his attitude towards Judaism and Islam is negative, based on the simple presupposition that they differ from Christianity. In this respect, he can be seen as a proto-Orientalist, though he was the first among his countrymen to be interested in questions about Islam and Judaism, following earlier scholars in the Byzantine tradition. A great part of his criticism is not dogmatic but based on common sense. He does not omit to comment on the connections between Christianity and

Islam (and Judaism), their shared origin and main features, although he claims that Islam has stolen some of them from the Bible.

In his autobiography, in the fourth part of the book, Sofroniy reveals an attitude towards Muslims that complements the earlier parts in showing that in general they are cruel and oppressive towards those not of their faith. It should be borne in mind that even in the episode in which he finds refuge in the private quarters of the home of an honest Turk he is trying to escape from Turkish fighting men who are systematically looting the city of Plevna. This presents a picture that is not very different from the image of Muslims presented in the earlier parts of the work.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is the only 19th-century Bulgarian work in which the three world religions are presented together and some form of comparison is attempted. Earlier negative and mythologised stereotypes of Judaism and Islam, such as that the former sacrificed Christian children and the latter killed Christians because of their faith, do not appear.

Today, the book is looked on in two different ways. Most scholars stress that it presents the official line of Orthodoxy that Islam is in error as a deficient offshoot of Christianity, but others trace in it what may be called a subversive trend associated with the desire to know the religious other, a typical and important interest of the European Enlightenment.

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Nicolay Aretov

Zhitie i stradania greshnago Sofroniya
'Life and sufferings of the sinful Sophronius'

DATE 1805
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

Zhitie i stradania greshnago Sofroniya is the fourth and last part of *Kniga za trite religii*, comprising fols 353-62 in the St Petersburg manuscript. It is written in what Sofroniy Vrachanski called 'simple and direct' language, a fusion of vernacular Bulgarian with Church Slavonic.

The work presents Sofroniy's life from his birth to his period in exile in Bucharest in 1803. It is significant that he uses *zhitie* in the title, a term associated with the genre of hagiography, because he carefully constructs the image of his protagonist, 'the sinful Sofronius', as a victim of the iniquity and terror suffered by the population in the European part of the Ottoman Empire at the hands of the ruling Muslim oppressors. Both in his early years as a priest and later as a bishop, Sofroniy served as an intermediary between the Orthodox Christian community and the ruling Ottomans. Here, he describes this position as precarious, giving examples of various forms of abuse by local pashas, leaders of criminal gangs (*kircali*) and Ottoman troops passing through his eparchy on military missions.

The narrative outlines a number of traumatic events, most of them caused by Muslims. There is usually a brief introduction in which Sofroniy describes the context of the event, then comes the interaction with the Muslims, who are in a position of power and dominance, and the incident culminates in a dramatic life-threatening crisis for him before it is suddenly resolved in his favour and he escapes harassment, punishment or death.

One of the first accounts of this kind is of an incident when he was still a teenager. It is set in Istanbul, where he had gone to collect money from his father's trade deals. He is seized and imprisoned by Turkish soldiers who, in order to take advantage of him sexually, accuse him of holding the wrong documents. He realises what they want of him – he refers to them as *sodomiti* – and he locks the door to the room in which he is being held. The soldiers beg him to open the door and even say they will pay him but he starts shouting and the neighbours come to save him (*Sŭchineniya*, vol. 1, p. 24).

On another occasion later in his life, he is imprisoned by the head of the Janissaries in the town of Sliven in revenge for his family failing to return a loan promptly. He is just about to be impaled when the local Christians beg the Janissary and his mother for mercy (*Sŭchineniya*, vol. 1, p. 30).

Another remarkable example of Sofroniy's involvements with Muslims comes from his years as a priest in Anchialo eparchy. The local 'sultan', Ahmed Geriay, a descendant of the rulers of the Crimean Tatars, wants to take a Christian woman as his second wife, but Sofroniy, not knowing this, officiates at her marriage to a Christian man. When the two meet by chance, the sultan decides to kill him there and then. He points his gun at Sofroniy's chest and orders him to convert to Islam. Sofroniy calmly responds that faith should not be imposed by force and makes the sultan realise that it is a sin to kill an innocent priest, at which the sultan withdraws (p. 35).

In a multitude of other stories Sofroniy acts by trickery, escaping difficulties by disguising himself, running away or responding in a submissive self-victimising way to please his oppressor. Turks are presented as violent, bloodthirsty and vengeful.

It is noticeable that, in this account of his life, Sofroniy rarely describes his experience as a copyist, translator, bookbinder and writer. He also omits to mention his meetings with Bulgarian clergy or with monks from the Mount Athos monasteries. Overall, the account maintains the image of the protagonist as a humble, sinful and emotion-filled Christian and leaves unmentioned the wide social acclaim that Sofroniy received

during his lifetime. Only in the last pages of the text, where he describes his escape from Vidin and the benevolence of the Wallachian phanariote ruler in accommodating him in Bucharest, does the narrative hint at the fact that Sofroniy was a skilled politician, diplomat and high-ranking authority in the Ungro-Wallachian metropolis. He expresses his concern for the eparchy he has been forced to leave and his sadness at being unable to instruct his disciples in person, so he has put on paper 'a few works in our Bulgarian language'.

There could be a number of reasons for Sofroniy's decision to write his autobiography in this way. An intriguing possibility is suggested by its position in *Kniga za trite religii* directly after the translation of Dimitrie Cantemir's treatise 'The system or structure of the Muḥammadan religion', which also contains many descriptions of the activities and beliefs of the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Cantemir's treatise is designed to expose the doctrine of the Qur'an as wrong and display the prophetic status of Muḥammad as false by presenting theological arguments and adding personal stories as evidence for the irrationality of the practices prescribed by the Sunna. Sofroniy's autobiography could be intended to complement this by providing an eyewitness account from a Christian subject and a religious authority to interactions between Muslims and Christians in the Rumeli province of the Ottoman Empire in the late 18th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

The autobiography did not reach Bulgaria until the 1860s. After Sofroniy's death in 1813, his library was not preserved intact and *Kniga za trite religii* was somehow transported to Russia, where it passed into the possession of Mihail Pogodin (1800-75), a distinguished Russian professor of Slavic studies. The whole codex was then donated to the Russian Imperial Library in St Petersburg, where it has been kept since then in Pogodin's collection. In 1848, another Russian scholar in Slavic studies, Victor Grigorovic (1815-76), identified the manuscript of the autobiography, made a copy and sent it to the Bulgarian revolutionary and journalist Georgi Rakovski (1821-67). Out of deep respect and appreciation, Rakovski published the manuscript in 1861 in his periodical *Dunavski Lebed* ('The Danube Swan'), thus starting the reception of this autobiographical narrative in the Bulgarian historical and literary tradition.

Zhitie i stradania greshnago Sofronia was initially treated as a chronicle written in vernacular Bulgarian during the period of the Bulgarian revival. However, as more studies and sources of Sofroniy's life were found, doubt arouse about the accuracy of the facts in the autobiography. Some episodes

were seen to be fictional, exhibiting his stylistic skillfulness. During the 20th century, the work was published frequently in Bulgarian and became part of Bulgarian school curricula. It has also been translated into French, German, Czech, Hungarian, Russian and Romanian.

Zhitie i stradania greshnago Sofronia stands in paratextual relationship to the translation of Cantemir's *The system or structure of the Muhammadan religion*. Sofroniy did not write a preface to his autobiography but he did write an introduction to his translation of Cantemir's work. This appears to be a copy of Cantemir's own introduction, although it contains original comments that hint at Vrachanski's motives in making his translation. It emerges that his main concern was to ensure that the followers of Christianity were not lured into converting to Islam, so he sets out to describe Islam in a degrading way. It seems plausible to assume that his autobiography continues his efforts in this direction. Thus, its significance lies not only in its contents, genre, language and style but also in this integration of the Bulgarian author into a longer tradition of refutations of Islam.

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Nadezhda Alexandrova

Andreas Kalvos

DATE OF BIRTH 1792
PLACE OF BIRTH Zakynthos
DATE OF DEATH 1869
PLACE OF DEATH Louth, Lincolnshire

BIOGRAPHY

Andreas Kalvos was born in 1792 on the Greek island of Zakynthos. When he was ten, his father took him and his brother to Italy, where the boys studied ancient Greek and Latin literature and history. Around the year 1811, he moved to Pisa and then to Florence, the centre of intellectual and artistic life at the time. In 1812, he met Ugo Foscolo, an Italian poet and scholar who was also from Zakynthos. For some years, he worked for Foscolo and followed him to Switzerland and Britain. Under Foscolo's influence, he became interested in neoclassicism and neo-liberalism and in his writings he developed a style of combined archaic and demotic Greek. While he was in Britain, Kalvos was confirmed into the Church of England in 1819 and he also married, though his wife died not long afterwards. He left Britain in 1820.

The Greek War of Independence that started in 1821 galvanised Kalvos and he began to compose poems in support of the Greek cause, including *Hē lyra*, a collection of ten odes which was published in 1824. In 1826, in Paris, he published a second collection entitled *Lyrica* with the aid of supporters of Greek independence, mentioning in the prologue that he wished to return to Greece. In 1826, he travelled to Nafplio, but after seeing the intense political rivalries between the revolutionaries and the lack of interest they showed in his works, he settled in Kerkira (Corfu), where he became a teacher in the Ionian Academy and no longer published poems, though he did contribute some philosophical and theological articles to local newspapers.

In 1852, he returned to Britain and, after marrying again, he became the principal of a religious boarding school for women. He died of pneumonia in Louth, Lincolnshire, in 1869.

Throughout his life, Kalvos remained unknown in Greece. His twenty odes dedicated to the War of Independence are his only contribution to Greek literature. They were brought to public attention by the poet Kostis Palamas in 1888. As a member of the Church of England and without any

connection to the Orthodox Church and the Byzantine past of the country, he remained unacknowledged by the Greek community until relatively recently.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Eis Agarinous
'To the Hagarenes'

DATE 1824
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

'Eis Agarinous' ('To the Hagarenes') is one of ten poems contained in *Hē Lyra*, which was published in Geneva in 1824, the first of a two-volume collection entitled *Ōdai* that was devoted to the Greek revolution of 1821. In a letter sent to the Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834) regarding the publication of *Ōdai*, Kalvos writes that he has returned to his homeland so

that he can offer himself to the struggle for independence: 'Je quitte la France avec de regret: mon devoir m'appelle dans ma patrie, pour exposer un coeur de plus au fer des Musulmans' (Andreiōmenos, *Viographika ston Kalvo*, p. 92). In light of this, the main intention of the poems in the collection can be seen as to rally support for the uprising against the Ottoman occupation by highlighting the nobility and justice of the Greek cause. In 'Eis Agarinous', he speaks about divine justice and punishment for those who act against God, who in this poem is referred to as the Sun (*Heleos*).

The poem comprises 23 stanzas totalling 115 lines. In it Kalvos contrasts Greeks with Ottomans, though without using overblown vocabulary. He expresses his admiration and love for ancient Greece and recalls the links between the country and Christianity, and then he sets this against the dogmatic and religion-centred Ottoman Empire. He neither employs overt Christian terminology nor refers to the Ottomans as Turks, which was considered a slur at the time he wrote, nor does he dwell on dogmatic differences. Rather, he sets freedom, associated with Greece, against tyranny, associated with the Ottoman Empire. Thus,

> The insatiable scythe
> they sow; they reap
> as much as our sweat
> ripened the corn
> for our sons. (12)
> [...]
> Because of the food you gathered
> with unspeakable labours,
> on the sea shore
> here is the gluttony
> mouth of tyrants. (14)
> [...]
> The trumpet, the drums
> they invite you; wrongdoers,
> unwise wars to
> bring, you slaughtered
> the nations innocent. (16)
>
> Not only the sweat,
> but also the blood, the tyrants
> ask from you
> and after rivers you flowed,
> is it enough for them? (17)

Your breath insatiable
they wish; else
if ever on carcasses
of tyrants resurrected
– reveal your soul. (18)

Kalvos contrasts the themes of freedom and tyranny, projecting an image of democracy in ancient Greece, the rebirth of which will come from the revolution against the tyranny and darkness that the conquerors, the Ottomans, have brought upon the world. It is significant that the title he originally gave to the poem was 'Eis Tyrannous', addressed to all tyrannical rulers. However, since his aim was to make the Greek revolution widely known and to maintain revolutionary fervour until the vision of independence was realised, he narrowed this down to 'Hagarenes' (a term he also used in other poems), descendants of Abraham's handmaid Hagar, the name often given to Muslims by Greek and other Orthodox Christians, thus directing his invective specifically against the Ottomans as the opponents of freedom.

Kalvos projects the idea that God alone is divine, and it is wrong for people to be forced to believe in pseudo-leaders who want to achieve God-like power over their people, here specifically referring to the Ottoman sultan. He condemns submission to tyrants because this contradicts the balance of the world as determined by divine decree. In some stanzas, the poem sounds like a cry that encourages defiance against the enemy, while in others a condemnatory tone is used for those who accept the 'false dominion' of 'earthly oppressors' instead of joining the fight for 'divine freedom'. Only freedom can bring divine enlightenment, and the tyrants, the lawless, will be punished in the afterlife.

At the end of the poem, in a sort of epilogue, Kalvos states that the 'brilliance' of tyrants has significance – they provide light, but unlike the light of truth and freedom, theirs is like a fire. Instead of shining in the face of evil, they simply illuminate (if they do not create) human misery.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kalvos's poems, including 'Eis Agarinous' and the whole *Hē Lyra* collection, were only recognised long after his death, mainly through tributes from the poets Kostis Palamas (1859-1943) in *Kalvos ho Zakynthios*, his edition of Kalvos's poems, and Odysseas Elytis (1911-96) in a speech that was published in the journal *Nea Hestia*, 1946. Both referred to him as an inspiration to their work. Further studies and tributes have been

written by the poet and Nobel Laureate Giōrgos Sepherēs (1900-71), and the scholars Linos Politēs (1906-82) and Kōnstantinos Dēmaras (1904-92). 'Eis Agarinous' is among the works of Kalvos that are taught in schools to instil the virtues of the Greek revolution.

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Eleftheria Chatzichristidou

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski

DATE OF BIRTH 29 May 1816
PLACE OF BIRTH Varaždin
DATE OF DEATH 1 August 1889
PLACE OF DEATH Puhakovec near Sveti Križ Začretje, Croatia

BIOGRAPHY

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski was born in 1816 in Varaždin into a noble family. His father, Antun Kukuljević (1776-1851), was a lawyer and politician. He began his education in Varaždin and continued in Zagreb at the Convictus regius Zagrabiensis (a royal boarding school for young men from noble families), but he left to join the army in 1833 before the final examination. He attended military school in Krems then served as an officer in Vienna from 1835 to 1840 and in Milan from 1840 to 1842. After this he left military service and was appointed honorary judge of Zagreb County. In 1845, he became senior judge of Varaždin County.

In the 1840s, Kukuljević was one of the leading figures in Croatian political life. Two of his speeches made in the Croatian Parliament are widely remembered. In 1843, he delivered the first speech given in Croatian in the history of the parliament (where the official language was Latin) and, after a speech he made in 1847, Croatian was declared the official language. During the years 1848-9, when the Hungarians rose against the Habsburg state, Kukuljević was one of the closest collaborators of the Ban Josip Jelačić (1801-59), who out of concern that in an independent Hungarian state Croatia would lose its autonomy led Croatian troops to suppress their uprising. He withdrew from political life during the period of *Neoabsolutismus* in the empire in the 1850s and did not return to politics until the 1860s, after the restoration of the Constitution. From 1861 to 1867, Kukuljević was prefect of Zagreb County. In politics, he cooperated with Ivan Mažuranić (1814-90; *CMR* 22, 832-9) and he was one of the founders of the Independent People's Party (1863-5), which implemented the policy of Austro-Slavism: it advocated an agreement between Croatia and Austria before the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867). After it was defeated in the 1865 elections, the party ceased to exist.

Kukuljević was one of the founders of modern humanities in Croatia and, from 1848 to 1861, he was the head of the Croatian State Archives.

He founded 'Društvo za jugoslavensku povjestnicu i starine' ('the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities') in 1850 and 'Hrvatsko arkeologičko družtvo' ('the Croatian Archaeological Society') in 1879. He published basic reference works on Croatian history from Antiquity to modern times, a bibliography of books printed in Croatian from 1483 to 1860, surveys of Croatian literary history from the 15th to the 17th centuries, and a lexicon of South Slavic artists.

Kukuljević began his literary output in 1834 with the poem 'An Kroatien' written in German, a language in which he also occasionally wrote later works. From the late 1830s, his rich literary oeuvre in Croatian emerged, consisting of volumes of poetry (*Slavjanke*, 1848; *Povjestne pjesme* ['Historical poems'], 1874), short stories, plays (*Juran i Sofia*, 1839; *Stjepko Šubić*, 1841; *Poraz Mongolah* ['Defeat of the Mongols'], 1844; *Gusar* ['Pirate'], 1844; *Poturica* ['A Muslim convert'], 1867; *Marula*, 1879) and travelogues (*Putovanje po Bosni* ['Journey through Bosnia'], 1858; *Putne uspomene iz Hrvatske, Dalmacije, Arbanije, Krfa i Italije* ['Travel memories from Croatia, Dalmatia, Albania, Corfu and Italy'], 1873).

The drama *Juran i Sofia* is the most important for the theme of Christian-Muslim relations, and is Kukuljević's most famous literary work, though this theme is also present in some of his other writings, including some lines from his political poems and related comments in prose (*Slavjanke*, first cycle, 6; second cycle, 8, 9), the historical-political statements of the narrator in some of his short stories (*Bratja* ['Brothers']; *Pauk* ['Spider']; *Bugarin* ['Bulgarian']) and some passages in his travelogues. Together, they give a rounded version of the South Slavic Christian anti-Ottoman narrative of the 19th century. For Kukuljević, in Bosnia and Croatia there was one people with one language separated by the religions and powers of two empires that belonged to two cultures with opposing values: the Habsburg belonging to the European, Christian, enlightened and advanced Western world, the Ottoman to an Asian, Islamic, poor and backward East. Although the negative attributes of the Asian uncivilised world were associated with Islam, sometimes represented by the Qur'an, Kukuljević did not advocate the re-Christianisation of the region where the South Slavs lived because, from the perspective of enlightenment tolerance, religion was a matter of tradition, custom and personal choice (see *Bratja*). In contrast to the predominantly negative notions of Islam in Kukuljević's works, tolerant and polite South Slavic Muslim characters also appear in some of them (*Bratja*; *Putovanje po Bosni*). The passage in

Putovanje po Bosni in which he describes the pleasure he derives from listening to the hodja chanting the evening prayer (*jacija*) in Banja Luka is particularly noteworthy.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Juran i Sofia ili Turci kod Siska
'Juran and Sofia or The Turks near Sisak'

DATE 1839
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Juran i Sofia ili Turci kod Siska. Junačka igra u trih činih ('Juran and Sofia or The Turks near Sisak. Heroic play in three acts') was Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's first play. It was printed in Zagreb in 1839 and premiered in Sisak in the same year before being performed in Zagreb in 1840. It consists of three acts with a total of 42 scenes, and is set against the historical background of the Ottoman siege of the fortified Croatian town of Sisak in 1593. The text of the first printed edition of 1839 is 66 pages long.

Act I takes place in the residence of the Croatian ban (viceroy) Toma Erdődy in Zagreb. Erdődy's son Juran and his friend Janko Drašković, with the consent of Juran's wife Sofia and his father, set off to free Christian prisoners not far from Zagreb, on the other side of the River Sava. Mehmet, the bey of the Herzegovinan Sanjak, brings to Toma Erdődy an offer from the Bosnian Pasha Hasan, the commander of the Ottoman army encamped outside Sisak, that, if the Croatian ban hands over his weapons and his soldiers, he will be given power over half of Croatia and parts of Bosnia. But Erdődy rejects the offer and dismisses Mehmet.

Drašković comes from the battlefield to tell the ban and his wife Katarina that their son Juran has been captured by the Turks. Then a letter arrives from Hasan Pasha with a new offer to Erdődy, which now includes the release of Juran in exchange for what he had asked from him earlier. Katarina begs her husband to rescue their son from Turkish captivity and even persuades their grandson, Juran's son Ivan, to try to persuade his grandfather to accede to Hasan Pasha's demands. But Erdődy remains adamant, supported by Sofia, who resolves to rescue her husband.

The first nine scenes of Act II take place in the Turkish camp near Sisak, and the remaining four in Zagreb. First, Mehmet informs Hasan Pasha about Erdődy's rejection of his offers, and then Kurt, the agha of the Janissaries, brings the ban's response in the form of Hasan's letter torn to pieces. Kurt reports that the defenders of Sisak have killed a thousand Turks and captured Pasha Muhammed and 20 Turkish aghas. At Mehmet's suggestion, Hasan tries to persuade Juran to write to his father to hand over Sisak, but Juran refuses to do this. Sofia arrives in the Turkish camp disguised as an Armenian man and bribes Kurt to bring her to Hasan Pasha. In a long conversation with Hasan, she learns that her husband will be executed, and then she reveals to Hasan that she is Juran's wife. She finally receives Hasan's permission to visit her husband in the dungeon, but on condition that she persuades him to fulfil Hasan's demands. Then Andrija Auersberg, the captain of Karlovac, who together with Erdődy has gathered an army to help Sisak, arrives in Zagreb. Erdődy gives Janko Drašković a hundred soldiers to free Juran from Turkish captivity.

Act III takes place entirely in the Turkish camp outside Sisak, where Sofia in the dungeon with Juran tries to persuade him to exchange clothes with her and escape. He refuses, but then Drašković and his men free Juran while Sofia is talking to Hasan. When news of the release arrives, Hasan draws his sword to kill Sofia but at that moment Juran and Drašković burst in. Juran moves to kill Hasan, but Sofia stops him. Erdődy and Auersperg liberate Sisak and Hasan Pasha is sent to the king to be judged. The drama ends with a prayer led by Erdődy for the people and the fatherland.

A number of characters in the play bear the names of historical figures: Toma II Erdődy (1558-1624), the ban of Croatia; Hasan Pasha (Predojević) (1530-93), the Beylerbey of Bosnia; Andrija von Auersperg (1556-93), a military commander; Mehmed (d. 1593), the Sanjak-bey of Herzegovina; Kurt Bey (d. 1593) and Blaž Gjurak (first half of the 16th century-1602), the canon and defender of Sisak. General Juraj III Drašković (c. 1560-c. 1607) took part in the battles around Sisak, but no Janko Drašković is mentioned. Ban Erdődy's wife's name was Ana Marija (and not Katarina), the family had four sons, none of whom were named Juraj or participated in the Battle of Sisak, as the eldest son Stjepan was not born till 1585. Juran, Sofia, Katarina and Ivan are not historical characters.

Juran i Sofia was not a completely original work of Kukuljević. It was most likely an adaptation of a German play by Lorenz Gindl, an Austrian writer and actor, the leader of a travelling theatre troupe and short-term manager of the German theatre in Zagreb (1818-c. 1821). Although the German original has not been preserved, there is a poster of the play in Karlovac dated 1826 with the title *Thomas Erdödy, Ban von Kroatien, der Sieger bei Sissek, oder: Rettung durch Weibertreue* ('Thomas Erdödy, Ban of Croatia, the victor at Sisak, or Rescue through a woman's fidelity') and a list of characters very similar to those in Kukuljević's play. On the poster, the playwright is simply called 'Verfasser der Schlangenritter'. Nikola Batušić (*Hrvatska drama od Demetra do Šenoe*) has discovered that Lorenz Gindl wrote a novel entitled *Die Schlangenritter*. In addition, there is a German play called *Juran und Sophia oder die Helden Illiriens* ('Juran and Sofia or The Heroes of Illyria') with the subtitle: 'historisches Schauspiel in 3 Aufzuegen nach seinem illirischen Originale' ('historical play in 3 acts based on its Illyrian original') and Batušić's analysis shows that it was probably written before the Croatian version. The Croatian version (translation) was made with the help of linguist Vjekoslav Babukić (1812-75); Kukuljević added political motifs, which are particularly important with regard to Christian-Muslim relations.

When referring to the Turkish camp, the most frequently used terms are the neutral 'Turks, Turkish' (38 occurrences, not counting the play's subtitle and the stage directions) and the emotive and negative Turkish/Persian word *dušmani* (meaning 'angry enemies', 40 occurrences), while Turkish characters most frequently refer to their opponents by the Turkish word *kauri* (meaning 'infidels'). This vocabulary is in line with that used in South Slavic oral epic poetry and Croatian literature dealing with the theme of Christian-Muslim conflicts up to Kukuljević's time. Somewhat more originally, Kukuljević uses the term *kopile* ('bastard'), which appears

in the play only four times, always used by a Croatian character to refer to a Turkish character. This may be interpreted as reflecting the stereotypical notions of Muslim polygamy and the harem, in contrast to the Christian concept of legal/valid marriage.

There is only one reference to the enemy's evil deeds and it, too, contains stereotypical motifs of Turkish atrocities; in Act I, Scene 2, Juran says that the Turks 'take thousands of our brothers into slavery, burn villages and towns, loot even the smallest property of the peasants, kill and put to the sword everything they can get their hands on, their beastly fury does not even spare women nor the innocent child in the mother's womb' (1839 edition, p. 6). In the dramatic action, a reference to this catalogue of atrocities occurs in Act III, Scene 10, when the distraught Hasan, after learning that Juran has escaped from the dungeon, draws his sword on Sofia. At the beginning of Scene 11, Sophia stops Juran from killing Hasan and her magnanimity receives its ideological justification in Scene 12, when Ban Erdődy tells Hasan that he knows that, if the situation were reversed, Hasan would certainly have executed him, but he, Erdődy, is 'a Slav and a Christian, so his feelings and the law do not allow him to take revenge on an unarmed enemy' (p. 103).

The most important contribution of this play to the theme of Christian-Muslim relations in Croatian literature at the time of the Illyrian Movement (the Croatian national revival) is certainly Act II, Scene 5, a completely dramatically inappropriate addition by Kukuljević to the assumed German source of the play and the only part of the text that is not written in prose but in traditional octosyllabic rhymed couplets. Here, in the Turkish camp near Sisak, there are two collective and two individual characters – groups of Bosnians and Serbs, the leader of the Bosnians and an old Serb – who have no role in the rest of the drama. In the first part of the scene, the Bosnian leader invites his compatriots and Serbs in the Turkish army to battle against the Croats, the 'angry/vile enemies' (*ljuti /kleti dušmani*). The old Serb replies that Croats, their current *dušmani* (enemies) are actually sons of the same grandfathers, they are all children of the same mother, the same blood flows in them, and they are all connected by the 'glorious name of Illyrian', but the golden age of unity has passed and now the brothers are at war with each other. The leader of the Bosnians does not care about the past; now they are all loyal to the Turks, so he again invites the others to fight against the Croats. Only the old Serb remains on the scene and wonders: 'Will it stay like this forever, until when will the brothers kill each other?' This scene, as a poetic sketch of the political programme of the Illyrian Movement – the unity of the

southern Slavs regardless of religious differences – was published in 1838 in the literary journal *Danica ilirska* 48 (1838) p. 192. In it, Kukuljević opens a topic that he dealt with later – the problem of South Slavic renegades.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kukuljević's drama is one of the canonical texts of the Illyrian Movement. Its first performance in Zagreb on 10 June 1840 marks the birth of modern Croatian theatre in the Štokavian language (until then, Croatian dramatic texts in northern Croatia were always performed in the Kajkavian language). Two features of the play remained characteristic of almost all of Kukuljević's later dramatic works: his interest in Oriental themes, and the problem of South Slavic renegades (converts from Christianity to Islam). Kukuljević dedicated two plays to a favourite historical theme in the literature of the Illyrian Movement – the struggle of the Croats against the Mongols in the 13th century: *Stjepko Šubić ili Bela IV u Hrvatskoj* ('Stjepko Šubić, or Bela IV in Croatia', 1840), a translation of the play *Bela's Flucht* ('Bela's escape', 1813) by the German playwright August von Kotzebue, and *Poraz Mongolah* ('The defeat of the Mongols', 1848), his own adaptation of the drama *Stjepko Šubić*. Kukuljević based his play *Gusar* ('The Pirate', 1847) on Byron's epic poem *The Corsair*, strictly following the content and composition of the original, except that Kukuljević set the action on the island of Korčula and in the Albanian town of Skadar in the 18th century, and his main character Radul does not go alone into the unknown at the end of the play like Byron's Conrad, but takes his own life. Two of Kukuljević's dramatic texts have as their historical background the Christian-Ottoman conflicts in the 15th century. His last dramatic work, the historical tragedy in decasyllabic verse *Marula* (portraying the historical Maroula of Lemnos, the heroine of the Battle of Kotsinas in 1475; first performed in 1879), was probably based on material from the chronicle of the 17th-century Venetian historian Giovanni Sagredo. As in Kukuljević's first play, the plot centres on a brave woman who, here with a weapon in her hand, sets out to free her beloved man, but her endeavour ends tragically: Marula kills herself when she learns that her beloved is already married to the sultan's daughter. Kukuljević's unfinished drama *Skenderbeg*, about the Albanian national hero, preserved only in manuscript, is based on old Croatian historical and literary accounts by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and Andrija Kačić Miošić, and also on the history of the Ottoman Empire by the Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856).

The theme of apostasy, specifically of South Slavic converts to Islam, already appears in the famous Act II, Scene 5, of *Juran i Sofia*. A little later,

in the German-language Zagreb magazine *Luna: Belletristisches Beiblatt der Agramer Zeitung* (36 [1844] 141-2; 37 [1844] 145-6), Kukuljević published 'Berühmte türkische Renegate aus dem südslavischen Stamme' ('Famous Turkish renegades from the South Slavic tribe'), in which he lists high-ranking Ottoman officers of Slavic origin from the time of Sultan Mehmed II to Murad IV (15th-17th century), based on data taken from von Hammer-Purgstall's history of the Ottoman Empire. In the play *Marula*, the character of a Croat in Ottoman service (Marko Kosačić) appears, albeit only briefly, and it is even more important that in his book *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova* ('Famous Croats of the past', Zagreb, 1886) Kukuljević also included the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. But the theme of apostasy is dealt with most extensively in his only completely original and at the same time most ambitious dramatic text *Poturica* ('The Muslim convert', first performed in 1861, printed in 1867). The main character Selim – the former Christian Pavle from Dubrovnik, who abandoned his parents, younger brother and fiancée – swiftly and unscrupulously climbs the ladder of Ottoman power in Herzegovina. Even his brother Trojan, in a long conversation in Act IV, Scene 4, fails to persuade him to return to his faith and his people. For Selim, the Ottoman Empire provides a space of freedom for capable individuals, and the Slavs were and remain slaves. And although the play ends with Selim's death and a hint of the Christian uprising in Herzegovina, for the theatre critics of Kukuljević's time (the play was performed in Zagreb, Belgrade and Novi Sad in the 1860s and 1870s), Selim was a convincing character, and Batušić, the great connoisseur of Kukuljević's literary oeuvre, counts *Poturica* as his best play and the only one that is theatrically relevant even in the last quarter of the 20th century (Batušić, 'Ivan Kukuljević', 1976, pp. 86-8).

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Davor Dukić

Matija Mažuranić

DATE OF BIRTH 4 February 1817
PLACE OF BIRTH Novi Vinodolski, Croatia
DATE OF DEATH 17 April 1881
PLACE OF DEATH Feldhöf near Graz

BIOGRAPHY

Matija Mažuranić was born in 1817 in the Croatian coastal town of Novi Vinodolski into a family that had produced a number of prominent politicians, scholars and writers. One of his elder brothers, Ivan, held the position of Croatian ban (viceroy) in Austro-Hungary (*CMR* 22, 832-9). The other, Antun, was a linguist, writer and teacher. Matija did not receive a full formal education. He was trained to be a blacksmith and carpenter, but he was a passionate reader. All three Mažuranić brothers were fervent supporters of the Illyrian movement of national revival that called for overcoming Croatian regional particularities and for the cultural union of all South Slavs (who were considered descendants of ancient Illyrians, hence the movement's name). The then Ottoman province of Bosnia was also viewed as part of the Illyrian region.

In 1839, at the age of 22, Mažuranić was sent by his brothers on a secret mission to Bosnia with the aim of inquiring into the situation there and estimating whether the uprisings of the Muslims against the Porte could bring about the liberation of the province from Ottoman rule and create conditions for its union with Croatia. He travelled via Serbia because he could not obtain valid travel documents for this journey from the Austrian authorities. His stay in Bosnia lasted less than two months. He was in Sarajevo and Travnik for a total of 40 days in the service of the Sarajevan governor Mustafa Pasha Babić, although without any specific duties, and the rest of the time he spent travelling from the Serbian border to Sarajevo and back. Compared with travellers from other European countries who visited Ottoman Bosnia, he had an important advantage: he was able to make direct contact with people because there was no language barrier.

During his stay in Bosnia, Mažuranić did not have an opportunity to meet leaders of the Catholics or Orthodox or to assess their readiness for an armed uprising. He reportedly achieved this aim during later journeys to the province, but his accounts are coloured by exaggerations and romantic

Illustration 23. Matija Mažuranić

notions of adventure to such an extent that it is difficult to consider them credible. He allegedly joined the Christian insurgents there, and travelled to Montenegro to obtain weapons. His whole life was marked by unrest and a passionate desire to prove that his role in the national movement was important, almost heroic, as is evidenced by his extant letters (see Brlić, 'O braći Mažuranićima, Matiji i Ivanu', pp. 135, 147-8, 150). He spent the last years of his life in a sanatorium in Feldhöf near Graz with serious mental illness, and died there in 1881.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pogled u Bosnu
'A glance into Bosnia'

DATE 1842
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

On his return from Bosnia, Mažuranić wrote an account of his journey. This was revised by his brothers, who reportedly removed his name and everything that was political or might harm anyone and had it published in Zagreb in 1842 under the title *Pogled u Bosnu, ili kratak put u onu krajinu, učinjen 1839-40. po jednom domorodcu* ('A glance into Bosnia, or a brief journey into that border province undertaken by a native in 1839-40'). Mažuranić's name only appeared in the second edition, in 1938.

The only work by Mažuranić that was published during his lifetime, *Pogled u Bosnu* was the first literary travelogue in Croatian literature and has been praised since its first appearance for its interesting accounts and lively language and style. It is 84 pages long and consists of a short foreword, two main parts and a glossary. The first part, titled *Put u Bosnu i natrag* ('Journey to Bosnia and back') is the account of the journey. In the second part, *Različne opazke o Bosni* ('Diverse observations on Bosnia'), Mažuranić writes about the way of life, customs, mentality, beliefs and religious rites of the population, mostly of the Muslims within it. At the end there is a glossary entitled *Několiko turskih barbarismah* ('A handful of Turkish barbarisms'), comprising Turkish loanwords that were used in Bosnia in everyday speech.

In Mažuranić's accounts of the Bosnian Muslims, whom he mostly calls Turks (the term at the time denoted not ethnic, but religious affiliation), negative perceptions prevail. He describes them as ignorant, uncivilised in the way they eat and talk, and lazy, capable of spending the whole day squatting on their heels. In the exaggerated and generalised way that is characteristic of his travelogue, he observes: 'They never do anything, with the exception of craftsmen who follow their crafts, and merchants who are concerned for their own interests' (*Pogled u Bosnu*, 1842, p. 60). He rarely mentions any positive qualities and, even when he does, his subsequent comments undermine the commendable impression he has given. In his eyes, Muslims are merciful, though only if someone praises them, and so naive that they do not notice the falsehood of flattery. They will

help someone in need, but again not out of humanity but because it gives them the opportunity to perform *sevap*, a God-pleasing deed.

When he writes about the beliefs and customs of the Bosnian Muslims, Mažuranić relates stories that mostly present them as superstitious. Some of his claims about their faith, rites and customs are highly inaccurate, such as his statement that Muslim feasts always fall in spring and autumn, apparently not understanding the difference between the lunar and solar calendars (p. 17). He also asserts that Muslims believe in three prophets or 'saints', Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad (p. 54), and that they do not drink wine because it is the blood of God. To this observation he adds one of his many sarcastic comments: 'But they would no doubt gladly drink it if only they did not fear that God would throw them into an abyss, where they will eventually fall anyway' (p. 70).

Mažuranić's observations about the culture and mentality of Bosnian Muslims largely correspond to the images he could have gleaned back home from the newspapers published by supporters of the Illyrian movement, which portrayed Bosnian Muslims as 'noble savages'. They viewed them from a twofold perspective: that of the Enlightenment, according to which Muslims are depicted as uneducated, ignorant and superstitious – this also prevails in Mažuranić's travelogue; and that of Romanticism, according to which they were depicted as possessing genuine human values, a sense of honour and wisdom. Romantic aspects of Mažuranić's work can mostly be seen in the popular tales and legends that he includes. In his accounts of encounters with Muslims, their attitude towards him is mostly depicted as antagonistic. He also notes the difficult conditions in which Bosnian Christians live and the hostile attitude of the Muslims towards them, though these assertions are based on what he has only heard rather than witnessed for himself. What saddens him is the mutual intolerance and discord between Bosnia's Catholic and Orthodox Christians, all of whom he considered his 'Illyrian brothers'.

The predominantly negative images of Bosnian Muslims in Mažuranić's travelogue become clearer in light of another work that was attributed to him following detailed analysis of its contents, spelling, style and handwriting. It is a manuscript entitled *Put jednoga inostranca po Turskoj carevini* ('The journey of a foreigner through the Turkish Empire'), which was published in 1974 by the literary historian Milorad Živančević (b. 1933). Although the manuscript is dated 1843/4, Živančević argues in his article 'Nepoznati putopis' that it could be either a continuation of Mažuranić's published travelogue or the part that his brothers cut out before publishing it. It begins as follows:

> It has been two years since I travelled to Turkey. The desire to get to know the peoples and their customs motivated me to leave the educated world and embark on a journey to Turkey to see and witness the well-known and unbelievable cruelty of the wild Mohammedans towards Christians. It is true that the cruel Ottomans persecute and torture the poor Christians all over Turkey in an unbelievable way, but Bosnian converts to Islam have surpassed the Ottomans of the Turkish Empire in persecution and torture and it can be said that their cruel attitude towards Christians has reached the highest degree. (Živančević, 'Nepoznati putopis', p. 32)

Further on in *Put jednoga inostranca* Mažuranić describes in detail a form of torture in which Christians are tied to horses' tails and torn apart, which he says he has witnessed. In 1893, the Bosnian Franciscan Grgo Martić, Mažuranić's contemporary, was asked to comment on this (then still anonymous and unpublished) text. He wrote that it was hard for him to believe the author's claims and that no one in Bosnia or Herzegovina remembered such a thing as tying people to horses' tails (Živančević, 'Nepoznati putopis', p. 42). The motive for Mažuranić's vivid depictions of cruelty and possible fabrications can be related to his main goal: to present the position of Christians as unbearable in order to encourage the struggle for their liberation. He explicitly reveals this: 'Now, my gentlemen in bright and educated Europe, from this you can see the evil and wickedness of the attitude of the Turks towards the Christians' (Živančević, 'Nepoznati putopis', p. 38).

SIGNIFICANCE

Generations of Croatian readers, historians and literary critics considered Mažuranić's travelogue a trustworthy source, and not infrequently called it 'a mirror' because of its insights into the situation in Ottoman Bosnia in the mid-19th century (e.g. Čorkalo, 'Dva književna zrcala'). Attention was mostly focused on the accounts of cruel, uncivilised and violent acts, which tallied with the view that Ottoman Bosnia was a notorious 'dark vilayet' where lawlessness, blind violence and total insecurity for Christians reigned. On the other hand, Paić-Vukić and Čaušević ('Croat's view', p. 297) argue that, in assessing the authenticity and reliability of Mažuranić's accounts, the limitations of his perspective, his goals, his possible audience, his presuppositions when writing, his youth and poor education should all be taken into consideration. From this starting point, the two authors critically examine Mažuranić's travelogue and demonstrate the unreliability of many of his claims.

Mažuranić's accounts of Bosnian Muslims not only extended through his travelogue. His brother, the poet Ivan Mažuranić, used the published and unpublished travelogues in his famous epic *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* ('The death of Smail-aga Čengić') published in 1846, which is considered one of the greatest achievements of Croatian literature. The epic's main character is a historical figure, the Herzegovinian governor Smail-aga Čengić (1780-1840), although, contrary to what historical sources say about him, he is portrayed as a tyrant who is extremely cruel to Christians and their struggle with him as a battle between good and evil. Some striking scenes such as the uncivilised behaviour of Muslims when eating, as well as their torture of Christians by tying them to horses' tails, which have had a strong impact on the epic's readers for over 170 years, are a retelling of what the poet's brother Matija had written.

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Tatjana Paić-Vukić and Ekrem Čaušević

Ivan Mažuranić

DATE OF BIRTH 11 August 1814
PLACE OF BIRTH Novi Vinodolski
DATE OF DEATH 4 August 1890
PLACE OF DEATH Zagreb

BIOGRAPHY

Ivan Mažuranić, the elder brother of Matija Mažuranić (*CMR* 22, 825-31), was born in 1814 in Novi Vinodolski, a small town in the northern part of the east coast of the Adriatic. He graduated from the *Gymnasium* in Rijeka in 1833, and in the same year enrolled for two years of philosophy studies at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Zagreb (Regia Scientiarium Academia Zagrabiensis), which he completed in Szombathely (Hungary) in 1835. After completing his law studies in 1837, also at the Royal Academy, he worked in Zagreb as a legal clerk and school teacher until 1840. He then moved to Karlovac, where he worked for a short time as a lawyer and then obtained a position as a civil servant in the city administration.

After the revolution of 1848, Mažuranić participated in the work of the newly established Ban's Council (1848-50; 'ban' was the title of the highest state official in Croatia, the viceroy of the Hungarian-Croatian king). In 1849, he was appointed to the government in Vienna as an advisor on the modernisation of the administration in Croatia, after which he held important positions in the judiciary: deputy chief public prosecutor for Croatia and member of the Higher Regional Court in 1850; prosecutor general in 1854. Mažuranić was one of the most active members of the Ban's Conference, an institution founded in 1860 to prepare the work of the Croatian Parliament the following year and to formulate fundamental Croatian political goals in the period following the end of neo-absolutism in the Habsburg monarchy (1851-1860, also called Bach's absolutism, after the name of the Austrian Minister of the Interior, Alexander Bach), when in 1860 the work of state parliaments was again established (the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia, the establishment of the Croatian Court Chancellery as an administrative authority in Croatia, and so on). In 1860 he was also appointed president of the temporary Court Dicastery for Croatia and Slavonia in Vienna, and the following year he attended the session of the Croatian Parliament. From 1862 to 1865, he was

president of the Croatian Court Office in Vienna. In this position, he succeeded in achieving the autonomy of the Croatian judiciary and strengthening the position of the Croatian language in public usage. Mažuranić believed that the most important political goals (the unification of the military frontier [Croatian *Vojna krajina*] and Dalmatia with Croatia) could be achieved through cooperation with Austria (not Hungary) and founded the Samostalna Narodna Stranka (Independent People's Party) in 1863. After the defeat of the party in the elections to the Croatian Parliament in 1865, he resigned and retired.

Mažuranić returned to political life in the 1870s: first in the negotiations on the revision of the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement and as president of the Croatian Parliament in 1872 and then, in 1873, he was elected Croatian ban, the first in history not to belong to the nobility. He remained in office until 1880 and carried out important reforms to modernise Croatian society: the separation of the executive from the judiciary, freedom of the press, the right of public assembly, the modernisation and secularisation of education and the foundation of the University of Zagreb (1874). In the last ten years of his life, he occasionally spoke out against government measures, which he saw as an expression of Magyarization, and in 1886-7 he was the representative of the Novi district in the Croatian Parliament. Mažuranić's political activity is mostly evaluated positively in the literature, being described as 'modernising' and 'liberal', while his opponents, the oppositional nationalists, Stranka Hrvatskog Državnog Prava (Party of Croatian State Rights) considered it excessively opportunistic and lenient towards the Viennese authorities.

Mažuranić's literary output was mainly produced in the 1830s and 1840s. It includes poems (mostly published in the literary journal *Danica ilirska*), the reconstruction of two lost/non-existent cantos of the Baroque epic *Osman* by the Dubrovnik poet Dživo (Ivan) Gundulić (the most significant text on Christian-Muslim relations in 17th-century Croatian literature), and the epic poem *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* ('The death of Smail-aga Čengić'; the most significant text on Christian-Muslim relations in 19th-century Croatian literature). In connection with this, it is also worth mentioning Mažuranić's poem 'Vjekovi Ilirije' ('The ages of Illyria', published in *Danica ilirska*, 1838), which contains a meta-narrative of Illyrian history: from the golden age of common cattle ownership and natural religion, through the transition to agriculture with the emergence of private property and discord, then the emergence of a series of foreign conquerors, to the contemporary harmony of national revival. In the catalogue of conquerors, the

Turks occupy an important place alongside the Romans, Franks, Huns and Tatars. In the short catalogue of anti-Turkish heroes and battles, namely the Battle of Kosovo (1389) and the Siege of Siget (1566), Kraljević Marko, Miloš Obilić, Prince Lazar and Nikola Šubić Zrinski are mentioned. In addition, Croatian literary historiography usually includes mention of the aesthetic values of Mažuranić's programmatic national-political text *Hrvati Mađarom* ('Croats to Hungarians', 1848).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Smrt Smail-age Čengića
'The death of Smail-aga Čengić'

DATE 1846
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Ivan Mažuranić wrote his epic poem at the instigation of Dimitrija Demeter, his brother-in-law and one of the most respected Croatian writers of the time. He first published it as *Smèrt Čengić-age* ('The death of Čengić-aga') in the literary yearbook *Iskra* in 1846, and it was later published in book form under the slightly different title *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* ('The death of Smail-aga Čengić') in 1857. He based it on an historical event from 1840, the murder of Ismail-aga Čengić, a local Ottoman commander in eastern Herzegovina, in a sudden night attack on his camp. He probably found details about it in newspapers, maybe in the Zagreb *Ilirske narodne novine*.

The poem consists of five cantos of unequal length, reaching a total of 1,134 unrhymed decasyllabic and octosyllabic verses. In the first canto, 'Agovanje' ('The Aga's rule', 113 verses), Smail-aga orders the execution of

captive Montenegrins in his fortress of Stolac in Herzegovina. He also orders his old Muslim retainer Durak to be hanged because he has advised him to free the prisoners in order to avoid the Montenegrins taking revenge on him. Durak's son Novica, Smail-aga's guard, helplessly witnesses his father's death. In the second canto, entitled 'Noćnik' ('The night person', 80 verses all decasyllabic), Novica, who has resolved to avenge his father's murderer, runs away at night from Stolac to Cetinje in Montenegro. In the third canto, 'Četa' ('Troop', 284 verses), a group of about a hundred armed Montenegrins, led by a certain Mirko, move towards the Morača River. An old priest joins them there and delivers a sermon in which he glorifies devotion to homeland and freedom. At that moment, Novica arrives and declares to the Montenegrins that he is deserting the Turks, who have robbed him of everything and is joining them, and he asks to be baptised, which the priest immediately does. In the fourth and longest canto, 'Harač' ('Tribute', 623 verses), Smail-aga violently but unsuccessfully tries to collect taxes from poor Christians in the field of Gacko in Herzegovina. At his command, his servants first tie the Christians to the tails of his horses and make them gallop off, dragging the Christians behind them, then out of spite Smail-aga tries to strike a Christian with a spear but he misses and knocks out the eye of one of his servants. This causes even more anger in Smail-aga, so he orders the Christians to be tortured again by hanging them upside down from a tree with a fire lit under them, though this plan is foiled by rain. In Smail-aga's tent at night, his duke Bauk sings about a certain cruel Rizvan-aga, who collected taxes in Kosovo field but without success. Just as Smail-aga is growing angry again because of the obvious similarity between the theme of the song and his experiences that day, the Montenegrins attack his camp. He is fatally shot – probably by Mirko – as he tries to escape and almost all his men are killed. Novica is also mortally wounded in an attempt to cut off Smail-aga's head. The last and shortest canto, 'Kob' ('Fate', 34 verses, all decasyllabic), describes a puppet in the hermit's room in a small house in a field near the mountain of Lovćen in Montenegro. It is dressed in Smail-aga's clothes and carries his weapon and when anyone steps into the room, it bows and makes the sign of the cross.

This poem contains a number of departures from the historical version of this event, which have been summarised by Milorad Živančević as follows: in reality Smail-aga's men did not capture or torture any Montenegrins, and there is no mention of the character Durak; Mirko (the historical local commander Mirko Aleksić Damjanović) was neither a leader of fighting-men nor the murderer of Smail-aga; Novica was neither a Turk nor a *poturica* (a Muslim convert), but the son of the priest Milutin Cerović, and he was killed by Mehmed-paša Selmanović and not

by Smail-aga; there was no demand for tribute money (*harač*); the events leading up to the death of Smail-aga in the poem do not correspond to the historical version (Živančević, *Mažuranić*, pp. 203-4; Dukić, 'Ivan Mažuranić's "The death of Smail-aga Čengić"', p. 33). With these changes, Mažuranić created an epic story that is partially based on facts but also fits in well with the anti-Ottoman narrative of the time, emphasising the cruelty of the Ottoman authorities towards the Christian *raya*.

The depiction of Smail-aga (who was in reality regarded as fair in his dealings with Christians) is extremely ambivalent. On the one hand, he is referred to as *bijesan* ('furious'), *ljutit* ('angry'), *ružna neman* ('ugly monster'), and on the other, he is labelled as a *junak* ('hero') as many as eight times. Three of these are found in the fourth canto, in a sort of refrain in which Smail-aga's 'shame' (and not his 'heroism') is highlighted: 'Shame it were on such a hero, / to gather taxes, yet to get no tax; / to aim a javelin, yet not strike the mark. / More shame to blind a Turk stead of a *raya*, / and yet more shame that Christian dogs should mock!' (*Death of Smail-Aga*, trans. Wiles, pp. 39, 47). Furthermore, everything he does is motivated by cruelty and sadism. His servants are depicted just as darkly: as well as being called *sluge* ('servants') they are also called *Ture* (pl. *Turad*, 'Young Turks'), which in the South Slavic Christian tradition has negative though unspecified connotations.

Three important characters in the Turkish camp offer resistance to Smail-aga's violence, each in his own way. Durak, the embodiment of the archetype of the wise old man, accurately predicts the Montenegrins' moves to take revenge and pays with his life for this well-intentioned advice given to Smail-aga. Durak's son Novica becomes a traitor to the Turks, an avenger, even a baptised apostate. And the only named character from the Turkish camp whom the author allows to survive the night attack of the Montenegrins is the duke and singer Bauk, called in the poem 'cunning' (*lukav*, *šaren*). He expresses his resistance to Smail-aga's cruelty in a folk song accompanied by a *gusle*, a stringed instrument which was a symbol of South Slavic oral culture. The short last canto is a kind of allegorical epilogue that can hardly be interpreted other than as a prophecy of the final defeat of the Muslims in the South Slavic region. With these three characters, Mažuranić establishes an ambivalence of values within the Turkish camp, which makes the epic story more historically credible and convincing. Furthermore, their actions and fates suggest the cultural closeness of the conflicting parties and a desirable solution in the domination of Christians over Muslims in the South Slavic area.

Mažuranić took the material for his literary work – which was to become an epic poem of the Illyrian nation in the making – from the actual

political event, changing the facts in accordance with the long tradition of anti-Ottoman narrative in oral and written literature. At the same time, Montenegro was the ideal setting because the country had the status of Illyrian or South Slavic Sparta. The choice of enemy was equally logical – the Ottomans still had the status of the archetypal conqueror and religious enemy of the South Slavs, although their place at the time the poem was written, at least when it comes to the South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire, had been taken by new political enemies, the Hungarians.

SIGNIFICANCE

Mažuranić's *Smail-aga* quickly acquired the status of a canonical text thanks to its condensed and aphoristic style, similar to that in Petar Petrović Njegoš's *Gorskiĭ vienac'* ('The mountain wreath'; *CMR* 22, pp. 842-6). It influenced other Croatian poets, among them I. Kukuljević Sakcinski and G. Martić, and it is one of the most published and translated texts in Croatian literature, still part of required reading in schools in Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dukić, 'Ivan Mažuranić's "The death of Smail-aga Čengić"', p. 35).

Mažuranić's work has also acquired an elevated status because it expresses the very attitude towards Ottoman rule that had been long accepted among the people of the Balkans, that the Ottomans were the main reason for their social, economic and cultural backwardness compared with Western Europe. Mažuranić distilled this in elegant and supremely dramatic terms.

While the undeniable Islamophobia of the poem has not been seriously criticised by Croatian literary writers, it has been attacked by politically-minded authors. This started during Mažuranić's lifetime, when Ante Starčević (1823-96), founder and leader of Stranka Hrvatskog Državnog Prava (Party of Croatian State Rights), constructed an Islamophile political ideology in which Bosnian Muslims were recognised as part of the Croatian nation. In 1880, the writer Ante Kovačić (1854-89), who supported this view, published the parody *Smrt babe Čengićkinje* ('The death of Grandma Čengić'), in which he mocked both Mažuranić's poem and his political position.

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Davor Dukić

Peter II Petrović Njegoš

Petar II Petrović Njegoš, Radoje (Rade) Tomov Petrović,
Vladika Rade, Njegoš

DATE OF BIRTH	13 November 1813
PLACE OF BIRTH	Njeguši, Montenegro
DATE OF DEATH	31 October 1851
PLACE OF DEATH	Cetinje, Montenegro

BIOGRAPHY

Peter II Petrović Njegoš was a Montenegrin prince-bishop (*vladika*) and a poet. He was born in the village of Njeguši, the seat of the clan bearing the same name. The members of the clan ruled Montenegro at the end of the 17th century. Njegoš was educated at the monastery of Cetinje and in Boka Kotorska. Sima Milutinović Sarajlija (1791-1847), a learned Serb from the Habsburg Empire and a Romantic poet, is cited as his only teacher known by name. In 1830, at the age of 17, Njegoš became the fifth and last Montenegrin prince-bishop. The title combined spiritual and political authority, and Njegoš inherited it from his uncle.

Illustration 24. Peter II Petrović Njegoš

As a politician, Njegoš tried, though not very successfully, to influence the ongoing turmoil and rebellions in neighbouring Herzegovina, Bosnia and Albania to the benefit of Montenegro. The border with Austria was eventually stabilised, but Montenegro suffered some losses. The border with the Ottoman Empire could not be fixed, but Njegoš managed more or less to maintain the inherited situation. Before and during his reign, Russia, which was at peace with the Ottoman Empire, was considered the staunchest ally and supporter of Montenegro. As a ruler, Njegoš maintained a good relationship with Russia, but he was also inclined towards independent politics.

In terms of interior affairs, Njegoš put a lot of effort into suppressing opposition by, for example, abolishing the office of the civil governor (*guvernadur*) who was traditionally elected from a rival clan to his own. In his efforts to modernise Montenegro, he established a council (*Pravitel'stvujushchi senat crnogorski i brdski*) consisting of the twelve elected local chieftains, who were to perform various governmental functions. A move towards centralisation, which met with a lot of local resistance, was the introduction of taxation. Njegoš also worked on the development of basic educational institutions by founding the first school and establishing the first printing house, both in Cetinje. He travelled to Russia twice and to Vienna four times. He died of tuberculosis when he was only 37.

Following family tradition, Njegoš started composing poetry at a very young age. His early poems were in the tradition of the local, epic or heroic poetry, commonly sang to the accompaniment of a *gusle*, and are not considered to have been of a great poetic value. It is often emphasised in the literature that he was essentially an autodidact in matters of literature and the arts, and therefore a sort of a self-made genius. Aside from *Gorskiĭ vienac'* ('The mountain wreath', 1847), famous both locally and worldwide, Njegoš's main works are *Luča mikrokozma* ('The ray of the microcosm', 1845) and *Lažni car Šćepan Mali* ('The false tsar Stephen the Little', 1851). His poetic works are commonly described as an extraordinary synthesis of epic folk poetics and philosophical thought imbued with patriotic feelings and also a sense of freedom as a universal human value. He knew Russian, Italian and French, and left a small collection of literary translations from these languages.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Gorskiĭ vienac'. Istorichesko sobytie pri svršetku XVII vieka

'The mountain wreath. A historical event from the end of the 17th century'

DATE 1847

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

Njegoš published *Gorskiĭ vienac'* in Vienna in 1847, personally supervising the preparation of the text for printing. The first edition is 121 pages

long, comprising 2819 verses. The work was written in the manner of traditional epic poems, but organized as a dramatic play consisting of series of dialogues and monologues interspersed with choruses. These choruses reveal Njegoš's interest in classical antiquity, but more importantly they serve the purpose of introducing the voice of 'the people' as a collective. The work is prefaced by a dedication to the ashes of 'the father of Serbia,' Karadjordje Petrović (d. 1817), the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804-13), who was assassinated on the order of the first prince of semi-autonomous Serbia, Miloš Obrenović (r. 1817-39, 1858-60). The dedication evokes the name of Miloš Obilić, a legendary hero who killed the Ottoman sultan after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. Then comes the list of characters, the main one being Bishop-Prince Danilo (1670-1735), the founder of the Petrović Njegoš dynasty. The blind monk Stefan and a woman lamenting the death of her brother stand out among the other characters, who are mainly the leaders of the local Montenegrin Christian clans and families. Six out of the total of 34 characters represent local Muslim land-owners and judges.

The plot is based on the allegedly historical event known as *istraga poturica* (the extermination of converts to Islam, collectively called Turks) which took place one Christmas Eve in the late 17th century. The poem gives details of what was happening before this major event. The night before an assembly of the heads of the Montenegrin clans, Vladika Danilo, the ruler of Montenegro, which is being pressed from all sides by enemies of its people and of the Christian faith, is vexed by a dilemma. On the one hand, he thinks Montenegro needs to get rid of the Ottoman masters and unite as a land of Orthodox Christians but, on the other, he is concerned by the fact that most of the local Ottomans, or 'Turks', are close relatives of Orthodox Christians and members of the Montenegrin clans. From his monologue and then from dialogues held during the opening stage of the assembly, we learn that these 'Turks' are in fact Serbs and Montenegrins who converted to Islam in the past and looked on both Istanbul and the seat of the Bosnian governor as the centres of political power. The third group that turns out to be a problem are Montenegrins who side with the local 'Turks' by, for example, doing business with them, attending their weddings and dining with them. The local leaders, as well as the blind monk Stefan, have no doubts about what is to be done: the Muslim feast of Bairam cannot be celebrated together with Christmas, and the only way Montenegrin Christians can attain independence and freedom is by exterminating the 'Turks.' The advocates of these radical measures suggest that the Muslims should be called on to convert back to Christianity, the faith

of their ancestors, who they betrayed by converting after the Serbian disaster in Kosovo. Those who convert may continue living in Montenegro, those who do not should be killed.

After this first sitting of the assembly, a second follows to which the local Muslims are invited. As Danilo thoughtfully considers the situation and contemplates universal philosophical ideas, there follow conversations between Montenegrin *knezes* (princes/dukes) and *voyvodas* (warlords) with the Muslims that are constructed in a way which essentially justifies the radical solution that has been proposed. This part is also full of references to local customs, including blood revenge, the ancient way of life, superstition and foolishness, and also the heroism of the local people, all at the same time. Digressions away from the main topics of the conversations also show how intertwined the lives of Christians and Muslims are, whether they are friends, blood brothers, relatives or foes.

At the end of this part Danilo's dilemma remains unresolved, and it is in the final part, consisting of just a few dozen verses, that Njegoš takes the reader to the moment in which everything is finished. As he sits with the monk Stefan on Christmas Eve, he receives news of the skirmishes in which the 'Turks' who did not want to convert to Christianity have been killed in great numbers and their households and mosques reduced to nothing. News first comes from Cetinje, the seat of the Montenegrin theocracy during Njegoš's reign, and then from several other places. *Gorskiĭ vienac'* ends with a public celebration of the New Year and freedom.

SIGNIFICANCE

Gorskiĭ vienac' was written in vernacular Serbian. It was published in the same year that Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864), the key language reformer and cultural worker of Serbian national Romanticism, published the second edition of his Serbian dictionary, *Srpski rječnik*. 1847 is commonly taken as the year in which Vuk won the 'language war' that was raging all over South-Slavia. Njegoš knew Vuk, supported his reform, and met him on his visit to Vienna during which he was preparing the work for printing. Both men were influenced by Western Romantic literature, but also by Russian literature produced in similar vein. It was also Vuk who recorded folk poems thematising the myth of the disastrous Serbian defeat in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. *Gorskiĭ vienac'* represents a literary reworking of the legend of Kosovo. Very soon after its publication it was to become canonical and Njegoš himself would become the national poet of Serbia and Montenegro. In various incarnations of the unified state of the South-Slavs, Njegoš would also be considered the first great poet of

the shared Serbo-Croatian language. In the late 20th century, during the bloody wars following the disintegration of Yugoslavia, *Gorskiĭ vienac'* was reviled as a blueprint for the Serbian genocide in Bosnia and a cornerstone of an anti-Muslim rhetoric that has allegedly been employed from the time when the poem was written down to the present.

The history of the reception of *Gorskiĭ vienac'* and critical and uncritical readings of it is long and complex and has already been addressed in the literature. It is interesting, however, to note that, even at the end of the 19th century, the historicity of the events described in the poem was not questioned. With the later appearance of critical historiography, it was shown that no concrete documents exist to confirm that *istraga poturica* ever happened. Furthermore, much circumstantial evidence points to the possibility that not only Njegoš, but also some of his predecessors on the Montenegrin throne, exaggerated the memory of the regular minor conflicts that occurred between Christians and Muslims in order to paint an image of the heroic past that fitted their 19th-century aspirations.

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Marijana Mišević

Vuk Stefanović Karadžić

DATE OF BIRTH 6 November 1787
PLACE OF BIRTH Tršić, Ottoman Empire
DATE OF DEATH 6 February 1864
PLACE OF DEATH Vienna

BIOGRAPHY

Vuk Karadžić was a Serbian language scholar, folklorist, ethnographer and historian. He was born into a peasant family in Tršić, a village in western Serbia. He learned the basics of reading and writing at home, from his cousin who was a merchant. In pursuit of education, he spent some time in the nearby Tronoša monastery, but left when he grew dissatisfied with this monastic education. Around the beginning of the First Serbian Uprising against the Ottoman Empire (1804-13), he went to (Sremski) Karlovci, the spiritual and cultural centre of Orthodox Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. There he attended a seminary, but was denied enrollment in the recently founded *Gymnasium* (1791) because he was too old. After a short stay in Petrinja (in Croatia), where he learned some Latin and German, Vuk went back to revolutionary Serbia. There he took various clerical positions, including service on the staff of the Ruling Council (Pravitel'stvuyushchi Soviet), the first governmental institution of the autonomous Serbia in the making. Parallel to this, Vuk continued his unsystematic search for knowledge.

Significant in this early period was Vuk's visit to Buda, where he first met Sava Mrkalj (1783-1833), who in 1810 published a short treatise in which he proposed a comprehensive reform of the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet and the replacement of the dominant literary language, Slavo-Serbian (*slavenoserbski*), with a form that was understandable to the common people. Slavo-Serbian was a somewhat artificial combination of Church Slavonic, the Serbian vernacular and Russian loanwords. It was cultivated by the church and by mercantile elites residing in Habsburg and Ottoman lands in the second half of the 18th century. Mrkalj's reformist ideas were inspired by the principle of 'one phoneme – one grapheme', which had first been promoted by Johann Christoph Adelung (d. 1806), and envisaged a decrease of the number of letters in the alphabet from 42 to 26. His attempts were considered blasphemous by the clergy, but he would

later be followed by Vuk whose own efforts in this direction eventually led to success.

After the failure of the Serbian uprising in 1813 Vuk went to Vienna. Immediately upon his arrival, he wrote an article in vernacular idiom for the newly founded Serbian newspaper *Novine Serbske* on the collapse of revolutionary Serbia. Though it was not printed, its contents and language attracted the attention of Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844). Originally from Slovenia, Kopitar was the imperial censor for Slavic publications, a renowned philologist and a proponent of German-style, romantic folklore studies. The encounter between the two men marked the beginning of a friendship and cooperation during which Kopitar encouraged Vuk to work on the publication and promotion of Serbian and South-Slavic oral literature, as well as on the standardisation of vernacular Serbian. It is around this time that Vuk started developing his ideas about the relationship between nation, culture and language.

These ideas were articulated in the prefaces to his numerous works related to language and folk literature, as well as in his ethnographic studies, writings on historical events he witnessed, polemical treatises and personal correspondence. His earliest publications in Vienna included two collections of folk poems (1814, 1815), a grammar (1814), and a dictionary (1818). The first two, in a series of collections of folk poems, caused a sensation in European intellectual circles involved in the discourses related to 'the discovery' and 'the spirit' of the nation. During his lifetime, Vuk travelled a great deal, both in order to make academic contacts and for field work. His wife was an Austrian Catholic, Anna Maria Kraus, and they had 13 children, though only two reached maturity and survived their parents. Vuk spent most of his adult life on the verge of poverty. He died in Vienna in 1864 and his remains were transferred to Belgrade in 1897.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

'Srbi svi i svuda'
'Serbs all and everywhere'

DATE 1849
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

'Srbi svi i svuda' was published in Vienna in 1849 as part of a 154-page publication entitled *Kovčežić za istoriju, jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona* ('Treasure chest of the history, language and customs of Serbs of all three [religious] laws'. This was meant to be the first in a series of publications intended to serve the purpose defined in the title. 'Srbi svi i svuda' is the first of four texts in the work, and takes up 27 pages. It is introduced by a note in which Vuk states that he actually wrote it in 1836.

Vuk's main argument in 'Srbi svi i svuda' is that there are a number of key markers of belonging to one *narod* ('people'). The first is language and, in the case of the Serbs, the Štokavian dialect, the purest form of which was spoken in Herzegovina. Next is shared ancestry embodied in

language, oral literature, ancient customs and customary law. He attaches little importance to religion, though this was quite contrary to the actual historical situation in Serbia and the region around it, where, at that time, religion continued to play a crucial role in individual and group identity and, by implication, in the political aspirations of South Slavic-speaking communities.

'Srbi svi i svuda' starts with an overview of the territories where Serbs, defined as speakers of Serbian or Štokavian, were known to live. Of these, a relatively modest portion constituted semi-autonomous Serbia, ruled at the time by Prince Miloš Obrenović (r. 1817-39, 1858-60). Other territories, stretching to the west all the way to Trieste, were under either Ottoman or Habsburg rule. Of the five million Serbs who, according to Vuk's estimate, were living in these territories, three million were 'of the Greek law' (Orthodox Christians) and the remaining two million 'did not want to accept the name'. Of these two million, around two-thirds were 'of the Turkish law' (Muslims), who 'thought they were the real Turks and called themselves such, although one in a hundred did not know Turkish'. The people 'of the Roman law' (Catholics) who spoke Serbian did not have a single national name but referred to themselves by the names of the regions in which they lived.

Vuk goes on to lament the fact that some Serbs at various times in the past started 'hating their name' and, unlike the neighbouring Albanians and Hungarians, allowed themselves to be divided along confessional lines. He thinks that Roman Catholic Serbs might be amenable to change but concedes that Serbs 'of the Turkish law' can hardly be expected to think of national kinship and solidarity. Nevertheless, he hopes that this will change as soon as they start 'building schools, even Turkish language [schools]', because in these they 'will learn and recognise that they are not Turks, but Serbs'. Vuk expounds these ideas in the first 16 pages of 'Srbi svi i svuda', while the rest of the text is devoted to an analysis of linguistic differences between Serbian and Croatian.

Vuk's idea that communal identity was to be based on ancestry and language and not on religion was not new. Dimitrije Obradović (d. 1811; *CMR* 22, 765-77), an Enlightenment thinker remembered as one of the first Serbian intellectuals who took up the task of awakening Serbs from a centuries-long sleep under the Ottoman yoke, had earlier addressed the question by noting that religion can be changed while kin and language cannot.

In terms of his treatment of Muslims, Vuk distinguishes between 'the real Turks' who would return to their land of origin after the hoped-for ending of Ottoman rule in South-Slavia, and the Muslims of local origin,

best represented by Bosniaks, who 'will remain Bosniaks, and will be like their ancestors, that is, Serbs' (see Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia*, p. 21).

Before he wrote 'Srbi svi i svuda', Vuk had previously touched upon this issue in the preface to his first collection of folk poems, *Mala prostonarodna slaveno-serbska pjesnarica* ('Little Slavo-Serbian song book of the common people', Vienna, 1814). There he speaks of the territories in which Serbs most strongly retained their sense of nationhood (*nacionalizmus*) and the areas in which the purest Serbian was spoken, noting in passing that the people of Bosnia tended to merge with the Turks after they received the Turkish law and now use many Turkish words. In a footnote to his remark related to the purity of language, he notes that he does not mean by this that he 'loved some Serbs, and reprimanded others' but rather that all Serbs from the Adriatic to the Black Sea are dear to his heart irrespective of their faith, and he expresses the wish that they will love and respect one another as reasonable and honest brothers (*Pjesnarica*, pp. 15-18). Vuk includes in *Pjesnarica* two poems that he designates as 'the poems of the Serbs of Muhammedan law'. In other poems he published then and after, Turks feature mainly as the arch-enemies of the Serbs.

SIGNIFICANCE

Vuk Karadžić has remained a towering figure in the collective memory of both Serbia and the various past incarnations of Yugoslavia. His ideas have been used and abused to this day, depending on the political struggles current in South-Eastern Europe. Although his knowledge of Islam and the territories inhabited by Muslims during his lifetime has not been a subject of focused academic research, his ideas expressed in 'Srbi svi i svuda' have recently often been cited as an expression of Islamophobia that is commonly taken as one of the main characteristics of aggressive Serbian nationalism.

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Marijana Mišević

Jovan Sterija Popović

DATE OF BIRTH 13 January 1806
PLACE OF BIRTH Vršac
DATE OF DEATH 10 March 1856
PLACE OF DEATH Vršac

BIOGRAPHY

Jovan Sterija Popović was a writer, lawyer, pedagogue and one of the leading Serbian intellectuals of his time. He is best known as a comedy writer and one of the founders of the national theatre. He was born in Vršac in the Habsburg Empire to a father who was Greek (according to some sources of Aromanian or Vlach origin) and a mother who was the daughter of the famous religious painter Nikola Nešković (who also wrote poetry, so Jovan possibly inherited his artistic talent from his grandfather). He spoke Serbian and Greek from his childhood, which was the reason for his affinity with Antiquity, which strongly influenced his works. Apart from his mother tongues, he was also fluent in German and Latin. During his life, he witnessed many historical events that left their mark on his work, most importantly the second Serbian uprising, the renewal and development of institutions in Serbia, the political decline of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, the Illyrian movement and the revolutionary year of 1848.

Sterija received an exceptional education. He attended grammar school in Sremski Karlovci, Timisoara (1824-6), and Pest (1826-8) and then studied law in Kežmarok, in present-day Slovakia (1828-30). Living in large cities and cultural centres of Austro-Hungary, he discovered European literature and was able to read it in the original. He is a classic example of *poeta doctus*, in whose work one can recognise his reading from the world literary canon. It has been shown that, in his oeuvre, he translated or referenced at least 50 famous writers from antiquity to the 19th century, among them Aristotle, Homer, Xenophanes, Sappho, Alcaeus, Horace, Virgil, Cicero, Ariosto, Milton, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Molière, Boileau, Voltaire, Lessing, Gottsched, Kotzebue, Wieland, Klopstock, Lomonosov, Goethe, Schiller and Byron.

After finishing his studies, Sterija returned to his hometown of Vršac, where he worked as a Latin teacher and later as a lawyer. Intent on helping institutional development in the still young Principality of Serbia, which

at that time was semi-dependent on the Ottoman Empire, he moved from Austro-Hungary to Kragujevac in 1840 and then, in 1842, to Belgrade. He played a very important role in organising local educational and cultural life while he was working in Kragujevac at the newly founded lyceum, where he was a professor of law between 1840 and 1842, and writing textbooks on natural law and rhetoric. In 1841, he became one of the founders of the Society of Serbian Letters, which later grew into the Serbian Academy of Sciences. From 1842 to 1848, he was head of the Ministry of Education in Belgrade, where he participated in the creation of the first educational laws of the Principality of Serbia and in the foundation of cultural institutions such as the national museum and the national library. During his stay in Belgrade, he was constantly writing plays and contributed to the development of the newly founded national theatre. But he was dissatisfied with the political situation and with the bad treatment of Serbs coming from the Habsburg monarchy, so he returned to his native Vršac in the revolutionary year of 1848 and remained there until his death in 1856.

Sterija's writings fall into four phases, distinguished by his creative development and the places where he lived. His early writings, while he was still a student, were strongly influenced by the second edition of Jovan Rajić's *Istorija raznih slovenskih naroda* ('History of various Slavic peoples'), which became tremendously popular after it was first published in 1794-5. The second edition of *Srpske narodne pjesme* ('Serbian folk songs'), collected and published by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, also played a formative role. In this first phase, he wrote predominantly about the medieval history of Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia and their decline under Ottoman rule. An awakening of national feeling and strengthening of national identity through the assertion of cultural identity and the development of vernacular languages contributed to an increased curiosity among all Balkan peoples for historical and legendary topics. This explains Sterija's interest in Serbian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Greek and Albanian history, which he creatively exploited in his poem *Slezi Bolgariji* ('Tears of Bulgaria', 1825), the drama *Nevinost ili Svetislav i Mileva* ('Innocence, or Svetislav and Mileva', 1827), a biography of the Albanian hero Skanderbeg (1828), the novels *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida* ('The Battle of Kosovo, or Milan Toplica and Zoraida', 1828) and *Dejan i Damjanka ili Padenije bosanskog kraljevstva* ('Dejan and Damjanka, or the fall of the Bosnian kingdom', posthumously published, 1830), and the drama *Miloš Obilić* (1828). During this period, he also translated several poems by representatives of the Greek Enlightenment, particularly Rigas Velestinlis and Adamantios Korais,

about the national awakening of the Greek people and their desire for liberation from Ottoman rule.

Sterija's biography of Skanderbeg, *Život i viteška vojevanja slavnog kneza epirskoga Đorđa Kastriota Skenderbega* ('The life and heroic battles of the famous prince of Epirus, George Castriot Skenderbeg', 1828, 127 pages), exhibits the same sentiment. In the preface, he states that his main source was a popular work by the Shkodar priest Marin Barleti (1450/60-1512/13), *Historia de vita et gestis Skanderbegi Epirotarum principis* ('History of the life and exploits of Skanderbeg, prince of Epirus', 1493?), which had been reprinted and retranslated many times throughout Europe. He also included several poems by the Dalmatian poet Andrija Kačić Miošić (1704-60), which resembled folk poetry and were written in the manner of oral tradition, depicting Skanderbeg's exciting life, battles and heroism.

In his late creative phase, he turned back to Skanderbeg and dramatised his biography in a historical melodrama. The plot of this play is about the life and confession of a Christian Albanian who was forced to convert to Islam when the sultan took him into his service. Skanderbeg showed heroism in the Ottoman wars and was respected greatly by the sultan and accorded privileges. However, he fled from Istanbul to Albania and converted back to Christianity. The drama ends with his support for the Albanian uprising against the Ottoman Empire.

As in the historical novel *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida*, the two main protagonists in the posthumously published *Dejan i Damjanka ili Padenije bosanskog kraljevstva* are divided by their different confessions but united in true love. The Serbian knight Dejan and the Bosnian woman Damjanka share romantic adventures against the background of the turbulent historical events that led to Bosnia falling under Ottoman rule. This was the first work in Serbian literature that featured the Bogomil sect, part of Sterija's attempt to present the complex religious character of the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Bosnia.

In this early phase, among melodramas related to the history of the Balkan peoples and the complex religious and political circumstances that marked relations between them, *Nahod Simeon ili nesrećno supružestvo* ('Simeon the foundling, or The unhappy marriage', 1830) recalls the myth of the ancient Greek King Oedipus and his sin of incest. In it, Sterija used different versions of the Simeon legend preserved in Serbian folk poetry about an orphan who committed incest out of ignorance, with tragic consequences. According to some critics, Sterija was forced to edit this drama and to change the location of the plot because of the audience's resistance to its provocative and morally unacceptable theme. The result is that in

the later version the city of Buda and the Christian context are replaced by a distant, unknown and Oriental world and the main Christian protagonists become Muslims.

Sterija's next creative phase can be linked with his life in Vršac between 1830 and 1840. It was thematically and structurally completely different from the first. Instead of historical inspiration and romanticising the past, he now turned to social criticism and wrote his famous comedies, combining sober realism with a humorous tone in order to criticise society. Almost all the comedies he wrote at this time have remained in theatre repertoires to this day: *Laža i paralaža* ('The liar and the arch-liar', 1830), *Tvrdica* ('The miser', 1837) based on Moliere's play, *Pokondirena tikva* ('The upstart', 1838), *Zla žena* ('The evil woman', 1838) inspired by the themes of Shakespeare's comedy *The taming of the shrew* and the Irish writer Charles Coffey's *The devil to pay or The wives metamorphos'd*. Re-examining and mocking the novelist tradition of baroque and sentimentalism that strongly influenced his early works, he now wrote his famous *Roman bez romana* ('The novel without novel', 1832), following the example of authors such as Lawrence Sterne, Alain-René Lesage, Christoph Martin Wieland and Miguel de Cervantes.

In what is called his Belgrade period, from 1840 to 1848, he returned to historical themes of the Balkan peoples and wrote historical dramas and tragedies to be staged in the newly founded national theatre. The theatre opened with a performance of his play *Smrt Stefana Dečanskog* ('The death of Stefan of Dečani', 1841) about the most tragic hero of the Serbian medieval state, Stefan, who was blinded by his father, and when he came to the throne was overthrown by his son, later the Emperor Dušan. Sterija found other examples like this in the history of neighbouring Balkan peoples and wrote several dramas based on a similar model. In 1842, he wrote two tragedies based on Bulgarian medieval history, *Vladislav* and *Lakhan*. In the first, Vladislav, the king of Bulgaria, has killed his brother in order to gain the throne and, in the second, Lakhan is a Bulgarian shepherd-warrior who is baptised by Saint Sava, the son of Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian ruling dynasty. Both dramas show intermingled political relations between the Bulgarian and Serbian states.

Sterija's drama *Ajduci* ('The outlaws', 1842) from this period criticises the widespread banditry among Christians in the Balkans, which was a form of resistance against the Ottomans. It depicts hostility through the relationship between a Muslim girl and two Christian outlaw leaders who are brothers but do not know it. The motif of the conflict in this drama was

modelled on the theme of the widely known folk ballad *Predrag i Nenad*, in which two brothers who have never met before fight and one kills the other. In the play, the quarrel between Mileta and Obrad, the leaders of the gangs, erupts because of the beautiful Turkish captive Zelida with whom both fall in love. In addition to basing the plot on the ballad *Predrag i Nenad*, Sterija also borrowed the combative relationship between the two brothers from Friedrich Schiller's (1759-1805) play *Die Räuber*, from which the character of Karl Moor serves as a model for Obrad as the embodiment of nobility, a fighter for a fairer world and an outlaw because of his injured honour, while his brother Franz, as the personification of vice, is the model for Mileta. However, unlike the conflict between Schiller's protagonists, which is spiritual and ideological, the struggle in Sterija's play arises because of a young woman and the plot is based on the motif of love. By introducing deep human relationships between protagonists of different religions into the drama, Sterija moves away from the traditional stereotypical representations of Serbs and Turks as enemies only, thereby making an important contribution to nuancing the complexity of such relationships.

In this period, he also wrote two patriotic plays with dominant allegorical elements, *Toržestvo Serbije* ('The triumph of Serbia', 1847) and *San Marka Kraljevića* ('The dream of Marko Kraljević', 1847). The latter shows Marko's character as a prototype of the centuries-old Serbian resistance to the Turks and the former the glory of the uprising against the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century. Writing mainly for the theatre in this period, in addition to historical tragedies and patriotic dramas, Sterija also composed several comedies: *Prevara za prevaru* ('Fraud for fraud'), *Volšebni magarac* ('The magic donkey'), *Čandrljivi muž* ('The grumpy husband') and *Sudbina jednog razuma* ('The destiny of one's reason').

Disappointed with the political situation in general and especially with the maltreatment of the Serbs coming from the Habsburg monarchy among their compatriots in the Principality of Serbia, he returned to his hometown Vršac in the Habsburg Monarchy in the revolutionary year 1848. There, he wrote reflective poetry in a pessimistic and melancholic tone (published in *Davorje I–II*) and also political satires such as *Rodoljupci* ('The patriots') and *Beograd nekad i sad* ('Belgrade then and now', 1853). In *Davorje* (1854), a number of elegies are dedicated to relations between the Orthodox Serbs and Muslims in the time after the Serbian Empire fell under Ottoman rule.

In addition to treating historical topics, Sterija also avidly collected sources for a national history, though this never appeared. He was also interested in linguistic and orthographical issues connected to the Serbian language, as is evidenced by numerous essays and polemics against his contemporaries. His extensive correspondence with many influential fellow citizens shows the high reputation he enjoyed in society. His translations of the most eminent authors and references to them not only illustrate his remarkable erudition but also demonstrate the part he played in introducing the best literature to the Serbian people. All this makes Jovan Sterija Popović one of the central figures of the Serbian literary canon and a classic representative of the art of theatre.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nevinost ili Svetislav i Mileva
'Innocence, or Svetislav and Mileva'

DATE 1827
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

Sterija published the four-act historical melodrama *Nevinost ili Svetislav i Mileva* ('Innocence, or Svetislav and Mileva') in Buda in 1827. It totals 107 pages. It was so popular that it saw a second edition in its first year. The young philosophy student wrote that he dedicated the play to the newly founded Matica Srpska, the oldest Serbian cultural and scholarly institution, which had been founded in Pest the previous year. He revised the text 15 years later when the Belgrade theatre company performed the play in 1842. Aware of its literary shortcomings as a work written in his twenties, he made changes to the first version, though he preserved the original plot and the basic structure. The new version was published in the revolutionary year of 1848, before he left his position in the Ministry of Education in Serbia and returned to his hometown of Vršac in Austro-Hungary.

Sterija explains the choice of topic in the preface, using the same arguments as in the preface to his novel *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida*, which he was writing at the same time. He says that the history of every nation is marked by one tragic event that cannot be forgotten and becomes an everlasting source of inspiration for writers and artists. In the history of the Serbian people, it is the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 that holds this status, just like the Battle of Cannae for the ancient Romans.

The focus of this melodrama is not the battle itself but the period afterwards and relations between the Serbs and the Ottoman Empire following the collapse of the Serbian state. Sterija acknowledges Jovan Rajić's *Istorija raznih slovenskih naroda* ('History of various Slavic peoples') as a source, and his reliance on this work is evident in the title, where he gives the name Mileva to the daughter of Prince Lazar who was sent to Sultan Bayezid, as Rajić does in his chapter on Despot Stefan Lazarević (*Istorija*, 1794, pp. 74-5), even though in other sources the name of this princess is given as Olivera.

Having in mind his audience's taste and also Horace's definition of the aims of literature as being 'to benefit and delight', Sterija explains in the preface (*Celokupna dela*, 1930, p. 160) that he has used not only historical but also fictional sources, 'imitating the famous Florian', the French author Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian (1755-94) whose epic *Gonzalve de Cordoue ou Grenade reconquise* (Paris, 1791) he also used for *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida*. In both the melodrama and the novel, he interweaves the story of the love between the two main characters with the historical events surrounding them. *Svetislav i Mileva* comprises all the typical melodramatic situations, such as true love encountering and overcoming obstacles, the brutal separation of lovers and the punishment and execution of the innocent. All these elements can be found in Florian's prose epic.

The protagonists on the Serbian side are Stefan and Mileva, son and daughter of Princess Milica (the widow of Prince Lazar, who was killed in the Battle of Kosovo), the royal counsellor Selimir and his son Svetislav, who loves Mileva, and, on the Turkish side, Sultan Bayezid and the Turkish pashas Emir, Osman and Ibrahim. At the end, the Tatar Khan Tamerlane also appears. The main point of the play is that common sense should overrule sentiment.

Significantly, Sterija does not accuse the Ottomans of causing the downfall of the Serbian Empire. Rather, at the start of the play, Despot Stefan Lazarević blames internal conflicts and discord among the Serbs for their loss. He judges that 'Kosovo is the black grave of everything that was sacred to a Serb' (p. 164) and argues that only heroism and further fighting will free the people from Turkish slavery. But he is still a minor, and his mother Milica, who in her position of regent has agreed to pay annual tribute to the Ottomans, favours the sensible alternative of diplomacy with the Ottomans instead of more fighting.

Matters of religion come to the fore at the climax of the play. As well as the annual tribute, the sultan demands the service of the Serbian army because he is impressed by their courage at Kosovo, and also Princess

Mileva for his wife. But Milica will not agree to this and protests that she would rather allow 'Kosovo to be covered once again in the blood of Serbs' (p. 168) than give her daughter to an enemy and an infidel. Her counsellor Selimir reminds her of her duty, even though he knows that his son Svetislav and Mileva love each other, and stresses the importance of personal sacrifice for the sake of the common good. He suggests to Mileva that, if she marries the sultan, she may be able to influence his attitudes and bring good to her people.

Mileva marries Bayezid and is allowed to remain a Christian, causing disapproval among the pashas, Osman and Emir, who dislike her not only because she is 'the sultana infidel' who still 'lives according to her law', but is the cause of the sultan drinking wine with her every day, 'which is not in accordance with the Koran' (p. 190). They are dissatisfied with Bayezid's decision not to conquer Serbia but to accept it as a vassal, and they complain that the Turks have to shed their own blood to defend Mileva's mother against the enemies of the Serbs, implying that the vassal agreement is beneficial only for the Serbs.

Religious tensions come to a climax when Bayezid orders Stefan to bring his army to fight with the Ottomans against the Christian Vlachs. At first Stefan refuses because of the Vlachs' faith but he agrees when he comes to appreciate the political reality. Finally, the situation is resolved when the Tatars under Tamerlane defeat the combined forces of the Ottomans and Serbs in the Battle of Angora.

The love between the two main characters Svetislav and Mileva remains in the background of the play and serves only as an emotional frame for the historical events that Sterija presents to the audience in order to teach them about the past.

SIGNIFICANCE

In the first half of the 19th century *Svetislav i Mileva* proved very popular; it was performed widely before Serb audiences and also Croats. The plot of separated lovers combined with the Battle of Kosovo, as the crucial historical event that raised the question of identity among Christian Slavs, proved an ideal combination that contributed to its enormous popularity. However, towards the end of the 19th century the play fell into oblivion. Even Sterija himself contributed to this in his late works, particularly his last comedy *Beograd nekad i sad* ('Belgrade then and now', 1853), by criticising and parodying *Svetislav i Mileva* and other works from his youth because they came from an outmoded literary tradition. The play can thus be regarded as doubly significant, because it had a huge impact on

its original audiences and was later used as an example for criticism of an outmoded sentimentality.

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Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida
'The Battle of Kosovo, or Milan Toplica and Zoraida'

DATE 1828
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

Sterija's historical novel *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida* ('The Battle of Kosovo, or Milan Toplica and Zoraida') was published at the beginning of 1828. The censor's permission for publication was issued on 14 September 1827, indicating that it had been completed by that summer. The 228-page work gained great popularity as soon as it was published.

The novel is about the love between Milan Toplica, a Serbian knight, and Zoraida, a Moorish princess, he a Christian and she a Muslim. Their story unfolds against the setting of the Battle of Kosovo (1389), the most important event in medieval Serbian history. In the preface, Sterija reveals that he has modelled the main action of the novel on the French author Claris de Florian's *Gonzalve de Cordoue ou Grenade Reconquise* (Paris, 1791), and

in fact whole sections are paraphrases or direct translations of the French work (see Flašar, *O Sterijinim romanima*, and Živković, *Intertekstualno istraživanje Sterijinih dela*). For historical details, he relies on Jovan Rajić's *Istorija raznih slovenskih naroda* ('History of various Slavic peoples'), particularly the eighth book, *O vladěnii Lazarevom', i familii ego knjazheskoi* ('On the rule of Lazar and his princely family'). In these features, *Boj na Kosovu* is close to the play *Svetislav i Mileva*, which Sterija was writing at the same time.

Sterija explains in the preface that he has chosen the theme of the Battle of Kosovo in order to instruct young readers about it, and the theme of the love between a Serb and a Moor in order to inform them about Muslims other than Turks. Thus, one part of the 'romantic history'

> is taken by the so-called Moors or Arabs, a glorious people, who were renowned in Europe in the 14th century. I hope that this introduction will be to everyone's liking, especially since young readers will, in addition to learning about foreign countries, see what other Mohammedans are like besides the familiar Turks, what their laws and customs are, what riches and beauties, about which great histories testify. (*Boj na Kosovu*, 2006, p. 35)

As the story begins, Milan Toplica has been sent to the Ottoman Sultan Murad to ascertain the Turks' intentions towards the Serbs. While he is waiting to meet the sultan, he is secretly visited by Blagoje, an old man who used to be his father's servant but who was then enslaved by the Turks. By chance, Blagoje has learned of the sultan's plan to conquer the Serbian Empire and has come to warn Toplica. The two escape, with Toplica disguised in 'Persian robes', but the ship in which they are travelling is caught in a storm on the Black Sea and is wrecked. They manage to get on board a pirate ship, where they find the Moorish princess Zoraida and some Berber slaves. Toplica frees them from the pirates and they sail to the port of Varna, whose ruler is Zoraida's father Cadix, the former ruler of the Moors in Spain, who was given help by the Ottomans when he was deposed. Zoraida tends the wounds Toplica has suffered, believing that he is a Persian, and they fall in love. She tells him how she came from Granada to Bulgaria and tells him about the history of the Arabs and the Moorish conquest of Spain. The way in which she does this recalls Scheherazade's stories from *A thousand and one nights* (p. 93). As she talks, Zoraida describes the differences between Muslims, the enmity between the Turks and the Berbers and Moors, how the Berbers originated and where they live, and also various Muslim traditions.

She speaks in detail about Muslim culture, the customs and modes of dress of different Arab tribes and Moorish architecture in Spain, particularly the Alhambra in Granada. She also describes the rivalry between the two Moorish tribes in Granada, which led to her father's overthrow, and points out that, during her father's reign, Christian customs and festivals were restored after persecution and suppression under the other Moorish tribe. Here, Sterija is heavily indebted to Florian. His purpose is to introduce his readers to Muslims other than the Ottoman Turks they already know. So, Zoraida's account of the history of the Moors stresses that, unlike other conquering Muslims, they were favourable towards Christians.

> Other nations, especially Christian, deem our tribe to be barbarian, but the Moors' character deserves a completely different description, because they let the conquered have freedom of worship, their churches and their own judges, seeking only the tribute levied; and thus the defeated Spaniards, not fearing their cruelty, assimilated easily, many regions willingly submitted to their rule, many entered into marriages with them, and thus the Moors [...] established their glory and throne in Granada. (pp. 54-5)

She also tells about the ways in which Christians influenced Muslims in Spain as she describes how the Moors took over customs and rules from their subjects.

> Here [in Spain] temples of science and art have been built. From the farthest corners of Asia and Africa kings, scholars and heroes come. [...] Our young men, created by nature for love, forget the barbaric rules and Eastern customs; but from their adversaries, the Spaniards, such tenderness and respect [...] they adopt. (p. 55)

By means of Zoraida's accounts of differences and hostility among Muslims, Sterija introduces a parallel to the familiar idea that the main cause of the downfall of the Serbian state was the divisions among the Serbian nobility and the discord in the populace. Her description of the rebellion against her father started by her half-brother Abenazar, whose mother came from another tribe, would readily remind readers of the ancient discord among the Serbian nobility. In particular, her emphasis of the need for the Arab tribes to unite against the Christians in Spain paradoxically recalls the need for the Serbs to unite against the Turks. The rivalry between the Moorish tribes and the alliance struck by one tribe with the Spaniards must have brought to readers' minds stories of the Serbian leader Vuk Branković colluding with the sultan, which was regularly characterised as treason.

The plot thickens when Zoraida informs Toplica that her mother was a Greek, who was sent by the Ottoman sultan as a gift to her father, the Moorish Emperor Cadix. She had secretly brought Zoraida up as an Orthodox Christian, though Zoraida remains loyal to her Muslim tradition because she wants her father's blessing to marry Toplica.

> I am a Christian, Milan! [...] This makes you even more dear to me. Now I see how sweet it is when two loving souls profess one God. But do not think that religion or the law can force me to forget my relatives or my father, Milan, no! (p. 119)

It is because of her background that Zoraida sides with the Christians against the Ottomans, whom she blames for their aggression.

During the Battle of Kosovo, the Ottomans display typical attitudes towards the Serbs: 'Both armies then halted to wait for a favourable opportunity: the Turk, full of anger towards the Christian religion [...] began to devise all manner of ways to destroy their power, divide their hearts and do some harm' (p. 95). For their part, the Serbs typically show they are prepared to suffer: 'Bound only by faith, only by the law of the Lord, Serbs remained at Kosovo. The priests appeared to the people, carrying the holy sign of the crucifixion of Christ' (p. 105). And again, 'Devout Lazar raised his sword and made the sign of the cross three times. "Almighty God," he said from the bottom of his heart, "bestow Thy heavenly blessing on these warriors and make them worthy defenders of God's name and Thy eternal laws"' (p. 195).

As the novel approaches its climax, Sterija makes it clear that he does not show uncompromising favour to either side, and towards its conclusion he condemns religious conflicts.

> Maleficence! Maleficence! How great is your power! How many mortals has your rule subdued? Where is the land where you do not reign, where is the country where temples are not built for you? [...] Alas, when will you be exterminated from the world, when will the human race be free from you, and live a quiet life, think of good deeds and lead their short lives on their own. When will you stop dogging innocence, digging a hole for it and putting it in danger at every opportunity? Know that your shameful deeds are recognised by the whole world. (pp. 158-9)

Sterija underlines his rejection of warfare and the absurdity of it in his description of the scene after the battle, where it is not emperors, knights or soldiers who lie in the field, but fathers, sons, brothers and husbands, whom their mothers, sisters and brides-to-be can no longer recognise.

> But what a horrible scene presented itself to their eyes! Here a bunch of Turks lie, there a Serb dying of wounds; here the earth sprinkled with blood turns red, there the grass trampled with feet mourns the misfortune … Ah, this is an unskillful pen to describe the sorrow that is spilling over Kosovo … There a mother finds her only son, there her only star, her comfort, now lies dull. Here a sister looks for her dear brother, there little children kneel around their beloved father, begging him in tears to wake up from deep slumber; there, a wretched old man struggles with his soul and, holding his darling son's head in his hands, carefully moves around but cannot find the rest of the body, the body that carried his dearest head; there a bride-to-be beats her chest, here she curses fate, there she thrusts a sword into her bosom and with her last breath she damns the hour when Murad came into the world. Ah, if the heart were of stone it would be forced to crumble in anguish. (p. 203)

This rejection of indiscriminate killing is matched earlier in the novel by calls to action that accord with the principles of chivalry. Sterija declares: 'Let us respect the enemy' (p. 163), and he portrays humane treatment of the wounded through the actions of a Serb leader: 'Miloš approached the vanquished, gave him his hand and set him upright, saw to his wound, which was not deep, commanded that a horse be brought, treated him with the gentleness that unfortunate courage requires, and went forth to the camp with him' (p. 128). On the Muslim side there is a similar instance when the Moorish emperor frees the close friends Milan Toplica and Ivan Kosančić, even though they have killed his son:

> Go, you models of friendship, whom I hate and respect, go and tell your Serbs that I have let you go so that I can do better penitence for my son and offer a more noble sacrifice to his ashes. […] Say that even with the Mohammedans, whom you regard as barbarians, the holy daughter of beneficence – gratitude – spreads her light. (p. 173)

The tension between religious loyalty and human feeling that is implied in such instances is given full expression at the end of the novel when the princess cannot decide who to pray for: 'Zoraida fell to her knees, raised her hands, when suddenly she turned to stone, her soul found itself in contention, two opposing objects now appeared on the battlefield – her lover and her father! For whom would she pray to God, for whom would she wish victory?' (p. 211).

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Sterija's novel is mainly reflected in the efforts he makes to inform his readers about the differences within Islam through detailed

descriptions of communities and customs. This mark of tolerance and openness towards the religious rival aligns him with the principles of the Enlightenment. A consequence of this is that the tragic ancient religious antagonism between Christians and Muslims is trivialised here, just as it is in Florian's *Gonzalve de Cordoue*. The naive simplification of the conflict between two great religions and civilisations, and its subordination to the romantic storyline seems artificial.

At first, readers were drawn by the unsophisticated, simplistic drawing of historical parallels between 15th-century Spain and 14th-century Serbia, but later the novel was judged very harshly and by the end of the 19th century it had fallen into oblivion. The main reason was the prevailing influence of Florian's novel. While the earlier tradition of the baroque chivalric and adventure novel was still strong and legendary storytelling was still acceptable, audiences welcomed it. But in the second half of the 19th century and especially in the 20th century, not only did this literary tradition become obsolete but there was a higher demand for critical interpretation of historical events in works such as this. Sterija himself was aware of this tendency to trivialise, so in his next novel, ironically entitled *Roman bez romana* ('Novel without a novel', 1832), he parodied the model of chivalric-heroic and pseudo-historical prose by using devices similar to those employed by Laurence Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* (1759). The only element he retained in his later works was the theme of the Battle of Kosovo, which would become indispensable in most of his historical works, such as several poems from the *Davorje* collection, the melodrama *Svetislav i Mileva* and the historical drama *Miloš Obilić*. The lasting value of *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida* lies in Sterija's efforts to inform his readers about the diversity and complexity of religious traditions.

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Miloš Obilić

DATE 1828
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

Sterija published the drama *Miloš Obilić. Junačko pozorište u pet dejstvija* ('Miloš Obilić – heroic theatre in five acts') in Buda in July 1828. In its printing in the Old Church Slavonic alphabet using pre-reform orthography it is 116 pages long. The heroism of Miloš Obilić, who, according to legend, killed the Ottoman Sultan Murad I (r. 1362-89) at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, was one of the most popular themes of Serbian drama in the 19th century. In addition to Sterija's publications, he also appears in *Tragedija Obilić* ('The tragedy of Obilić', 1837) by Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, *Miloš Obilić – vojvoda kneza Lazara* ('Miloš Obilić – Prince Lazar's voivode', s.d.) by Jovan

Đorđević, *Car Lazar ili propast na Kosovu – tragedija u pet razdjela* ('Tsar Lazar or the annihilation at Kosovo – a tragedy in five acts', 1866-7) by Matija Ban, and *Miloš Obilić – tragedija u pet činova* ('Miloš Obilić – a tragedy in five acts', 1869) by Jovan Subotić. In their treatment of this topic, 19th-century Serbian writers mostly drew on Jovan Rajić's *Istorija raznih slovenskih naroda* ('The history of various Slavic peoples') as well as on motifs from Kosovo folk poems.

Sterija's play is influenced extensively by oral literature. First, in addition to the historical characters of Sultan Murad, his viziers and dervishes on the Turkish side, and Prince Lazar, Vuk Branković, voivodes and serdars on the Serbian side, legendary characters from Serbian tradition also appear, among them Miloš Obilić, Milan Toplica (who also appears in Sterija's novel *Boj na Kosovu ili Milan Toplica i Zoraida*), Ivan Kosančić and Jug Bogdan. Mythological apparitions also make predictions, as in some of Shakespeare's plays, while dreams presage crucial turns in the plot. Thus, Miloš Obilić dreams that he is ordered to kill Murad and the sultan dreams about his imminent death, though his dream interpreter does not reveal the dream's meaning to him.

In the conflict, the chivalry and heroism of the Serbian side, who are far outnumbered by the Turkish army, are portrayed through Miloš Obilić's actions. Two storylines intertwine in his character: the slighted hero who has been accused of conspiracy and treason by Prince Lazar's son-in-law, Vuk Branković; and the hero who slays Murad. Obilić vows to kill the sultan in order to defend his knightly honour and lift the curse from his name. In this he is helped by the legendary characters of Ivan Kosančić and Milan Toplica at the climax of the play in Act Four. A counterbalance to these sympathetic characters is Vuk Branković, who is formed on the model of a traitor and the leader of a conspiracy that has traditionally been interpreted as a political alliance with the Ottoman Empire. The characters of Miloš and Vuk embody opposing ethical principles, and their attitudes towards the enemy are presented according to traditional interpretations of the legend of the Battle of Kosovo.

In the play, Prince Lazar, the ruler of Serbia, must make a critical decision upon which the future of the country will depend. He is caught in the same dilemma as Shakespeare's Hamlet, either to follow reason and political expediency and submit to the Ottomans who are from another faith, as Vuk Branković advises, or to heed his own heart and accept Miloš Obilić's decision to fight in the spirit of the Christian belief that the Kingdom of Heaven is superior to any earthly kingdom.

As early as Act One, Sterija presents the advantages and disadvantages of these two principles in a scene in which Obilić and Branković disagree. The latter argues for a policy of truce and the 'necessity of entering into alliance with the Mohammedans' and supports paying tribute until 'the country fully recovers and prepares for war and fight'. He makes his point baldly: 'Let reason rule, Obilić! Our forces have weakened, we cannot start a war' (1828 published edition, p. 21). In fact, the historical Branković made a settlement with the sultan after the battle and went on to govern the Serbian people as an Ottoman vassal. In opposition to this, Obilić appeals to patriotism, courage and chivalry, expressing sentiments that, according to historical sources, inspired Prince Lazar to go into battle. In an exchange between Ivan Kosančić and Obilić, the 'alliance' policy based on paying tribute and levies is condemned because it will not bring any benefit to the people. Prince Lazar accepts this and declares that the alternative of paying tribute means 'helping the enemy to slaughter the Serbian people and chase them from their own lands', so he chooses war. A critical voice that calls attention to internal discord as the true cause of the downfall of the Serbian medieval state comes from the serdars in Act Four, when they exclaim that 'the Kosovo battle will turn out badly for everyone, as discord has already planted its roots!' (p. 70).

In parallel to this critical reasoning on the Serbian side, Sultan Murad also invokes the principle of reason when he discusses with his viziers whether to start a new campaign after he has suffered losses in the war with Persia. He concludes: 'Courage without wisdom is a body without eyes, an elusive image' (p. 48). His conviction is proved right in the last act, when he ignores a dervish who urges him to fight for religious reasons and curses the hour the war was waged against the Serbs, who in the meantime have strengthened their positions on the battlefield.

Concerning the religious aspect of the conflict between the Christians and Muslims, for the Serbs the sultan is an 'angry viper' and the Turks are 'dragons', while Murad says that the Serbs are 'giaours [infidels] who fuel the rage of the Mohammedans' (p. 47). The dervish reminds Murad that his father was not afraid of Serbs and encourages him to fight for Islam: 'Strike for the faith of Muḥammad!' because 'it is baneful for the Turkish race to flee from Kosovo. Let us stay here, your Majesty!' (p. 96). The dervish calls the sultan the pride of the Muḥammadan belief and vows to lay down his life for it. Similarly, the Serbian army enters the conflict because they are inspired in part by religious motives. However, this play is different from traditional representations of the Battle of Kosovo in that Sterija

omits religious interpretation of Prince Lazar's fateful decision to fight for the reason that the 'Kingdom of Heaven' is superior to earthly rule.

In the last scene, Sterija emphasises the perniciousness of the passion-driven warring parties. In his dying moments, Miloš Obilić realises the consequences of his hasty action and laments, 'I killed Murad to clear myself, but I have only made matters worse. My mistake was grave, though innocent' (p. 115). At the same time Murad, as he is dying from Obilić's blow, tells his viziers, 'Put Lazar to death, and take me to Bythinia where my ancestors lie. Bury me there and lay Miloš's head next to my body, and cast his right hand in silver so that the descendants know who killed Murad' (p. 116).

SIGNIFICANCE

The popularity of the play and the frequent performances of it stemmed from the adroitly chosen subject. The participants in the Battle of Kosovo were favourite heroes among Serbian theatre audiences throughout the 19th century, and the inclusion of elements of the traditional legend of the Battle of Kosovo, such as the slighted hero, suggests that Sterija deliberately wrote the work in accordance with the expectations of Serbian readers and theatregoers. It is arguable that audiences in the first half of the 19th century were ready for a historical drama in which folk tradition was even partially contested or Vuk Branković's responsibility for the defeat in Kosovo was open to debate.

Since there were no national theatres in Serbia at this time, plays were mostly performed by amateur acting groups. Many of these accepted Sterija's plays, including *Miloš Obilić*, more readily than those of any other playwright and they performed them in Novi Sad, Vršac, Zemun, Pančevo, Kikinda and other places in Austro-Hungary. *Miloš Obilić* was first staged in Novi Sad in 1837 by the *Leteće diletantsko pozorište* ('Flying dilettante theatre'), which also performed it under the name of *Domorodno teatralno društvo* ('The patriotic theatrical society') among Croatians in Zagreb, Karlovac and Sisak, after *Ilirska čitaonica* ('The Illyrian reading room') invited them as a guest company that would give performances in the native language in order to reduce the influence of German professional theatre companies and to encourage the creation of a national theatre. In Belgrade, the theatre *Kod jelena* ('The stag's') put on *Miloš Obilić* on 9 May 1847 as its opening performance after the play had long been in the repertory of the first Serbian professional theatre, *Teatar na Đumruku* ('Theatre at Gümrük'), which Sterija played a part in founding. *Miloš Obilić*

continued to be performed long after its author's death, running throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

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Davorje. Pesnoslovni proizvodi u izboru I
'Laments. A selection of lyrical works, part 1'

DATE 1854
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

DESCRIPTION

The first part of Sterija's only collection of poems *Davorje. Pesnoslovni proizvodi u izboru I* ('Laments. A selection of lyrical works, part 1') was published in 1854; the second part was published posthumously. It is known under the abbreviated title *Davorje* after the poem 'Davorje na Polju Kosovu' ('Laments on Kosovo field'). Sterija's poems in his late creative phase are intellectual, meditative, philosophical, melancholic and plaintive. This collection consists of original poems, translations of

classical authors such as Horace, epitaphs, aphorisms and epigrams. They are inspired by Horace and the two Greek poets Alcaeus and Sappho.

The pessimistic and nihilistic tone of his poems reflects the point of view of a disappointed and alienated man who is aware of the ephemeral, meaningless and tragic nature of the world that surrounds him. This attitude characterises not only the poems about human nature, death and the philosophy of life but also those on historical topics. Thus, in the famous 'Spomen putovanja po donjim predelima Dunava' ('Memories of travels along the lower reaches of the Danube') only ruins remain as evidence of the greatness of the empires that have vanished. In poems pervaded by philosophical thoughts, Sterija reflects on the meaning of human life and the role of the individual in history. The poems 'Na smrt jednog s uma sišavšeg' ('About the death of one who lost his mind'), 'Groblje' ('Graveyard') and 'Čovek' ('Man') are the most illustrative examples of his treatment of the themes of the transience and vanity of human life, and of death as the only means by which the individual can find 'rest and peace'.

Among the poems about Serbian-Turkish relations, the most sublime is generally considered to be 'Despot Đurađ Branković', a poem of deep melancholy. Here, as in his dramas, Sterija raises the question of alliance with the Ottoman Empire after the fall of the Serbian state. According to folk tradition, Branković was a traitor and a defamer, who was responsible for losing the Battle of Kosovo. He favoured negotiating with the Ottomans and, after the battle, he cooperated with them and even gave his daughter to the sultan. In the poem, Sterija discusses the limits of expediency. Criticising the dimensions of Branković's unscrupulous action which had the single aim of retaining his power, the poem culminates in the line: 'He gives his daughter to a Turk!'

The grandeur of this elegy rises from its classical references. Sterija refers to Roman poets and compares Branković's efforts with the transience of Caesar's conquests. He concludes nihilistically that every single ruler, like every human being, will end in absolute nothingness: 'After the man comes the worm, after the worm, reek and rot, after rot, dust, and that is our glory!' A few verses before this, he writes about Ottoman tyranny over Christians, 'They punish, demolish, burn, slaughter and enslave'. 'Turci' ('The Turks'), from the posthumous second part of *Davorje*, portrays relations between Christians and the Ottomans in the same way.

The fall of the medieval Serbian kingdom is the subject of 'Spomen Vidova dana' ('The memory of St Vitus's day'), 'Serbski narod i njegova sudbina' ('The Serbian people and their destiny'), and 'Davorje na Polju

Kosovu' ('Laments on Kosovo Field'). Their common element is the voice of the poetic persona claiming that the tragedy was not caused by the enemy but was the result of continual conflicts among the Serbs themselves, their greed and vanity, and their desire to 'achieve their own goal at the cost of a degree of general distress'.

'Spomen Vidova dana' thematises one of the holiest days in Serbian tradition, the date of the Battle of Kosovo, 28 June 1389, when, in the decisive clash between the Serbian and Turkish armies, both Sultan Murad I and Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović lost their lives. In this poem, Sterija uses elliptical sentences in a broken octosyllable of the trochaic intonation to match the dynamism of the battle and effectively evoke the images of the vigorous and bloody combat. At the end he concludes in resignation: 'Serbian glory, Serbian splendour, the Serbian name, Serbian celebrity, everything is swallowed up by St Vitus's Day'. This personification of the saint's day gives a strong message of a poet who favours reason, in the form of considered acceptance by the Serbs of the need to come to terms with the Ottoman victors, over hasty and rash gestures, in the form of seeking glory by re-engaging in battle against them. Only a few authors, who espoused Enlightenment principles, had engaged with this issue before Sterija.

In 'Serbski narod i njegova sudbina', the imperative of common sense and wisdom rather than passion and courageousness dominates. There Sterija declares: 'Courageousness is attractive, but wisdom rules; and insanity cannot reign for very long'. This refers to the so-called golden age of the medieval Serbian state that flourished thanks to the spread of literacy and the establishment of schools and monasteries, but it declined due to inner discord and struggles for the throne. The image of the collapsed empire culminates in the lines, 'Serbia used to be a land of plenty, and now it is just a graveyard'. On the other hand, Sterija uses stereotypical representations of the harsh Ottomans who impose taxes and take away Christian girls to the harem to illustrate the centuries-long suffering of Serbs and other Christians. In his depiction of the historical development and decline of Serbia, he repeatedly insists on the principle of taking responsibility for one's own destiny and admonishes people who do not learn from their mistakes and neglect the principle *historia magistra vitae est* ('history is the teacher of life').

The long elegy 'Davorje na Polju Kosovu', the title poem of the collection, was written predominantly in the Polish thirteen-syllable form, which was used in Serbian baroque and classical literature mainly for tragic pathos and sublime historical themes. Here again, Sterija critically examines the decisions that led to the collapse of the Serbian state and the

fall of the ruling dynasty and blames again the vanity of the Serbian aristocracy and the divisions among them. In contrast, he does not blame the Ottoman Empire for the misfortune, as was usually the case in tradition and folk literature. The poem ends by questioning whether the assassination of Sultan Murad I would bring any good to the Serbian Empire. Right after the scene of Murad's death, he personifies Mother Serbia, who is also lying prostrate because 'the whole land is a huge crying grave'. The epitaph on Serbia's tombstone concludes the tragic finale and adds an element of pathos: 'Here lies Serbia, the mother killed by her sons'.

Sterija expands the theme of Christian-Muslim relations by adding Greek-Ottoman to Serbian-Ottoman relations. As a contemporary who followed very carefully all the events related to the Greek uprising of 1823, he also wrote poems and dramas about it. Being of Greek origin on his father's side, he wrote a poem glorifying Markos Botsaris (Marko Bočaris), the leader of the uprising. Here, he celebrates the success of the Christians against the Ottomans and presents Botsaris as a national hero who was able to win a battle with only a few hundred fighters against the much larger Ottoman force led by Mustafa Pasha. Mustafa Pasha's depredations in Greece and the brutal scenes of the suffering of the people, above all of innocent women and children, are depicted in stark detail. Botsaris calls his compatriots to rise up and he rouses 'the whole of sleeping Greece', reminding his people of the glorious past by naming heroes, thinkers and key battles from ancient times. The catalogue of 'the golden age' he gives, including battles in Sparta, Thermopylae, Troy and Marathon, great figures such as Leonidas, Menelaus, Achilles, Odysseus, Nestor, Socrates, Plato, Hercules and Nemesis, the goddess of retribution, reawakens the pride of the Greek people and they finally dare to fight. In the battle between the Christians and Muslims, the image of Botsaris, who fearlessly faced the enemy with his army of only 40 men, is likened to the icon of Christ and his 40 martyrs. When Botsaris, the 'soul of the nation', dies on the battlefield, Serija reminds readers once again of their own responsibility (just as in his poems about Serbian history) and concludes with a moral: 'Thus the knight Markos falls, the victim of his own actions'. This battle in which a small group of Orthodox Christians won against the mighty Ottomans became legendary overnight and attracted the attention of Western European writers, one of whom was Lord Byron.

Popović offers his readers counsels of common reason and morals that are intended to lead them to reconsider their earlier beliefs and values. The special relevance of his poetry lies in its offering a completely new approach to viewing historical events and traditions. In addition to the

ancient poets, there is the discernible influence of C.M. Wieland (1733-1813) and the collection *The complaint or night thoughts* (1742-5) by the then well-known English poet Edward Young (1683-1765). The first translations of some of Young's poems into Serbian were published in 1819 and during the first half of the 19th century it was possible to read his poetry in a number of Serbian magazines and almanacs. In addition to Serbian translations, Sterija probably also read Young's poetry in German. Like Young, he came to appreciate the night's solitary allure, when one withdraws from the restlessness of life into the solace of death and the grave. Sterija views death as the yardstick by which a person's life is measured, and it is through the lens of death that he shapes the significance of humanity's brief sojourn on earth. He also applies nihilistic tones and melancholic colouring by depicting both historical events and the personal fate of the ordinary man. This was a complete innovation in Serbian poetry that strongly influenced the next generation.

SIGNIFICANCE

Apart from the English and German influences that Sterija brought to Serbian poetry through *Davorje*, the significance of the poems is also reflected in the changed attitude they show towards patriotism. His strong criticism of past events, his bitter disappointments and pessimistic thoughts triggered a completely new approach to historical and religious issues. He had several followers among the poets of the literary circle *Škola objektivne lirike* ('The Objective Lyric School'), such as Đorđe Maletić, Vasa Živković and Nikanor Grujić, but his 'bitter patriotism', which reaches its peak in the historical and philosophical poems of the collection, exerted deep influence on Serbian poets of the 20th century, who, like him, were horrified by the train of historical events they witnessed, especially after the First World War.

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Dragana Grbić

Petko Slaveĭkov

DATE OF BIRTH 17 November 1827
PLACE OF BIRTH Tŭrnovo, Ottoman Empire, now in Bulgaria
DATE OF DEATH 1 July 1895
PLACE OF DEATH Sofia

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Tŭrnovo into the family of a coppersmith in 1827, Petko later took the penname Slaveĭkov from the Bulgarian word for nightingales (*slavey*). His mother died during his birth. He studied in several places, the most important being Svishtov, which was one of the best schools of the time, but he was in fact an autodidact who increased his knowledge of Greek and acquainted himself with major works of European literature. He became a teacher in his hometown in 1843 but he was dismissed from his job and expelled from the town after writing a satirical poem against Greek bishops. He then taught in other towns.

As a young man, Slaveĭkov was intensely interested in the Bulgarian folk heritage and, by the age of 20, he had collected 2,263 folk songs, sayings and proverbs. In 1852, he began to print his first books: *Smesna kitka* ('A bunch of flowers'), *Pesnopoĭka* ('Song book') and *Basnenik* ('Collection of fables'). He also wrote a number of poems influenced by the revolutionary events connected to the Crimean War (1853-6). As a teacher in Targovishte, he started the satirical newspaper *Gaĭda* ('Bagpipe') in Istanbul, having gone there in 1864 when he was invited to edit a full Bulgarian translation of the Bible by the British Bible Society. The entire translation was printed in Istanbul in 1871 and was of great importance for the establishment of the East Bulgarian vernacular.

In Istanbul, Slaveĭkov published the newspapers *Gaĭda* (1863-7) and *Makedoniya* (1866-72), and some other periodicals. He established himself as arguably the most famous Bulgarian writer in Istanbul at the time, and published more than 60 books, newspapers and magazines, including both his own writings and translations. He took part in the struggle for an autonomous Bulgarian Church and later became a teacher in the newly established Bulgarian Exarchate. He was arrested and accused of links with the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee in Bucharest.

In 1873, Slaveĭkov wrote the well-known poem 'Izvorŭt na belonogata' ('Spring of the white-legged girl'). During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, he became attached to the Russian forces, and led the detachment of General Mikhail Skobelev through the Balkan Mountains. After the establishment of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1878, he was an important political leader as a deputy in the first Grand National Assembly, Chairman of the National Assembly of Bulgaria in 1880 and Minister for Enlightenment and Internal Affairs (1880-1). But in consequence of his participation in political struggles, he was arrested as a leader of the opposition. He died in Sofia on 1 July 1895.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Izvorŭt na belonogata
'Spring of the white-legged girl', 'Gergana'

DATE 1873
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION
'Izvorŭt na belonogata' ('Spring of the white-legged girl', 'Spring of the lily white legs') or 'Gergana' is a poem of about 284 verses. Published anonymously in 1873, it was written to imitate folk songs. The plot depicts the meeting of two characters, Gergana, a beautiful Bulgarian girl, and a rich Turkish vizier, who is captivated by her beauty and tries to persuade her to go with him to Istanbul. In their conversation, two different world views and value systems collide. On the surface, these are Bulgarians vs Turks, Christianity vs Islam, but also urban vs rural civilisation, even traditional vs modern (although none of these is mentioned directly). The two meet, enter into a dialogue, do not understand each other and separate, each remaining convinced that they are right.

There are several notable features in this work. As a rule, Islam is presented negatively; the Muslims in the literature before the establishment of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1878 were mostly not Turks but from other ethnic groups including Circassians and Tatars; later they became Turks, and they are usually portrayed as violent, backward barbarians. Here, the Turkish vizier is not violent – indeed he is the opposite of a backward barbarian. On the other hand, the poem fully agrees with the main line of Bulgarian national mythology that presents anything Bulgarian (especially a pretty woman) as a treasure that outsiders want for themselves.

The dialogue between the two characters is focused on their different preferences. Gergana cherishes her parents, her 'beloved meadows [...] beloved darling garden' (*Sacŭchineniya*, 1978, p. 136) and she lists many flowers, some of them not widely known. The vizier offers the luxury of Stambul, 'a new palace in the gardens/ with twelve doors/ and three hundred framed windows/ I'll line them with sofas/ I'll set them with bolsters/ I'll scatter them with cushions/ so you'll sit on them and look/ wherever your eyes wander' (p. 138). Possible conversion to Islam is not mentioned.

Although the vizier leaves angry but peacefully, the end of the poem is not happy. Gergana and her beloved young man are punished by supernatural folkloric creatures, angry that they met near the fountain at night in violation of traditional norms.

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem remains very popular among both general readers and scholars. It touches on at least two issues connected to Islam, both significant elements in Bulgarian national mythology. Traditionally, Islam is usually presented as alien and barbaric, and not only in the past because the forced conversions of some sections of the Christian population are still remembered with dread and are exaggerated in historical sources (authentic or forged), historiographical works, literature and general memory. Parallel to these stories about forced conversions, there are also plots about the conversions of beautiful young women, who were kidnapped or seduced. Slaveĭkov's poem diverges significantly from these stereotypes but at the same time does not destroy them, at least in the eyes of the general public.

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Baeva, *Petko Slaveĭkov*

Nikolay Aretov

Hristo Botev

Hristo Bot'ov Petkov

DATE OF BIRTH 6 January 1848 [O.S. 25 December 1847]
PLACE OF BIRTH Kalofer, Ottoman Empire, now in Bulgaria
DATE OF DEATH 1 June [O.S. 20 May] 1876
PLACE OF DEATH near Vola Peak, Balkan mountain range, Ottoman Empire, now in Bulgaria

BIOGRAPHY

The Bulgarian revolutionary and poet Hristo Botev was born in Kalofer in the European region of the Ottoman Empire (now Bulgaria) in 1848. His father, Bot'o Petkov (1815-69), was a teacher and a significant figure in the later Bulgarian national revival. In 1863, after completing his elementary education in Kalofer, Botev was sent by his father to a high school in Odessa. He left there in 1865 and spent the next two years teaching in Odessa and Bessarabia. During this time, he began his first poetic works and also established strong connections with the Russian and Polish revolutionary movements. He returned to Kalofer at the beginning of 1867 and for a time stood in for his sick father as a teacher. On 11 May that year, during the festivities celebrating Sts Cyril and Methodius, he made a speech against the Ottoman authorities and wealthy Bulgarians, who he alleged were collaborating with the Ottomans. As a result, he was pressed into leaving the town. He initially decided he would return to Russia, but lack of money led him to opt instead for Romania, at the time a place of refuge for many Bulgarian exiles.

From 1869 to 1871, Botev again worked as a teacher in Bessarabia, at the same time keeping close relations with the Bulgarian revolutionary movement. In June 1871, he became the editor of the newspaper *Duma na Bulgarskite Emigranti* ('Word of the Bulgarian emigrants'), and after this he started working for *Svoboda* ('Liberty') newspaper, which was edited by the eminent Bulgarian writer and revolutionary Lyuben Karavelov (1834-79). Botev joined the uprising of April 1876, when he led a group of rebels to hijack the Austro-Hungarian passenger steamship *Radetzky* on the River Danube. They captured the ship, took it to near Kozloduy and advanced into the Balkans. After a number of engagements with the Ottoman army,

Botev was shot dead on 1 June 1876 (he is traditionally commemorated on 2 June). His image was systematically built up as a revolutionary icon by 19th-century post-liberation intellectuals and authors, most notably by Zahariĭ Stoyanov (1850-89).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pesni i stihotvorenia
'Songs and poems'

DATE 1875
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION

In 1875, Botev published 16 of his poetic works in *Pesni i stihotvorenia* ('Songs and poems'), together with his close associate Stefan Stambolov (1854-95), the Bulgarian revolutionary poet and future politician and statesman (the book contained only five poems by the latter). In them, he portrayed the Turks as a backward, barbarian people. At the same time, he strongly criticised wealthy Bulgarians, whom he depicted as almost equally bad, and wrote sarcastically about the Greek and Bulgarian clergy. He presents these three enemies side by side. As a result of this publication, he was a condemned as an enemy of Ottoman rule and therefore of the Turks.

It is generally agreed that these poems represent the sentiments of the poor, who are filled with revolutionary ideas and are struggling for their freedom against both foreign and domestic tyrants. Many of the poems are imbued with revolutionary zeal and determination, such as 'Moyata molitva' ('My prayer'), 'Na proshtavane' ('At farewell'), 'Haiduti' ('Hajduks'

or 'outlaws'), 'V mehanata' ('In the tavern') and 'Borba' ('Struggle'). Others are romantic ballads ('Hadzhi Dimitar') or elegies. Perhaps the greatest is 'Obesvaneto na Vasil Levski' ('The hanging of Vasil Levski').

Botev was not interested in the details of Islam (he preferred to call it 'the faith of Muḥammad' or 'Muḥammadanism') or in its relations to Christianity. In his poem 'Moyata molitva' ('My prayer'), he presents his 'private' god of liberty, who is different from the God 'to whom the Orthodox/ Candle-burning rabble flock / Nor thou, to whom the monks and priests/ Make obeisance on feasts' (*Sachineniia*, 1986, vol. 1, p. 52).

In his newspaper articles, Botev often sarcastically refers to features of Islam that are presented as common knowledge among the readers: Muḥammad's paradise with its virgins (and young boys) serving the faithful, treats from the Muslim kitchen, the dervishes, and so on. He associated, or compared Muslim Turks with pigs. In his most important article, 'The people. Yesterday, today, and tomorrow' (*Duma na Bulgarskite Emigranti* 1, 2 June 1871; *Sachineniia*, 1986, vol. 2, pp. 13-18), he develops an entire conception of history, arguing not only that the period in which he is living under Ottoman rule is bad but also that the medieval Bulgarian kingdom in the past was not much better. Nevertheless, the people have preserved their pre-Christian traditions, and these will form the basis of future development.

SIGNIFICANCE

Botev's *Pesni i stihotvorenia* is regarded as one of the great achievements of Bulgarian literature. The poems are part of the school curriculum, they are recited on special occasions and anniversaries, and many Bulgarian poets have written responses to them in the form of dialogues. They contributed to inspiring opponents of Ottoman rule, though their enormous popularity started after the establishment of the Bulgarian state.

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Nikolay Aretov

Ivan Vazov

Ivan Minchov Vazov

DATE OF BIRTH 9 July 1850
PLACE OF BIRTH Sopot, Bulgaria
DATE OF DEATH 22 September 1921
PLACE OF DEATH Sofia

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1850 and educated in Sopot, Kalofer and Plovdiv, Ivan Vazov studied French and Russian literature and became a teacher for a short time. His father sent him to study commerce with relatives in Romania, though Vazov showed no interest in the trade and instead became involved in the Bulgarian revolutionary movement together with other émigré leaders.

Returning to Sopot in 1875, Vazov was involved in the April Uprising in 1876, upon which he would later base his most famous work, the novel *Pod igoto* ('Under the yoke'). This uprising claimed the life of his father and sent his mother fleeing into sanctuary in a monastery. Vazov was deeply inspired by the revolutionary and poet Hristo Botev (1848-76; *CMR* 22, 885-8) and began writing some of his most popular poems in Botev's company. After the failure of the uprising, he fled to Russia along with other revolutionary leaders and there he wrote *Pod igoto*.

After the 1878 liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman rule, Vazov worked as a civil servant and judge but he appears to have been exiled for a time by the regime. However, he was elected to the Bulgarian Assembly in 1898-9 and served as minister for education, after which he retired in order to devote himself entirely to his writing. In his later life, he was a respected figure in the social and cultural life of Bulgaria. In 1920, he was celebrated as an author by the nation to mark his 70th birthday and his death on 22 September 1921 saw national mourning. There is no record of Vazov ever marrying or having children.

Vazov's first works were published around 1870. He subsequently produced poetry, plays and stories in rapid succession, seeing this as his duty as both an author and a patriot. Much of his poetry echoes the revolutionary and nationalist movement, often employing picturesque pastoral imagery representing the beauty of Bulgaria and his love of the country. He dealt with subjects from his own life experiences and places with which he was familiar. Living in such turbulent times in Bulgaria's history, Vazov

had plenty of material for his works, much of it focusing on Bulgarian struggles under Ottoman rule.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pod igoto. Romantika na bŭlgarskata svoboda 'Under the yoke. A romance of Bulgarian liberty'

DATE 1888
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION

Vazov wrote *Pod igoto* over the years 1877-88. It was first published in serial form in the Bulgarian literary magazine *Sbornikot s Narodny Umotvoreniya* ('The collection of folk tales') between 1889 and 1890 and as a novel in 1894. It is 246 pages long and details the experiences of the small fictional town of Byala Cherkva ('White Church', representing the actual town of Sopot) in Bulgaria during the uprising against Ottoman rule in April 1876. It is divided into three main parts, each containing a varying number of chapters.

Part 1 details the hardships of the Bulgarians under oppressive Ottoman rule and introduces the main characters. The main protagonist is

Ognyanov, who comes to be known by several affectionate titles and nicknames through the novel, including 'Boicho' and 'the Count', the latter being in honour of his performance in a community play. He is a schoolteacher, who has earlier been exiled for political activity, and returns now to the small fictional town of Byala Cherkva to continue his work towards freeing Bulgaria from Ottoman rule. He finds himself called to action as soon as he appears, when he kills two Ottoman soldiers who are tormenting a miller and trying to rape his daughter. This endears Ognyanov to the town and he is given shelter in the monastery. From this moment on he is in continual danger as the Ottomans are hunting for the killer of their men. However, the only witness to this act, apart from the miller and his daughter, is the village idiot, who cannot be relied upon.

Gradually, through the ever-present mistreatment by Turkish soldiers and officials, Part 1 depicts the increase in discontent among the population of Byala Cherkva. Key supporters of the cause are Rada (a young teacher with whom Ognyanov is in love), Dr Sokolov, Bai Marcho and Genko, whose cafe is the scene of many revolutionary committee meetings. In opposition to these characters is Stefchov, a villain who spies for the Ottomans and who is trying to turn the revolutionaries in for his own gain. By the end of Part 1, the characters are well and truly in the 'belly of the whale': Ognyanov has been betrayed and the buried bodies of his two Turkish victims have been found, sending him on the run again. The discovery of the bodies and the hunt for their killer leads to greater harrassment from the Ottoman authorities and makes every rebellious word and action more dangerous.

Part 2 of the novel begins with the inhabitants of Byala Cherkva mourning their hero, who they are convinced has been killed, and making plans to avenge his death. Although Ognyanov was shot, he in fact finds sanctuary with a kind family. But he is much tormented by the knowledge that the townspeople, including his sweetheart Rada, believe that he is dead, and he yearns to return and rejoin the fight for liberty. A young student named Kandov, one of the new recruits to the cause, falls in love with Rada. While she is kind to him, she remains true to Ognyanov, who does not know this. As the plot reaches its climax, he and Kandov duel with each other but then go into battle against the Turks with a touching scene in the trench between them, where Ognyanov learns of Rada's innocence and they are reconciled. However, Rada in her despair tries to kill herself by setting light to some gunpowder, causing the deaths of several Turks, though she survives and is later reunited with Ognyanov.

Part 3 opens with the lines:

> Within a few days the insurrection was crushed everywhere. The struggle was a complete failure, it collapsed in panic and fear. Revolution – and surrender. History offers examples of rebellions as sacred and as luckless, but of none so tragically inglorious as this. The April uprising was a stillborn child, conceived in the infatuation of a most ardent love and choked by its mother in the throes of childbirth. It died before it had lived. (*Under the yoke*, trans Alexieva and Atanassova, p. 277)

Ognyanov declares he will not abandon Bulgaria and flees with Rada and Dr Sokolov into the woods, where they make their last stand and die together, Ognyanov's head being carried back to be displayed in the town square. The only person who protests at this is Mooncho, the fool, who is executed for his protest, and there the novel ends.

SIGNIFICANCE

At the time it was written, *Pod igoto* fitted into the oeuvre of revolutionary works produced by other members of Vazov's circle, and the romantic and propaganda elements are clear. Given Vazov's strong nationalist leanings and most likely emotional state of mind when he wrote, the extreme polarity of good and evil in the novel is unsurprising. It fits in with other Bulgarian representations of the Ottoman period such as Anton Donchev's *Vreme nazdelno* ('Time of parting'), though the latter appeared much later in 1964. *Pod igoto* was adapted for the screen in 1952 and serialised for television in 1992.

The novel, which is often regarded as Bulgaria's 'national novel', has been regarded as a key factor in the Bulgarian revival, a period of Bulgarians uniting and defining their own culture as distinct from that of their Ottoman overlords. It is this revival that forms the basis of modern Bulgarian nationalism. Vazov is the most frequently represented novelist in Bulgarian school curriculums and his works are studied in classrooms to this day, while most families have a copy of *Pod igoto* in their homes. (An indication of the veneration in which it is held is that the publisher Vizantiya was fined for issuing a modernised version of the text in 2019). From their school studies, Bulgarians take the work of Vazov and others on the subject of the Ottoman period as highly accurate representations of the time. The language used, in schools, scholarship and conversation, focuses on Bulgarian 'liberation' from the 'oppressors' and the heroism of the Bulgarians who participated in the uprisings. It is often hard for a visitor to Bulgaria to find remnants of the Ottoman period, as these have been largely overshadowed by the revival of Bulgarian culture and the renewed

enthusiasm for it. Furthermore, any student or scholar studying history in Bulgaria reads this novel as a historical text, which therefore ensures its influence in Bulgarian history as well as literature.

In addition to its importance in Bulgaria, *Pod igoto* has been translated into over 30 languages, not only representing Bulgarian literature to other cultures, but also showing how Bulgarians view their own history. The reverence still shown for the work today indicates that Bulgarian perceptions of the Ottoman period have changed little since the 19th century. It is a black and white, good vs evil narrative, and this is the accepted truth in Bulgaria about the Ottoman period.

Writing from his own experience, Vazov might be considered to be particularly accurate and authentic, although his closeness to his subject matter and his known sympathies raise significant questions about bias. Charles Moser argues that he 'most fully embodied the national spirit of his day and that, moreover, he is his country's greatest writer' ('National renown', p. 87). He also claims that 'Vazov sought to be the conscience of his country' and praises his skill as a writer and his patriotism ('National renown', p. 88). Moser is unhappy at the limited international renown he says Vazov has achieved and urges that he should enjoy a greater presence in international and not just national culture ('National renown', p. 91). The text of the novel itself, regardless of which edition is used, is best treated as a primary historical document.

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Gemma Masson

Anton Aškerc

DATE OF BIRTH 9 January 1856
PLACE OF BIRTH Near Rimske Toplice, Slovenia
DATE OF DEATH 10 June 1912
PLACE OF DEATH Ljubljana, Slovenia

BIOGRAPHY

Anton Aškerc was born in 1856 near Rimske Toplice, at the time part of the Duchy of Styria in the Austrian Empire. He studied at the German-language *Gymnasium* in Celje (1869-77) and then at the Roman Catholic theological seminary in Maribor (1877-81), where he also studied the Qur'an in German translation. He was ordained as a priest in 1880 and served in a number of parishes. He retired in 1898, after which he worked as archivist and librarian in Ljubljana until his death in 1912.

His travels abroad included trips to Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia in 1886-7, Bulgaria and Turkey (Istanbul) in 1893, Russia in 1901-2, Egypt in 1906 and Greece in 1908. In his 1903 travelogue, *Dva izleta na Rusko* ('Two trips to Russia'), he gives a chaotic description of Muslim travellers on the North Caucasus railway and praises the civilising 'order' imposed on the region by the Russians (Kozak, '"Pod egido"', pp. 162-3)

Aškerc is best known for his poetry, most of which is epic and narrative in nature. His first collection, *Balade in romance* (Ljubljana, 1890), includes his finest works, some of which depict Christians and Muslims as essential enemies in the historical setting of Ottoman Turkish incursions into Slavic areas of the western Balkans (including Slovenian-speaking territories) in the 15th-16th centuries. In 'Brodnik' ('Ferryman'), a local fisherman tricks three Turkish scouts into crossing the river in his boat, which he then plunges into a deadly whirlpool. 'Janičar' ('Janissary') is a dialogue between a Turkish commander and a Janissary officer who hesitates when he is ordered to attack his birth village. 'Vaška lipa' ('Village linden') refers to treasure supposedly buried under a tree in a village by a Turkish raiding party. In the same collection, 'Čaša nesmrtnosti' ('The cup of immortality'), one of Aškerc's best-known poems, is atypical both in its choice of historical subject matter and its more philosophical appropriation of Islam. Other poems that draw on Muslim historical figures as a source of imagery and allegory are 'Dvorski norec' ('Court fool') and 'Firduzi in

derviš' ('Ferdowsi and the dervish', published separately in *Ljubljanski Zvon* 10 [1890] 29-30).

Aškerc's typically one-dimensional representations of 'Turks' in his earlier historical poems contrast with the more reflective and humane, though still exoticising, depictions of Muslims and Islam that came after his trips to Bosnia and Istanbul, most of them published in the collection *Lirske in epske poezije* (Ljubljana, 1896): 'Mohamedanki' ('To the Mohammedan') and 'Haremski roži' ('To the flower of the harem') reflect on the position of women in Muslim society, while 'Na Mohamedskem grobišču' ('In the Mohammedan cemetery') discusses Muslim conceptions of heaven. 'Mujezin' ('Muezzin'), 'Na hribu Belguru' ('On Belgur hill') and 'Na vrtu pred Hagijoj Sofijoj' ('In the garden before Hagia Sophia') relate architecture and geography to the history of conflict between Christians and Muslims, while 'Na galatskem mostu' ('On Galata bridge') celebrates the 'brotherhood' of Muslims and Christians in an idealised multicultural Istanbul. 'V Husrev-begovi džamiji' ('In the mosque of Husrev-bey') describes Muslim communal prayer in Sarajevo, concluding with the thought that, despite outward differences, Islam and Christianity are similar in essence.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Čaša nesmrtnosti
'The cup of immortality'

DATE 1890
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slovenian

DESCRIPTION

'Čaša nesmrtnosti' is a 108-line poem published in *Balade in romance*, Aškerc's first poetry collection, in 1890. The poem opens with a quotation from Q 75:26-7, with a somewhat free translation of these lines referring to (the impossibility of) finding a 'magical potion' that might avert death. It then narrates a story about 'Abduraman' ('Abd al-Raḥmān II, r. 822-52), the 'young' caliph of Córdoba, attempting exactly to do this: as he reads the Qur'an, he cannot reconcile himself to the thought of dying and thus relinquishing his power. He summons Hakim, a healer, Sofer, a (judging by his name, probably Jewish) 'sorcerer', and Ali Rashid, a 'dervish'. The healer and the sorcerer offer him purported cures for death, though their 'cups of immortality' turn out to be fake when he tests them by beheading them. Finally, the dervish suggests that the 'cup' should be seen as a metaphor, and that the caliph should live his life to the fullest and gain immortality through his works and legacy; for, after all, the fate of death brought by God cannot be escaped. As Ali Rashid leaves, the caliph reconciles himself to the dervish's wisdom – and that of the Qur'an – and abandons his attempts to find the secret of immortality.

The poem follows a similar structure and narrative exposition to Aškerc's other historical epic poems in *Balade in romance*. However, its language and depictions are essentially Orientalist: Abd al-Rahman wears a 'colourful turban' and a 'Damascene sword', and the dervish appears with a long beard and dressed in a 'beggar's robe'. The caliph, though he arrives

at a favourable philosophical conclusion in his quest for knowledge, is a prototypical Oriental tyrant: he cannot bear the thought of 'separating' himself from his sword when he dies, and does not hesitate to behead the sorcerer in order to 'test' the effectiveness of his cure for death. These depictions are similar to those in Aškerc's poem 'Dvorski norec' ('Court fool') from the same collection, which contrasts the decadence of the Ottoman court with the daily toil of the sultan's subjects, and finds more worth in the latter.

SIGNIFICANCE

In terms of its depiction of Muslims and Islam, 'Čaša nesmrtnosti' is unique both within Aškerc's overall opus and within 19th-century Slovenian writing in general. Its historical motif is unprecedented, drawing on a geographically distant figure rather than the intensely local historical narratives of both the majority of Aškerc's epic poetry and the work of his predecessors, in which Muslims – if they appear at all – inevitably feature as murderous Turkish raiders. Rather than being portrayed as the barbaric belief of an inscrutable enemy, Islam is treated as a theological and philosophical system in its own right, on a par with that of Christianity, and the historical background gives a unique flavour to a parable that expresses more general musings on life and death. While theological issues are not discussed in particular detail, the explicit reference to the Qur'an – or, rather, its appropriation to make a more universal philosophical point – is especially striking in a literary context where Islam had hitherto mostly been represented exclusively as an inscrutable Other to be written *against* in attempts to structure a specifically Slovenian national identity.

While this poem does not seem to have generated specific immediate reactions, either positive or negative, the mere fact that Aškerc used Muslim figures as protagonists in his poetry made it a target of criticism by contemporaries such as Bishop Anton Mahnič (1850-1920). However, Mahnič's Catholic attack was also directed more generally at Aškerc's ideas about social equality, and did not spare other post-Romanticist and realist writings that did not refer to Islam (or that portrayed it negatively). Aškerc responded to Mahnič with a satirical poem, 'Firduzi in derviš' ('Ferdowsi and the derwish', 1890), in which he represented Mahnič's dogmatic Catholic criticisms of himself and his contemporaries as blind curses cast by 'Dervish Mahmud' at Ferdowsi, author of the *Shahnameh*.

Later, Aškerc would be famously depicted by the caricaturist Hinko Smrekar as a turban-wearing 'infidel' being burnt at the stake, though this referred to a controversy arising from his publication in 1906 of a poem

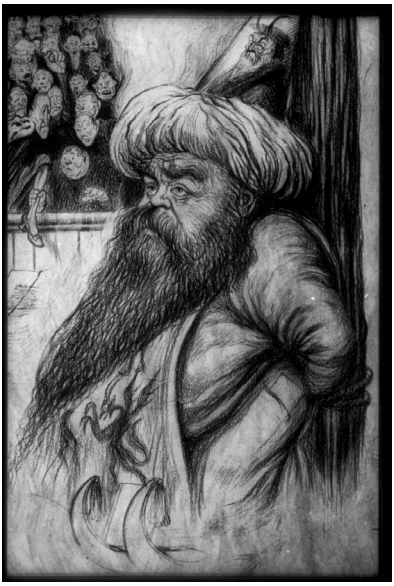

Illustration 25. A caricature by Hinko Smrekar (1883-1942) showing Anton Aškerc as an 'infidel' being burnt at the stake in reaction to his poem Mučeniki ('Martyrs'), which expressed support for Protestant reformers

supporting Slovenian Protestant writers of the Reformation – which, to the Catholic establishment, was just as objectionable as references to Islam and Muslims, if not more so.

Later critical and interpretive studies of Aškerc have focused predominantly on the philosophical content of 'Čaša nesmrtnosti' rather than its depiction of Muslims. As it can be read as a parable, it has been claimed that it does not reveal anything regarding Aškerc's views about Islam (Golež Kaučič, 'Muslimani', p. 220), though his broader Orientalist tendencies in his treatment of Islam and Muslims – evident already in 'Čaša' – have been noted in his travelogues as well as in his poems set in the Muslim lands that he visited (Baskar, '"Prvi slovenski pesnik"'; Kozak, '"Pod egido"').

Aškerc's use of Islamic historical motifs and his efforts to compare the Islamic religious-philosophical system to that of Christianity did not appear to cause difficulties for his literary contemporaries. However, due especially to its inclusion in school curricula since the latter part of the 20th century, 'Čaša nesmrtnosti' is now one of Aškerc's best-known poems.

The figure of the contemplative, if despotic, Abduraman remains to this day an iconic source of Slovenian stereotypes of Islamic beliefs and history.

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Kozak, '"Pod egido"'

Grafenauer, 'Aškerc, Anton'

Jona Fras

Zahariĭ Stoyanov

Dzhendo Stoyanov Dzhedev

DATE OF BIRTH 1850
PLACE OF BIRTH Medven, Ottoman Empire
DATE OF DEATH 2 September 1889
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Zahariĭ Stoyanov, born Dzhendo Stoyanov Dzhedev, was a Bulgarian revolutionary, journalist and politician. He took part in the April uprising of 1876, and later became its first historiographer with the publication of his work *Zapiski po Balgarskite Vastaniya* ('Notes on the Bulgarian uprisings').

Stoyanov was born into the family of a shepherd in the village of Medven, close to Sliven. He attended the religious school and then the public school in his native village between 1856 and 1862 and later worked as a shepherd in İnceköy (modern Topoli) in Varna Province, and Podvis in Burgas Province (1866-70). While he was apprenticed to tailors in Ruse, he joined the Ruse revolutionary committee and later worked as a clerk for Baron de Hirsch's railway in modern Simeonovgrad in 1873.

He took part in the Stara Zagora uprising of 1875 and the April uprising of 1876. After the latter was suppressed, he was imprisoned for several months and later forcibly sent to Medven. He then went illegally to the newly liberated Tarnovo in 1877. After the establishment of the new state of Bulgaria in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, he was appointed a member of the Tarnovo Regional Court in 1880. In 1881, he was a secretary of the Court of Appeal and a forensic examining magistrate in Rousse, and he worked in the Office of Justice in Eastern Rumelia in 1882-5.

Stoyanov headed the committee that organised the unification of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia in 1885. He lived in Sofia from 1886, where he participated in the activities of the People's Liberal Party. He became a deputy to the National Assembly of Bulgaria in 1886, an assistant chairman in 1887 and chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament in 1888-9. He died in Paris on 2 September 1889.

Stoyanov was the author of a number of articles and pieces in several newspapers and under various pseudonyms. He was influenced by the

political journalism of Lyuben Karavelov (c. 1834-79) and some important Russian journalists. He also wrote memoirs and biographies, describing the April uprising and the lives of Vasil Levski (1837-73), Hristo Botev (1848-76) and other important Bulgarian revolutionary leaders. His book in three volumes, *Zapiski po Balgarskite Vastaniya* (1870-6), is universally accepted as his best work, the product of many years of labour, fact collecting and analysis.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Zapiski po balgarskite vastaniya. Razkaz na ochevidtsi, 1870-1876
'Notes on the Bulgarian uprisings. An eyewitness account 1870-1876'

DATE 1884-92

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION

Zapiski po balgarskite vastaniya ('Notes on the Bulgarian uprisings') is an account of the revolutionary struggles that took place during the last decade of Ottoman rule in Bulgaria. Stoyanov writes as an eyewitness and includes details of his own life, the activities of the revolutionary committee in Ruse and the course of the 1876 April uprising.

The book is the result of the work carried out earlier by several individuals who themselves participated in the uprising: Zahariĭ Stoyanov himself, Stoian Zaimov (1853-1932), Nikola Obretenov (1849-1939), Kiril Botev (1856-1944; brother of Hristo Botev), and Stefan Stambolov (1854-95), who gathered recollections from their fellow prisoners and used documentary

sources to present a detailed picture of the struggle against the Ottomans in the 1870s. *Zapiski* was published in three volumes, in 1884, 1887, and posthumously in 1892. in modern editions, it totals more than 750 pages.

In the work, Christians and Muslims are implacably opposed and Stoyanov also mentions gypsies as allies of the Turks. The underlying emphasis is on the suffering of Christians and the cruelty of Ottoman Muslims. In addition, in many places he is also critical of the Bulgarians even though they are Christians and at certain moments he discovers manifestations of life, wisdom and humanity in individual Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

The struggles for national liberation in the 1870s occupy a key place in Bulgarian literature to this day. A central figure in the genre is Zahariĭ Stoyanov, but there are others who wrote memoirs alongside him. Together they form a picture of the era that had recently ended. Furthermore, the main memoir is the product of a common design and collaborative effort.

This is how an extremely important mental construct, a 'big story' about the recent past, was born. In 1922, Aleksandar Balabanov proclaimed the work a 'classic of Bulgarian literature' in an article in *Prolom* magazine (this was reprinted as the introduction to the book in the 1928 edition), an assessment that was shared by both contemporaries and subsequent generations. In 1976 the work was made into a television series.

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Nikolay Aretov

Georgios Vizyinos

Geōrgios Vizyēnos, Georgios Vizyenos

DATE OF BIRTH 1849
PLACE OF BIRTH Vizye, Thrace
DATE OF DEATH 1896
PLACE OF DEATH Athens

BIOGRAPHY

Georgios Vizyinos was born in 1849 into a poor family in the small town of Vizye (Bizye), on the road from Istanbul to Edirne in the European region of the Ottoman Empire. Its population included both Christians and Muslims. In 1861, when he was 12, he was sent to work as an apprentice tailor in Istanbul. There, he became known to the Cypriot Archbishop Sophronios, who planned for him to be trained as a priest. In 1868, Sophronios sent him to Cyprus, where he attended courses at the Hellenic Lyceum of Peran. In 1872, he entered the seminary on the Aegean island of Chalki, where one of his teachers was the poet Ilias Tantalidis (1818-76), who became his mentor. During this time, Vizyinos met a banker and public benefactor, Georgios Zarifis, who took him under his protection for many years. With the help of Zarifis, Vizyinos was able to publish his first poetry collection in Istanbul and to study in Athens, where he graduated from the high school of Plaka.

From 1874 to 1882, with the help of the wealthy Giagos Georgiadis, he continued his studies in Athens and Leipzig, where he gained his PhD in 1881. His poems won prizes and led to him becoming known in literary circles. He travelled to Paris, and there he was introduced to the short novel, which was just then emerging as a popular literary form. He took up the idea and was the first Greek author to write novels. He published most of his literary works between 1883 and 1884.

In 1884, Vizyinos gained a position in philosophy at the University of Athens and began to pursue an academic career but, when his benefactor Zarifis died, Vizyinos entered a period of financial poverty. He worked as a middle school teacher and from 1890 as a professor of rhythm and drama at the Athens Conservatoire. In 1892, he was diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder and was admitted to the Dromokaitio Hospital, where he wrote *Moskov-Selim*, his last novel. He died at the age of 47 in 1896.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Moskov-Selim

DATE 1895
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Moskov-Selim was Vizyinos's last short story. Written in vernacular Greek, it was discovered in a pile of his manuscripts and was first published in

three sequences in the newspaper *Estia* between 28 April and 16 May 1895, coming to a total of 60 pages (see Sachinēs, *To diēgēma tou G. Vizyēnou*, pp 38-29; see also Moullas, *G.M. Vizyēnos*, pp. 121-8; A. Sachinēs, *Palaiōteroi pezographoi*, pp. 180-1; Chrysanthopoulos, *Gēorgios Vizyēnos*, pp. 17-18, 131-63).

The main character is Selim, a Turk, who narrates the story of his life and describes the bitterness and injustices he experienced as a soldier fighting in the wars between the Ottoman and Russian Empires. The distinction between Muslim-Turk and Christian-Russian is obvious throughout, but Vizyinos's aim is not so much to show the enmity between the two nations in war-time as to demonstrate their peaceful coexistence before the wars. In this respect, the story reflects Vizyinos's personal experiences of living and travelling as a Christian among Muslims and witnessing at first hand the ways in which people from different nations and religions lived together. But its main point is the individual rather than nationality, religion or race. He is the one who is hurt and wronged, left with no homeland and not knowing who he is or where he belongs.

Vizyinos describes Selim's harsh childhood. His mother wanted a girl rather than a boy, and so she dressed him in girl's clothes, while his father favoured his elder son, who he thought was braver than Selim. When this son deserted from the Ottoman army, his father forced Selim to enlist in his place. He fought in three wars, in the last of which, in Crimea, he was seriously injured and was taken to a hospital. His side was defeated and retreated, leaving all the wounded behind. This shook him so deeply that he came to look on the Turks as his enemies and not the Russians, who, unlike the Turks, treated their prisoners as brothers. He then started to doubt the traditions and dogmatism of his Turkish upbringing, and to believe that Russians were not the monstrous enemies they were made out to be.

The Turks treated those who had returned home after being prisoners of war contemptuously, so Selim decided to become a Russian because only from them had he truly felt appreciation and respect. He moved to a farmhouse in eastern Thrace, dressed in Russian clothes, assumed Russian habits and behaved like a Russian, and that is how he acquired his nickname 'Moskov', meaning 'the man from Moscow'. However, when the Russians invaded the Ottoman Empire, he could not betray his true home and Turkish origin and he died confessing that he was a Turk – the last words in the book are: 'and the Turk remained a Turk!' In this, Vizyinos shows Selim's frame of mind, focusing on the only characteristic that

ultimately makes a difference – his human identity. From the very beginning of the book, Vizyinos emphasises that in the character of Selim he wants to honour every individual regardless of nationality or race.

Vizyinos lived among Christians and Muslims who were co-existing side by side. In the story there is criticism of the Ottoman way of life, their manners and customs, such as the patriarchal family structure, the harem and the degraded life of women, polygamy among the elite, the difference in the status of men and women in society, and their declining social values, including *rusfetia*, blind obedience to the sultan. As he focuses on the individual who is living between these two worlds, he seems to have great empathy with his character in its mental unbalance and dividedness. The split within Moskov-Selim's personality is expressed by the split in his national identity and what he seeks is humanity, justice and tenderness.

SIGNIFICANCE

This short story is regarded as Vizyinos's masterpiece and is still taught in schools alongside his other works. His contribution to modern Greek writing is that here he gave a psychological dimension to the study of attitudes in the 19th century. In *Moscov-Selim*, Vizyinos breaks down the walls of racial hatred and promotes feelings of love and friendship between people, regardless of their race or religion. This is illustrated by the words of the narrator: 'Well, they say that two people can be so strange to each other and yet their souls are brothers!' (p. 19).

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Eleftheria Chatzichristidou

The 19th-century theory on Bogomils and Islam in Bosnia

DATE 1876-96
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English and other languages

DESCRIPTION

The second half of the 19th century saw an intensification in the activities of Western European powers and Russia over the 'Eastern Question' – a political crisis brought about by a number of rebellions and wars of independence in the Ottoman Balkan provinces, and the subsequent contest among the European powers for the remaining Ottoman territories. This was accompanied by increased interest among Western politicians, diplomats and academics in Balkan history in general and in that of Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular. The reason for Bosnia's (from here on used to mean 'Bosnia and Herzegovina') special status lay primarily in its multi-confessional society, with a large proportion of Muslims in the population. This made it different and, therefore, from the point of view of Christian Europe, more difficult to tackle than, for example, the much more religiously homogenous Greece or Serbia, both of which had by then already gained either full or partial independence from the Ottoman Empire and in the process had received support from various European countries.

Influenced by the presence of the substantial Muslim population in Bosnia, in writing on the subject of Bosnian history among Western academics two principal questions arose. The first was how to deal with this population – seen as being intrinsically at odds with Christian Europe – in any idea of an independent state, and the second was how to explain the existence of this population in the first place. The latter gave birth to the first academic discussions about conversions to Islam in Bosnia during the Ottoman period. Within this discussion, one distinct trend quickly emerged – that of linking the alleged Christian heretical past in Bosnia to the conversions of its population to Islam, a trend that, for convenience, can be termed 'the Bogomil theory'. The basis of this was that the members of the Bosnian medieval religious institution known as the 'Bosnian Church' (Crkva Bosanska), were members of the neo-Manichaean sect of Bogomils, and that the majority of the Bosnian population prior to the Ottoman conquest belonged to this church and were therefore Bogomil

with respect to religious identity. The theory proposes in addition that, following the Ottoman conquest in 1463, the Bosnian Bogomils voluntarily embraced Islam *en masse*, which is what accounts for the large number of Muslims in Bosnia. Two main reasons for these conversions were put forward. The first was the resentment felt among Bogomils towards the Catholic Church in the wake of the persecutions suffered in the years leading up to the Ottoman conquest (the last of these persecutions having been undertaken in 1459 by the Bosnian King Tomaš [r. 1443-61] but instigated by Rome). The second was the affinity between the Bogomils' beliefs and practices and those of Islam.

The three authors who were instrumental in establishing this theory within Western academia, and who contributed to its wider spread and popularity later, were Arthur J. Evans (1851-1941) in *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on foot, during the insurrection, August and September 1875*, published in 1876; János Asbóth (1845-1911) in *Bosznia és a Herczegovina. Uti rajzok és tanulmányok*, published in Hungarian in 1887, then in German as *Bosnien und die Herzegowina. Reisebilder und Studien* (1888) and in English as *An official tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1890); and Thomas Arnold (1864-1930) in *The preaching of Islam. A history of the propagation of the Muslim faith*, published in 1896. These works are discussed below.

In 1875, the well-known British archaeologist Arthur J. Evans undertook a journey through Bosnia and Herzegovina, accompanied by his brother Lewis Evans. Their journey coincided with the 1875 Herzegovina uprising of the Orthodox Christian population (the 'insurrection' of his book's title), which ultimately resulted in the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, hugely damaging to the Ottomans and including loss of territory to the Russian Empire as well as the official independence of Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia. The resulting publication is an extensive travelogue, consisting of a lengthy 'Historical review of Bosnia' (pp. xix-lxiii), which serves as an introduction, followed by nine chapters (pp. 1-435) describing Evans's journey from the north of Croatia across the length and breadth of Bosnia, and ending in Ragusa (Dubrovnik). In many respects, Evans's book is typical of the Orientalist trends of that era. Being an archaeologist, he was naturally interested in classical heritage and monuments, but the latter are frequently part of long, romanticised depictions of landscape and nature, and continuously mixed with expressions of a Western European sense of superiority and condescension. Anything pre-Ottoman is idealised and almost anything 'Turkish' or Muslim is derided. Evans's identity as a Christian, however, is what stands out in his writing, in both the style and the contents. He approaches his historical review and the issue of

conversions to Islam in Bosnia from an openly Protestant standpoint, giving a remarkably candid indication of his intentions in the preface:

> In the Historical Review of Bosnia I have attempted to elucidate and emphasise a most important aspect of Bosnian history – the connection, namely, between that till lately almost unknown land, and the Protestant Reformation of Europe, and the debt which even civilised England owes to that now unhappy country. (*Through Bosnia*, 1876 edition, p. vii)

He then makes an 'indirect' connection between Bosnia and the theologians Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, calling them 'spiritual children' of the 'Bogomiles of Bulgaria and Bosnia' (pp. xxxv-xl). Subsequently, he labels the Bosnian 'Bogomil' population as 'Protestant', and presents one of the earliest accounts of the Bogomil theory, albeit only the first part of it, namely the proposal about the Bosnian 'Bogomil' population's resentment of the Catholic Church being one of the main drivers for conversions to Islam. He describes the fall of Bosnia to the Ottomans purely in terms of the Bogomil betrayal: 'In 1463, on Mahomet II's invasion, the Catholic king found himself deserted by his people. The keys of the principal fortress, the royal city of Bobovac, were handed over to the Turk by the "Manichaean" governor' (p. xlii).

He further condemns the Catholic Church for the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia:

> The Protestant population of Bosnia had at last deliberately taken its choice, and preferred the dominion of what it believed to be the more tolerant Turks to the ferocious tyranny of Catholic kings, magnates, and monks. [...] Europe has mainly to thank the Church of Rome that an alien civilisation and religion has been thrust into their midst, and that Bosnia at present day remains Mahometan. (p. xlii)

Evans concludes his exposition of Bosnian history by proposing, as part of the solution to the 'Eastern Question', that England, as a fellow Protestant country, should support the Bosnian Orthodox population's rebellion, encourage the establishment of an independent Christian Bosnia, and act as 'a European guarantor' of this new state (p. lxiii).

János Asbóth's book considerably expands upon Evans's version of the Bogomil theory. Although written only a decade later, it was in a context of completely different circumstances: Austro-Hungary had won the contest for Bosnian territory and occupied it in 1878. The book is the result of this Hungarian politician's several years-long stay in the country in the entourage of the governor of Bosnia, Béni Kállay (1839-1903), and thus the author's observations on the historical, religious and political issues can

be taken as a good reflection of the official Austro-Hungarian views on those subjects. Asbóth's book, in two volumes of 275 pages and 222 pages in Hungarian, and in one volume of 496 pages in English (the edition used here), is an extensive historical, religious, social and ethnographic survey of Bosnia and Herzegovina intended to help the colonisers familiarise themselves with their colony and its people and their customs. A lengthy bibliography given right at the start is intended to provide a sense of authority and serve as a confirmation of the veracity of what follows in the rest of the book (though references of any kind are seldom used in the text). The Bogomil theory is presented in ch. 4, which deals with the pre-Ottoman history of Bosnia and is suggestively named simply, 'The Bogomiles'. Like Evans, Asbóth expresses the fall of Bosnia into Ottoman hands in terms of Bogomil treason:

> Muhammad [...] drew up before the walls of Bobovatz, and on the 19th of May commenced the siege of this stronghold. Bobovatz, which had survived so many sieges, would have proved defensible on this occasion too, had not the commandant, Knez Radak, been, in secret, a Bogomile, who had only embraced the Catholic faith under compulsion, and he surrendered the fortress on the third day of the siege. (*Official tour through Bosnia*, p. 94)

Thus, while Evans is motivated by his hostility towards the Catholic Church and British colonial aspirations in the Balkans, for Asbóth this narrative usefully serves to exculpate Hungary and Austria from their failure to protect medieval Bosnia from falling into Ottoman hands. Asbóth also subscribes to the view that the majority of the Bosnian population belonged to the Bogomil sect and, again like Evans, attributes the conversions to Islam to the population's resentment of the Catholic Church. The supposed large number of Bogomils in Bosnia in the 15th century is what, according to Asbóth, accounts for the large number of Muslims in the 19th century: 'As the greater part of the population had joined the Bogomilian Church, the conclusion may be drawn, from the entire disappearance of this sect, that the larger part of the original population which did not emigrate passed over to Islam' (p. 98).

It is in this context that Asbóth provides what appears to be one of the earliest (if not the earliest) versions of the second part of the Bogomil theory – namely, the suggestion that the Bosnian 'Bogomils' found it easy to convert to Islam due to the similarities between their beliefs and practices and those of Muslims. Thus, Asbóth suggests that this was the case because both religious systems 'rejected the cross, baptism, ecclesiastical pomp, ceremonial, the hierarchy, and the sacrament of marriage' (p. 95).

Finally, it was the British Orientalist Thomas Arnold who, judging by his footnotes, built upon both Evans and Asbóth, and provided the most complete version of the thesis about the similarities between Bogomilism and Islam, and thus the most complete version of the Bogomil theory itself. As will be seen shortly, it is this version, together with Arnold's reputation as a scholar, which served to establish the Bogomil theory within both Western and Eastern European academia. His well-known work on the history of the expansion of Islam published in 1896, 386 pages in length, is arranged in 13 chapters mostly by geographical area, except for two general introductory and one concluding chapters. Ch. 6, 'The spread of Islam in the Christian nations in Europe under the Turks' (pp. 125-76), includes a section on Islam in Bosnia that occupies less than three whole pages (pp. 169-72). Nevertheless, within this short space, Arnold reiterates the Bogomil theory as proposed by Evans and Asbóth in their respective works. Once again, in a sentence remarkably similar to the summation provided by Evans, and followed by references to both Evans and Asbóth, the fall of Bosnia to the Ottomans is blamed squarely on the Bogomils:

> The following year when Bosnia was invaded by Muhammad II, the Catholic king found himself deserted by his subjects: the keys of the principal fortress, the royal city of Bobovatz, were handed over to the Turks by the Bogomile governor; the other fortresses and towns hastened to follow this example, and within a week seventy cities passed into the hands of the Sultan, and Muhammad II added Bosnia to the number of his numerous conquests. (*Preaching of Islam*, p. 170)

Arnold then proceeds to emphasise the apparent similarity between Bogomilism and Islam as the principal reason behind the conversions of the Bosnian 'Bogomils' to Islam following the Ottoman conquest. He expands the list of similarities given by Asbóth, adding among others the following: the Bogomils' rejection of the worship of the Virgin Mary, the institution of baptism and priesthood, their abominations of the cross, or bowing before relics and images of saints, and their condemnation of wine and 'general austerity of their mode of life' (p. 171). In spite of his very confidently laid out proposal, Arnold is in fact acutely aware of the problems with this theory. Both this and the fact that his views were conditioned by his own religious affiliation, and a deep conviction that no true Christians could have converted to Islam, are well illustrated by the following statements at the end of this exposition:

> I have brought together here many points of likeness to the teachings of Islam, which we find in this Bogomilian heresy, but there were of course, some doctrines of a distinct Christian character which an orthodox Muslim

> could not hold. [...] Their Manichaean dualism was equally irreconcilable with Muslim theology, but Islam has always shown itself tolerant of such theological speculations provided that they did not issue in a schism and that a general assent and consent were given to the main principles of its theory and practice. (p. 172)

Thus, in spite of recognising the obvious problems with his views, Arnold would still much rather reconcile with Islam even Manichaean dualism than any orthodox Christian doctrine.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to underestimate the significance of the Bogomil theory as proposed by Evans, Asbóth and Arnold in the second half of the 19th century. From the early 20th century onwards, it became firmly established in both Western and Balkan, and especially Bosnian, academia as the principal explanation for the conversions to Islam in Bosnia during the Ottoman period. Outside the realm of academia, it has provided the basis for the contemporary Bosnian Muslims' constructions of identity, a process that has been taking place against the background of their continuous struggle for survival throughout the last century.

One of the earliest mentions of the Bogomil theory by a Bosnian Muslim scholar was that of Mehmed Handžić in his 1935 article entitled 'Glavni uzrok prelaza Bogomila na Islam' ('The main reason for the conversions of the Bogomils to Islam', *Narodna Uzdanica, Kalendar za 1935* [1934] 77-80). In his account of the theory, he relies on Arnold's narrative in *The preaching of Islam*, and in another work concludes his exposition of it with 'These are the exact words of a scholar of world-wide renown, a professor at London University, Arnold' (Handžić, *Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine* ['Islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina'], Sarajevo, 1940, p. 16). A development similar to this can be traced in another work from Western academia. William Miller's *Essays on the Latin Orient* (1921) recounts almost word-for-word Arnold's narrative of the events following the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, including the theory about the Bogomil betrayal, their mass conversions to Islam, and similarities between the latter and Bogomilism (*Essays*, p. 494). In both cases, having been quoted multiple times by later works on the subject, the theory henceforth perpetuated its presence in the course of all subsequent discussions of the conversions to Islam in the region.

As early as 1975, John Fine concluded that the Bosnian Church – branded as 'Bogomil' purely on the basis of external accusations of heresy without any evidence from within the church itself – was a small and ineffective organisation, which could not have made any significant contribution

to the conversions to Islam in Bosnia (*Bosnian Church*, p. 385). The first in-depth examination of the conversion data from Ottoman registers supported this conclusion, as they showed a very small number of converts who could be identified as belonging to a separate church organisation, i.e. those designated in the registers as neither Catholic nor Orthodox Christians (Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes*, pp. 16-17). Consequently, many Western academics began to revise their views and gradually rejected the Bogomil theory as no more than an attempt to explain the existence of the indigenous Muslim population in Bosnia. This, however, was not the case among Bosnian academics. There, the theory underwent an extensive revival from the early 1990s, on the eve of and in the aftermath of the Bosnian war. It was initiated by Bosnian Muslim scholars (Muhamed Hadžijahić and Enver Imamović being the foremost representatives) as a direct response to the rise of mostly Serbian but also Croatian nationalist rhetoric during the war. One of the first premises of the nationalist historiography utilised to support the war rhetoric was the designation of nationality by religion, the origins of which go back to the rise of Serbian nationalism in the 19th century. According to this, Orthodox Christians living in Bosnia are not thought of as 'Bosnians' but are designated as 'Serbs'; likewise, Catholics are 'Croats'. It follows that Bosnian Muslims must be either converted Serbs or converted Croats, or foreign elements, i.e. Turks who must have usurped ancient Slavic lands in Serbia and Croatia (Bosnia being considered as part of one or the other, or, in some cases, both). In their attempt to avoid either of these two options and find historical continuity for the distinct identity of Bosnian Muslims today, the Bosnian Muslim academics turned back to the Bogomil theory. If the ancestors of contemporary Muslims could be shown to have been members of a heretical Christian church or sect, they would have been as distinct from the medieval Orthodox or Catholics as are today's Muslims from Serbs or Croats.

Since the war, the popularity of the Bogomil theory in Bosnia, both within academia and in wider social and cultural contexts, has not diminished. As part of the process of finding for themselves a religion-based designation equivalent to 'Serbs' and 'Croats', Bosnian Muslims have since the early 1990s started adopting the term 'Bosniak' as an indicator of their 'national' identity. The importance of the Bogomil theory for the contemporary Bosnian Muslims' construction of their 'national' identity and the impact that the 1990s revival of the theory has had on this process is further illustrated by the fact that in some Bosnian Muslim circles the term 'Bosniak' is thought to have its origin in Bogomilism (Bektović, 'European Islam', p. 220).

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Ines Aščerić-Todd

Mincho Kanchev

DATE OF BIRTH 6 August 1836
PLACE OF BIRTH Arabadzhievo, Ottoman Empire
DATE OF DEATH 21 October 1904
PLACE OF DEATH Arabadzhievo

BIOGRAPHY

Mincho Kanchev Stoyanov was born in 1836 in the village of Arabadzhievo, now Kolarovo, near Stara Zagora in the European region of the Ottoman Empire. He taught in his native village from 1856 to 1862, when he was ordained a priest, *pop*. He was also a revolutionary and was active in the national liberation movement. As an inspector of rural schools in the region, he expanded the network of revolutionary committees. Following the disclosure of the alleged Haskov conspiracy, an uprising against Ottoman control that occurred in 1873, he was arrested and exiled to Diyarbekir in eastern Anatolia. He claimed that he was consecrated archbishop in Diyarbekir in 1878 but later lost the document attesting to this. His claimed status was never accepted by the Bulgarian Church.

He was released in 1878 under the general amnesty that followed the Russian-Turkish war and he returned to his native village, serving again as a priest and school inspector (1879-80, 1884) in the vasal state of Eastern Rumelia. Later, after the unification of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia in 1885, he was active in Bulgarian politics. He died on 21 October 1904.

He was the author of *Vidritsa*, one of the last Bulgarian illustrated manuscript books and the main source of information about his life.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vidritsa. Spomeni, zapiski, korespondentsiya 'The gypsy beggars' jug. Memories, notes, correspondence'

DATE Early 20th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION

Vidritsa is an extraordinary work, more than 2,200 pages long in manuscript form. The title uses a little-known dialect word meaning a jug with handles into which gypsy beggars put everything they have received. Mincho Kanchev claimed that he started writing it as early as the 1870s and finished it at the beginning of the 20th century, though it reached readers only in 1983, when the first volume of more than 800 pages appeared; twelve years later, the second volume of 310 pages was published.

The book represents a synthesis of the more traditional 'historical notes', memoirs, and literature of the modern age. Kanchev narrates his life, starting with his early years in his native village, where he received his modest education before becoming a priest, which gave him the opportunity to depict everyday life in the country. He presents himself as first a life-loving troublemaker who did not adhere strictly to religious norms and constantly came into conflict with those around him. He was an outspoken opponent of Muslims, but during his long exile in Anatolia he met a variety of ethnic and religious groups that sometimes were at odds with one another and at other times managed to live together. Despite this, he continues to name Muslims 'dogs', 'bloodsuckers', 'barbarians' and the like. He mentions meeting the *Shaitan-millet* ('community of Satan'), who

are probably Zoroastrians, and the Christians he refers to are Bulgarians, Greeks and Syrians (some of them crypto-Christians), with distinct church hierarchies. An important problem is mixed marriages, which are strictly forbidden by the religious norms, but nevertheless they do occur. It seems to be more important to follow regulations of popular culture than doctrinal norms.

Often, the contradictions within one religion, whether Christianity or Islam, are no less sharp than the contradictions between the two religions. Kanchev follows the main European stereotypes of the East as barbarian and less civilised, though at the same time he adopts the stereotypes of the dominant group of Turks towards Kurds.

SIGNIFICANCE

Vidritsa is a valuable witness to the revolutionary movement and life in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century. It is a book without parallel in Bulgarian literature (and with few parallels in other Balkan literatures), which presents the ethnic and religious diversity of the era through the eyes of an intelligent man with modest education who occupied an important position both as priest and rebel. Declaring his Orthodox faith and opposing Islam, he was nevertheless curious to learn something about religions other than his own, especially about the diversities within them. The manuscript was read by several revolutionaries in his own time, who used it in their own memoirs. The appearance of the printed edition was received as a literary event that had an impact on both specialists and the general public; parts of the book were prepared for theatrical performances.

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Nikolay Aretov

Pencho Slaveĭkov

Pencho Petkov Slaveĭkov

DATE OF BIRTH 27 April 1866
PLACE OF BIRTH Triavna, Ottoman Empire
DATE OF DEATH 28 May 1912
PLACE OF DEATH Brunate, Italy

BIOGRAPHY

Pencho Petkov Slaveĭkov was the youngest son of the writer Petko Slaveĭkov (*CMR* 22, 881-4). Born in Triavna, Pencho was educated there as well as in Stara Zagora and Plovdiv. After an accident in January 1884, when at the age of 18 he fell asleep on a bench while it was snowing, he developed pneumonia. Despite lengthy treatment in Plovdiv, Sofia, Leipzig, Berlin and Paris, this illness left him with serious impairments: he could not walk without a cane, and he wrote and spoke with difficulty.

Slaveĭkov's works include epic poems and intimate lyrics. He was also an outstanding essayist and translator of German literature. He studied philosophy during a period when he lived in Leipzig, where he was exposed to German ideas, literature and art. Slaveĭkov was especially inspired by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (*CMR* 22, 106-16), Heinrich Heine (*CMR* 22, 117-25) and Friedrich Nietzsche, as well as by the simple eloquence and realism of Bulgarian folk songs.

After returning to Bulgaria in 1898, Slaveĭkov joined the Misal ('Thought') circle with a number of other noted writers, such as Krastyo Krastev, Petko Todorov and Peyo Yavorov. He became an assistant director (1901-9) and later director of the National Library of Bulgaria (1909-11) and a director of the Bulgarian National Theatre (1908-9). In 1903, he began a relationship with the poet Mara Belcheva, which lasted until his death in 1912. They never married but he referred to her as his 'wife' throughout his writings.

He was dismissed from the post of director of the National Library on 10 July 1911, because of political misunderstandings with the minister of culture. He left Bulgaria to live in Switzerland before moving to Italy at the end of November 1911. He remained in Rome for three months and set off in May 1912 to travel through Florence, the Engadin region in the Swiss Alps and the mountains 'looking for a cure' for his long-term condition

and ailments. At the end of the month, he arrived in the small town of Brunate near Lake Como, where he died on 28 May 1912.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Karvava pesen
'Song of blood'

DATE 1913, unfinished
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Bulgarian

DESCRIPTION

It was while Slaveĭkov was studying in Germany that he began the work for which he is best known, his unfinished epic poem *Karvava pesen* ('Song of blood'), written between 1911 and 1912 and first published in 1913. Consisting of an introduction and nine songs, it describes the organisation of the April uprising of 1876, the sacrifices of the Bulgarian people in their struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire, the various trends among the leaders of the Bulgarians and their heroic deeds.

Following the dominant idea from that time and later, Christianity in its Orthodox form is presented in the poem not so much as a universal religion but as the most important aspect of Bulgarian national identity. Slaveĭkov, who was not a regular churchgoer, presents the church building in his fictional Kamengrad ('Stone town') as the place where all the people gather to make important decisions and to find refuge.

Turks are presented as the main enemies and although their religion is not mentioned explicitly, and is therefore seemingly not the focus, Slaveĭkov insists on their barbarism and backwardness as in effect a reflection of their religion. Moreover, Imam ('Hogja') and Allah are mentioned several times during the account of the massacre of the Christians.

SIGNIFICANCE

Karvava Pesen is the most serious attempt to create a national epic in verse, and it has an important place in the history of Bulgarian literature. Slaveĭkov follows various memoirs of the April uprising, such as those of Zahari Stoianov (1850-89), aspiring to create an artistic picture of the events. He also tried to compete with the most popular Bulgarian novel, *Pod igoto* ('Under the yoke', 1888) by Ivan Vazov (*CMR* 22, 889-94). Mostly through this poem, in the hierarchy of the Misal circle and its followers, Pencho Slaveĭkov aspired to be the national poet of Bulgaria. With respect to Christian-Muslim relations, the poem reiterates to a great extent the familiar stereotypes in a slightly Nietzschean variation.

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Nikolay Aretov

Islam in 19th-century Slovenian historical writing: Josip Jurčič and Jakob Sket

DATE OF BIRTH Jurčič, 4 March 1844; Sket, 2 May 1852
PLACE OF BIRTH Jurčič, Muljava, Slovenia; Sket, Mestinje, Slovenia
DATE OF DEATH Jurčič, 3 May, 1881; Sket, 11 April 1912
PLACE OF DEATH Jurčič, Ljubljana, Slovenia; Sket, Klagenfurt am Wörthersee, Austria

BIOGRAPHY

In the second half of the 19th century, as part of a broader project of creating a definitive 'national' literature in the Slovenian language, a number of Slovenian authors began to write stories set in Slovenian-speaking territories in the 15th and 16th centuries, during the time of Ottoman Turkish incursions into the western Balkans. These works are the most prominent and most typical examples of representations of Muslims and Christian-Muslim relations in Slovenian literature before the 1930s. Around 30 works, most of novella length, can be identified in this genre of the 'Turkish tale' (M. Hladnik, 'Turki v slovenski zgodovinski povesti', *Slavia Meridionalis* 11 (2011) 253-63, p. 253). The two best-known works are *Jurij Kozjak, slovenski janičar* ('Jurij Kozjak, a Slovenian Janissary', 1864) by Josip Jurčič (1844-81), and *Miklova Zala* (1884) by Jakob Sket (1852-1912).

Josip Jurčič was born on 4 March 1844 in Muljava, in Lower Carniola. After graduating from secondary school in 1865, he managed to eke out a living from writing and editing and spent some time in Vienna, though he never completed his university studies there. He died from tuberculosis in Ljubljana in 1881. He is best known for his prose writing, particularly historical novellas and parables, as well as *Deseti brat* ('The tenth brother', 1866), often considered to be the first Slovenian novel.

Jakob Sket was born on 2 May 1852 in Mestinje, near Šmarje pri Jelšah in Styria. He studied philology and languages in Graz, and aspired to an academic career but, despite many attempts, he never succeeded in obtaining a professorial position. He taught at the *Gymnasium* in Klagenfurt, Carinthia, from 1878 to 1908, and worked as editor and director at Družba Sv. Mohorja from 1883 until his death in 1912. He wrote several novels, though none of them met with particularly wide success or acclaim apart from *Miklova Zala,* which remains his best-known work.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam in 19th-century Slovenian historical writing

DATE 1850-1930
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slovenian

DESCRIPTION

The two works discussed below are the best-known examples of the Slovenian 'Turkish tale', that is, historical literary narratives set in the 15th and 16th centuries within Slovenian-speaking territories in which Muslims, always represented as 'Turks', feature prominently as a hostile force.

The novella *Jurij Kozjak, slovenski janičar: Povest iz petnajstega stoletja domače zgodovine* ('Jurij Kozjak, a Slovenian Janissary: A tale from our 15th-century history'), 104 pages long, by Josip Jurčič was first published in 1864 and is considered to be the first and most prototypical Slovenian Turkish tale. It relates the history of the Kozjak family of Lower Carniola in the mid-1400s, whose members defended 'Slovenian lands' against the Turks on their 'nearly yearly incursions' (p. 5, first edition, 1864, the edition used here). The family's only son and heir, Jurij, is sold by his treacherous uncle as ransom to 'Gypsies', who promptly sell him to the Turks (pp. 30-6). Among them, his 'tender seed of Christian civility' is 'torn out' and replaced by 'Mohammedanism', represented as a religion of hatred that teaches only that 'the Christians and their religion should be killed' (p. 51). Jurij forgets his family and his native Slovene language, and becomes a Janissary officer. During the next Turkish incursion into Slovenia a fierce battle ensues. On the Turkish side, Jurij is one of the fiercest warriors, though his 'good' heart remains in place and he does not join his comrades in slaughtering unarmed innocent people (p. 86). The defenders, however, manage to capture Jurij; he realises where his true loyalty lies and returns to his Christian birth family. His defection causes the Turkish force to retreat.

For many of the motifs in Jurij Kozjak, Jurčič drew on local folk tales, though he also attempted to anchor his story in the documented history of Turkish incursions, mostly by reference to Johann Weikhard von Valvasor's (1641-93) seminal 1689 work on Carniolan geography and history, *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain* ('The glory of the Duchy of Carniola'). He saw *Jurij Kozjak* as part of a broader project of crafting literary histories that would help define Slovenian national identity, apparently under the inspiration of the historical novels of Walter Scott, which he read in German translation.

The novella *Miklova Zala: Povest iz turških časov* ('Miklova Zala: A tale from Turkish times') by Jakob Sket, first published in 1884, 96 pages long, also draws on folk tales and reworks many of the same themes as *Jurij Kozjak*, including trickery (though the traitor in *Zala* is a Jewish woman rather than a 'gypsy', as in *Kozjak*), the kidnapping of a Christian by the Turks, the eventual return home and reconciliation. In Sket's story, the kidnapped Christian is a woman, Zala, who is enslaved and brought to the sultan's court in Istanbul. Despite the fine clothes and accommodation she is given, she remains unhappy. Her only comfort is the image of the Virgin Mary that hangs around her neck, and to which she prays daily. After she has spent seven years in captivity, the sultan urges her to convert to the 'Turkish faith' (p. 94, fifth edition, 1921, the edition used here), but Zala refuses and is sentenced to death. As a 'good and constant Christian' she is not afraid of this (p. 95). However, shortly before she is due to be executed, a passing guard hears her praying in her room; he turns out to be her uncle Marko, another Christian who kept his faith at the Ottoman court against all odds. Zala and Marko manage to escape and, though Marko is caught and slaughtered by the Turks, Zala disguises herself as a beggar and eventually manages to return home. Based by Sket on local folk-tale models, *Miklova Zala* was especially popular in Carinthia. It appears to draw some of its motifs from Ferdo Kočevar's 1859 novella, *Mlinarjev Janez*, which likewise features a Slovenian woman captured by the Turks – though with the added twist that this woman had previously disguised herself as a man – and is reunited with her lover (who had been enslaved by an 'Arab') in Algiers.

Other Turkish tales that explore Christian-Muslim relations through the characters of Slovenian Janissaries include *Mahmud* by Jurij Vranič (1870), which appears to draw much inspiration from Michał Czajkowski's *Kirdzali* (1838), and *Križem sveta* ('Around the world') by Franc Valentin Slemenik (1877). A number of other tales also depict Muslims as enemies: *Strahovalci dveh kron* ('Intimidators of two crowns') by Miroslav Malovrh

(1907), *Črna žena* ('The black woman') by Gregor Žerjav (1910), and a number of stories by Lea Fatur: *Vilemir* (1906), *Za Adrijo* ('For Adria', 1909) and *Junakinja zvestobe* ('Heroine of loyalty', 1927-8). A large number of other works is also listed in Hladnik, 'Turki', (p. 254, n. 4). The same historical motifs were also explored in poetry by some Slovenian realists, with poems such as *Turki na Limbarški gori* ('Turks at Limbar mountain', 1849) by Janez Trdina, which describes a bloody battle against the Turks, and *Janičar* ('Janissary', 1890) by Anton Aškerc, in which a Janissary refuses to attack the village of his birth.

In his 1858 travelogue *Popotovanje iz Litije do Čateža* ('A journey from Litija to Čatež'), Fran Levstik included popular tales about 'Turkish battles' in a programmatic statement about the motifs that he said should form the core of nascent Slovenian national literature – both due to existing material in popular folk literature, as well as what he perceived as the laudable initiative and courage of Slovenian speakers in defending their lands during that time without help from foreign powers or overlords. Turkish tales can thus be seen as part of the effort to realise a literary-nationalist project by which the Slovenian nation was historically defined through its struggles against Ottoman Turkish raids in the 15th and 16th centuries. In them the relationship between Christians and Muslims is presented as fundamentally antagonistic: the Slovenians are defending their homeland against both Turkish invaders and an alien, incomprehensible faith that contrasts with their natural, if not essential, Christianity. The Muslim 'other' is to all intents and purposes a foil against which the true Christian Slovenian identity can be defined; indeed, the protagonists of *Jurij Kozjak* and *Miklova Zala* are only able fully to appreciate the three most fundamental aspects of their identity – home and family, the Slovenian language, and Christianity – once they are taken away from them in Turkish captivity. The negative contrast is so stark that the Muslim character of the enemy or oppressor is almost incidental; *Miklova Zala* has in fact been read as a parable of the German suppression of Slovenian language and culture in Carinthia (Petzer, 'Inner Orient', p. 138).

The works of Jurčič, Sket and others drew extensively on a fund of Slovenian folk tales and songs that went back to the 15th century, and which fitted the notion of a popular repertoire of metaphors and myth-making in defining Christian identity in the *antemurale Christianitatis* against the Muslims beyond the frontier – a form of stereotyping of Muslims as a faceless mass of enemies that has been termed 'frontier Orientalism' (Kalčić, 'Kar se zasliši', pp. 252-3). To the extent that these folk tales and songs have been recorded, they appear to include representations of Muslims that

are very similar to the realist literary works that drew inspiration from them. Inter-religious relations, insofar as they are mentioned, are antagonistic and Muslims are represented as one-dimensional enemies usually referred to as a collective of hostile 'Turks', though they also appear to be strongly susceptible to the alluring charms of Slovenian women and a persistent motif is that of an outwardly Muslim character who turns out to be a Christian Slovenian. The main innovations of the realists seem to have been a formalisation of plot and structure, the inclusion of more complex protagonists in a novelistic fashion, and an attempt to tie the narrative, at least roughly, to particular dates and events in recorded history.

Even though the characters, motivations and plots in the realist texts can be quite complex, Christian-Muslim relations are reduced to essentialised, unbridgeable hostility. Muslims are referred to as Turks or 'Mohammedans', or alternatively as 'infidels' (*neverci, brezverci, neverniki*: literally those with 'no faith'), and little nuance or detail is attempted in the representation of Islam or Muslims. In *Jurij Kozjak*, the name 'Allāh' is literally reduced to the status of a war cry, while, apart from a handful of named commanders and the sultan, Muslims are invariably referred to generically and collectively as 'Turks', and are denied much semblance of individuality or even personhood. They are often described as little more than bloodthirsty beasts: *divji Turki* ('wild Turks') in *Jurij Kozjak*, and *pesjani* (literally 'dogs') with no more specific qualifier in *Miklova Zala.* Other ethnic and religious groups are not subject to the same degree of dehumanisation; although the representation of Jews and Roma ('Gypsies'), for example, is laden with negative stereotypes and extremely problematic, they still include characters with their own complex personalities and motivations. By contrast, most Muslim characters are complete cyphers, motivated only by bloodlust and greed. The only exceptions are, naturally, the outwardly Muslim converts who are, in truth, Slovenians 'dressed as Turks' (Hladnik, 'Turki', p. 258). Janissaries of Slovenian origin, like Jurij Kozjak or Marko in *Miklova Zala*, always remain fundamentally faithful to Christianity and, once their true origin is revealed, there is no question of conflicting loyalties. Their natural allegiance to home, and the Christian faith that is part and parcel of it, always prevails.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Turkish tales were very popular at the time of their publication and beyond. *Jurij Kozjak* received a publisher's prize of 100 gulden, was reprinted three times, and attracted dozens of new editions and translations (Hladnik, 'Turki', pp. 256-7). *Miklova Zala* has been the subject of at

least five stage adaptations from perhaps as early as 1897, though the first major adaptation was written by Jakob Špicar in 1907 (first performed in 1909). Fran Žižek's adaptation in 1945/6 (text published 1953) was better known throughout Slovenia as a whole, but Špicar's work had a lasting influence especially in Slovenian-speaking Carinthia. Intriguingly, beginning with Špicar's, these adaptations vastly reduced their references to Christian faith and also introduced a number of Turkish characters that did not feature in Sket's original novella, such as 'Iskender Bey', a Turkish noble who falls in love with Zala and refuses to hand her over to the sultan. In these stage adaptations, Turks are no longer merely mute bystanders; they now become fully realised characters with their own conflicts and motivations, and perform an almost didactic, and mostly accurate in detail, display of Muslim beliefs and customs. Though still extensively stereotyped, the introduction of these Muslim characters represents a clear development and innovation, and a marked departure from the one-dimensional 'wild Turks' of the prose versions.

In line with Levstik's literary programme, Turkish tales have successfully insinuated themselves into the Slovenian national literary canon, and form part of the school curriculum to this day. Beyond the scope of literary works, the stereotypes about the history of Christian-Muslim relations that these texts reproduce and formalise persist in the broader educational system. The period of 'Turkish incursions' remains a favourite topic of study for Slovenian historians, dwarfing any efforts to diversify perceptions of the history of Christian-Muslim relations. A recent survey of primary school history textbooks reveals that mutual hostility between Christians and Muslims and the essentially aggressive nature of Islam as represented by the Ottomans still form the basis of representations of historical Christian-Muslim relations in Slovenia (Porić and Črnić, 'Reprezentacije', pp. 52-3).

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