

Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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VOLUME 29

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

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Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 8. Northern and Eastern Europe
(1600-1700)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth
with Clinton Bennett, Lejla Demiri,
Martha Frederiks, Stanisław Grodź, Douglas Pratt



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Cover illustration: Portrait of 'Abd al-Wāhid ibn Muḥammad al-Annurī, the Moroccan ambassador, c. 1600, painter unknown. It has been suggested that the ambassador was a model for the character of Othello, in Shakespeare's play of 1604. On display at the Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, Stratford upon Avon. The University of Birmingham Research and Cultural Collections.

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FOREWORD

David Thomas

This volume of *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical History* (CMR 8) continues the history of relations between Christians and Muslims according to the original sources in the period 1600-1700. CMR 8 focuses on works from Great Britain, The Netherlands, Scandinavia, Poland, Lithuania and Russia, mostly written by authors who either professed Christianity or reflected its teachings and the attitudes emanating from them. It shows that while prejudices known from earlier times were still current, among them that Muslims had been misled by a false prophet, were morally directionless and represented the embodiment of evil, there were also glimmerings of awareness that they may be capable of salvation like Christians, and open curiosity about their beliefs and ways. As a result of intensifying encounters through trade, diplomatic initiatives and the memoirs of travellers, there was also more extensive and more accurate knowledge about them and their beliefs, though this was held in tension with stories about Islamic origins passed down from former times, in particular the life and status of Muḥammad, who remained the arch-imposter.

The intention of the CMR series is to provide full accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about one another and against one another. As in earlier volumes, the editors have been generously assisted by both new and established scholars, who have often written at length and in detail to produce a collection of entries that reflect the latest research and in some instances take it forward and extend it beyond what was previously known. This is especially true for entries concerning works from Eastern Europe and Russia.

Like its predecessors, CMR 8 starts with introductory essays that treat details of the political and religious situation in the world of the 17th century in which the works concerned with Christian-Muslim relations were written. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic criterion has been to choose works written substantially about or against the other faith, or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on attitudes of one faith towards the other. Thus, by their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters, addresses, plays and works of travel and history

also frequently qualify. Everything has been included that is thought to contribute substantially towards building the picture of Islam that was portrayed by Christians, and towards constructing attitudes towards Muslims expressed by Christians.

This principle criterion is easily applicable in many cases, but it proves difficult in a significant minority of instances (not least Russian stories in which Muslims (usually Turks) appear at first sight more as threats to the integrity of the nation than as bearers of a religion). An inclusive approach has therefore been adopted, especially with respect to works that may contain only small though insightful details, or only appear to touch obliquely on relations. Another criterion is that inclusion of works within this volume, like its predecessors, has been decided according to the date of their author's death, not the date when the works themselves appeared. The adoption of this approach has led to evident anomalies at either end, where authors were mainly or almost entirely active in one century though have not died until the beginning of the next. If this seems arbitrary, it is balanced by the consideration that any other criterion would also be likely to involve debatable decisions.

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

The second part of the entry is concerned with the works of the author that are specifically devoted to the other faith. Here completeness is the aim. A work is named and dated (where possible), and then in two important sections its contents are described and its significance in the history of Christian-Muslim relations is appraised. There follow sections listing publication details and studies, intended to be fully up to date at the time of going to press.

With this coverage, *CMR* 8 should provide sufficient information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from the same region written at the same time, though this grouping should be regarded as more a matter of convenience than

anything else. Proximity between works in the bibliography is definitely not an indication of any necessary direct relationship between them, let alone influence (though this may sometimes be discernible). In this period it is as likely that an author would be influenced by a work written hundreds of miles away or hundreds of years before as by another from their immediate locality or time.

The composition of *CMR* 8 has involved more than a hundred contributors, who have readily and often enthusiastically agreed to write entries. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), Emma Loghin (Research Associate), Clinton Bennett (British Isles and Scandinavia), Stanisław Grodź (Poland and Slavonic neighbours) Cornelia Soldat (Russia) and Karel Steenbrink (The Netherlands). These are members of a much larger team that comprises 25 specialists in total, covering all parts of the world. Many other scholars from various countries devoted their expertise, energy and time to identifying relevant material in their specialist areas, finding contributors and sharing their expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of assembling the material in this volume would have been much more difficult, if possible at all. In addition, Carol Rowe copy edited the entire volume, and Alex Mallett provided links with the staff editors at Brill. The *CMR* team are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed in any way.

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

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

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BL
British Library
- BSOAS
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
- DNB
L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*,
London 1885-1901
- ECCO
Eighteenth Century Collections Online; <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/dispBasicSearch.do>
- EEB
Early European Books; <http://eeb.chadwyck.com/home.do>
- EEBO
Early English Books Online; <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>
- El₂
Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition
- El₃
Encyclopaedia of Islam Three
- ESTC
English Short Title Catalogue; <http://estc.bl.uk>
- ICMR
Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
- JAOS
Journal of the American Oriental Society
- MW
Muslim World
- ODNB
H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004-
- Q
Qur'an
- STC
A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (eds), *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, London, 1926

VOC

Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

Wing

D.G. Wing, *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, New York, 1945-51

Introduction

Stanisław Grodź

This introduction aims to draw a framework of the political events that influenced (or were influenced by) Christian-Muslim encounters in the area of northern and eastern Europe. What Christians (the Tatars living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are the only Muslim authors covered in this volume) knew and wrote about Muslims and Islam, how they presented Christianity to Muslims and what attitudes they expressed can be found in a variety of sources, among them theological treatises, works for potential converts, polemics, political writings, diplomatic reports and correspondence, travelogues, dramatic works, legal regulations and translations of works written in the languages of the Islamic world into European vernaculars.

The geographical framework of the volume spans the British Isles, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, the Commonwealth of Two Nations (Poland-Lithuania), and Muscovy, with different dispositions that had an impact on the character and intensity of their contacts with Muslims. Only Muscovy and the Commonwealth shared land borders with the Ottoman Empire and its dependents. The Scandinavians came into contact with Muslims through their military ventures on the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea (by seeking political allies against their more proximate foes). The English and the Dutch encountered Muslims as they extended their maritime ventures into the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean – the English held Tangiers on the southern shores of the Mediterranean for some two decades, 1661-84.

At the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch were on the rise, despite their struggle for independence from Spanish rule between 1568 and 1648; it ended with the final acknowledgement of the independence of the Republic of the United Provinces, whose economic activities (trade, textile industry, shipbuilding, banking and credit operations, among others) strengthened the position of Dutch urban centres. The creation of the Dutch East India Company (1602), which gained several privileges – the monopoly of trade in the Pacific and Indian Ocean, the right to maintain its own army and war fleet and to make treaties with local rulers – was a significant event. Many of the Dutch encounters with Muslims

took place on the islands of present-day Indonesia and the Philippines (the results as they are preserved in written records will be accounted for in *CMR n. South and East Asia, Africa and the Americas, 1600-1700*) though the Dutch also followed mercantile and diplomatic interests into the Mediterranean (see in this volume reports by e.g. Gerard Hinlopen, Cornelis Pijnacker and Schimmelpenninck van der Oye). For the Dutch, the 17th century was also a time of flourishing domestic culture. Despite problems with intolerance, the United Provinces offered asylum to thinkers and publishers who would not have been able to work elsewhere in Europe at this time. In the third quarter of the 17th century, the Dutch clashed over domination on the seas with the new maritime power growing in Britain, and after several wars they were forced to recognise British supremacy. Irrespective of this, the dynastic contacts between the House of Orange and the House of Stuart resulted in the marriage of William of Orange and Mary Stuart in 1678 and their accession as joint rulers of Great Britain in 1689, after Mary's father, James II, was deposed.¹

The 17th century was a turbulent time for England, with the changes of the dynasties, the Civil War (1642-51), the beheading of Charles I (1649), and fierce debates on religious toleration. Religious issues (as elsewhere in Europe) were of significant importance not only on a personal level but also in politics. Attempts to impose compulsory observance of Church of England rites and persecution of all who did not conform marred the socio-political situation throughout the century (e.g. Archbishop William Laud's actions against the Puritans in the 1630s and attempts to introduce a new prayer book in Scotland that resulted in the so-called Bishops' Wars 1639-40). They were countered by demands for religious freedom (e.g. by John Lilburne and the Levellers in 1646). Promises to grant these, even if they were made, were implemented in a very limited way. They ended with the Act of Toleration passed by Parliament in 1689, allowing Protestant non-conformists to have places of worship but barring them from holding government positions and attending university.

The events taking place in the British Isles had their impact on trends and attitudes towards Muslims. The openness of the Elizabethan era was partly replaced by the dislike for Muslims expressed by James I (see *Court correspondence* in this volume) and an attitude marked by suspicion towards over-enthusiastic Christian groups. The latter was particularly visible in the events surrounding the publication of the

¹ J.I. Israel, *The Dutch republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806*, Oxford, 1998², parts 2 and 3.

first English translation of the Qur'an in 1649 (see the entry on Ross's *Alcoran of Mahomet*). Still, an embassy had been maintained in Istanbul since 1583, and contacts with the Safavid and Mughal Empires were developed. Works written by some of those who journeyed through or spent part of their lives in Islamic lands proved to be significant for the knowledge of the Muslim empires and perception of Islam (e.g. George Sandys, Sir Henry Blount, Paul Rycaut, and the Sherley brothers). Sandys and Blount's works, coming from the first half of the century, present a fairly objective image of the Ottoman Empire, though while they tried to avoid common prejudices, they were not uncritical in their observations about Muslim lands. Rycaut's work became very popular throughout Europe and was translated into French (1670), Polish (from French in 1671-72, published 1678), and later into Russian (1741, from Polish). The entry below on the so-called 'Turk plays' indicates the changing tones in the popular depiction of Muslims, which reflected the political fluctuations of the turbulent 17th century throughout Britain. The popularity of 'Islamic themes' in English stage productions signified awareness that the scope of possible contacts in the world was broadening. However, the military defeat of the Ottomans and the growing importance of the control of the seas led the English to refocus their attention away from the 'Turk'.²

In Britain, following the Restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 and the re-opening of the theatres, dramatists made use of Islamic settings and the retelling of incidents from earlier times in order to make comments about the English court and politics. *The tragedy of Mustapha* (1665)³ by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery (1621-79), about Ottoman court intrigues leading to the death of the son of Sultan Süleyman in 1553, has been seen as an attack on the lax morals of Charles and his court, while *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (1689) by John Dryden (1631-1700), a re-imagining of what may have happened to the king after his disappearance in battle in 1578, has been seen as a pro-Jacobite play in its echoing of the exile and wandering abroad of James II following the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (Dryden refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary). Dryden's *The conquest of Granada* (1672)

² N. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998; N. Davies, *The Isles. A history*, Oxford, 1999.

³ R. Boyle, *The tragedy of Mustapha, the son of Solyman the Magnificent*, London, 1668; Wing O497 (digitalised version available through EEBO).

and *Aurengzebe* (1676) include Islamic references which have led to accusations of incipient Orientalism.⁴

For the Swedes, contacts with the Ottomans came into play after they directed their attention to the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic Sea, attempting to control them. Disputes with a line of the Vasa dynasty, three members of which were consecutively elected to the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1587-1668) but still claimed to be heirs to the Swedish crown, were also partly significant in shaping politics in the region. The beginning of the 17th century was marked by wars in Livonia and naval battles on the Baltic with the Commonwealth, and later with Muscovy further inland as it sought access to the Baltic.

When the Swedes had to withdraw after what initially looked like a successful invasion of the Commonwealth (1655-6), they hoped to gain the support of the Ottoman sultan, but a Swedish mission sent to Istanbul in 1657-8 brought none of the expected political results. Nevertheless, the information about Islam presented by Claes Brorsson Rålamb on his return from this mission (published in 1679) brought much first-hand information; it is regarded as unusually objective. Despite the fact that he procured a copy of the Qur'an for himself and attended some Muslim religious functions (apparently his rivals accused him of attending a whirling dervishes' session on Christmas Eve), his presentation of Muslim religious material has raised questions about authorship. The help of Ali Ufki (Wojciech Bobowski or Albertus Bobovius), an Islamised Pole whose personal and literary influence is evident or could be guessed in several works written during the century, is a serious possibility, and reference to other works cannot be excluded (e.g. Isaac Barrow's *Epitome fidei* written at about the same time). One way or another, Rålamb's presentation fits into a noticeable trend of 'positive' or 'objective' descriptions of Islam and Muslims (despite the commonly persisting negative attitudes) that are visible from this region.⁵

For the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there are several landmarks for contacts with the Muslim world: the war of 1620-1, repeated

⁴ J. Dryden, *The conquest of Granada by the Spaniards in two parts: acted at the Theatre Royal*, London, 1672; Wing D2256 (digitalised version available through EEBO); *Aureng-zebe: A Tragedy Acted at the Theatre Royal*, London, 1676; Wing D2245 (digitalised version available through EEBO); *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal a tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal*, London, 1690; Wing D2263 (digitalised version available through EEBO).

⁵ H.O. Lunde, *A warrior dynasty. The rise and fall of Sweden as a military superpower, 1611-1721*, Philadelphia PA, 2014; V. Moberg, *A history of the Swedish people*, Minneapolis MN, 2005; B.F. Porshnev (ed. P. Dukes), *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, 1630-1635*, Cambridge, 1995.

Cossack raids onto the shores of the Black Sea, Bohdan Khmel'nits'ky's uprising in 1648-56, the war of 1672-4 and the Vienna campaign of 1683. It is important to keep in mind, however, that contacts were not restricted to these particular years, but continued throughout the 17th century on economic, cultural and diplomatic levels, to which can be added military border skirmishes and raids. In the last quarter of the century, Christian missionary motives came visibly into play. The 17th century began with intensified hostilities against the Ottoman Empire that led to a direct military clash at Cecora (Țuțora in present-day Romania) in 1620, won by the Ottomans. The subsequent campaign undertaken by Sultan Osman II in 1621 was halted at Khotin/Chocim, where the Ottoman army failed to capture a fortified military camp set up by the Polish-Lithuanian and Cossack forces. That first full frontal military clash ended with a peace treaty drafted at Khotin but finally negotiated by the envoy Prince Krzysztof Zbaraski, whose grand mission to Istanbul was described by Samuel Twardowski.

Even though there was no great war in the following decades, frequent Tatar raids into present-day Ukraine devastated the area economically. Many inhabitants were taken captive and either held in the Crimean Khanate or sold in the Ottoman slave markets (see e.g. Wojciech Miaskowski).⁶ The Cossacks and some of the Commonwealth noblemen organised private armies and made boat raids as far as Istanbul. One of these attacks, in summer 1624, threatened the safety of the inhabitants along the Bosphorus, with the Cossacks pillaging the shores as far as Rumeli Hisari. Such actions effectively tied down the Ottoman forces, making them focus on their northern borders and reducing engagement in the Mediterranean and the south-east.⁷

Throughout the 1630s and 1640s, war was simmering in present-day Ukraine. A big anti-Ottoman campaign was planned by the royal courtiers of Vladislav IV Vasa, though it never went beyond the planning stage as Commonwealth noblemen were strongly opposed to the idea. Apparently, fear that a victory would strengthen the position of the king and jeopardise the 'golden freedom' of the gentry was more significant than the prospect of an Ottoman invasion.

⁶ See e.g. M. Kizilov, 'Slave trade in the early modern Crimea from the perspective of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish sources', *Journal of Early Modern History* 11 (2007) 1-31.

⁷ J.M. White, 'Shifting winds. Piracy, diplomacy, and trade in the Ottoman Mediterranean, 1624-1626', in P.W. Firges et al. (eds), *Well-connected domains. Towards an entangled Ottoman history*, Leiden, 2014, 37-53, p. 42.

The Cossack uprising led by Bohdan Khmel'nits'ky (1648-56) was a shock for the Commonwealth and had significant consequences for the history of Ukraine in that the Dnieper left-bank was eventually ceded to Muscovite control (1659). Before that, the Cossack forces showed that, in order to get themselves disentangled and freed from the domination of (and often servitude to) the Ruthenian-Polish-Lithuanian magnates, they had to cooperate with the Crimean Tatar forces, and they actually considered placing themselves under the Ottoman sultan's protection. Though at times the Cossacks strongly emphasised their dedication to Orthodox Christianity, the difference of religion seemed to be of minor importance when political independence was at stake. Recurrent anti-Ottoman and anti-Islamic sentiments, expressed e.g. in *Legendarnoe pis'mo zaporozhtsev turetskomu tsaru*, or more generally in *Pseudo-epigraphic correspondence with the Ottoman sultan*, were evident. After all, in their actions the Cossacks were not so very different from various 'Christian' rulers of Europe, who often considered the Ottomans as players in the political power game first, and only later (if at all) as religiously different.

The Ottoman offensive of 1672 against Podolia (present-day southwestern Ukraine), the fall of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski and the treaty of Buczacz (now Buchach in Ukraine) in 1672 resulted in the Ottoman occupation of this region.⁸ Despite the military victory of the Commonwealth forces led by *hetman* (general) Jan Sobieski at Khotin (1673), Podolia remained Ottoman till the treaty of Carlovitz in 1699. When Jan Sobieski was elected king of the Commonwealth in 1674, he made attempts to refocus foreign policy away from Ottoman affairs and concentrate on joining the Franco-Swedish alliance against Brandenburg, with an eye to bringing Ducal Prussia back under the control of the Commonwealth (the prince-electors had freed himself from Commonwealth overlordship in 1657) and turned into a duchy ruled by the Sobieskis. Affairs with the Ottomans sucked Sobieski back into a whirlwind when he agreed to help the Habsburgs against the Ottoman invasion and led the campaign in 1683. Apart from the spectacular victory at Vienna, the whole campaign bore only sour fruit.⁹

⁸ D. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish diplomatic relations (15th-18th century). An annotated edition of 'Ahdnames and other documents*, Leiden, 2000; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. International diplomacy on the European periphery (15th-18th century). A study of peace treaties followed by annotated documents*, Leiden, 2011.

⁹ N. Davies, *God's playground*, New York, 1979, vol. 1. *The origins to 1795*, section 2, chs 6-7, 10-11, 14-16.

For Muscovy, the century began with internal troubles over succession to the throne. The death in suspicious circumstances of Dmitri, Ivan the Terrible's youngest son, in 1591, led to the appearance of a number of claimants who, with foreign help, tried to establish themselves as rulers of Muscovy. Some Commonwealth gentry families, led by King Sigismund Vasa and his son Vladislav (elected king in 1632), were heavily involved in these affairs. This contributed to the continuation of wars with the Muscovites in the area of the present-day western borderland of Russia. Vladislav renounced the title 'tsar' only as a part of a peace treaty in 1634, but the wars continued.

There was still another area of competing claims. In reaction to the idea of Moscow becoming the 'Third Rome' (the heir to Rome and Constantinople), which had been on the rise since the second half of the 16th century, the rulers of the Commonwealth supported plans for a union between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. Apart from its religious significance, the union had political significance in that it would prevent Orthodox Christians living within the Commonwealth borders from falling under Muscovite jurisdiction, against the claims of later Muscovite rulers as they gained a firmer grip on power. The union was signed in Brest Litovsk in 1596 and caused a lot of upheaval, opening a new front of intra-Christian feuds and polemics. This idea of a church union had activated papal diplomacy as early as the last decades of the 16th century, and its impact was especially visible in actions of the papal legate Antonio Possevino, a Jesuit, who also had some previous exposure to the issues arising from contacts with Muslims.

In the mid-17th century, Muscovite Orthodoxy had its own religious problems concerning the acceptance of the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon (r. 1652-66) and his attempted separation of the church from the state (Simeon Polotskij was the leading theologian of the 1666-7 Moscow Synod that deposed Nikon but upheld his reforms). The struggles linked to the implementation of these reforms also coloured attitudes towards non-Orthodox people in the country and formed another level of the Muscovite rulers' efforts to strengthen their grip on the various groups of their subjects, including the conquered Muslim populations of the Volga basin.¹⁰ On the one hand, there were evident attempts

¹⁰ In 1652, Nikon forbade Protestants living in Moscow from wearing Russian attire and having Russian servants. He also ordered the demolition of two Protestant churches. Despite borrowings from Western sources, there was a strong distrust of all that came from outside Orthodoxy; see e.g. problems with the relics sent by Shah Abbas as a conciliatory gift after he had captured Georgia (see in this volume: Semen Ivanovich

to convert the local Muslim populations to Orthodox Christianity (see the entry in this volume on *Legislation concerning non-Christians in the Russian Empire*), while on the other, there were signals that they should be left in peace as long as they threw their lot in with Muscovite interests and did not pose any political threat to the ambitions and plans of the rulers from Moscow (see the entries in this volume on *Tsarist instructions to the governors of Kazan in the 17th century*, and Grigorii Kotoshikhin). Despite their differences concerning the state-church relationship, Tsar Alexei I and Patriarch Nikon shared the conviction that Moscow (as the 'Third Rome') was obliged to unite all Orthodox Christians in one state (which also meant freeing the southern Slavonic Christians from Ottoman occupation).¹¹

Overcoming internal difficulties and taking advantage of the problems that were rocking the Commonwealth (the 1667 truce of Andrusovo at last gave the Muscovites the upper hand in the ongoing struggle), Muscovy devoted more attention to the southern borders. The wars with the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire (1676-81 and 1686-1700) resulted in the capture of the fortress of Azov and the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea (see the entry on Patrick Gordon's *Diary*). The 17th century was also marked by the increasing penetration into Siberian lands by Muscovy, as evidenced e.g. by the book *Relatio de Siberia qua continentur notitia dictae* by Iurij Krizhanich, a Croatian Roman Catholic priest (who lived as an exile in Tobol'sk 1661-76). Incursions were also made into Central Asia up to the point of clashing with China (the war of 1685-9).

It should be noted that, throughout the century, both Ottoman and Crimean Tatar rulers were well aware of the need to keep the balance of power in eastern Europe. They tried to prevent or undermine any coalition between the Commonwealth and Muscovy (like that of 1647)

Shakhovskoi, *Povest' preslavna*; also *Skazaniia o dare shakha Abbasa*); J.H. Billington, *The icon and the axe. An interpretive history of Russian culture*, New York, 1966, ch. 3, 'The century of schism'; S.V. Lobachev, 'Patriarch Nikon's rise to power', *Slavonic and East European Review* 79/2 (2001) 290-307; P. Meyendorff, *Russia, ritual, and reform. The liturgical reforms of Nikon in the 17th century*, Crestwood NY, 1991; I. Shusherin, *From peasant to patriarch. Account of the birth, uprising, and life of his Holiness Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia*, Plymouth, 2007.

¹¹ A. Bogdanow, *Russkije patriarhi 1589-1700*, Moscow, 1999, p. 407. The promoters of the ancient religious practices (i.e. the old Greek patterns), whom Nikon joined before becoming patriarch of Moscow, held that only a renewed (reformed) Russian Orthodox Church could be rightly considered as the 'Third Rome'; D. Shubin, *A history of Russian Christianity*, New York, 2005, vol. 2, pp. 75-7.

that could in effect threaten them, but they also refused to join the anti-Commonwealth coalition formed around the time of the Swedish invasion of the Commonwealth (1655-6). The Crimean Tatars, after fending off attempts to control them by Khan Temir, the leader of the Budzhak Horde (a Nogai Tatar sub-group living between the Danube and the Dniester), in 1637 and having him executed, gained more international prominence. Though the Tatars had been very active militarily against the Commonwealth in the early 1650s, they changed sides and fought against the Swedes, aware that the fall of the Commonwealth would strengthen Muscovy.

The east of Europe continued to be directly engaged militarily with the Ottomans and their dependents, so intellectual religious reflection on Islam did not appear to be a priority. In the Commonwealth, attitudes towards Muslims and Islam were reshaped and the examples of a broader (and positive, or at least to a certain level neutral) perspective, clearly visible in 16th-century works (e.g. in the diaries of Erazm Otwinowski and Mikolaj Radziwiłł), began giving way to more negative attitudes, with the proliferation of anti-Turkish pamphlets, speeches and poetry. Still, interest in the Ottoman Empire and its essential element of Islam intensified, especially in times of possible imminent clashes, and it can be observed as the century progressed. However, this interest was often limited to knowing a few basic tenets of Islam, and even these were not always known in their correct form. The efforts of Maciej Paszkowski and the popular presentation of the Ottoman Empire and Islam made by Szymon Starowolski based on second-hand material (translated into Russian in the mid-17th century and incorporated by Lyzlov into his *Skifskaja istoriia*) were partly replaced by the translation of Rycout's work. The other translations made by the Jesuit Teofil Rutka at the end of the century clearly typified the proselyte-missionary twist that was gaining momentum (Jan Herbinus' work, *Catechizacya turecka* ['The Turkish catechism'], is a slightly earlier example). It is puzzling, though, that neither in the Commonwealth nor in Muscovy were original works based on first-hand information written on Muslim religious beliefs and practices, almost as though Islam was not a threat on a doctrinal level.¹² It cannot

¹² Perhaps it was perceived as so profoundly belonging to the Ottoman context that no possibility of conversion of any kind was anticipated without the change of the whole socio-political system. P. Bushkovitch observes that 'Until the 1670's the major sources for the Orthodox church in Russia on Islam remained the polemics in St. John of Damascus, the works of Maksim the Greek, and the abbreviated translation of Riccoldo' ('Orthodoxy

be assumed that the inhabitants of the eastern part of Europe through their geographical proximity to the lands inhabited by Muslims had more complete knowledge of Islam and images of Muslims than their counterparts in the northern and north-western parts of Europe. The latter were exposed to Muslims mainly through fictitious theatrical representations in the so-called ‘Turk plays’. Still, references to Islam found their place – strange as it may sound – in intra-Christian polemics from the late 16th century. Several entries in this volume (e.g. Hieronim Baliński, ‘Skarga’/Marcin Łaszcz, Henry Stubbe) highlight the accusations of pro-Muslim sympathies and believing in the ‘Muhammedan Christ’ that were hurled especially at radical anti-Trinitarian offshoots of the Calvinist church, the Socinians, Arians, Polish Brethren, Anabaptists and Unitarians.¹³

Despite the lack of wider interest, some 17th-century scholars began to devote more attention to the study of Islam and the history of Muslim lands, though not necessarily always in a manner that would nowadays be called ‘objective’. In part, these studies were undertaken with a proselytising aim – finding ways to convert Muslims. For example, Thomas Erpenius’ negative view of Islam and Muḥammad underpins his whole work, despite his positive contacts with Muslims. In Anna Maria van Schurman’s case, it can be seen how, in order to better understand the Bible, acquaintance with the Qur’an and Arabic became part of the study of theology in Christian Reformed circles. Erpenius translated the New Testament into Arabic (1616), and there were cases of translation of Christian liturgical texts into Arabic by English scholars (e.g. Edward Pococke). The Qur’an was translated into English (from French) and published in 1649, though not without problems (see the entry in this volume on Ross). There are also indications that translations of parts of the Qur’an at least were made into Polish (by Piotr Starkowiecki); they were never printed and are considered lost, although there are hints

and Islam in Russia 988-1725’, in L. Steindorff [ed.], *Religion und Integration im Moskauer Russland. Konzepte und Praktiken, Potentiale und Grenzen*, Wiesbaden, 2010, 118-44, p. 133).

¹³ See e.g. E. Colombo, ‘Western theologies and Islam’, in U.L. Lehner, R. Muller and A.G. Roeber (eds), *The Oxford handbook of early modern theology, 1600-1800*, Oxford, 2014; M. Mulsow, ‘Socinianism, Islam and the radical uses of Arabic scholarship’, *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 31 (2010) 549-86; G. Waite, ‘Menno and Muhammad. Anabaptists and Mennonites reconsider Islam, 1525-1657’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 41 (2010) 995-1016.

that the Tatars used some translated fragments (see the entry on *Kitaby Tatarów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*).¹⁴

Translations of other texts were also made: e.g. Pococke translated Grotius' *De veritate religionis Christianae* into Arabic (1660), and also some historical and literary-philosophical works written by Muslims (including Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* in 1671) into English. There are reasons to believe that Samuel Otwinowski (a member of an anti-Trinitarian family and a relative of Erazm Otwinowski) translated al-ʿAinī's descriptions of the Ottoman Empire and Saʿdī's *Golestān* into Polish (probably from an Ottoman translation), though the latter was printed only in the mid-19th century.¹⁵ These works had a clear impact, as reading Pococke's translations of Oriental Christian works (Saʿīd ibn Baṭṭrīq's *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh al-majmūʿ* or Gregory Barhebraeus' *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal*) led Stubbe to state that the Christianity encountered by Muḥammad was corrupt, and to point out that Christian holy places and institutions in the Holy Land were protected by Muslims.

Even though works still appeared in which the authors mix positive and negative approaches (e.g. Samuel Purchas), in the 17th century there were clear hints of tendencies to present Islam and Muslim beliefs and practices in an accurate manner. In 1600 Ralph Carr, a London lawyer, produced *The Mahumetane or Turkish historie containing three books*, which used French and Italian sources to tell the history of Islam from the time of Muḥammad up until the siege of Malta in 1565. Carr was aware of the difference between Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam and refers to Haly (ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib) as having 'changed or rather annulled' Muḥammad's religious edicts.¹⁶ Furthermore, works such as those of Isaac Barrow,

¹⁴ B. Baranowski, *Zajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII w.* ('Knowledge of the Orient in ancient Poland to the 18th century'), Łódź, 1950, pp. 108-11.

¹⁵ Samuel Otwinowski (1575-1642?) spent some time in Istanbul learning Ottoman Turkish in order to take up the position of official translator for the Polish Commonwealth parliament and the royal chancery. His biographer pointed out that he had 'a Turkish wife' who came with him from Istanbul and became a Christian. A popular story has it that he was murdered by a relative of his wife who tracked him down in central Poland after many years; Z. Abrahamowicz, art. 'Otwinowski (Otfinowski) Samuel', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław, 1979, 648-9; *Perska księga na polski język przełożona od Jmci Pana Samuela Otwinowskiego, sekretarza J.Kr.Mci nazwana GULISTAN to jest OGRÓD RÓŻANY z dawnego rękopismu* ('Persian book translated into Polish by Sir Samuel Otwinowski, a royal secretary, called GULISTAN, that is ROSE GARDEN, from an old manuscript'), ed. I. Janicki, Warsaw, 1879.

¹⁶ Ralph Carr, *The Mahumetane or Turkish historie containing three books*, London, 1600; STC 17997 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*); See J. Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, London, 2016, pp. 276-7.

Sir Henry Blount, Henry Stubbe and others do not employ vocabulary that vilifies Islam. Stubbe's works are particularly interesting as, for example, he used the correct form of Muḥammad's name and noticed that religious minorities in Ottoman lands were given autonomy instead of being forcibly converted to Islam. In tune with some of the early 17th-century English travellers' writings (e.g. Blount), he pointed to an anti-Muslim bias that was leading so many Europeans to misinterpret the sources on Islam. He also emphasised the qur'anic statement that Christians and Jews could be saved in their own faiths, which reverberates with views presented by Barrow (*Sermon 14*) that Muslims were not excluded from receiving God's salvation. Barrow's advice not to waste effort on debating how God's grace is imparted is also significant. Though Ross in his *Pansebeia* (1653) maintained that there was only one true religion (i.e. Anglican Christianity), he did not condemn Islam entirely, indicating that justice was known and dispensed among Muslims. He was also inclined to uphold the view that those who led a good life would be saved, regardless of their religious affiliation. Traces of similar convictions can be seen in the United Provinces as they broke away from Spain and began trading in Asia. Here, Franciscus Ridderus (1620-83) compiled reports by Simon Oomius and Abraham Rogerius on religions which he published in *De Beschaemde Christen door Het Geloof en Leven Van Heydenen en andere natuerlijke Menschen* ('The Christian shamed by the faith and life of pagans and other natural people'), Rotterdam, 1669. This work presents information on Islam and Hinduism, and sets out 'to prove that God's truth exists even in the remotest corners of the world'.¹⁷ These traces are also evident in the eastern part of Europe in works such as *The terrifying vision of Piotr Pęgowski* (1608) and Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz's dialogue between a politician and a theologian (1648).

The problem of religious tolerance, or rather intolerance, was a matter of concern not only in Britain and the United Provinces but also in Muscovy. Systematic persecution of those belonging to another Christian confession or religion was widespread. Within northern Europe, only the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth seemed to take a different stance with regard to the position of religious groups (though that changed with the banishment of the Polish Brethren in 1658). In such a situation of evident

¹⁷ Franciscus Ridderus, *De Beschaemde Christen door Het Geloof en Leven Van Heydenen en andere natuerlijke Menschen*, Rotterdam, 1669; See B. Noak, 'Foreign Wisdom. Ethnological Knowledge in the Work of Franciscus Ridderus', *Journal of Dutch Literature* 3 (2012) 47-64.

cultural and religious diversity, the Roman Catholic hierarchs enjoyed certain political privileges (membership of the upper house of the Parliament; the primate was the highest political power in the country during an interregnum – which was hardly ever contested by the Protestants), but their power was limited. When the gentry agreed upon the so-called Warsaw Confederation (1573), which guaranteed freedom of religion (any was allowed, provided the social order was respected), the Catholic bishops' objection did not jeopardise the agreement. The confederation did not prevent the use of violence on the local or individual level between members of religious groups but, until political events severely shook the self-confidence of the gentry (especially Khmel'nits'ky's Cossack uprising and the Swedish invasion), there was no significant discrimination against religious others on a wider scale. Muslim Tatars living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were left mostly untroubled by Counter-Reformation activists,¹⁸ though examples of anti-Tatar/Muslim literature survive to the present, among them Piotr Czyżewski's *Alfurkan*. The Tatars were not silent, however, and Czyżewski's attack was answered by Azulewicz (unfortunately his book is thought to be lost). The Tatar writers were following religious debates and used biblical material in the religious literature they produced for themselves in order to keep up their Muslim faith (see the entry on *Kitaby Tatarów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*).

Some Western authors did notice possible solutions to the problem of the variety of religious groups in one state that had been developed in the Muslim world, where religious minorities were given at least minimal autonomy. Stubbe's discovery has been noted, but Ross in *Pansebeia* had already advocated the adoption of a 'state religion' and a 'private religion', provided the latter did not disturb the social order. Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651) saw Islam as an ideal civil religion and acknowledged the legitimacy of Muslim states, though that did not necessarily imply a positive view of Islam as a religion.

The fate of captives was not forgotten. It was a big problem for Westerners (see e.g. Adriaen Matham), though even more so in the East, with constant Tatar raids and Ottoman wars (see e.g. Wojciech Miaskowski). This problem was also linked to the issue of conversions to Islam in the

¹⁸ Family problems caused by voluntary conversions to Christianity are known, but there seems to have been nothing like a coordinated successful action to convert Muslim Tatars; see e.g. P. Borawski and W. Sienkiewicz, 'Chryścianizacja Tatarów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim' ('Christianisation of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania'), *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 34 (1989) 87-114.

Ottoman Empire, not only because becoming a Muslim ameliorated a captive's circumstances but also because Ottomans attracted so-called renegades. Those who rose to prominent positions in the Ottoman administration such as Ali Ufki, formally Wojciech Bobowski (in its Latinised form Albertus Bobovius) were recognised as valuable political partners.¹⁹

¹⁹ Kizilov, 'Slave trade in the early modern Crimea'; T.P. Graf, 'Of half-lives and double-lives. "Renegades" in the Ottoman Empire and their pre-conversion ties, ca. 1580-1610', in P.W. Firges et al. (eds), *Well-connected domains. Towards an entangled Ottoman History*, Leiden, 2014, 131-49; R. Ryba, *Literatura staropolska wobec zjawiska niewoli tatarsko-tureckiej* ('Old Polish literature on the phenomenon of Tataro-Turkish captivity'), Katowice, 2014.

Diplomacy, Piracy and Commerce: Christian-Muslim Relations between North Africa, the Ottoman Empire and Britain c. 1580-1685

Jo-Ann Esra

Introduction

The period under discussion saw the rapid expansion of Britain's trade interests into the Islamic worlds of the Ottoman Empire, including the semi-autonomous North African 'Barbary' states of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli, and the independent kingdom of Morocco. This maritime expansion was facilitated by diplomatic efforts, and was inevitably accompanied by a growth in piracy. Mediterranean piracy was multinational, undertaken by the Spanish, French, Dutch and British, as well as North African Muslim corsairs, or Barbary pirates, and both Christians and Muslims were taken captive by these pirates and privateers – the latter deemed to be acting legally by their home countries. Those captives taken by Barbary pirates were mainly Christian Europeans, and they were held primarily in North Africa, bringing economic benefit through their enslavement or the raising of ransoms, or else they were used in exchange for Muslim captives.

To establish and maintain overseas mercantile interests required negotiation, and to protect those interests against piracy and captive-taking also necessitated various levels of diplomatic intervention, rather than counter-piracy and war-like responses alone. The period under discussion therefore saw a new importance attached to the status and role of the ambassador, with networks of factors, agents, consuls and various other middle-men, negotiators, messengers and representatives providing a crucial service within the mutable complexities of early modern cultural, political and commercial exchange.

This interrelationship between trade, piracy and diplomacy informed and shaped Christian-Muslim relations throughout this period, and brought multiple opportunities for cross-cultural contact and understanding between

these worlds. This overview will cover some of the significant events and shifts emerging from this relationship between the 1580s and the founding of British companies trading with Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, and 1685, which marked the final British withdrawal from Tangiers, a garrison colony they had held since 1661.

The personal, political and commercial diplomacy of Elizabeth I

The beginning of the 17th century witnessed the six-month visit of the Moroccan ambassador, 'Abd al-Wahid bin Mas'ood bin Mohammad 'Annouri, to the court of Elizabeth I.¹ The Moroccan ruler, Ahmad al-Mansur, had written to Elizabeth on 15 June 1600, advising her of his ambassador's visit, although the purpose was vague: 'he will convey to you orally and intimate to you verbally and face to face'.² After setting sail from Morocco at the end of June, *The Eagle* arrived at Dover on 8 August with the ambassador and a 15-strong entourage, including two merchants and nine Dutch captives whose release had been negotiated. The embassy provoked a mixed reaction amongst the English populace, reflecting the ambiguity of Christian-Muslim relations at this time.³ Whilst some celebrated the embassy, their return was delayed by the refusal of merchants and mariners to allow them to journey on their ships; the situation was only resolved after the queen intervened.⁴ The secrecy surrounding the purpose of the embassy also led to contemporary speculation. Although supposedly concerning trading relations, its mission was actually to propose an Anglo-Moroccan alliance against Spain. Al-Mansur reiterated the proposal in 1603, the last year of both

¹ N. Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the age of discovery*, New York, 1999, p. 33; V.M. Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', in B. Charry and G. Shahani (eds), *Emissaries in early modern literature and culture. Mediation, transmission, traffic, 1550-1700*, Farnham UK, 2009, 77-92.

² J.F.P. Hopkins (trans.), *Letters from Barbary 1576-1774. Arabic documents in the Public Record Office*, Oxford, 1982, p. 8.

³ See, for example, the work of Nabil Matar and Daniel Vitkus.

⁴ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 33-4, 36; H. de Castries (ed.), *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc...Archives et bibliothèques d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1925, vol. 2, pp. 158, 192, 203; Charry and Shahani, 'Introduction', in *Emissaries*, 1-20, p. 8; J. Nichols, *The progresses and public processions of Elizabeth*, London, 1787, vol. 2, pp. 9-10; G. MacLean and N. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world, 1558-1713*, Oxford, 2011, p. 20; B. Harris, 'A portrait of a Moor', in A. Nicoll (ed.), *Shakespeare survey 11. The last plays*, Cambridge, 2002 [1958], 89-97, pp. 91-2; Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', p. 83; N.E. McClure (ed.), *The letters of John Chamberlain*, Philadelphia PA, 1939, vol. 1, p. 108; John Stow, *The Annales of England*, London, 1602, pp. 1403-4.

rulers' lives, suggesting that an Anglo-Moroccan force could attack, and subsequently jointly rule, the Spanish colonies in the West Indies.⁵

From the 1570s until her death in 1603, Elizabeth engaged in formal and personal correspondence with al-Mansur and other Islamic rulers – al-Mansur's predecessor 'Abd al-Malik, the Ottoman sultans Murad III and his successor Mehmed III – and she also exchanged letters and gifts with Mehmed's mother, the *sultana walide* (or *valide*), Safiye. These letters demonstrate the extent to which Elizabeth was actively and strategically involved in developing and strengthening diplomatic and commercial relations with the Muslim worlds.⁶ Whilst direct, unregulated trade with Muslims from Morocco to the Levant had occurred prior to Elizabeth's reign – one of the earliest recorded being that of a merchant from Bristol in 1446 – she was the first British monarch to openly cooperate with the Muslim worlds, establishing and encouraging trade, diplomacy and interaction. Her correspondence and reception of ambassadors was unprecedented.⁷

Post-Reformation schisms, compounded by Elizabeth's excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570, were to isolate Protestant Britons from Catholic Europe, but conveniently removed the papal levies on trade with Muslims, creating new political and commercial opportunities.⁸ Elizabeth and her merchants, sailors and investors, seeking alternative seaports and markets and eager to develop North African and Ottoman trade links, took advantage of these opportunities and worked to

⁵ De Castries (ed.), *Les sources*, p. 208; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 9; Harris, 'Portrait of a Moor', pp. 93-4; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 58.

⁶ Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary*, pp. 1-9; 'Safiye: letter to Queen Elizabeth', in D.F. Ruggles (ed.), *Islamic art and visual culture. An anthology of sources*, Malden MA, 2011, 20-1; A.W. Hidden, *The Ottoman dynasty. A history of the sultans of Turkey from the earliest authentic record to the present time*, New York, 1912, p. 172; L. Jardine, 'Gloriana rules the waves: or, the advantage of being excommunicated (and a woman)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 14 (2004) 209-22; R. Wrag, in R. Hakluyt, *The principal navigations. Voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, London, 1910 [1589], vol. 4, 1-18, p. 8; S.A. Skilliter, 'Three letters from the Ottoman "Sultana" Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I', in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford, 1965, 119-57, pp. 121-2, 131-4, 146, n. 25; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 45-61; N. Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 123.

⁷ S. Jenks, *Robert Sturmy's commercial expedition to the Mediterranean (1457/8)*, Bristol, 2006; A.C. Wood, *A history of the Levant Company*, London, 1964 [1935], pp. 1-3; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 1, 17, 42; D. Vitkus, *Turning Turk. English theater and the multicultural Mediterranean 1570-1630*, Basingstoke, 2003, p. 20; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 9, 19; Jardine, 'Gloriana rules the waves', p. 210.

⁸ Jardine, 'Gloriana rules the waves', pp. 209-11; Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', p. 80.

establish a strategic diplomatic and commercial presence.⁹ The sharp rise in Mediterranean traffic inevitably led to a rise in pirate activity. The relationship between piracy and diplomacy was determined by the commercial interests of trade.

Under Elizabeth's reign, three of the four royal chartered trading companies involved Christian-Muslim relations: the Turkey Company, 1581, renamed the Levant Company in 1592; the Barbary Company, 1585 (until 1597); and the East India Company, 1600.¹⁰ Negotiations in Morocco were started in 1577 by Edmund Hogan, whilst formal capitulations – the rights and freedoms granted to trading companies by the host country – were established the following year between Elizabeth and the Ottoman Sultan Murad III.¹¹ Edward Osborne, a sheriff of London, and Richard Staper petitioned the queen in 1579 to establish a trade monopoly in the region, whilst William Harborne was despatched to Aleppo to secure the agreements that established the Turkey Company.¹² Osborne became the first governor, with Harborne the resident agent in Aleppo and Istanbul (Constantinople). He served as ambassador there for eight years, strengthening diplomatic links and keeping the Company's monopoly intact.¹³

Osborne and Staper's proposals to found the Turkey Company reveal the impact of piracy. Citing the preservation of Elizabeth's subjects from 'future captivity in [the Grand Signior's] dominions' as a consideration for the licence, they estimated that redeeming captives over the previous 20 years had cost the realm £4000, 'yet divers to this day remain there unrescated [unrescued] of which some (the more be pitied) have turned Turks for avoiding the great extremities of most miserable barbarous cruelty'. The merchants suggested that the Company vessels, built for

⁹ Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', pp. 80-1; J. D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance drama*, Tampa FL, 1991, p. 14; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 13-14, 43, 77-8.

¹⁰ The fourth company was the Guinea Company, 1588; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 2.

¹¹ 'Edmund Hogan to Queen Elizabeth, announcing his arrival and first negotiations at Morocco', in H. Ellis (ed.), *Original letters, illustrative of English history. Including numerous royal letters from autographs in the British Museum, the State Paper Office, and one or two other collections*, London, 1846, 3rd series, vol. 4, pp. 21-3.

¹² D. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 183; John Fox, 'The worthy enterprise of John Fox', in D.J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, slavery, and redemption. Barbary captivity narratives from early modern England*, New York, 2001, 55-8, p. 56.

¹³ See Wood, *Levant Company*; S.A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the trade with Turkey, 1578-1582. A documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations*, Oxford, 1977; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 34-5.

speed, should travel in convoy, to 'be followed with great and tall ships', enabling trade 'within the straits at all times more freely than heretofore they have done, deprived of former fear of captivity'.¹⁴

Resident consuls, ambassadors and factors were thus posted to facilitate the processes of commerce and ensure fair treatment, whilst trying to protect British merchants and cargoes from harassment and piracy. Their roles were fraught, complex and often ineffective, trying to operate in another site of centralised power, rather than a periphery.¹⁵ For example, whilst Elizabeth granted Harborne extensive powers – he chose the ports and harbours where trade would be conducted, nominated consuls and enforced laws covering English subjects trading in the Levant – he was also subject to the power and whims of Ottoman officials. The Company counted as 'little factories' within a much larger system, and power within the networks of trade and commerce was mutable and unpredictable, requiring continual diplomatic negotiation and re-negotiation.¹⁶

In 1581, attempts were made to establish the Barbary, or Morocco, Company, following a request to the queen from John Symcot, a 'marchaunte trading into Barbary': the charter was granted in 1585 with a Company monopoly, and Henry Roberts appointed as agent and ambassador.¹⁷ For the Spanish, this Anglo-Moroccan alliance had sinister undertones, and 1585 saw intermittent Anglo-Spanish hostilities develop into military conflict, and so, in the interests of mutual trade and shared enemies, several embassies of Moroccans and Ottomans came to London prior to 1600.¹⁸ For example, in 1589 Roberts landed in Cornwall to travel by

¹⁴ Quoted in M. Epstein, *The early history of the Levant Company*, London, 1908, pp. 241-2; N. Williams, *The sea dogs. Privateers, plunder and piracy in the Elizabethan age*, London, 1975, p. 243.

¹⁵ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 79-80; C.R. Pennell, 'Introduction', in Pennell (ed.), *Piracy and diplomacy in seventeenth-century North Africa. The journal of Thomas Baker, English consul in Tripoli, 1677-1685*, London, 1989, 15-74, p. 19.

¹⁶ Wood, *Levant Company*, p. 16; Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 4; Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁷ Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', p. 81, quoted in T.S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan foreign trade*, Manchester, 1959, p. 185.

¹⁸ 'Bernardino de Mendoza to the King of Spain, 20 October 1581', in M.A.S. Hume (ed.), *Calendar of letters and state papers relating to English affairs preserved principally in the archives of Simancas*. Vol. 3: *Elizabeth 1580-1586*, London, 1896, p. 199; B. Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos. Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568-1614*, Baltimore MD, 2006, p. 83; N.W. Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of state papers colonial series, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-1629*, Vaduz, 1964 [1884], p. 144; J. Bruce (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, of the reign of Charles I. 1625, 1626*, London, 1858, pp. 247, 345; T. Gray, 'Fishing and the commercial world of early Dartmouth', in T. Gray, M. Rowe and A. Erskine (eds), *Tudor and Stuart Devon. The common estate and government*, Exeter, 1992, 173-99, p. 176; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 32-4; Hakluyt, *The principal*

land to London, accompanied by an emissary from al-Mansur, Ahmed Belkessem.¹⁹ They were greeted by 'the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40 or 50 horse', and escorted into the capital by torchlight.²⁰ The visit of ambassador Ahmed ben Adel, or al-Caid Ahmed ben Adel, arriving in London with 'twentye five or thirte persones', and two other 'caids', or 'alcaydes' although spectacular, was more contentious, illustrating the close relationship between piracy, trade and diplomacy. 'Caids' were corsair captains: these visitors were North African pirates.²¹ Given Britain's own reputation for piracy, this visit certainly raised suspicion within Europe of an Anglo-Moroccan alliance not of commerce, but for the formation of a piratical 'English Armada'.²²

However, despite the personal, commercial and political relations with Islamic rulers established under Elizabeth's rule, Britons were still highly vulnerable to being captured and enslaved within the Mediterranean region.²³ These activities were profitable commercial enterprises, and the increase in maritime traffic provided a supply for this 'trade' in which people were a prized commodity – a trade that would increase over the ensuing decades.

Jacobean diplomacy and Mediterranean piracy

Elizabeth's diplomatic efforts meant that Britain's investments in the Islamic world continued to grow and prosper, with merchant elites and their envoys undertaking diplomatic negotiations without need of direct intervention by the monarch. However, the terrain of Mediterranean

navigations, vol. 6, p. 137; M.A.S. Hume (ed.), *Calendar of letters and state papers, relating to English affairs preserved principally in the archives of Simancas*. Vol. 2: *Elizabeth 1568-1579*, London, 1894, p. 699; N. Matar and R. Stoeckel, 'Europe's Mediterranean frontier. The Moor', in A. Hadfield and P. Hammond (eds), *Shakespeare and Renaissance Europe*, London, 2005, 220-52, p. 230; Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', p. 77.

¹⁹ R. Kerr, *A general history and collection of voyages and travels*, Edinburgh, 1812, vol. 7, p. 330.

²⁰ Quoted in Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 33. Also see: Kerr, *General history*, pp. 329-30; Willan, *Studies*, p. 233; Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', pp. 81-3.

²¹ Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 33; Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', p. 81.

²² '17 February 1595', in V. von Klarwill (ed.), *The Fugger news-letters, second series*, trans. L.S.R. Byrne, London, 1926, p. 263, cited in Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 33; Vaughan, 'Representing the king of Morocco', p. 85.

²³ Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, p. 20.

politics and Muslim-Christian relationships was significantly altered with the accession of James I and his treaty with Spain in 1604.²⁴ Although he formally corresponded with Muslim rulers, received Islamic ambassadors, put his signature to letters promoting trade with Islamic markets, and renewed the Levant Company's charter in 1606, he did not pursue the Muslim alliances Elizabeth had made.²⁵ Rather, his attempts to appease the Spanish meant diplomatic relations with North African and Ottoman rulers were severely reduced and strategic alliances were ended. He also issued letters of marque, which encouraged the seizure of Muslim vessels, their crews and passengers, and neglected the navy at a time when the naval capabilities of North Africa were improving.²⁶ Weakening the navy put many mariners out of work, and British pirates also became more active in the Mediterranean, attacking European ships in cooperation with local authorities in Algiers and Tunis, or capturing Ottoman ships, transporting them to Leghorn or Cadiz to be sold with their crew and passengers.²⁷

Attempts to control Barbary piracy via the formalised practices of diplomacy during James's reign proved to be unsuccessful.²⁸ In November 1608, the Levant merchants petitioned 'for ships to suppress the pirates of Algiers', a request met with an unhelpful proclamation prohibiting merchants to trade with ports engaged in these activities.²⁹ James – famously intolerant of piracy – subsequently despatched a letter to the sultan, warning of the impact of piracy upon legitimate trade.³⁰ Such disquiet regarding trade and piracy also prompted conceptual and legal debate. Following related concerns expressed by trading companies over the lawfulness and morality of piracy and privateering, James was involved in diplomatic discussions with the Dutch regarding a territorialised sea. Piratical activities hindered free trade and commerce,

²⁴ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 78.

²⁵ M. Dimmock (ed.), *William Percy's Mahomet and his heaven. A critical edition*, Aldershot, 2006, pp. 5-6; Matar and Stoeckel, 'Europe's Mediterranean frontier', p. 239; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 34.

²⁶ Matar and Stoeckel, 'Europe's Mediterranean frontier', p. 239; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 43, 62, 136.

²⁷ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 136.

²⁸ See: MS London, The National Archives, Public Record Office (PRO) – State Papers 105/147, fols 71v, 76 (1611-17), SP 105/110, fol. 87v (1606-26), SP 105/143, fol. 19 (1605-48); D.D. Hebb, *Piracy and the English government 1616-1642*, Aldershot, 2002, p. 16.

²⁹ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 14/37, fol. 91 (Oct-Nov 1608); Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 16-7.

³⁰ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 105/143, fol. 19 (1605-48); Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 16-7; *By the King, A proclamation against pirates*, London, 1608 [1609].

not solely through the deeds themselves, but by disrupting diplomatic trading relationships and provoking war-like responses.³¹

Regardless of James's diplomatic endeavours, the number of incidents continued to rise, with the threat of North African piracy beginning to extend beyond the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic – towards the British Isles.³² North African attacks had risen dramatically following the 1609 expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, and many brought new maritime skills to their North African hosts along with a revenge piracy that did not always distinguish Protestant from Catholic, British from Spanish.³³ Between 1609 and 1616, 466 British ships were reported captured and their crews imprisoned.³⁴ Domestic turmoil and unemployment also led to a rise in the activities of Dutch pirates, who made links with those of North Africa, sharing knowledge and skills.³⁵ In the absence of treaties, British vessels were particularly vulnerable, resulting in trade factors and consuls spending much of their time and finances negotiating and paying for the release of captives, often financing ransoms from their own personal resources without guarantee of recompense.³⁶

The trading companies petitioned for action, whilst the ambassadors tried to negotiate.³⁷ In 1615, James's ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Paul Pindar, complained to the Captain of the Sea at Istanbul that in one year 100 ships had been captured by Muslim pirates near to the Straits of Gibraltar, and, despite his frequent complaints, the situation had not

³¹ R.P. Anand, *Origin and development of the law of the sea*, The Hague, 1982, pp. 77-8; H. Grotius, *The freedom of the seas, or, the right to take part in the East Indian trade*, trans. R. van Deman Magoffin, ed. J.B. Scott, New York, 2001 [1916, 1633, 1609]; B. Cormack, 'Marginal waters. Pericles and the idea of jurisdiction', in A. Gordon and B. Klein (eds), *Literature, mapping and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, Cambridge, 2001, 155-80, esp. pp. 162-74; T.W. Fulton, *The sovereignty of the sea*, London, 1911, pp. 338-58.

³² E.G. Friedman, *Spanish captives in North Africa in the early modern age*, Madison WI, 1983, p. 17; Hebb, *Piracy*, p. 20, n. 1.

³³ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 136.

³⁴ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – High Court of the Admiralty, 1/47, fol. 261 (1609-1612); T. Gray, 'Turks, Moors and the Cornish fishermen. Piracy in the early seventeenth century', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 10 (1990) 457-75; M.J. Brown, *Itinerant ambassador. The life of Sir Thomas Roe*, Lexington NC, 1970, p. 138; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 6.

³⁵ R. Elgood, *Firearms of the Islamic world in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait*, London, 1995, pp. 74-5.

³⁶ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 85; Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 17.

³⁷ MS London, The National Archive, PRO – SP 105/147, fols 45, 85-88, 91, 93 (1611-17); SP 14/90, fol. 136 (Jan-Mar 1617); Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 7, 17-21.

been addressed.³⁸ Ambassadors did have to exercise a degree of caution to avoid being accused of interfering in Ottoman affairs. Paul Pindar replaced Thomas Glover for this very reason in 1611.³⁹

In January 1617, James despatched an urgent diplomatic letter to the sultan, conveying:

The many and grievous complaints which our subjects trading to your town of Argiere [Algiers] do daily make unto us of the continual depredations and spoils done by your men-of-war upon their persons, ships, and goods, contrary to our mutual amity and capitulations of commerce, have moved us to give our ambassador there resident with Your Majesty express charge to address himself unto you, to treat in our name with you or such as you shall appoint or that purpose, as well for the restoring and releasing of our subjects, their ships and goods, which have been there taken and retained.

James also appealed to the sultan to remember the many benefits to the Ottoman Empire ‘from us our kingdoms and people in furnishing them with such commodities as are most necessary and behooveful for them’, and he highlighted Britain’s role in obtaining the release of Muslim captives held by other nations, hoping that ‘in acknowledgement thereof you will make such a grateful return of courtesies as may encourage our subjects to continue their beneficial trade unto your dominions’.⁴⁰ However, the letter and the ambassadorial negotiations and gestures achieved little – as was usual during this period, where James’s emissaries were ‘marginal players’, and the characteristic diplomatic rituals of exchange of gifts could easily go amiss.⁴¹ Furthermore, the first decades of the 17th century were a troubled period for the Ottoman Empire, with war, internal unrest, uprisings and an unstable sultanate. The influence of Istanbul was in decline, leading to the Barbary provinces becoming increasingly independent.⁴² Two months later, James sent

³⁸ A.B. Hinds, ‘Preface’ in A.B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs in the archives of Venice. Vol. 14: 1615-1617*, London, 1908, v-lxii, p. xi.

³⁹ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Eng. Hist., 172, fol. 57v (1617); ‘Letter 170’ in G.P.V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of King James VI & I*, Berkeley CA, 1984, 356-7; M. Jansson, *Art and diplomacy. Seventeenth-century English decorated royal letters to Russia and the Far East*, Leiden, 2015, pp. 86-8.

⁴¹ N. Zemon Davis, *The gift in seventeenth century France*, Oxford, 2000, p. 110; Charry and Shahani, ‘Introduction’, p. 9; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 109-10.

⁴² C. Finkel, *Osman’s dream. The story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, New York, 2006, pp. 196-222.

correspondence to the Privy Council, recommending that they initiate an aggressive naval expedition to suppress the corsairs, demonstrating a significant shift in action and approach.⁴³

Orchestrating such an expedition was contentious, time consuming – and costly.⁴⁴ James imagined a joint Christian venture against Islam, although delays were caused by lengthy and difficult diplomatic negotiations concerning the involvement of the Spanish and the Dutch.⁴⁵ Finally, on 12 October 1620, Robert Mansel[1], supported by Francis Hawkins and Thomas Button, were despatched to Algiers – although the mission was viewed as unsuccessful.⁴⁶ The main achievement, on 6 December, which was the result of diplomatic negotiation rather than military effort, was securing the freedom of ‘some 40. poore captives, which [the Algerians] pretended was all they had in the towne, this was all wee could draw from them’. This success was ‘after long debating, finding the Turks perfidious and fickle’: initially they had detained a messenger, so Mansell ‘sent a common man well cloathed by the name of a Consull’, who was successfully received.⁴⁷ A renewed attempt to attack Algiers the following year failed miserably: Mansell withdrew, and was recalled shortly afterwards, a source of both irritation and embarrassment to James, amongst others.⁴⁸ Ironically, the expedition reportedly antagonised the corsairs, leading to a further increase in Mediterranean piracy. The letter writer John Chamberlain made such an observation to his regular correspondent, the diplomat Dudley Carleton, in October

⁴³ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 105/147 fols 85v-86, 87, 91, 93 (1617). For the king’s message to the Privy Council, see MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 14/90, fol. 136 (Jan-Mar 1617); Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 7, 20.

⁴⁴ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 14/91, fol. 52 (Apr 1617); SP 14/111, fol. 38 (Nov-Dec 1619); Gray, ‘Fishing and the commercial world’, pp. 177-8; *Acts of the Privy Council, 1616–1617*, ed. J.V. Lyle, London, 1927, pp. 181-2; Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 22-42.

⁴⁵ Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 43-74.

⁴⁶ Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 8-135. See also J. B[utton], *Algiers voyage in a iournall or briefe reportary*, London, 1621; G.M. Bell, *A handlist of British diplomatic representatives 1509-1688*, London, 1990, p. 207; M. Oppenheim, *A history of the administration of the Royal Navy and of merchant shipping in relation to the Navy*, London, 1896, pp. 184-95; A.P. McGowan, *The Jacobean commissions of inquiry, 1608 and 1618*, London, 1971; J.S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean. A study of the rise and influence of British power within the Straits, 1603-1713*, London, 1904, vol. 1, pp. 80-115.

⁴⁷ Button, *Algiers voyage*, sig. C3^r.

⁴⁸ C. Jowitt, *The culture of piracy, 1580-1630. English literature and seaborne crime*, Farnham, 2010, p. 157; *Sir William Monson’s naval tracts*, London, 1913, vol. 3, pp. 94-8; Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 92-4, 106-7; D. Vitkus, ‘Introduction’, in D. Vitkus (ed.), *Three Turk plays from early modern England: Selimus, A Christian turned Turk, The Renegado*, New York, 2000, 1-53, pp. 4-5; John Rawlins, *The famous and wonderful recovery of a ship of Bristol, called the Exchange, from the Turkish pirates of Argier (1622)*, in Vitkus, *Piracy*, 98-123, p. 102; Button, *Algiers voyage*, sigs E2^r-E5^r.

1621, reporting 57 vessels recently taken, a view confirmed by Thomas Roe, the new ambassador in Istanbul.⁴⁹

Roe also observed the importance of posting consuls to strategic trading ports where piracy was rife, such as Algiers and Tunis.⁵⁰ Similarly, in 1622 an anonymous resident of Algiers listed reasons why it would be useful to have a consul, not only 'for the benefit of trafficke', but also 'To hinder the reprisal of ships, and makinge our men slave' and 'To hinder the retreat of Piratts' and thus attempt to stop British mariners 'who would Leave their Kings service and betake themselves to robbing every bodye'.⁵¹ The consul John Tipton, appointed to Algiers by Harborne in 1585, had moved to Istanbul in 1591; he was murdered at sea four or five years later, and the post was left unfilled until 1656.⁵²

Mediterranean piracy was multifaceted: in 1621 two envoys from Tetuan appealed to the British fleet for 'the Redemption of such of their People as had been taken by our Ships'.⁵³ Three years later, an ambassador from Istanbul arrived in London with a list of Ottoman and Moorish captives in Britain, '& some few, that are soulede into Spaine, & Italie'.⁵⁴ Roe wrote to James in February 1625, requesting him to authorise an exchange of British captives in Algiers for Muslim captives in Ireland.⁵⁵ A few months later, he reported that over 400 English captives had been released, but there were more Britons in Algiers awaiting the exchange. James, however, wracked with illness and close to death, ignored Roe's request to honour the earlier agreement.⁵⁶ Just a month after James died, North African pirates began to target shipping off the British coast, and issues of piracy and the taking of captives on all sides resulted in embassies and diplomatic correspondence throughout the reign of Charles I.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ MS, London, BL – Add. MS 36, 455, fol. 283 (1621); Hebb, *Piracy*, p. 106.

⁵⁰ *The negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive*, London, 1740, p. 35; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 82.

⁵¹ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 71/1 fol. 116 (1622); MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 82.

⁵² Hakluyt, *The principal navigations*, vol. 3, p. 126; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 83.

⁵³ J. Morgan, *A complete history of Algiers*, London, 1728, vol. 2, p. 646; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 24.

⁵⁴ MS London, The National Archives, PRO – FO 113/1 fol. 119 (12 February 1624); MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 24. Also see N. Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, Gainesville FL, 2005, pp. 111-32.

⁵⁵ *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 376; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ P.V. McGrath, 'The merchant venturers and Bristol in the early seventeenth century', *The Mariner's Mirror* 36 (1950) 69-80, p. 69; Hebb, *Piracy*, p. 16, n. 5; Gray, 'Turks,

Diplomacy and the Barbary states under Charles I

Charles I's succession to King James was problematic. The question of a suitable marriage for Charles meant Anglo-Spanish, and Protestant-Catholic, relations were under scrutiny, as was the relationship between the monarch and Parliament.⁵⁸ These issues were exacerbated throughout Charles's rule by the depredations of Barbary pirates and the king's inability to address the situation.⁵⁹ The ruler of Algiers, angry at the broken agreement on the exchange captives, dispatched his ambassador shortly after Charles became king: he arrived in London with over 100 freed British captives, and brought gifts of Barbary horses, tigers and lions. However, his mission to secure the release of Muslim captives remained unsuccessful after a nine-month stay. Charles also neglected to present him with the customary gift, and the ambassador returned, expressing his displeasure. In an attempt to limit the damage to relations with Algiers, the Duke of Buckingham urged Charles to dispatch a letter and a 'present of a ring from his Royal hand' to Algiers.⁶⁰ Such gift exchanges, an intrinsic part of diplomatic relations, were fraught with difficulty and open to abuse, as was demonstrated throughout the century. In 1676, for example, Ambassador John Finch and his companion Thomas Baines were subject to the vagaries of the Grand Vezir Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, who demanded gifts but rarely kept his promises in exchange, also extracting huge fines and payments from the trading companies and ambassadors.⁶¹

In September 1630, Muslim captives were also the subject of correspondence with Charles from Abu l-Hassun al-Samlali, a ruler from Iligh in the Sous, a centre of trans-Saharan trade. In response to Charles thanking him for the treatment of captives released from the region, al-Hassun informed him that this was undertaken 'out of solicitude for

Moors and the Cornish fishermen', 457-75; Brown, *Itinerant ambassador*, p. 138; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 6; 'John Fox', p. 56.

⁵⁸ C. Holmes, *Why was Charles I executed?*, London, 2006, p. 1; R. Cust, *Charles I. A political life*, Harlow, 2007, pp. 31-62. See also G. Redworth, *The prince and the Infanta. The cultural politics of the Spanish match*, New Haven CT, 2003.

⁵⁹ See Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 38-75.

⁶⁰ Bruce, *Calendar... Charles I, 1625-1626*, pp. 12, 113; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 27-8, 35.

⁶¹ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 119-20; S. Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey. Paul Rycout in Smyrna, 1667-1678*, Oxford, 1989, p. 209; *Historical Manuscripts Commission report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch*, London, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 62, 72, 143; R. North, *The life of the honourable Sir Dudley North, Knt.*, ed. M. North, London, 1744, pp. 90-2.

the interests of Islam, so that there may not remain in your territory a single Muslim captive', whether 'he be one of the people of our country or another of the countries of Islam'. Al-Hassun also asked Charles to intervene to secure the release of Muslim captives from other countries. In return, he would 'grant you security in your property and persons', and ensure 'that no captive from the tribes of England will remain with us as long as you remain in fulfilment of the pact'.⁶² Nevertheless, nearly a decade later, in 1639, the familiar complaints arose again: Mohammad ben Askar arrived from Morocco protesting against the predatory activities of British pirates, and demanding that action be taken against them.⁶³

Charles did orchestrate the return of Muslim captives to Morocco, although this proved contentious. John Harrison, the agent in Morocco who had appealed for the release of British captives under James, was keen to create alliances with all factions in the country. In 1627, he returned a group of Muslim captives from Britain to the Sultan of Morocco, Muly Zaidan, or Zidan Abu Maali, also taking six canons and ammunition. It was subsequently reported that six pieces of artillery had been supplied to the Moroccan rebel Sidi al-Ayachi, or al-Ayyashi, by Harrison, which had not been sanctioned by the Moroccan ruler.⁶⁴ Al-Ayachi was heavily involved in attacking Spanish shipping, and seized the strategic harbour of Salé in the spring of 1627. Harrison negotiated a treaty with al-Ayachi, and in the summer of that year, shortly before the death of Muly Zaidan, he accompanied two Salé ambassadors, Mohammed ben Sa'd and Ahmad ben Hussein, to London to discuss using Salé as a base for joint action against Spain.⁶⁵ For many years Salé had been operating as a pirate republic, independent of Morocco. The Dutch corsair, Jan Janszoon van Haarlem, or Murat Reis the Younger, an ex-captive who had converted to Islam, served as the First President and Grand Admiral from its declaration in 1619.⁶⁶ Recognised by some states, and benefiting from being a walled city with a gated harbour, the Republic

⁶² Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary*, p. 12; T.K. Park and A. Boum, *Historical dictionary of Morocco*, Lanham MD, 2005, p. 180

⁶³ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 37; de Castries, *Les sources*, vol. 2, pp. 149-51.

⁶⁴ R. Ricard, *Mazagan et le Maroc sous le règne du Sultan Moulay Zidan (1608-1627)*, Paris, 1956, p. 160; A. Anderson, *An historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce*, London, 1764, vol. 2, pp. 320, 333; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 51.

⁶⁵ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 35; de Castries, *Les sources*, Paris, 1935, vol. 3, p. 25.

⁶⁶ P.L. Wilson, *Pirate utopias. Moorish corsairs and European renegadoes*, New York, 2003, pp. 93-141; K. GhaneaBassiri, *A history of Islam in America. From the New World to the new world order*, Oxford, 2010, p. 12.

managed to repel attempts to reclaim sovereignty, eventually making payments to the sultan in return for his non-involvement. In 1627, al-Ayachi rejoined Salé and Rabat as the Republic of Bou Regreg, or the Republic of the Two Banks, becoming governor of a Republic that continued until 1666.⁶⁷

These multifaceted and ambiguous Christian-Muslim relations relating to piracy, trade and diplomacy were evident throughout the 1630s. Trade strengthened, and academic Arabic was established at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, producing trained interpreters and officials equipped to manage diplomatic relations – whilst pirate activities continued unabated.⁶⁸ In particular, despite Harrison's efforts, the independence of the port of 'Sallee' led to an increase in piracy off the British coast by corsairs working out of the Republic. Sustained petitioning and appeals for protection from ship owners, communities and merchants followed.⁶⁹ Funded by the contentious 'ship money' taxation, a fleet under the command of William Rainsborough sailed to attack Salé in 1637.⁷⁰ Although his principal task was a naval mission, Rainsborough undertook a diplomatic commission of negotiation under the king's direction.⁷¹ With 300 captives redeemed, the mission was presented as successful, possibly to justify the imposition of the ship money. A vessel in Rainsborough's fleet returned with the Moroccan ambassador Alkaid Jaurar bin Abdella and his entourage, accompanied by the merchant-envoy Robert Blake, and redeemed captives. Processing across London in October 1637, he provided a great spectacle, having brought with him 366 British captives – 350 of whom had been ransomed, and 16 released by the Moroccan ruler as a gesture of good will – walking behind the

⁶⁷ S. Mouline, 'Rabat-Salé, holy cities of the Two Banks', in S.K. Jayyusi et al. (eds), *The city in the Islamic world*, Leiden, 2008, vol. 1, p. 652; A. Konstam, *Piracy. The complete history*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 90-1; Wilson, *Pirate utopias*, pp. 71-92; K.R. Andrews, *Ships, money and politics. Seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 160-83.

⁶⁸ L. Colley, *Captives. Britain, empire and the world 1600-1850*, London, 2002, p. 105; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 74. See also A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist, 1563-1632*, Leiden, 1985.

⁶⁹ Mouline, 'Rabat-Salé', p. 652; Konstam, *Piracy*, pp. 90-1; Wilson, *Pirate utopias*, pp. 71-92; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp. 128-83; Hebb, *Piracy*, pp. 198-265; Archives Exeter, Devon Record Office – 1579-0/16/45 (1630s).

⁷⁰ J. Dunton, *A true journal of the Sally fleet with the proceedings of the voyage*, London, 1637; Vitkus, 'Introduction', p. 5; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp. 131, 140-3; Hebb, *Piracy*, p. 42.

⁷¹ Bell, *Handlist*, p. 208.

ambassador in clothing he had purchased for them.⁷² An Ottoman embassy that arrived in September 1640 with a 15- or 16-strong entourage was similarly spectacular: the king had the Banqueting House decorated for his visitors, who were accompanied by numerous merchants from the Levant Company.⁷³ Charles's reign, however, was in increasing difficulties. Piracy had continued throughout his rule, and opposition to the ship money formed part of the Grand Remonstrance – the list of grievances presented to Charles by Parliament on 1 December 1641.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, even at the outbreak of Civil War, Charles was writing to the Ottoman sultan expressing his desire for 'Amitie' and imploring him to maintain 'the entercourse of Trade between Our Subjects and Yours'.⁷⁵

During the Civil War and early Interregnum, no Muslim embassies were recorded visiting Britain.⁷⁶ However, the captives held in Barbary were firmly on the Parliamentary agenda. Inherently critical of previous approaches, Parliament made it clear that funding and conducting ransoming should be a centralised responsibility, accusing the monarch of failing in his duty, and instigated Acts and policies in an attempt to address the issue.⁷⁷ The agent Edmond Cason was duly despatched to Algiers in 1645 with substantial ransom funds, although he lost all when his ship sunk. He redeemed over 240 captives the following year, publishing a detailed financial account in 1647.⁷⁸ Despite 'the storme' of domestic war, and the captives in 'a forein State, so remote as Africa',

⁷² *The arrivall and intertainements of the Ambassador, Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella*, London, 1637; A.J. Loomie (ed.), *Ceremonies of Charles I. The note books of John Finet 1628-1641*, New York, 1987, p. 23; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 35-7; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 19.

⁷³ Loomie, *Ceremonies*, pp. 293-5; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 37-8.

⁷⁴ K. Parker, 'Reading "Barbary" in early modern England, 1550-1685', in M. Birchwood and M. Dimmock (eds), *Cultural encounters between east and west, 1453-1699*, Cambridge, 2005, 77-105, p. 85 (also published in *Seventeenth Century* 19 (2004) 87-115); Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 160; 'The Grand Remonstrance, with the Petition accompanying it', in S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *The constitutional documents of the Puritan revolution 1625-1660*, Oxford, 1936 [1889, 1899, 1906], 202-32, p. 211.

⁷⁵ *King Charles his letter to the Great Turk*, London, 1642, sig. A2^v.

⁷⁶ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 38.

⁷⁷ *The official minute book of the House of Commons, covering the Short Parliament and beginning of the Long Parliament of Charles I, and the period running up to the outbreak of civil war in 1643*, London, 1802, vol. 2, pp. 48, 152; W.H. Coates (ed.), *The journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, London, 1942, pp. 54, 117, 203, 221, 227; M.F. Bond (ed.), *Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Addenda 1514-1714*, London, 1962, vol. 11, pp. 257-9; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 65-8.

⁷⁸ E. Cason, *A relation of the whole proceedings concerning the redemption of the captives in Argier and Tunis*, London, 1647; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 71-2; Matar, 'Introduction', pp. 15-16.

Cason represented Parliament as taking this responsibility seriously, unlike the monarchy.⁷⁹

King Charles was executed in 1649, the year the first English translation of the Qur'an appeared in print.⁸⁰ In March and October 1650, two further Acts were passed, the former concerning redeeming captives, the latter assigning 15 per cent of customs to build naval ships to act as a convoy for the merchant vessels – significantly changing future relations between Britain and the Barbary states.⁸¹

Piracy and diplomacy 1650-85

The 1650s heralded a power shift in Britain's position and role in the Mediterranean, informed by several developments. Improved naval power and a military presence within the Mediterranean enabled treaties for the protection of British shipping from harassment to be negotiated with Islamic North Africa. Although treaties were often broken, piracy continued and captives were taken, the responses from the fleet could be swift, with admirals involved in the subsequent negotiations.⁸² For example, a broken treaty was renewed in 1655 after the fleet was dispatched to Algiers and Tunis.⁸³ Two years later, an Algerian messenger visited London to ratify 'the good relations and trade between this country and that mart [Algiers]'.⁸⁴ Gifts were exchanged, with animals presented to the Lord Protector, and pieces of eight and scarlet cloth given in return.⁸⁵ Supported by the fleet, further treaties were negotiated with Tripoli and Tunis by Admiral John Stoakes in 1658, and the first consul in Tripoli was posted the following year.⁸⁶

Following the restoration of Charles II, maritime trade and industry expanded enormously, with bigger and more sophisticated ships being

⁷⁹ Cason, *A relation*, p. 11; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 72.

⁸⁰ Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 76-7; A. Ross, *The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabick into French [...] newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities*, London, 1649.

⁸¹ Both published under *An Act for the redemption of captives*, London, 1650; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 73.

⁸² Matar, 'Introduction', p. 24.

⁸³ Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 19; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 133.

⁸⁴ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 38; A.B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs in the archives of Venice*, vol. 31. 1657-1659, London, 1931, p. 55.

⁸⁵ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 38; W.C. Abbot (ed.), *The writings and speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Cambridge, 1947, vol. 4, pp. 515, 568.

⁸⁶ Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 19.

built and crewed, and mariners becoming more skilled and employed in growing numbers in response to the needs of both the merchants and the navy.⁸⁷ Charles welcomed embassies: the Moroccan ambassador, Mohammad ibn Haddu, visited London between December 1681 and July 1682, and was taken on visits to Oxford University and the Royal Society.⁸⁸ Significantly, the city of Tangier had passed to the British Crown from Portugal following Charles's marriage to Catherine of Braganza – although the city proved unsustainable and was abandoned in 1684. Interests were finally withdrawn in 1685 on the accession of James II, who was unable to negotiate an agreement with the Moroccan sultan, Mulay Ismail.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, this strategic 'foothold' in North Africa was viewed in the first instance as the beginnings of the British Empire in Africa, giving Britain a new confidence in the Mediterranean.⁹⁰

Furthermore, individual merchants and the trading companies with legal monopolies – the Morocco and Levant Companies – held considerable influence in Charles's court. Protection against the corsairs was thus provided by the government, taking the form of convoys, treaties and consuls to ensure agreements were kept and to secure the release of captives.⁹¹ After 1650, the ransoming of captives became more systematic and organised, although fraud and corruption, evident from the late 16th century, did occur. In-fighting, accusations and counter-accusations were evident amongst consuls and factors, and their behaviour and competence was often in question.⁹² In 1683, the consul in Algiers, Lionell Croft, provided confirmation that he had ransomed 100 captives 'at unreasonable rates' only to receive accusations of fraud from his compatriot John Neuell, Croft claiming to have paid for captives already ransomed.⁹³ Agreements were also broken on both sides. Thomas Baker,

⁸⁷ Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 18; R. Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, London, 1962, pp. 16, 122-3.

⁸⁸ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 19-20; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 38; 'Abd al-Hadi al-Tazi, 'Muhammad ibn Haddu', *Academia* 2 (1985) 55-80.

⁸⁹ Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 18; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 13; D. Vitkus, 'Thomas Phelps, *A true account of the captivity of Thomas Phelps, (1685)*', in Vitkus, *Piracy*, 193-5, p. 193; E. Chappell (ed.), *The Tangier papers of Samuel Pepys*, London, 1935, p. 82; E.M.G. Routh, *Tangier. England's lost Atlantic outpost, 1661-1684*, London, 1912.

⁹⁰ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 134.

⁹¹ Pennell, 'Introduction', pp. 18-19; Wood, *The Levant Company*, p. 114; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 143.

⁹² MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 110-12.

⁹³ Matar, 'Introduction', p. 27; MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 71/2, fols 101, 1035-36 (1671-84).

consul in Tripoli from 1677 (although not arriving until 1679) detailed in his diary the disruption the corsairs were causing to trade and shipping.⁹⁴ He recorded ‘the Prizes taken from the Christians’, and described their voyages as going ‘a Christian-stealing’ – although he did not condemn the similar activities undertaken by the British navy, who were capturing North Africans and selling them to the Spanish.⁹⁵

One of the most significant developments concerning 17th-century Mediterranean piracy was the establishment of the pass system in 1662, which afforded relatively effective protection to shipping.⁹⁶ Algerian passes were issued to British ships which, on presentation, exempted them from being taken as prizes, as long as they were not carrying passengers from countries hostile to Algiers. This elaborate system, instigated by Admiral John Lawson, was established and enforced through the complexities of diplomatic negotiation, supported by a military presence.⁹⁷ Passes gave Algerian vessels the right to send two crew members aboard to search British ships, inspecting the lists that detailed cargo and passengers.⁹⁸ The passes, or passports, were made of engraved parchment, with an image of a ship or sea gods. Scalloped cuts were made through the images and the top part sent to the Algerian authorities, who then permitted those ships producing the matching counterparts to travel unmolested.⁹⁹ The passes were often forged, however, which meant added bureaucracy. In January 1680, the fleet admiral had to go to Algiers to provide a copy of the official pass due to ‘slandrous reports’ of ‘Negligence in committing to others the care & Trust reposed in us & expected from us by the Argereenes’.¹⁰⁰ British ship captains would sometimes carry multiple passes to fool privateers, and transport cargo and passengers of hostile nations. If more than three-quarters of the crew and passengers were not British, the privateers would take the ship and contents, on the basis that the pass had been sold to vessels from other nations.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Pennell, ‘Introduction’, p. 15.

⁹⁵ Pennell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 59-60.

⁹⁶ Matar, ‘Introduction’, p. 31; T. Stein, ‘Passes and protection in the making of a British Mediterranean’, *Journal of British Studies* 54 (2015) 602-31.

⁹⁷ Vitkus, ‘Thomas Phelps’, p. 194; D. Vitkus, ‘Appendix 7’, in Vitkus, *Piracy*, pp. 369-70; Matar, ‘Introduction’, p. 31.

⁹⁸ Vitkus, ‘Thomas Phelps’, p. 194; Vitkus, ‘Appendix 7’, pp. 369-70.

⁹⁹ Vitkus, ‘Appendix 7’, p. 369, n. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Matar, ‘Introduction’, p. 31; MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 71/2, fol. 119 (1671-84).

¹⁰¹ Matar, ‘Introduction’, p. 31.

Consuls had a time-consuming role in ensuring passes were up-to-date and preventing seizure or intervening when ships were taken, attempting to prevent Christian Britons from converting to Islam, ensuring the release of captives and assisting them upon their release. This was alongside their other duties, monitoring and facilitating trade and the related financial administration, and coordinating the sale and distribution of imported goods, which incurred a consular fee payable by merchants, a point of inevitable contention.¹⁰² Consuls could not always enforce the treaties and perform their duties, however, and this might result in sending the fleet to employ war-like tactics, leading to a reiteration or renegotiation of a treaty. Several such incidents occurred during the 1670s.¹⁰³ However, despite Britain's growing naval power and the efforts of government, monarchs and trading companies, along with their agents, representatives and diplomats, Britons continued to be seized by North Africans well into the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁰⁴

Conclusion

The death of Queen Elizabeth I signified a shift in diplomatic relations, which moved away from direct and personal intervention by the monarch. Merchant elites, supported by prominent political figures, became increasingly powerful within the realm of diplomacy, their ambassadors and consuls endowed with unprecedented autonomy in negotiating and renegotiating the terrain of Christian-Muslim relations. Significantly, throughout this period religious and cultural difference did not obstruct these diplomatic and commercial endeavours, unlike the mutual acts of piracy and captive-taking, which hindered trade and impacted on relations. However, piracy and diplomacy were inextricably related through the interests of trade and commerce, and it was these intertwined activities that shaped the roles and responsibilities of overseas officials and diplomats. The ransoming of captives became more organised and systematic as the 17th century went on, with funds and mediators in the form of these consuls, factors and agents more readily available than in the first half of the century, and these activities, ironically perhaps, helped to secure personal and political allegiances.

¹⁰² MS London, The National Archives, PRO – SP 71/3 fol. 214 (1685-98); MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 110-12.

¹⁰³ Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 19; Vitkus, 'Appendix 7', p. 369, n. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Matar, 'Introduction', p. 24.

The interrelationship between piracy, trade and diplomacy also informed both contemporary and future British understandings of Islamic culture and lands. Published and manuscript accounts by those residing, working and travelling in the Muslim worlds, encountering pirates, conducting trade and negotiating agreements, had been available throughout the century. In addition, the late 1660s saw an increase in records made by ambassadors and agents of their experiences and perspectives in diaries, journals, correspondence and publications. These texts mapped the shifts in power, relations and attitudes, influenced the popular imagination, and provided intelligence information, and they ensured that these men left a huge written legacy, which shaped the development of Christian-Muslim relations into the 18th century and beyond.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world*, pp. 3-4, 24, 42-3, 62-3, 112-21; Pennell, *Piracy and diplomacy*. See, for example, E. d'Aranda, *The history of Algiers and it's slavery*, trans. J. Davies, London, 1666; A. Roberts (ed.), *The adventures of (Mr T. S.) an English merchant, taken prisoner by the Turks of Argiers*, London, 1670; *A true relation of the adventures of Mr. R. D. an English merchant taken by the Turks of Argiers in 1666*, London, 1672; W. Okeley, *Eben-ezer. Or, A small monument of great mercy, appearing in the miraculous deliverance of William Okeley, John Anthony, William Adams, John Jeph, John – Carpenter, from the miserable slavery of Algiers*, London, 1675; *A true relation of the victory and happy success of a squadron of His Majesties fleet in the Mediterranean, against the pyrates of Algiers*, London, 1670; A. Elliot, 'A narrative of my travails, captivity and escape from Salle, in the Kingdom of Fez', in Elliot, *A modest vindication of Titus Oates the Salamanca-doctor from perjury*, London, 1682; T. Phelps, *A true account of the captivity of Thomas Phelps*, London, 1685; F. Brooks, *Barbarian cruelty, being a true history of the distressed condition of the Christian captives under the tyranny of Mully Ishmael, Emperor of Morocco*, London, 1693; P. Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish Empire*, London, 1680; P. Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1677, 1670.

Dutch versus Portuguese colonialism. Traders versus crusaders?

Karel Steenbrink

The year 1492 was immensely significant in global history. It marked the end of the *Reconquista*, the long process of ending Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula, and also the beginnings of the expansion of European rule over the new territories discovered by Christopher Columbus, first in the Americas and then, after 1498, in Asia. Is there a connection between the two? Or rather, should we consider the Portuguese and Spanish expansion of trade and power into regions of Asia (and also Africa) as a continuation of the *Reconquista*? This idea was encapsulated succinctly by a student of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in 1909 in a statement attached to his doctoral dissertation: 'It has to be regretted, with a view to the permanent global domination of the Caucasian race, that de Albuquerque could not execute his plan to conquer Mecca.'¹ In 1513, the Portuguese admiral and viceroy of the Estado da Índia, Afonso de Albuquerque, attacked Aden as part of an attempt to launch a campaign against Arabia and the holy cities of Islam. He was not successful, and he died soon after in 1515. The idea was never taken up again, but it can be seen as symbolic of the view that Iberian colonial expansion was conceived as a crusade directed against Muslim power, having as its ultimate goal the final annihilation of Islam.

Unlike this expansion from the Iberian Peninsula, which would result in territorial gains (mostly in the Americas) and was motivated by the spirit of the *Reconquista*, it is possible to see the Northern European initiative to Asian countries as being motivated by trade; it was more peaceful, with only economic gain as its direct purpose. In contrast to Iberian expansion, the Northern Europeans were not driven by interests of state, but rather by incentives of profit. In consequence, there were fewer religious references in the first formulations of their intentions.

The difference between the Iberian nations' strategies and those of the Northern European colonial powers with regard to the idea of the

¹ A translation of thesis IX which is attached to D.A. Rinkes, *Abdoerra'oef van Singkel. Bijdrage tot de kennis der mystiek op Sumatra en Java*, Heerenveen, 1909.

Indian Ocean as a 'Muslim Mediterranean' further accentuates this contrast.² Details of this difference will be discussed below by comparing the approaches and policies adopted by the Portuguese with those followed by the Dutch, examining the difference and questioning whether it is absolute.

From Tiele to Schrieke. The legacy of Albuquerque
in Dutch discussions

Pieter Anton Tiele (1834-89) is prominent in Dutch colonial history as a researcher and publisher. As librarian of the universities of Leiden and Utrecht, he established a new standard for cataloguing, and between 1877 and 1887 he wrote a series of substantial articles on the arrival of Europeans in the Malay Archipelago. He then initiated a series of publications on the colonial history of the Dutch in the East Indies.³ In a popular literary magazine he wrote a long essay on Afonso de Albuquerque as the architect of Portuguese colonialism in the Asian territories. He observed that Muslim traders in these southern and eastern regions lived among the population, while the Portuguese built fortifications in a drive to eliminate Muslim trade from the Indian Ocean. This was an attempt to extend the Iberian *Reconquista*. The *feitoria* system did indeed make the development of European colonialism possible, and it was adopted by the Dutch. Albuquerque was highly ambitious and hatched some impossible plans. One was to divert the course of the Nile to the south-east in order to destroy the viability of Muslim Egypt. Another was to steal the body of Muḥammad from Mecca (in ignorance of the fact that he was buried in Medina), with the idea of then ransoming it in exchange for Christian rule over Jerusalem. Albuquerque even contemplated burning the entire city of Mecca to the ground, but did not manage much more than a failed siege of Aden.⁴ He managed to take Malacca in 1511

² K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilization in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1984; A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce, 1450-1680*, New Haven CT, vol. 1, 1988, vol. 2, 1993; A.H. Johns, 'Islam in Southeast Asia. Reflections and new directions', *Indonesia* 19 (1975) 33-55.

³ P.A. Tiele, 'Geschiedenis der Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel', *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 25-36 (1877-87); P.A. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1886-95. For summaries and references, see W.P. Coolhaas, *A critical survey of studies on Dutch colonial history*, The Hague, 1980, p. 28.

⁴ P.A. Tiele, 'Afonso d'Albuquerque in het oosten, 1507-1515', *De Gids* 40 (1876) 377-433. See also the entry by A. Pelúcia, 'Afonso de Albuquerque', *CMR* 6, pp. 318-27.

and it was during his rule as viceroy of the Estado da Índia that the first explorer, Antonio d'Abreu, reached some of the Spice Islands in the eastern Indonesian archipelago in 1512.

Nearly a century after Tiele launched his landmark series about Portuguese and Dutch explorers and colonisers, Bertram Schrieke (1890-1945) published sketches for a comprehensive history of the Indonesian archipelago. In his description of the arrival of Islam in the region, he attributed a major role to the Portuguese:

It is as a matter of fact impossible to understand the spread of Islam in the archipelago unless one takes into account the antagonism between the Moslem traders and the Portuguese. Portuguese expansion must be viewed as a sequel to the Crusades... From the conquest of Malacca in 1511 onward, one finds the Portuguese including the archipelago in their struggle against Islam and Islamic trade.⁵

The Muslim presence grew steadily not only in the western parts of the archipelago, such as Aceh, Minangkabau and Java, but also in its eastern regions. The sultanate of Aceh became a centre for Muslims who had fled from Malacca, and the sultanate attracted many more Muslim traders after 1511. This was observed not only by Schrieke, but also, more recently, by Anthony Reid, who defined the period 1450-1680 as an 'age of commerce', especially between Southeast Asia and the Red Sea, where not only the Portuguese but also Muslim traders, initially Gujaratis, were active. One side-effect of the increased intensity in trade was that both sought to make converts to their religion.⁶

Besides the strongly Muslim Aceh on Sumatra, the Sultanate of Banten on the north coast of west Java was also a major provider of pepper for the world market in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1527, the Portuguese were witnesses to the transition of power from the Hindu Kingdom of Pajajaran to the coastal realm of Banten. Both Portuguese and Dutch traders regarded this Muslim stronghold as Java's major port and it was also used by British, French, Gujarati and Chinese vessels. Its rulers took the title of sultan in the 17th century (or rather received it after delegations to Mecca sought permission to use it). In 1680, the Dutch intervened in the war of succession between the crown prince, known as Sultan Haji since he had studied in Mecca, and his father Ageng, and, as a result,

⁵ B. Schrieke, *Indonesian sociological studies*, The Hague, 1957, vol. 2, pp. 232-4.

⁶ Reid, *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce*, vol. 2, pp. 143-5; A. Azra, '1530-1670. A race between Islam and Christianity?', in J.S. Aritonang and K. Steenbrink (eds), *A history of Christianity in Indonesia*, Leiden, 2008, 9-21.

the latter was sent into exile in Batavia, while his chief religious advisor and official, the warrior Sufi Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari, was exiled first to Ceylon and later to Cape Town (see the entry on *Dagh-Register* in *CMR* 11). Was this an indication that the Dutch were interfering in Muslim affairs against Shaykh Yusuf, or siding with the more 'Islamic' Sultan Haji against his father? In fact, the religious leanings of a particular party were seldom an important question in themselves. The reality was definitely that the Dutch, even more than the Portuguese, far from acting as simple traders, were out to found an empire. And in this political process, it was impossible to ignore religion; rather, it was used in many different ways.

Mare liberum in conflict with the monopoly on spices

In 1600, peace negotiations took place between Britain and Spain. One issue under discussion was the Spanish request for British recognition of the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, according to which the pope had set a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands to divide the areas of Spanish and Portuguese colonial interest. This would require recognition that 'the Indies' were to be considered as partly Spanish and partly Portuguese territory. British traders considered this recognition a threat to their plans to launch the East India Company and sent a request (probably written by Richard Hakluyt) to Queen Elizabeth that the Spanish (and Portuguese) claim to these territories be rejected. This request may have had an impact, because in the final peace treaty between England and Spain, signed on 24 August 1604, trade with the Indies was not mentioned. King James I of England wanted to retain the rights of his citizens in their trade endeavours, while King Philip III of Spain did not want to give up his claims. This 1600 request was entitled *Certayne reasons why the English merchants may trade into the East-Indies especially to such kingdoms and dominions as are not subject to the Kings of Spayne and Portugal; together with the true limits of Portugals conquest and jurisdiction in these oriental parts*. In 1607, it was translated and presented to the highest Dutch authority, the Staten Generaal, when peace talks began between them and the Spanish. It denied to any pope the right to prescribe boundaries of empires and territories anywhere in the world. More specifically, the Dutch text stated:

Our merchants have already opened a trade in Bantam and Sumatra and signed agreements with the kings, who are Muslim but have the same

absolute authority in their realm as the King of Spain. These kings absolutely reject the idea that any Christian king should claim authority over their land as if it were part of their East Indies.⁷

The document as a whole is an affirmation of the principle of *mare liberum*, according to which rulers have the right to protect their territories against thieves and pirates, but should allow and promote trade in a free and common sea: *Mare communis usus omnibus hominibus ut aeris* ('the sea is a common provision for all people like the air').

The editor of the first Dutch translation of this text, Johan Karel de Jonge, commented that he found it curious to see merchants from the 'country of Selden' (who promoted the principle of *mare clausum*) defending *mare liberum*, especially when the directors of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC) maintained as its true basis a monopoly of trade. This would serve as yet another example, if such were necessary, of the fact that 'international law is only accepted as valid as long as it is not necessary to curb its meaning according to the needs of the moment'.⁸

Concerning local rulers, including Muslim rulers, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the founding father of Batavia and early Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, was antipathetic to their authority. In September 1613, he bluntly stated of the Sultanate of Johore (Malaysia): 'They are enemies of Christianity, enemies of the true God, and as such our natural enemies. We should only keep to the content of treaties with them as long as these conform to our own benefit. They have no right to our commitment.'⁹

For comparison with Portuguese attitudes, it is interesting here to consider the situation of Muslims living in the town of Malacca after the Dutch conquered the city in 1641. The new Dutch governor, Johan van Twist, attempted to attract more native people in order to bring greater prosperity and trade to the town. His plan was to promise them 'freedom of religion which they have followed and learned from their early youth, in the same way as the Portuguese gave them freedom of religion and trade. Of course, with the payment of the usual taxes and duties.' The Batavia government, however, would not allow this open-minded policy,

⁷ The text of the English document is in J. Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, London, 1810, vol. 1, pp. 115-21. The Dutch text here is translated from J.K.J. de Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indie (1595-1610)*, The Hague, 1862, vol. 1, p. 291.

⁸ De Jonge, *De opkomst*, vol. 1, p. 286.

⁹ P.A. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1886, vol. 1, p. 59.

and ruled that public expression of any other than the Reformed (Calvinist) religion was prohibited.¹⁰ The Dutch of the Low Countries, as well as those in Batavia, were in various respects not very liberal.

A triad of positions and motivations

The Dutch scholar of colonialism Bertram Schrieke outlines a division of three (or even four) motivations for Portuguese expansion:

The same peculiar mixture of commercial and religious motives which had led to the Crusades and had marked the endeavours of Marino Sanudo (1306 and later) also strikes one in the Portuguese expansion from the time of Henry the Navigator, 'the first conqueror and discoverer of heathendom', on. In the new expansion, however, there was a third element to be detected, that of the ambition and lust for adventure of the nobility, which had not found any means of expression after the Crusades.¹¹

The three impulses referred to here have been summarised quite simply in the slogan 'the three Ms': Merchant, Military and Missionary, an expression often used as a derogatory way of referring to a more or less diabolical conspiracy of quite different forces. Frederik Bosch discusses this triad in the context of much earlier religious development in the region of the Indian Ocean.¹² During the 19th and early 20th centuries, it was generally accepted that Hindu influence in countries such as Cambodia, Thailand and the Indonesian archipelago was a religious 'export' as a by-product of political and economic activities. Hinduism and Buddhism had long been considered to have been brought to Southeast Asia by warlords and trading captains. However, such 'mighty streams of colonisation' had never been documented in history and the idea of Indian 'warlords' creating vast kingdoms overseas only developed in the minds of Western colonisers at a much later date. The main agents for the propagation of Hinduism and Buddhism were, in fact, religious adherents from India who travelled to mainland Southeast Asia and to the Malay Archipelago, as well as students from these countries who travelled to India to further their studies. In 1946, arguing against the common theory prevalent in the early 20th century, Bosch defended the thesis that it

¹⁰ P.A. Tiele and J.E. Heeres, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1895, vol. 3, pp. 35, 72.

¹¹ Schrieke, *Indonesian sociological studies*, vol. 1, p. 37.

¹² F.D.K. Bosch *Het vraagstuk van de Hindoekolonisatie van den Archipel*, Leiden, 1946; English trans. F.D.K. Bosch, *Selected studies in Indonesian archaeology*, The Hague, 1961.

was not *ksatriya* (the Hindu social caste of warrior) or *vaysha* (the Hindu social caste of trader) who had been responsible for the introduction of new religious ideas to the regions, but rather Hindu Brahmins and Buddhist monks.¹³ In the case of Indonesia, we should further take into consideration that, while some economic contact may have been associated with religious change, other contact was not. Long-standing trade relations with China had not resulted in the spread of Taoism or Confucianism outside the restricted circle of Chinese migrants in Indonesia.¹⁴

A relatively comprehensive description of Dutch East India Company personnel, categorised as merchants, military and missionaries, has been prepared by Gerrit Knaap, professor of colonial history at Utrecht University. For the 18th century, he accepts an average of 21,674 employees in the Asian territories. Only 2% (416 men, as no women worked under the VOC charter) were designated as merchants or traders (*koopman*), while 1% (slightly over 200 men) worked for religious ministries and schools, and 57% were soldiers. (Among the remaining categories, 16% were seamen, 9% were manual labourers or artisans, 8% were civil servants and 2% worked in health care.) The 'core business' of the VOC, as Knaap sees it, was therefore trade supported by the military to control the markets by force as necessary.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the VOC tried to control religious life in the few areas where it had full power, such as parts of Ceylon, the central settlement of Batavia and some smaller regions in East Indonesia, including the tiny Banda archipelago and the eastern part of the island of Ambon. Further aspects of this will be discussed below under 'The other side of the crusade. Dreaming of an Indian Zion'.

Did the Portuguese colonial administration give more attention than the VOC to the spread of Christianity among the people with whom it came into close contact? Notwithstanding the very strong statements by Dutch scholars from Thiele to Schrieke, the Portuguese could not do much in the Arabian Peninsula or Persia, or even Mughal India. The Dutch Protestant VOC official in Agra wrote about their attempts to exert influence at the highest level, through 'flattering conversations

¹³ I have used here material from K. Steenbrink, 'Indian teachers and their Indonesian pupils. On intellectual relations between India and Indonesia, 1600-1800', *Itinerario* 12 (1988) 129-41.

¹⁴ On Buddhism, see K. Steenbrink, 'Buddhism in Muslim Indonesia', *Studia Islamika* [Jakarta] 20 (2013) 1-34. On the possible influence of (some elements of) Chinese Muslims in Indonesia, see H.J. de Graaf and T.G.T. Pigeaud, *Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th centuries*, Monash, 1984.

¹⁵ G. Knaap, 'De "core business" van de VOC. Markt, macht en mentaliteit vanuit overzees perspectief', Inaugural Lecture, Utrecht University, 10 November 2014.

with the Mughal ruler, which resulted in the permit to build a church in Agra'.¹⁶ Only in some towns in south India and Ceylon, which were under their control, were they able to create a more or less Christian majority. They enjoyed the *padroado*, the control of the Catholic Church by the state granted by the Vatican to Portugal and Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries and formally confirmed by Pope Leo X in 1514, but much of the actual missionary work was done by international orders such as the Dominicans (Timor) and Jesuits (Moluccas). The Estado da Índia was not organised in the same centralised style as the Dutch VOC, and particularly on the peripheries, such as the Moluccas and Timor, the 'race between Islam and Christianity' was not a state affair but was often left to the missionaries. There were few Portuguese garrisons and *feitorias* in the Moluccas (only in Ternate, which after 1575 moved to Tidore, and in Ambon), while the fortifications in the south-eastern islands, such as Solor, Ende, Larantuka and Timor, were built by Dominican friars who had joined merchants in these regions before there was any formal settlement of the Portuguese Estado da Índia. Here, we see that, within 'the three Ms', it was the military that came after the merchants and missionaries.¹⁷

The other side of the crusade. Dreaming of an Indian Zion

There is a Dutch counterpart of Albuquerque's dreams of continued *Reconquista* and the destruction of Islamic centres. This is the image of the Dutch East India Company as the facilitator of a somewhat modest, but well-established and in its internal affairs strong, 'Indian Zion'. The ministers, hired, administered and controlled by the VOC for being strictly orthodox Calvinist/Reformed Protestants, while not too aggressive or charismatic within a missionary context, frequently described their small congregations as the eastern, Ambonese or Batavian Zion. As late as 2002, a VOC historian from a Reformed background published a book with the title *Het Indisch Sion*,¹⁸ which was an attempt to correct the dominant image in the historiography of early Dutch colonialism in Batavia, Colombo, Malacca and the Moluccas as an ecclesiastical

¹⁶ D.H.A. Kolff and H.W. van Santen (eds), *De geschriften van Francisco Pelsaert over Mughal Indië, 1627. Kroniek en Remonstrantie*, The Hague, 1979.

¹⁷ A recent publication is A. Heuken, *'Be my witness to the end of the earth!' The Catholic Church in Indonesia before the 19th century*, Jakarta, 2002.

¹⁸ G.J. Schutte (ed.), *Het Indisch Sion. De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Hilversum, 2002.

appendix to the VOC's extensive trading empire. Of course, the 17th and 18th centuries had not yet witnessed the peak of colonial imperialism, and the direct impact on many sections of the local population was more intense in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when the new missionary societies could work in areas that were not yet majority Muslim.

It is clear that the only form of Christianity acceptable to VOC personnel was the Reformed tradition and it wanted respect for its religion, but in its many treaties with native rulers it also promised to respect Islam and other religions. There was often a paragraph in treaties with sultans, kings and other local rulers that aimed at preventing disloyalty among soldiers and other personnel through reciprocal promises to return any converts or deserters to the VOC or local ruler (see examples in *CMR 11* under Frederick de Houtman). However, stories of renegades abound, including Dutch VOC personnel who converted to Islam (both voluntarily and under duress) and would often become middlemen, translators and mediators in conflicts. Some renegades were punished, even with the death penalty, but others made use of their indispensable position and gathered influence and wealth (see *CMR 11* under *Dagh-Register*).

The great architect of Dutch colonialism in Southeast Asia, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, was a staunch Calvinist, but he had to adapt to politico-religious conditions:

Should we try to make Christians of the Ternatans or take what is ours by right from them – even with force if need be? . . . Say in reply that in the Moluccas at present religion should by all means be left alone. We must maintain our right to export cloves – by force even – but in respect to other matters we should turn a blind eye to a great deal. . . . The Moors abhor us and therefore the Ternatans and Bandanese do not permit anyone from their families to marry any of us for any reason whatsoever. If sexual intercourse occurs, they terminate the pregnancy (they say) and ultimately destroy the fruit and the creature that is born so that the mother will not produce pagan offspring. Your Honour, employ men, and not angels, here.¹⁹

Attempts to formulate a general strategy in this area lacked the numerous modifications required by local and personal conditions, as stated above. A reviewer of Schutte's 2002 book, *Het Indisch Sion*, mentions as a hard fact that in the 17th and 18th centuries Islam had spread steadily

¹⁹ From the often quoted *Memorandum* of 1 January 1614 by Coen. Here quoted from K. Steenbrink, *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam. Contacts and conflicts 1596-1950*, Amsterdam, 2006², p. 61.

in more and more regions of the Malay Archipelago, while Christianity remained restricted to the rather few settlements under direct Dutch administration. He wondered 'why not a majority of the Malay population in the region around Malacca had called at the church of the rich, white traders?'²⁰

Three present-day Indonesians on the Portuguese and the Dutch

1963 saw the beginning of a modest series of seminars aimed at re-writing Indonesian history. The idea was that this would take place in a format no longer dominated by Eurocentric colonial views, but rather shaped by Indonesian historians writing from an Indonesian perspective. At the second National Historical Seminar (*Seminar Sedjarah Nasional II*), which took place in Yogyakarta on 26-29 August 1970, the young historian Dharmono Hardjowidjono presented a paper entitled: 'Is it true that the Portuguese started a religious war against the Muslim community during their presence in Indonesia?',²¹ which bluntly rejected the idea that there had been a religious war between the two parties. All cases of violence between the Portuguese and local rulers in the Malay Archipelago are explained as resulting from misunderstandings or mistrust or as the beginnings of violence by the Malay-Indonesian party. The paper begins with a description of the exploratory fleet sent to Malacca under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1509. It called at the harbours of Pedir and Pasei in north Sumatra, two Muslim towns where much pepper was sold. After friendly negotiations, Sequeira was allowed to trade. Continuing their journey to Malacca, they received from Sultan Mahmud a permit to trade and even to build a *feitoria*. This expedition was followed by another in 1511 under Afonso de Albuquerque, which also began with friendly negotiations. However, when Albuquerque noticed preparations being made on land for armed action, he decided to use the superior weapons of the Portuguese fleet and captured the town. In this spirit, Hardjowidjono also describes the mission of Jorge de Albuquerque to Pasai in 1514 and Minangkabau and Siak in 1514, which only concentrated on the pepper trade. When the Portuguese came to west Java in 1522,

²⁰ M. de Bruin, Review of Schutte (ed.), *Het Indisch Sion 570-1.*, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land, en volkenkunde* 160 (2004).

²¹ D. Hardjowidjono, 'Benarkah orang-orang Portugis melantjarkan perang agama terhadap umat Islam selama kehadiran mereka di Indonesia?', mimeographed paper presented at the *Seminar Sedjarah Nasional II*, Jogjakarta, 1970 (quoted from the copy in Leiden University Library-KITLV, i-847-N+).

the Sundanese ruler, who was Hindu, was accepted as a trading partner. In 1527, after this Hindu realm was conquered by the Muslims from the coastal town of Banten, the Portuguese continued their trade in the same way as before. 'The change of religion was not felt as a hindrance for them.'²² Interaction with the Moluccas and Macassar is depicted in a similar vein.

There is no consistent link between religious and secular in this historiography. In 2008, Azyumardi Azra, the rector of the Islamic University of Jakarta, published a contribution to a collective work, *A history of Christianity in Indonesia*, which discusses the idea that the period between 1530 and 1670 could be seen as a 'race between Islam and Christianity'. Azra mentions Schrieke but also refers to Anthony Reid, who saw the period as an 'age of commerce' that was brought to an end by the Dutch trade monopoly.²³ The role of Malacca as the main Muslim seaport was taken over by Aceh after 1511, and this sultanate sought a partnership with the Ottoman Empire to form a new coalition in the Indian Ocean. Aceh also sought Muslim partners in the region to attack the Portuguese in their stronghold of Malacca, but without success. Eventually, the Dutch strengthened their position in 1641 by expelling the Portuguese from Malacca, which initiated a period when religion played a less important role:

The Portuguese period was one of polarisation, when religious boundaries were clearly drawn, but by the mid-17th century this sharp distinction between Islam and non-Islam was fading. The major conflicts were no longer between crusading Catholics and Islam, but between the religiously neutral VOC and its allies on the one hand and those who sought a freer system of trade on the other. Among both Muslims and Christians, the age of crusades motivated by religious fervour was over.²⁴

Malacca was not the only Muslim sultanate that came under Dutch control (in this case after 130 years of Portuguese domination). In the period 1650-80, all the major Indonesian states disintegrated. In 1666, Macassar was defeated, and in 1674 the Dutch joined in an uprising in Mataram, the largest sultanate of Java, and managed to reduce its territory and authority. In 1680-3, the other Javan sultanate, Banten, lost its independence. The VOC was never simply a trading company; it had a large army

²² '...pergantian agama itu tidaklah dirasakan sebagai penghambat oleh mereka', Hardjowidjono, 'Benarkah. orang-orang Portugis', p. 6.

²³ Azra, '1530-1670. A race between Islam and Christianity?', pp. 9-21.

²⁴ Azra, '1530-1670. A race between Islam and Christianity?', p. 20.

which it did not hesitate to use – in many gradual stages, if not in one major war.

A third modern Indonesian interpretation is presented by the Catholic priest, Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya (1929-99), political activist and novelist. In 1987, he published his historical novel *Ikan-ikan Hiu, Ido, Homa* ('Sharks, tuna and sprat'), a title that alludes to the marine food chain in which large fish eat medium-sized fish, which in turn feed on smaller fish. The novel describes the period of Western expansion at the beginning of the 17th century, when the Dutch tried to take over the Portuguese spice trade in the Moluccan archipelago, with the Dutch and the Portugueses vying for the support of the Muslim sultanates of Ternate and Tidore. It depicts the arrival of the colonising powers not as a conflict between West and East, or between Christians and Muslims, but rather as just another stage in the history of the manipulation and exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful. Debates about the cooperation between the Muslim Ternatans and the Dutch are evoked at some length. As a result of the long history of conflict between Tidore and Ternate, both sultanates opted for a European partner, notwithstanding the rule that 'all Muslims are brothers' and that one should 'not look for help from the infidels'. Mangunwijaya's 'Muslim colleague' gives some unwanted advice:

We should realize that our most menacing enemies are not those who rest on the decks of the gunpowder-ships *Amsterdam* and *Gouda* on the coast of Ternate, be they unbelievers, but in ourselves; not in these floating castles with their scores of threatening guns, but in our own hearts, inclined to evil.²⁵

The main characters in the novel are the widow of the headman of a village of ship builders on Halmahera and a young man, little more than a teenager. They are the only survivors of a bloody attack by Ternatan warriors. Mangunwijaya sees children as the weakest of the poor, followed by women, and then the elderly, while adult men usually manage to survive, or at least may be the last victims in the play of the powerful. From the perspective of this boy and this woman, we see the eclipse of the Portuguese Empire and the rise of Dutch colonialism as the continuation of political cooperation between native and foreign elites, the

²⁵ Y.B. Mangunwijaya, *Ikan-ikan Hiu, Ido, Homa*, Jakarta, 1983, p. 84. I follow here K. Steenbrink, 'Y.B. Mangunwijaya's blueprint for a diaspora church in Indonesia', *Exchange* 27 (1998) 17-36.

sultans and admirals who use the people at the middle level, district and village chiefs, to exploit the poor village population.

Conclusion. What went wrong?

From the early 16th century onwards, the Portuguese built a network of trading posts, often small, fortified towns. In the 17th century, they were followed (and often ousted) by the Dutch, French and British. This was the beginning of a process lasting more than 450 years that ended as colonial imperialism. Other nations later followed suit, notably the Russians in Central Asia, Spain in North Africa, Germany in East Africa and as a military partner to a weak Turkey, and Italy in Libya and Ethiopia. In 1930, the Lebanese-Druze pan-Arabist Shakīb Arslān wrote a book whose title literally translates as: *Why have Muslims fallen behind and others advanced?*²⁶ The book is an answer to a question posed by an Indonesian reader of the journal *Al-Manār* and the Qur'anic verse it quotes twice (Q 63:8): 'Glory belongs unto God, and unto his messenger and the believers'; why is glory now given to the unbelievers? Arslān's answer is ambiguous: Christians should live an ascetic life, but they have not followed the precepts of Jesus and have sought earthly power. Muslims should live a life balanced between earthly pursuits and eternal merit: a true people of the middle way. However, they have concentrated on the hereafter and so have lost their true character. More interesting perhaps than this answer is the question: what led to the decline of the Muslim world? The rise of colonialism in the Portuguese-dominated 16th century and the Dutch-dominated 17th century was the origin of a political system that lasted until the 1950s and still dominates much of Christians' and Muslims' present perception of each other.

In a comprehensive account of the rise of the Portuguese Empire, the critical Portuguese historian Duarte Leite has said: 'It is astonishing how it is possible to extract from the same documentation, in good faith, conclusions that are diametrically opposed.'²⁷ The various images and theories put forward from Afonso de Albuquerque to modern historians

²⁶ Shakīb Arslān, *Li-mādhā ta'akhhara al-Muslimūn wa-li-mādhā taqaddama ghayruhum?*, Cairo, 1930. The information given here is based on the Indonesian translation by M. Chalil, *Mengapa kaum Muslimun mundur dan mengapa kaum selain mereka madju?*, Jakarta, 1954. The first English translation was published under the title *Our decline, its causes and its remedies*, Lahore, 1944.

²⁷ Quoted in B.W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580*, Minneapolis MI, 1977, p. 2.

of the Dutch East India Company have, in a variety of ways, given rise to different interpretations of the religious background of the early colonial enterprise. However, in the case of both the Portuguese and the Dutch it would be incorrect to exaggerate religious themes, which were only exceptions to the general trend of the enterprises in which they were each engaged. The more prominent role must go to economic and political motivations.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations
1600-1700

British Isles

William Bedwell

DATE OF BIRTH 1563
PLACE OF BIRTH Great Hallingbury, Essex
DATE OF DEATH 1632
PLACE OF DEATH Tottenham High Cross, Middlesex

BIOGRAPHY

William Bedwell was born in Great Hallingbury in Essex in 1563. In 1578 he matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, became a scholar in 1584, and received his MA ten years later. At Cambridge, he developed what were to remain his principal fields of interest. On the one hand, he was always fascinated by geometry and mensuration. His concern with the practical application of mathematics, which was attended by a devotion to Ramism, the fashionable new method of simplifying learning particularly popular at Cambridge, was largely owing to his uncle, Thomas Bedwell, himself a fellow of Trinity and an engineer. William consequently cultivated the society of mathematicians, and throughout his life remained in touch with navigators and merchants. The other interest he developed at Cambridge was in oriental languages. He quickly became an accomplished Hebraist, mastered Aramaic, Syriac and some Ethiopic – his very first publication, *Prophetia Hhobadyah* (1601), contained texts in Hebrew and Aramaic – and he would later acquire some knowledge of Persian. With the encouragement of his future patron, Lancelot Andrewes, at the time a fellow of Pembroke Hall and later master of the college and bishop first of Chichester, then of Ely, and finally of Winchester, Bedwell also applied himself to the study of Arabic, exploiting to the utmost the few grammars then in print.

His lifelong interest in the practical aspect of his studies led to a special concern with Arabic scientific writings and drew him to the world of physicians, who were among his closest friends. Aware of the dearth of aids to the study of the language, he started to compile what he hoped would be the first Arabic-Latin dictionary to appear in the West. By 1595, he had completed a specimen of some 800 pages (MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 372) and, by 1599, a further one of about 600 pages (MS Paris, BNF, Arabe 4337). And although most of his work, which included translations of Ramist and other texts, still remained in

manuscript, he was soon regarded as one of the leading Arabists in Europe. By the first years of the 17th century he was corresponding with some of the most eminent scholars interested in Arabic, such as Isaac Casaubon in Paris, and himself received the visits of Arabists from all over northern Europe, who were honoured to sign his *album amicorum* (MS Leiden, University Library, BPL 2753). In 1600, he was invited to serve as interpreter to the members of a Moroccan embassy dispatched to propose an anti-Spanish alliance with Queen Elizabeth. One of the ambassadors, Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad Maymūn, signed his *album* with a qur'anic quotation, the brief Sura 112.

Ordained in the Church of England, Bedwell became rector of St Ethelburgha, Bishopsgate, London, in 1601, and in 1607 Lancelot Andrewes appointed him to All Hallows, Tottenham High Cross, in Middlesex, where he remained with his family for the rest of his life. His house would be 'a gathering place for students of Arabic', and in later years was frequented by scholars such as John Selden and Abraham Wheelocke in addition to numerous foreign visitors of distinction. In the meantime, his gifts as a Hebraist had been rewarded by Andrewes in 1604 with his appointment to the first Westminster company preparing the new version of the English Bible, subsequently to be known as the Authorized Version or King James Bible. He was also officially consulted as a translator of dispatches in Arabic. But Bedwell's overriding concern was to find a publisher to print his Arabic dictionary and the various Arabic versions of books of the New Testament that he had transcribed from a manuscript at Oxford. This was one of his principal objectives when he travelled to Leiden, at the expense of Lancelot Andrewes, in August 1612.

Bedwell was welcomed in Holland with particular warmth. In Leiden, he had a firm friend in Thomas Erpenius, the future professor of Arabic at the university, to whom Bedwell had given his first Arabic lessons in London in January 1609. His *album amicorum*, however, also bears the signatures of some of the greatest scholars in the Netherlands as well as those of the two men he was especially eager to meet, the printers Frans and Joost Raphelengius, who were running the publishing firm that their father, the orientalist Franciscus Raphelengius, had set up in Leiden for his father-in-law, Christophe Plantin, the greatest typographer in Antwerp. The firm possessed the best set of Arabic types in northern Europe. But while Bedwell managed to consult the Leiden collection of oriental manuscripts and collate his own transcriptions of the New Testament Epistles with a manuscript owned by Joseph Justus Scaliger and expand

his dictionary with the help of the Arabic-Latin lexicon Scaliger had himself compiled, he made discoveries that were less welcome. First of all, he found that the Raphelengius brothers were about to publish, with the help of Erpenius, the Arabic-Latin dictionary compiled by their father. They were also publishing another transcription of the Arabic Epistle to Titus. This put paid to Bedwell's hope not only of producing the first Arabic-Latin dictionary in the West but also of himself being the first editor of the Epistles in Arabic. On the other hand, however, not only did the Raphelengius brothers indeed publish his edition of the Epistles of John, but they also agreed to sell him their Arabic types.

It was after his return to England in October 1612 that Bedwell at last managed to publish the various mathematical works and translations he had prepared many years earlier and the one work he produced which dealt with Islam – the three texts that first appeared in 1615 under the title *Mohammedis imposturae*. Although he did eventually receive the Raphelengius types sent from Leiden, he never managed to print his Arabic-Latin dictionary. He continued to add to it until his death, by which time it had grown to such an extent as to be all but unpublishable. By then, too, great progress was being made in Arabic lexicography, especially in Leiden, and Bedwell's emphasis on the comparison between Arabic and Hebrew words (rather than with Turkish and Persian ones) made his lexicon increasingly obsolete. As an Arabist, however, Bedwell retained his reputation. He encouraged younger scholars and gave Arabic lessons to Edward Pococke, the best English Arabist of the 17th century. It was thanks to Bedwell that Pococke met his future patron, Archbishop William Laud.

Bedwell died in Tottenham on 5 May 1632. While most of his papers found their way into the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and his books were sold at auction, he left his dictionary (MSS Cambridge University Library Hh.5. 1-7, Hh. 6. 1-2) and his copy of the Qur'an (MS Cambridge University Library Ii.6.48) to Cambridge. The dictionary would remain an object of pilgrimage for years to come, but the Arabic types, matrices and punches that Bedwell had acquired from Leiden and which he also left to the Cambridge library, could never be properly used (even if some odd characters appear in John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum* published in Cambridge in 1683).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mohammedis imposturae

DATE 1579

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The three texts in this publication form a single book, with signatures running through but divided by separate title-pages, the second two texts bearing titles different from those on the frontispiece. (The title in full is *Mohammedis imposturae: That is, A Discovery of the Manifold Forgeries, Falshood, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed: With a demonstration of the insufficiencie of his Law, contained in the cursed Alcoran; Delivered to a conference had between two Mahometans,*

in their returne from Mecha. Written long since in Arabicke, and now done into English by William Bedwell. Whereunto is annexed the Arabian Trudgman, interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians: Together with an Index of the Chapters of the Alkoran, for the understanding of the confutations of that booke.)

The first of the three, *Mohammedis imposturae* (37 folios), is an English translation of a dialogue originally written in Arabic, *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya bayn al-‘ālimayn*, and published in Rome in about 1579. Bedwell intended his translation to be read alongside the Arabic version and thus to serve a didactic purpose. In the margin of *Mohammedis imposturae*, he gives the page numbers of his own copy (Oxford, Bodleian Library Sem.3.454), which he paginated himself and to which he added an interlinear Latin translation. The Arabic text, a work of transparent anti-Islamic propaganda, was almost certainly written in Rome shortly before it was printed, probably by one of the many Arabic-speaking Christians who had converted to Catholicism. Bedwell, however, proved extraordinarily ingenuous in judging it. He took it at its face value and claimed that it was about 600 years old.

The ‘Spirituell Conference between two Doctors’, as Bedwell translated it, consists of three dialogues between two Muslim pilgrims, Sheikh Sinan and Ahmed, on their way back from Mecca. The object of the work is to show the insufficiency of the Qur’an for salvation and to emphasise the importance of translating the Gospels into Arabic. It contains all the standard accusations against Islam – the pettiness of some of the episodes in the Qur’an, the shocking sensuality of the women in paradise, and the contradictions in the Qur’an. The Prophet Muḥammad is charged with a disorderly private life characterised by polygamy and with fraudulence, which is evident from the lack of miracles to confirm his prophetic claims. Sheikh Sinan finds that he has fallen into such contradictions in his defence of the Qur’an that he has to admit the infinite superiority of the Gospels, highly recommended by the Prophet Muḥammad himself, and which should be turned into Arabic.

The work contains the errors common in Europe at the time. The Prophet’s so-called ‘miracle of the divided moon’, a creation of qur’anic commentators rather than of the Qur’an, is taken as proof of his imposture. The Muslim ablutions are misleadingly described as ‘washing and cleansing for remission of sins’. Basing himself on a mistranslation of *jinn* in Sura 72, the author claims that Muslims believe in the salvation of devils (it was later correctly translated as ‘spirits’). A further mistranslation of the verb *ṣallā* in Q 33:56 leads to the erroneous conclusion that God

and the angels 'pray' for the Prophet (rather than 'invoke blessings' on him). The translations of both these terms were first corrected by André du Ryer in his French translation of the Qur'an, which appeared in 1647.

The second text (15 folios) has as its full title *The Arabian Trudgman, That is Certaine Arabicke Termes, As Names of places, titles of honour, dignitie, and office, &c. oft used by writers and historians of late times: Interpreted and expounded according to their nature and true etymologie: And approved by the iudgement of the best Authors*. Intended to serve the purpose of historians reading 'Orientall histories', it consists of definitions in English of certain Muslim terms – offices, sects, customs, plants, places, months, weights, buildings and other objects. Bedwell's own interleaved copy of the book (Oxford, Bodleian 4^o Rawl. 262) contains handwritten additions in Latin, including a number of Turkish terms, which suggest that he may have been planning a new edition. There is no sign, however, of any attempt to correct the numerous errors.

One might wonder whether *The Arabian Trudgman* could have been of use to anyone, let alone to historians, such is the number of mistakes in it. The term 'Saracen', for example, is said to be derived from the Arabic *saraqā*, 'to steal', and Bedwell, who was always fanciful in his approach to etymology, adds: 'the Arabians have bene and are to this day accounted great sharkers and robbers'. But Bedwell is particularly badly informed about the Holy Cities and the geography of Arabia. The tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad is said to be in Mecca, and the *ḥajj* a pilgrimage to his tomb. The Ka'ba is described as a mosque – it is 'the name', Bedwell writes, 'of that Church, Temple, or Mesgid in the city Mecha in Arabia-Felix' – while the Masjid al-ḥarām is simply called 'a temple in Mecha, built as they do verily believe, by Abraham the Patriarch' and containing 'the idol Abel'. Medina, writes Bedwell, 'that is, the city of the Prophet, is a city of Arabia Felix. But whether it be Iethrab, or Mecha, or a third city different from both, I dare not for certaine affirme'.

The mistake about the Ka'ba is curious since, presumably at a later date, Bedwell showed in a manuscript note written on the verso of the flyleaf of his copy of the *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya* that he knew perfectly well what the Ka'ba was. But odder still is the idea that the Prophet was buried in Mecca. Although such a belief was widespread, though by no means universally held, in medieval Europe, the travel account of Ludovico Varthema, who actually visited the Holy Cities, established once and for all that the Prophet was buried in Medina. Varthema's work was first published in Italian in 1510 and was soon translated and printed throughout

Europe. An English translation was included in Richard Eden's *History of Travayle* (1576-7). Varthema also describes the Ka'ba in some detail, but calls it a 'tower' (just as Bedwell does in his manuscript note). The 12th-century Muslim geographer al-Idrīsī, or 'Nubiensis' as he was still known, for whose work, published in Arabic in Rome in 1592, Bedwell actually compiled a geographical index in 1607 (MS Oxford, Bodleian, Arch. Seld. A 71), referred to Yathrib rather than Medina, but the French orientalist Guillaume Postel had already identified Yathrib as Medina in his *De orbis terrae concordia* of 1544 (a book with which Bedwell was familiar).

The third text (7 folios) is entitled *Index Assuratarum Muhammedici Alkorani*. That is a Catalogue of the Chapters of the Turkish Alkoran, as they are named in the Arabicke and known to the Musslemans. Together with their severall Interpretations, as they are done by the learned, and oft cited by the Christians. Gathered and digested according to their naturall order, for the benefite of Divines, and such as favour these studies. This work was compiled at the suggestion of Thomas Erpenius, to whom Bedwell had given his first Arabic lessons and who became professor of Arabic in Leiden. The Arabic titles of the suras are first transcribed and then given in Latin translation. For 32 of them, Bedwell refers to Guillaume Postel, who provides the names in the second book of his *De orbis terrae concordia*. For the others, Bedwell seems to have used his own copy of the Qur'an.

The names of the suras are largely given correctly, but, as in the 'Spirituell Conference', the title of sura 72, *al-jinn*, is translated as *de daemonibus* or 'on devils' (rather than 'on spirits'). The mere existence of the text, however, serves to remind us about the uncertainty there still was concerning the Qur'an. The only printed translation at the time, made by Robert of Ketton in the 12th century, edited by Theodor Bibliander and published in Basel in 1543, gives no names to the suras and uses a highly confusing numeration. That is what Bedwell proposed to remedy.

SIGNIFICANCE

Like so many early Arabists, Bedwell was faced with the problem of reconciling his praise and encouragement for the study of the Arabic language with a hostility towards Islam which, whether sincere or not, was at least a rhetorical necessity. Of his own devotion to Arabic as a language there can be no doubt, and he liked to sign his letters adding the Arabic term *al-faqīh*, 'the expert'. His apologies for Arabic studies are contained in the prefaces and conclusions he wrote to his Arabic

versions of the New Testament Epistles (reproduced in full in Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist*, pp. 106-20). With the exception of his preface to the Epistles of John published by the Raphelengius press in Leiden in 1612, they all remained in manuscript – the epistle dedicatory to Richard Bancroft of the Epistle to the Colossians, written in about 1603 (MS Cambridge University Library, Dd.15.4, fols 71r-18v), to James I of a first version of the Epistles of John written in about 1604 (MS Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Or. 58, fols 11r-9v, 49r-v), and to Lancelot Andrewes of the Epistles to Titus and Philemon written in about 1606 (MS London BL, Slo. 1796, fols 11r-26v).

Bedwell's technique was to separate the study of Arabic from Islam and to say nothing of the faith of the great Muslim scholars he mentions. He does, on the other hand, expend much praise on the purity of the beliefs of the Arabic-speaking Christians which, he assures his readers, came strikingly close to Anglicanism. The 'Spirituell Conference' in *Mohammedis imposturae* can be seen as a compendium of many of the traditional objections to Islam. But if we share Bedwell's belief that it was actually written in the 11th century by a Muslim, we can detect the suggestion that the pious Arab was in fact closer to Christianity than to Islam and might thus be uncontaminated by the religion of the Prophet Muḥammad and easily converted.

The question remains as to what knowledge of Islam Bedwell actually had. He himself never travelled further east than Leiden. His single documented encounter with a Muslim – his meeting with the Moroccan ambassador Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad Maymūn in 1600 – is unlikely to have yielded much information, since Bedwell admitted that the only interpreter who could understand something of what the ambassadors said was the Cambridge physician Lancelot Browne. Although he did possess a copy of the Qur'an, and indeed he apparently planned a Latin translation of it but got no further than the first sura and 147 verses of the second (MS Cambridge University Library Add. 286, no. 48), Bedwell depended for his information largely on secondary sources. For information on various aspects of the Islamic world, he drew heavily on the 'Spirituell Conference', the spurious *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya*. He also quotes certain Muslim sources: al-Idrīsī or 'Nubiensis', Leo Africanus, and the so-called *Doctrina Machumet*, a Latin translation by Hermann of Carinthia of the *Masā'il 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām*, a series of questions allegedly put to the Prophet by the eponymous Jewish convert. The text is included in the 1543 edition of the Latin translation of the Qur'an, and it was

from the writings in this same edition that Bedwell drew other pieces of information – from Cantacuzenus (the Byzantine emperor and historian John VI), Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, and Nicholas of Cusa. In addition to the 1543 Basel edition of the Qur'an, Bedwell also knew *L'Alcorano di Macometto* (Venice, 1547), the Italian translation of Robert of Ketton's Latin made by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo (who added an extensive introduction in which he musters a variety of sources not in the Basel edition). Bedwell quotes, too, the early 14th-century medical writer Matthaeus Silvaticus, and the French scholars connected with d'Aramon's embassy in Istanbul in the late 1540s, the Orientalist Guillaume Postel, the botanist Pierre Belon and the topographer Pierre Gilles.

Bedwell's sources, largely Byzantine or Western, tended to be hostile to Islam, and it was only ten years after the publication of his *Mohammedis imposturae* that a work appeared that would start to redress the balance – the edition prepared by Erpenius of the historian al-Makīn published posthumously by Erpenius' successor at Leiden, Jacobus Golius, in 1625. There, for the first time, Arab history was recounted from an Arab point of view, even if al-Makīn himself was a Christian. But it was not until 1650 that still more substantial progress was made with the publication of Edward Pococke's *Specimen historiae Arabum*, an abridgement of the chronicle of Abū l-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus). In his introduction and notes, Pococke demolishes many of the medieval legends and misconceptions in which Bedwell still seems to have believed. It is, however, to the lasting credit of William Bedwell, generally known as 'the father of Arabic studies in England', that he taught the rudiments of Arabic to both Erpenius and Pococke.

PUBLICATIONS

Mohammedis Imposturae: That is, A Discovery of the Manifold Forgeries, Falshood, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed: With a demonstration of the insufficiencie of his Law, contained in the cursed Alcoran; Delivered to a conference had between two Mahometans, in their returne from Mecha. Written long since in Arabicke, and now done into English by William Bedwell. Whereunto is annexed the Arabian Trudgman, interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians: Together with an Index of the Chapters of the Alkoran, for the understanding of the confutations of that booke, London, 1615; STC 17995 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Mahomet Unmasked. Or A Discoverie of the manifold Forgeries, Fals-hoods, and horrible Impieties of the Blasphemous Seducer Mahomet. With a demonstration of the Insufficiencie of his Law, contained in the cursed Alcoran. Written long since in Arabicke: and now done into English by William Bedwell. Whereunto is annexed the Araban Trudgman, Interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians. Together with an Index of the Chapters of the Alkoran, for the understanding of the confutation of the Booke, London, 1624 (a reissue of the 1615 edition with a different title-page); STC 17995.5 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

- M. Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English culture*, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 155-8, 249
- Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning*, pp. 61-2
- Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, pp. 55-6
- Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563-1632*, pp. 66-9, 124-5
- G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, vol. 4, 1951, p. 214
- G.L. della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1939, vol. 4, pp. 257-9
- L.B. Wright, 'Language helps for the Elizabethan tradesman', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 30 (1931) 333-47, p. 346

Alastair Hamilton

Robert Wilson

DATE OF BIRTH	Probably 1540s
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	November 1600
PLACE OF DEATH	St Giles Parish, Cripplegate, London

BIOGRAPHY

Robert Wilson (also spelled Wylson) was probably born during the 1540s, calculating from more certain dates associated with his career. Nothing is known about his parentage or schooling. Given his erudition and writing skill, he presumably received a good education, possibly at a grammar school, although no records of this have been identified. His burial record refers to him as a 'yeoman', a designation that was usually reserved for members of the social class immediately below the landed gentry. By 1572, Wilson was one of six principal actors with the Earl of Leicester's Men, gaining a reputation for his comic roles and ability to improvise. It is not certain when he added writing to his acting. A defence of poetry and stage acting published in 1579 is attributed to him, but the text has since been lost.

Parish records show that Wilson became a resident in St Botolph's parish, London, during 1579. The earliest of Wilson's texts that survives is his 1581 play, *The three ladies of London*, which includes a Jewish and a Muslim character, both of whom are portrayed sympathetically. This play was published in 1584, followed by a revision in 1592. Three more plays survive: *The three lords and three ladies of London* (1590; a sequel to *The three ladies*); *The cobbler's prophecy* (1594); and *The peddler's prophecy* (1595). Wilson also collaborated with several other writers on a number of plays.

Much of what is known about Wilson has been gleaned from references to him in Philip Henslowe's diary. Between 1583 and 1588, Wilson acted for the Queen's Players. From 1589, he was a member of Henslowe's stable of writers. His name appears first of the 12 new actors on a list printed that year, indicating that he was considered to be the leading player. Best known during his life for his acting, he is now mainly remembered as a playwright whose work commented on social issues

and represents a bridge between medieval morality plays and secular drama.

Early biographers thought that Robert Wilson the actor (also known as Robert Wilson the Elder) and the 'hack writer' Robert Wilson the Younger, who collaborated with other writers under Henslowe, were distinct and that the latter was the former's son. However, D. Kathman states that 'There is no evidence for such a belief', pointing out that Wilson's son had died shortly after birth in 1579 ('Wilson, Robert', p. 628). The St Giles, Cripplegate, parish register records that a Robert Wylson, yeoman (a player) was buried in the churchyard on 20 November 1600, suggesting that Wilson probably died earlier that month.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

St Botolph without Bishopsgate, parish register

St Giles, Cripplegate, parish register

R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (eds), *Henslowe's diary*, Cambridge, 2002², pp. 88, 92-4, 96-7, 125-6, 129, 162, 267, 288, 294

Secondary

D. Kathman, art. 'Wilson, Robert (d. 1600)', *ODNB*

S. Lee, art. 'Wilson, Robert the Elder (d. 1600)', *DNB*, London, 1900, vol. 62, pp. 123-5

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The three ladies of London

DATE 1584

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Robert Wilson's *The three ladies of London* (in full, *A right excellent and famous comædy called The three ladies of London. Wherein is notable declared and set foorth, how by the meanes of Lucar, Loue and Conscience is so corrupted, that the one is married to Dissimulation, the other fraught with all abomination*) was performed by Leicester's Men during 1581. It was first published in 1584, and Wilson then revised it in 1592. Since then, various reprints and editions have appeared, several in the 21st century.

The 1584 original runs to 44 pages plus title page with signature numbering. It begins with a short, half-page prologue. On the first page is 'The

first act', and then 'The second acte' appearing seven lines from the bottom, although there is no further division into acts and, as Jowitt comments, these really correspond with scenes one and two. The first edition to supply scenes was Kermodé's, who ends these when the characters exit, giving 17 scenes in one act (Jowitt, 'Three ladies of London', p. 402). The text is mainly written in 'fourteeners' (lines with 14 syllables) with some prose, an irregular style pioneered by Wilson.

Almost all of the characters personify virtues and vices, derived from the morality play tradition. The former are Love, Conscience, Sincerity and Hospitality, the latter Fraud, Lucre, Dissimulation, Simony and Usury, while several other names, such as Simplicity (a miller) and Serviceable Diligence (a constable), also suggest personality traits. The Parson is called Peter Pleasman, the Turkish Judge is unnamed, the Jewish money-lender is Gerontus, who is identified as being from Turkey, and his Christian client, an Italian Catholic, is Mercadorus. The 'three ladies' of the title are Love and Conscience, who personify good, and Lucre, who personifies evil. Simplicity and Hospitality aid the two good ladies. However, Simplicity ends up acting as a whore to Lucre, and Hospitality marries Dissimulation. At the end of the play, all the ladies are tried by another character, Judge Nemo, who sentences Love and Conscience to hell, despite their remorse.

The Jewish and Muslim characters feature in a sub-plot concerning the practice of usury, which mainly plays out in scenes 9, 12 and 14. Mercadorus had borrowed 2,000 ducats from Gerontus for two months, and an additional 1,000, promising to repay the debt after another month (scene 14, lines 4-5; original, Wiiiiv). This debt is now two years overdue. When Gerontus has Mercadorus arrested for non-payment, Mercadorus puts on 'Turkish weeds' with the intent of cheating Gerontus of his money. Summoned to adjudicate the case, the Turkish Judge administers an oath for Mercadorus to swear that requires him to renounce his faith, king and country, which he does, turning 'Mahometan' (fir). 'Me', he says, 'would be a Turk.' However, the judge is unhappy that Mercadorus' conversion is solely motivated by greed, not by devotion or for any 'goodwill' he has 'for Turkey'. He is obviously unimpressed by Mercadorus' decision to convert. Equally appalled that a Christian would so readily apostatise, Gerontus generously cancels the debt, initially asking for repayment of the principal only, but forgiving the complete debt when Mercadorus insists that he will renounce his faith.

Mercadorus exits the scene telling Lucre that he has successfully beguiled the Jew (fiv). The Judge, though, remarks that Mercadorus has

acted as if he were a Jew and that the Jew was, of the two, the better Christian.

SIGNIFICANCE

From the perspective of Christian-Muslim relations, the play's significance lies in what has been described as an inversion 'of negative commonplaces about Jews and Turks' (Ingram, 'Turks, trade and turning'.) It is one of the earliest plays to depict Turkish characters, and at the very least it is of interest as an example of how Turks (and in this case Jews) might be depicted in a play at the time, reflecting increased awareness of England's contact with Turkey, and debate about re-admitting Jews to England. William Shakespeare almost certainly drew on the character of Mercadorus for Shylock, whose bond with Antonio was for the same sum of money and the same length of time.

As an Elizabethan play, the work by one of the Queen's own players has attracted considerable attention for its implicit comment on social issues, especially on the developing trade with Turkey (in which Mercadorus engaged on Lucre's behalf) and on the moral acceptability of usury, which lay at the centre of Tudor London's 'burgeoning capitalist economy' but also led to 'profiteering, exploitation and... violence' (Jowitt, 'Three ladies of London', p. 400). In addition, issues about gender (see Kermode, 'Money, gender') and England's increasingly xenophobic view of foreigners (see Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness*, and Selwood, *Diversity and difference*) feature in commentary about the play. Mercadorus' character, who speaks with an Italian accent ('dem', 'dat', 'dis'), both deprives local people of housing by overpricing 'little rooms' (Ciir) and damages the economy by exporting valuable goods to Turkey in exchange for trinkets (B2v-B3r). The play links simony, dissimulation and fraud with aliens.

Wilson's writing stands at several important junctures, 'pointing back to the morality tradition, forward with an ability to broach complex relational dramaturgy that will develop in the 1590s, and sideways with pertinent contemporary political and social analysis' (Mitthall, *An edition*, p. ii). According to Kermode, Wilson's 'concern throughout the play' was to 'insist on the bodily and material damage that Usury and Lucre do to all classes in London and England', damage that immigration aggravates ('Usury', p. 166).

Yet the relatively sympathetic treatment of the Jewish and Muslim characters might also challenge negative stereotypes of greedy foreigners. Wilson's Gerontus has been called a philo-semitic portrayal; in fact,

it appears to have attracted criticism from some contemporaries. Groves argues, however, that Gerontus' character was not created for philo-semitic ends but to warn Londoners of the dangers of usury. Thus usury remains characteristic of Jewishness, as indicated by the Turkish Judge's comment that reversed the stereotype, making the Christian Jew-like and the Jew Christian-like. Yet, although Wilson's Jew 'does not alter the stereotype . . . consciously or not . . . it may challenge it' (Groves, *Destruction of Jerusalem*, p. 225). Ingrams suggests that Wilson's portrait of Mercadorus set out to contrast Catholics and Protestants, demonising him as 'worse than a Turk, a common trope in early modern polemical writing' ('Turks, trade and turning').

The contested issue of turning renegade features in the play, too. European Christians at this time knew that some Christians did become Muslims, and also that hardly any Muslims became Christians. Thus, they tended to dispute the motives of any Muslim convert, supposing that the attraction of marrying several wives or financial gain rather than some type of genuine spiritual reason led to their apostasy. On the one hand, the play challenges this view by depicting the Muslim as unhappy with Mercadorus' motive. On the other hand, it perpetuates these tropes: Mercadorus intended to convert for financial gain, represented by the female Lucre, thus both sexual gratification and financial gain may be identified as motives.

One interpretation of the play could represent it as illustrating 'shifting relationships' between the English, the Ottomans and the Jews, positively challenging notions of a binary difference between the former as 'good' and the latter as 'reprehensible'. Or, as Ingram concludes, 'we can read these characters also as comic or dramatic inversions of pejorative anti-Semitic and anti-Turkish commonplaces, still fundamentally resting on those self-same tropes, and as such we should perhaps be cautious in the wider implications which we draw from them' ('Turks, trade and turning').

PUBLICATIONS

Robert Wilson, *A right excellent and famous comœdy called The three ladies of London. Wherein is notablie declared and set foorth, how by the meanes of Lucar, Loue and Conscience is so corrupted, that the one is married to Dissimulation, the other fraught with all abomination*, Amersham, 1584; STC 25784 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Robert Wilson, *A right excellent and famous comedy called The three ladies of London wherein is notablie declared and set forth how by the meanes of Lucar, Love and Conscience is so corrupted that the one is married to Dissimulation, the other fraught with all abhominacion: a perfect paterne for all estates to looke into and a worke right worthie to be marked*, London, 1592; STC 25785 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

These first two editions are also available through *The Queen's Men edition*, ed. J. Dell and C. Thauvett, <http://qme.internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Annex/Texts/3LL/Q1/default/> (1584); <http://qme.internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Annex/Texts/3LL/Q2/default/> (1592)

Robert Wilson, 'The three ladies of London', ed. W.C. Hazlitt, in R. Dodsley (ed.), *A select collection of old English plays*, London, 1874⁴, vol. 6, pp. 249-370

Robert Wilson, *The three ladies of London*, London, 1911 (facsimile of the 1584 edition)

J.S. Farmer, *The Tudor facsimile texts: The three ladies of London*, New York, 1970

Robert Wilson, *The three ladies of London*, Cambridge, 1994

H.S.D. Mithal (ed.), *An edition of Robert Wilson's Three ladies of London and Three lords and three ladies of London*, New York, 1988

L.E. Kermode (ed.), *Three Renaissance usury plays*, Manchester, 2009, pp. 79-164 (published with two other plays, with modernised spelling and extensive annotations)

Robert Wilson, *The three ladies of London. Primary source edition*, Charleston SC, 2014

C. Jowitt and R. Walker, 'The three ladies of London', in G. Walker (ed.), *The Oxford anthology of Tudor drama*, Oxford, 2014 (introduction pp. 399-402, play pp. 403-63)

STUDIES

J. Brotton, *This orient isle. Elizabethan England and the Islamic world*, London, 2016, pp. 110-14

B. Groves, *The destruction of Jerusalem in early modern English literature*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 141, 225

L.E. Kermode, 'Money, gender, and conscience in Robert Wilson's The three ladies of London', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 52 (2012) 265-91

J. Selwood, *Diversity and difference in early modern London*, Farnham, 2010

- A. Ingram, 'Turks, trade and turning', paper presented at a conference on 'Performance as research in early English theatre studies: The three ladies of London in context', McMaster University, 2015; <http://threeladiesoflondon.mcmaster.ca/contexts/AndersIngram.htm>
- L.E. Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan drama*, Cambridge, 2009
- L.E. Kermode, 'Usury on the London stage. Robert Wilson's *The three ladies of London*', in H. Ostovich, H.S. Syme, and A. Griffin (eds), *Locating the Queen's Men, 1583-1603. Material practices and conditions of playing*, Farnham, 2009, 159-70
- L.E. Kermode, 'The playwright's prophecy. "The three ladies of London" and the "alienation" of the English', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 11 (1999) 60-87
- S.C. Chew, *The crescent and the rose. Islam and England during the Renaissance*, New York, 1974, pp. 153-5

Clinton Bennett

Meredith Hanmer

DATE OF BIRTH 1543
PLACE OF BIRTH Brogynton, Shropshire
DATE OF DEATH 1604
PLACE OF DEATH Dublin

BIOGRAPHY

Meredith Hanmer was born to Thomas Hanmer and his wife at Brogynton (Porkington) near Oswestry on the Welsh borders, in 1543. Nothing is known of his childhood, until he became a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, graduating with a BA in 1568, MA in 1572, subsequently BTh in 1581 and DTh in 1582. He first became an Anglican chaplain in 1567 whilst still at Oxford, later becoming a vicar in a number of parishes in England and Wales, including two in London. He translated works of early church history, including Eusebius, first published as *Ancient ecclesiastical histories* (1577), and republished many times until the 18th century.

He came to wider public attention in 1581, when he published two anti-Catholic tracts, *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Iesuite* and *The Iesuites banner Displaying their original and successe*, in response to Edmund Campion's challenge to debate the merits of the true faith.

Hanmer married Mary Austin in 1581 at St Leonard's, Shoreditch, where he was vicar (1580-90). They had four daughters. His personal reputation was poor, and he was accused of misappropriation of church funds and of spreading libel about Queen Elizabeth.

In 1586, he preached a sermon at St Katherine's Hospital, by the Tower of London, published as *The baptizing of a Turke*.

Around 1590, he moved to Ireland and held various church appointments there during the last 15 years of his life. Whilst in Ireland, he wrote the highly regarded *A chronicle of Ireland*, edited posthumously by David Molyneaux and published in 1633. It is thought that he died of plague. He was buried in Dublin in 1604.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Meredith Hanmer, *The avncient ecclesiasticall histories of the first six hundred yeares after Christ*, London, 1577

Meredith Hanmer, *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Iesuite, co[m]monlye called Edmunde Campion lateye arriued in Englande, contayninge nyne articles here seuerallye laide downe, directed by him to the Lordes of the Counsaile, co[n]futed & aunswered by Meredith Hanmer, M. of Art, and student in diuinitie*, Inprinted at London: In Fletstreate nere vnto Sayncte Dunstons Church by Thomas Marsh, 1581

Meredith Hanmer, *The Iesuites banner Displaying their original and successe: their vow and othe: their hypocrisie and superstition: their doctrine and positions: with a confutation of a late pamphlet secretly imprinted and entituled: A briefe censure vpon two bookes written in answere to M. Campions offer of disputation. &c. Compiled by Meredith Hanmer M. of Arte, and student in diuinity*, Imprinted at London: By Thomas Dawson and Richard Vernon, and are to be solde in Paules Churchyard at the Brazen Serpent, 1581

Secondary

A. Ford, art. 'Hanmer, Meredith (1543-1604)', *ODNB*

N. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 125-9

R. Dunlop, art. 'Hanmer, Meredith, D.D. (1543-1604), historian', *DNB*, 1890

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The baptizing of a Turke

DATE 1586

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The baptizing of a Turke (in full, *The baptizing of a Turke. A sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherin, adioyning vnto her Maiesties Towre the 2. of October 1586. at the baptizing of one Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus: by Meredith Hanmer, D. of Diuinitie*) is the printed version of a sermon delivered by Meredith Hanmer on 2 October 1586 at St Katherine's Hospital on the occasion of the baptism of Chinano, a convert from Islam. He was originally from Negropontus (Euboea) and had been a Spanish galley-slave until, after 25 years, he was released by Sir Francis Drake and brought to England with a hundred others. The English had arranged for the repatriation of these slaves to Constantinople, although Chinano chose to convert and stay.

The text is 88 pages in length, beginning with a dedicatory epistle addressed to Raphe Rokeby, Master of St Katherine's Hospital, dated 12 October 1586 (pp. 2-7), followed by the text of the sermon, including two repeated pages (pp. 8-84); the final two pages are an account of the baptism service (pp. 85-6).

In the epistle, Hanmer refers to Muslims as being 'addicted unto the superstitious lawe of Mahomet' (p. 3), and says that 'all these... followers of Mahomet, joyning with the Turke in false worshippe... the rest are Moores, Saracens, Nigroes, Barbarians, addicted to Mahomet,...' (p. 4). The purpose of the sermon is set out in the epistle, where Hanmer explains that, whilst the English engage in trade with Muslim lands, there is also need to convert the people: 'Wheras now one silly Turk is won, ten thousands doubtless would receive the faith' (p. 6). He is also of the opinion that 'the Great Turk' laughs at the pope and his prelates, scorning them because of their graven images and idols and that 'reformation is to be sought for all men' (p. 7).

The biblical text for the sermon is Matthew 5:16, 'Let your light so shine before men...', used to show the need to convert Muslims, but only referred to on occasion. The introduction (pp. 8-11) explains that Hanmer had spoken to Chinano through an interpreter as Chinano had no English, and found that he confirmed his wish to give a 'true confession of the faith in Jesus Christ' (p. 11). He then sets out the structure of the sermon in three parts: '1. The originall of Mahomet the false Prophet of the Turke, with the nations of Moores, Saracens, and Turkes. 2. The false doctrine and wicked religion of Mahomet and these erring nations with a briefe confutation thereof. 3. The way to please God, and means to win them etc.' (p. 12).

The first part (pp. 12-30) relates information about Muḥammad, with the wide range of sources used given in the margins. He was born in 597, his parents were called Abdara and Emma, from Mecha, and he was orphaned at an early age and looked after by his family. He worked as a factor for Abdemonaples and subsequently married the latter's widow Eadigam, who was then 50 years old (pp. 12-13). Hanmer quotes Paulus Diaconus, who gives this name for Khadija; he may have read this when writing *The ecclesiaticall histories* (1577).

Muḥammad is said to have spent ten years persuading and bewitching the people, then another ten years together with rogues and vagabonds subduing surrounding countries (p. 14). His prophetic career began in 617; he used a trained dove to whisper secrets into his ear in order to persuade his wife and friends that he was a prophet; he went into a trance

before his wife, who then said, 'Gossipes: say nothing, my husband is a prophet', though they then 'blased it abroad' (pp. 15-16).

Muḥammad was 'thoroughly schooled in Satans subtleties and well seene in Magicke' in order to subdue the nations and 'to destroy the Christians, to the end he might establish that false Religion devised by him and his wicked confederates' (pp. 17-18). He died in 632. He was poisoned while he was drunk, and cast himself on a pile of pigs' dung, forbidding the eating of their meat 'to please the Jews'. He lingered for 14 days, though he told his wife and followers that he would ascend to heaven after three days. When this did not happen, he was buried in an iron coffin supported by lodestones as though floating in the air (pp. 18-20).

Muḥammad was furnished by Satan with three helpers: a Jew who was a magician and astronomer, a certain John of Antioch, and Sergius a monk, 'both abominable heretics'. Sergius caused positive references to monks to appear in the Qur'an and caused Muslims to wear the cowl (pp. 28-9).

Among Islamic teachings: images are banned in 'temples'; three prophets are accepted, Moses, Christ and Muḥammad, called *razales* (from the Arabic *rasūl*) (p. 32); men are each permitted four wives, and are allowed to divorce them in a ridiculous manner; wives should have their faces covered when away from home (pp. 36-9); during the *hajj* 'Mahomet commanded the *Saracens*, men and women yearly to worship in the Temple of *Mecha* all naked, excepting a breeches or apron . . . , and therein to carry stones to throw about the temple, and to stone the devil' (pp. 41-3); in their prayers, Muslims 'call upon *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, They honour *Nabi*, *Bubacar*, *Othomar*, *Aumar*, *Fatoma*, the followers of *Mahomet* with others' (p. 44).

The second part sets out what is wrong with Islam and gives six reasons (pp. 45-65) to 'stay our consciences in the faith of *Jesus Christ*, and to prove that *Mahomets* law is no true religion' (p. 45). The premises are given and then, using the Bible and other sources, including Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) (p. 49), Hanmer sets out his case, frequently emphasising the superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism.

The final part of the sermon relates 'the ways to please God and the means to win those who are without' (pp. 66-83). This is done through quoting the Bible and the Church Fathers.

Hanmer goes on to remind his congregation that it was the positive impression given by Sir Francis Drake and William Hawkins that had influenced Chinano to be baptised (pp. 68-9), and he draws on court

correspondence between Queen Elizabeth and Sultan Murad III to show that even the sultan recognised the superiority of England's faith. He quotes a letter written by Mustafa Beg on behalf of the sultan dated 15 March 1579 that '... sheweth the great affection his master the *Turke* together with himself beareth to this land and of our religion as it is interpreted he saith thus: *We know that your soveraigne Majesty among all the Christians have the most sound religion, and therefore the Christians throughout the world envy your highness, who if they could, they would hurt*' (pp. 72-3).

The sermon concludes by calling on God to 'open the eyes of all Infidels, *Jewes, Turkes, and Saracens*, bring into the folde all lost and wandering sheepe' (p. 84).

Appended to the text of the sermon is a description of the baptism ceremony, and the questions that Chinano was asked, including that he should renounce 'Mahomet the false Prophet of the Moores, Saracens and Turkes, with al his abominations', and should bless 'God, which had opened his eyes to behold the truth of Jesus Christ' (p. 85).

Hanmer composed this service himself, as the early forms of the *Book of common prayer* (1549, 1559) had no service of adult baptism, which was first included in the 1662 edition.

SIGNIFICANCE

The language used in this sermon to describe Muḥammad and Islam is very typical of the early modern period and shows a reliance on older sources, with inaccurate accounts of Muḥammad and Islam. This attests to Hanmer's familiarity with these early texts, whilst demonstrating his lack of awareness of more accurate contemporary accounts of Islam.

It seems that others soon became aware of Hanmer's work, as the details of Muḥammad's birth (pp. 12-13) appear word for word in Henry Smith's *God's arrow against atheists* (pp. 47-8), published in 1591, a few years after the sermon was delivered. It must be assumed that Smith had a copy of *The Turke baptised* before him, as he wrote his work.

The description of the baptism shows that at this period no provision had been made for the reception of the 'other' by the church, so that *ad hoc* services such as this had to be created when Muslims or Jews were received into the church (see Dimmock, 'Converting and not converting', pp. 471-4). Only three sermons preached at baptisms of converts are known from this period, all apparently used to show the superiority of conversion to this one specific form of Christianity. The main purpose of publishing *The baptizing of a Turk* was to show that Chinano had not

converted to Catholicism while he was in Spanish hands (p. 79), but was convinced by the good example of the English and chose to be a Protestant. The two other sermons date from the Commonwealth period (1649-60): Thomas Warmstry, *The baptized Turk, or, A narrative of the happy conversion of Signior Rigepe Dandulo, the onely son of a silk merchant in the Isle of Tzio, from the delusions of that great impostor Mahomet, unto the Christian religion and of his admission unto baptism by Mr. Gunning at Excester-house Chappel the 8th of Novemb., 1657*, London (1658); and Thomas White, *A true relation of the conversion and baptism of Isuf the Turkish chaous, named Richard Christophilus In the presence of a full congregation, Jan. 30. 1658. in Covent-Garden, where Mr. Manton is minister*, London (1659). These two sermons highlight the competition between Anglicans and Puritans at this time. Warmstry, an Anglican, was influenced by Comenius and the use of rational thinking in leading to conversion, whilst White, a Puritan, regarded his convert as a prelapsarian whose conversion was a sign of the millenarian kingdom, heralded by the conversion of Muslims (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 144-9).

That only a few such sermons were published may indicate that there were few baptisms of Muslim converts at this time and that the purpose of publishing them was mainly political, rather than to encourage more conversions.

PUBLICATIONS

The baptizing of a Turke A sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherin, adioyning vnto her Maiesties Towre the 2. of October 1586. at the baptizing of one Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus: by Meredith Hanmer, D. of Diuinitie., [London], printed by Robert Walde-graue dwelling without Temple-barre, 1586; STC 12744 (digitized version available through EEBO)

STUDIES

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- M. Dimmock, 'Converting and not converting "Strangers" in early modern London', *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013) 457-78 (examines the text concerning Chinano's baptism)
- Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, pp. 125-9, 144-9
- S. Chew, *The crescent and the rose*, New York, 1937, p. 37

John Chesworth

Richard Hakluyt

DATE OF BIRTH Probably 1552
PLACE OF BIRTH London
DATE OF DEATH 1616
PLACE OF DEATH Westminster

BIOGRAPHY

Richard Hakluyt was born in London, probably in 1552. His father, also Richard Hakluyt, who died in 1557, was a member of the Skinners' Company. The name Hakluyt is thought to be of Welsh origin, although Dutch has also been suggested (Laughton, 'Hakluyt, Richard', p. 11; variant spellings include Hackellet, Hackeluite, Hackeluett and Hacluit). The younger Richard (also known as Hakluyt the Preacher) was able to attend the prestigious Westminster School from 1564 as a Queen's scholar. In 1570, he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, from where he graduated BA in 1574, MA in 1577 and was elected a Fellow. By 1580, he was a priest of the Church of England, possibly ordained by the Bishop of Salisbury (Quinn, 'Hakluyt chronology', p. 272).

While at Oxford, Hakluyt received financial support from the Clothworkers' Company – which had also supported him at Westminster – as well as from his father's guild, the Skinners' Company (Quinn, 'Hakluyt chronology', pp. 266-8). The former was taking a lead in establishing direct trade with Turkey, stimulating Hakluyt's own interest in this development. His cousin, who became his guardian, was very committed to promoting exploration and colonisation. Influenced by this, Hakluyt read everything he could find at Oxford on geography and travel, in several modern European languages as well as in Latin and Greek (Taylor, *Original writings*, vol. 2, pp. 396-7). He was especially interested in the possibility of locating the North-West Passage. The elder Hakluyt contributed research memoranda to his younger cousin, who drew on these in his books, reproducing some. They included two on trade with Turkey. Hakluyt wrote about how his interest in geography and exploration was first aroused when he saw a world map in his cousin's chambers (Hakluyt, *Principall navigations*, 1st ed., fol. *2r).

By 1582, Richard Hakluyt had published his first collection of travel accounts, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, followed in

1584 by a book he wrote to persuade Elizabeth I to support the English colonisation of North America, *A Discourse of Western Planting*. This text, which Walter Raleigh, whom Hakluyt met in Oxford, encouraged him to write, attracted the interest of Elizabeth and her advisors, especially Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham and his successor, Sir Robert Cecil (later first Baron Burghley). Walsingham encouraged Hakluyt to 'continue his studies on and aid for the Western discoveries' (letter, 27 March 1583, in Quinn, 'Hakluyt chronology', p. 277). From this time on, Hakluyt was more or less sponsored by the government to take up the task Richard Eden had started – the promotion of an English colonial project. Hakluyt drew on and reproduced some of Eden's work, including his Barbary material, and self-consciously continued his project. Queen Elizabeth or her counsellors were directly involved in many of Hakluyt's subsequent preferments.

Between 1583 and 1588, Hakluyt was chaplain and secretary to Sir Edward Stafford at the embassy in Paris, where he also spied for Walsingham, who ran the secret service. In France, he accessed additional geographical resources to continue his research. Before he left Paris, he was appointed a prebend of Bristol Cathedral (1586). From 1590, he was Rector of Wetheringsett and Brockford, under the patronage of Stafford's wife, and he also became Robert Cecil's personal chaplain. From 1602, he was a prebend of Westminster, and archdeacon from 1604. That year, he also became chaplain to the Savoy Hospital for the Poor.

When Raleigh established his Virginia Company in 1606, Hakluyt became a director, also acquiring the benefice of Jamestown, although he did not personally take up duties in the colony, sending out a curate instead. He became an adviser to the East India Company, whose ships were ordered to carry a copy of his most celebrated work. Earlier, he had advised the Muscovy Company. In 1612, he became a charter member of the North-West Passage Company, and was given the rectory of Gedney, Lincolnshire, where his brother was patron (Quinn, 'Hakluyt chronology', p. 326). In 1614, he was elected treasurer of Westminster Abbey. Sometimes lecturing on geography at Oxford, he has been dubbed the first professor of modern geography (D. Head, *The Cambridge guide to literature in English*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 473), a discipline to which he is acknowledged to have made a significant contribution. Some records describe him as 'professor of theology', though he held no known chair. By printing maps, he also contributed to the development of cartography (see R.A. Skelton and H. Wallis, 'Hakluyt's maps', in D.B. Quinn, *The*

Hakluyt handbook, vol. 1, pp. 48-73), corresponding with Mercator (Man-call, *Hakluyt's promise*, p. 72).

He promoted the public study of mathematics and navigation, which he believed the English needed to master in order to fulfil their national destiny, and without which they would be left behind. The challenge was to rival Catholic Spain by spreading Protestantism across the globe through colonisation and also by expanding commerce and trade with other nations. He included material that would be of practical assistance to navigators. Helfers suggests that, while he listed evangelism as a motive for exploration, 'the reader senses that [his] actual motives lie elsewhere' ('Explorer', p. 173). This had more to do with accumulating knowledge, restoring what he saw as lost human unity, reuniting scattered peoples and even healing the world. He represented this as a mission to rebuild Solomon's Temple, which symbolised 'the world itself as a *corpus mysticum*, or commonwealth whose component parts formed a harmonious order' (see Sacks, 'Solomon's Temple', p. 43). He is seen as a major shaper of English identity. Although he published a number of translations, his consuming interest was collecting and publishing English accounts. Hakluyt became personally acquainted with many of the explorers whose narratives he published.

Hakluyt's most celebrated and influential work, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* was first published as one volume in 1589. The three volumes of the expanded edition were published between 1599 and 1600. J.A. Froude famously called this work 'the Prose Epic of the modern English nation' in his review of the 1811, five-volume edition edited by R.H. Evans (Froude, *Short studies on great subjects*, London, 1870, vol. 1, p. 361). In this, Hakluyt championed and defended the development of trade and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, which did not attract unanimous support. How he presented his Turkish material, including royal correspondence, is significant for Christian-Muslim relations; he was able to stress common ground, and shared political interests between a Christian and an Islamic state.

Hakluyt died towards the end of 1616 and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 26 November. He was able to leave his only son a healthy estate from the sale of his books and from the income of his well-paid ecclesiastical posts. Quite a lot of his unpublished material was acquired by Samuel Purchas (d. 1626), possibly given to him after he assisted Hakluyt. He included this material in later editions of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1614),

which was also known as *Hakluytus Posthumous*. Purchas is regarded as heir to Hakluyt in promoting exploration and developing English Protestant nationalism.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- D.B. Quinn, C.E. Armstrong and R.A. Skelton, 'The primary Hakluyt bibliography', in Quinn, *Hakluyt handbook*, vol. 2, part 5, 461-575 (lists Hakluyt's works, works in which his influence is known or acknowledged and those that he may have influenced)
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- E.J. Payne, 'Life and works of Hakluyt', in E.J. Payne (ed.), *Voyages of the Elizabethan seamen*, Oxford, 1893, vol. 1, xlvii-liii
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The principall navigations

DATE 1589

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principall navigations* (to give its full title, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any Time within the Compasse of these 1500. Yeeres: deuided into three seuerall parts, according to the positions of the regions whereunto they were directed... Whereunto is added the last most renowned English nauigation, round about the whole globe of the earth*) was published in a single 825-page volume by Bishop and Newberrie in London in 1589. It is usually abbreviated as PN₁ by Hakluyt scholars. Eight pages were misnumbered, with a cancel in later print runs. The title gives *Principall* with a double 'l', while later editions give one 'l'. Thus, the three volumes of the second, expanded edition were titled *Principal navigations* (abbreviated as PN₂). Volume 1 has 619 pages, and was often bound with volume 2, which has a total of 524 pages, including eight of prefatory content. The main text in volume 2 is divided into Part 1 (312 pages) and Part 2 (204 pages). Copies may bear the date 1598.

Volume 3 has 868 pages, plus eight for title and dedication, and appeared in 1600. All pages are folio. The three volumes contain 513 narratives, omitting some from the first edition but adding new ones. PN₁ has 252 entries. As Hakluyt's reputation grew, people came forward with material. The three volumes run to a total of 1,700,000 words.

A census of surviving copies of the first and second editions carried out on behalf of the Hakluyt Society by P. Neville-Singleton and A. Payne (1997) shows some differences, with omissions (often the map) that vary between copies. Hakluyt included in the first edition a map called *Tybus Orbis Terrarum*, derived from Abraham Ortelius' work. He had hoped to use a more recent map, based on Mercator. It was not available in time but the map that he included in his second edition is probably Edward Wright's version of Mercator. Since relatively few of these maps are found in extant editions, they must have been either omitted from some print runs or lost over time due to heavy usage. The account of Drake's circumnavigation of the world was initially censored, but was then allowed, so some copies have an insertion between p. 643 and p. 644 while others do not. At this time, Elizabeth did not want to further offend Spain by appearing to claim territory Drake had visited. For Hakluyt, Drake's voyage was the crowning glory of English navigation, so including it was important to his purposes. Sir Jerome Bowe's account of his visit to Moscow was also censored as politically too risky, so pp. 491-505 became 491-501. In the 2nd edition, the account of Drake's raid on Cadiz was censored from the end of volume 1, but survives in some copies.

Despite the huge size of *Principall navigations* and its successor, it contains relatively few of Hakluyt's own words. His editorial method was to allow authors to speak for themselves, and his own task was to select sources and organise material chronologically and geographically to produce a compelling narrative of English achievement not only in navigation and exploration but also in trade and commerce. Thus, he includes diplomatic correspondence and accounts of how the Moscow, Barbary and Turkish Companies, and other trading initiatives such as the Adventurers Company, began. It is sometimes in the sub-text that Hakluyt's ideological and even theological views can be identified, which is relevant for his thinking on Islam, and there are also clues and pointers in his prefatory material. Each volume has a dedicatory epistle and a note to readers, much of which was conveniently gathered into volume 1 of the 1884 edition by Edward Goldsmid (henceforth, PN-G), which is usually cited below because pagination is continuous and easier to

decipher than the original signature system. Hakluyt's aim was partly practical; he wanted to give readers useful information to guide their travels. The East India Company, which Hakluyt advised, ordered that all ships carry a copy, as they did of Foxe's *Acts and monuments* – perhaps ironically, given Foxe's different view of relations with Muslims. Hakluyt's purpose was also ideological and patriotic. He was self-consciously trying to refashion English identity, specifically Protestant identity, as the modern nation developed – hence Froude's famous description cited in the biography above. Some differences between the first and second editions, too, suggest evolution in Hakluyt's thinking.

In his note to readers in the first edition, Hakluyt acknowledges his debt to John Bale, Richard Eden and John Foxe (PN-G, p. 10), all four of whom are credited with nurturing modern English Protestant identity. Unlike Foxe, who opposed cordial relations with Turkey, Hakluyt championed them. However, what he learned from Foxe was how to knit eyewitness accounts into a broader continuous narrative. Although, following Eden, he retained their authorial voices, he could concoct 'unified narratives from many sources in his own words' in order to achieve the result he wanted (Helfers, 'Explorer', p. 183). Beginning as early as he could, even if this meant including mythical content such as Prince Madoc's voyage to the West Indies (PN1, pp. 506-8), he went forward in time and space, reaching out from England into the south and south-east, the north and north-east, the west, south-west and north-west, to encircle the globe. As Bartels and Carroll point out, his narrative moves from the Old World to the New, and from east to west (*Speaking of the Moor*, p. 52). While each narrative is credited to its author, and individually presented, titles are in slightly smaller type than the running headers, which shows the importance of paratext. The outer corners of facing pages read, 'The English Voyages, Navigations' and 'Traffics and Discourses', which constantly reminds readers that 'England' is centre-stage, and creates 'the impression of the book as a discrete whole, irrespective of the number or variety of its parts' (MacCrossan, 'Framing', p. 142).

Hakluyt believed that Spain and Portugal's historic moments had passed, and England's had come (see Rubiés, 'From the "History of travalye"', esp. pp. 30-3, and Sacks, "'To deduce a colony"', p. 210). In part, this meant that true Anglican Protestant Christianity might be spread among people elsewhere. He denounced Spanish atrocities, claiming that America's indigenous people would be treated better by the English. Speaking of contact with the east, he hoped that 'the incomparable

treasures' of Christianity and the Gospel would be carried thence even as 'we exercise common trade with their marchants' (PN-G, p. 7). He told Sir Robert Cecil that he hoped that many pagans would be converted (PN2, vol. 2, p. *3, original). He also perhaps had a more humanist aim of acquiring or re-acquiring knowledge, symbolically lost when Solomon's Temple was destroyed, and of creating a more peaceful world. Thus, he welcomed the fact that Elizabeth had entered into profitable trade with distant lands and enjoyed friendship with them, asking who before had 'dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her majesty hath done... who ever before this... saw an English [ambassador] in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople...' or 'enter into alliances, amity and trafficke with the princes of the Moluccaes, and the isle of Iaua [Java]... and last of all returne home... laden with the commodities of China' as her subjects do? (PN-G, pp. 6-7).

Accounts of visits to Morocco, Turkey, Palestine, India and elsewhere contain various references to Muslim behaviour and beliefs. Some are pejorative, though these were mainly written by others, not by Hakluyt. PN1's longest narrative, in Latin (pp. 24-80), is the travels of John Mandeville. However, in a note, Hakluyt expressed rare reservations about its authenticity (p. 77) and he deleted it from PN2, either because *The Book of John Mandeville* was actually one of the most available texts in England at the time, or out of concerns regarding its trustworthiness. Samuel Purchas, his self-appointed literary executor, nevertheless decided to include Mandeville in *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1625), but minus the chapter on Islam. He thought its 'fables' were due to later additions, which he blamed on lying friars ('lyes by retaile efficta, afficta, affixa', Book 3, p. 128). In the index to PN1, the only reference to 'Mahomet' is to the 'false prophet' and to 'the means he used to aspire to the kingdom of Arabia' (both on p. 43, see index at F fff). However, there is also a reference to 'Mahomet' on p. 373, part of Anthony Jenkinson's account of Persia, where he says that Persians, although they are Mahometans like the Turks and Tartars, recognise the 'false fained Murtezallie' (evidently 'Alī, the fourth caliph whom Shī'īs regarded as Muḥammad's legitimate successor, combined with the Persian honorific Murtaḏā, 'chosen') as Mahomet's chief disciple, and curse three other disciples, 'Ouear, Vfiran and Abebecke' (the caliphs 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Abū Bakr). Jenkinson also says that their prince, Ismail, was of the 'blood of Mahomet and Murtezallie', which was in fact claimed by an invented genealogy (see *CMR* 6, p. 431). On p. 422, there is another reference to

Persians believing that ‘Mortus Ali’ (Murtaẓā ‘Alī) should be Mahomet’s successor, part of Jeffrey Duckett’s report on ‘The religion of the Persians’, followed by a story of a white camel taking ‘Alī’s sword and body up into heaven, for ‘whose return they have long looked in Persia’ (p. 432).

Anthony Jenkinson’s reports of his journeys to Muscovy and Persia as an English agent are given elsewhere in PNI. Among these he tells of incidents on the way from Moscow to Persia when parties of brigands questioned his guide Azy (*hājī*) as to whether there were any ‘Russes’ or other ‘Caphars’ (Christians) in the party, and the guide affirmed that they were all Muslims, using ‘great oaths of their lawe’, and so protected Jenkinson. It is not at all impossible that the guide was employing the Muslim practice of *taqiyya* (dissimulation), which was especially favoured among Shī‘a Muslims in order to protect his party (PNI, p. 327, see also p. 331). When Jenkinson arrived at Bukhara he noted the hatred between Sunnīs and Shī‘īs, the first English record of this (PNI, pp. 331-2).



Illustration 1. *Russsiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio*, by Abraham Ortelius, 1601, based on Jenkinson’s sketch map of his travels

After arriving at Isfahan, Jenkinson was presented to ‘Shaw Thomas’ (Shah Ṭahmāsp) he is called ‘gower’ (Persian *gaur*, ‘unbeliever’) and made to wear shoes so as not to defile the court. After the meeting Jenkinson reports that his footprints were covered with sand to efface them (PNI, p. 349).

Hakluyt included an anonymous, mainly descriptive account of the *hajj*, almost certainly by a pilgrim – thus it would be interesting to know if the author was English (PN2, vol. 1, book 1, pp. 198-213). The writer claims that among the Persians ‘Alī is given greater reverence than Muḥammad (p. 212), and denies the rumour that Muḥammad’s coffin is ‘a chest of iron cleaving to the adamant’ (p. 211), which many 17th-century writers continued to believe. Quinn and Quinn describe the pilgrimage account as composite, tracing pp. 203-11 to a Venetian source (‘Contents’, p. 419).

In his dedicatory epistle to Sir Robert Cecil, Hakluyt describes Sultan Süleyman as ‘the mortall enemie of Christendome’ (*2v). Referring to the 1570 invasion of Cyprus, when the Venetians had an agreement with the Ottomans to pay tribute in return for keeping the island, Hakluyt writes that we should not forget ‘what trust may be given the oath of a Mahometan, when hee hath the advantage’ (*3r). Page 6 has a brief life of Robert Ketenensis (of Ketton), which mentions that he lived among the ‘cruell Sarracens’ and learned Arabic, but not that he translated the Qur’an.

Concerning Hakluyt’s thinking on Islam, however, despite the negative comments cited above, it may be noted that he singled out references to amicable relations with Muslims, and included supporting material in his text. At times, his reference to evangelism as a duty that travel might facilitate seems clichéd, what would be expected from a cleric, a duty he can subordinate to what Sacks describes as the task of ‘healing the world’. Thus ‘the explorers and navigators whose stories he presented not only recover lost knowledge, but also bring the scattered or dispersed peoples of the world together in mutually beneficial exchange under God’. Indeed, the mission went beyond recovering what was lost to discovering ‘places hidden or obscured from the Ancient and the Bible’ (Sacks, “‘To deduce a colony’”, p. 215). Hakluyt seems to have thought peaceful trade with Turkey preferable to military competition; England was, after all, a small, off-shore island. Yet England’s destiny was changing. Increasingly, England, not Jerusalem – historically conceived of as the world’s centre – became Hakluyt’s *axis mundi*. Hence, the Empress Helena’s journey to Jerusalem, the first narrative in PN1, is moved to the start of volume 2 in PN2, and is replaced at the beginning

by Arthur's mythic conquest of Ireland, Scandinavia and countless islands in the north, which in PN₁ began the second part (p. 243). Arthur now better served Hakluyt's purpose than Helena, who, albeit she was a British princess, was of less 'specifically British fame' than Arthur (M.C. Fuller, 'Making something of it: Questions of value in the Early English travel collection', in P.C. Mancall (ed.), *Bringing the world to early modern Europe. Travel accounts and their audiences*, Leiden, 2007, 11-38, p. 23). Yet, did England's destiny necessarily mean the world's conversion to Christianity, or could co-operating with Muslims to end idolatry and paganism also qualify? Analysis of some of the Turkish material Hakluyt included suggests that it might.

J.A. Froude praised the 1811 reprint because it celebrated not so much the deeds of kings and nobles, as had most of the 'old epics', but those of 'the self-taught and self-directed, with no impulse but what was beating in their own royal hearts', who crossed 'the unknown seas . . . and graved out the channels, paving them with their last bones, through which the commerce and enterprise of England has flowed out into all the world' (*Short studies on great subjects*, p. 361). Yet Queen Elizabeth's role in exploration and promoting commerce was obviously important to Hakluyt. Given his Protestant credentials and clerical status, it is highly likely that he shared something of the view that she enjoyed divine favour, as had the Virgin Mary. In his first dedicatory epistle, he compared Elizabeth, whose father Henry VIII had intended to send ships to China but did not, to Solomon, whose father had planned to build the Temple but could not. As Solomon successfully carried out his father's intention, so Elizabeth did her father's (PN-G, pp. 7-8). This fulfilment of intent was contact with the east.

Hakluyt's view of the Virgin Queen's special status is hinted at in the way he translates the Italian text of Safiye Sultan's first letter to Elizabeth from the Ottoman palace in Istanbul, adding 'virgin' to the phrase that Elizabeth was a 'chaste . . . woman of Mary's way' (PN₂, vol. 2, book 2, p. 311). He also substitutes 'Muhammad' twice for the less offensive – to English readers – 'the prophet', as he does elsewhere, while Elizabeth used the formula that she was defender of the faith against all idolaters. In Sultan Murad's *Capitulations* or treaty, he substitutes 'holy religion' for 'Muslim' at articles XI and XVIII (see Skilliter, *Harborne*, p. 100). Burton comments that supporters of the Anglo-Ottoman trade wanted to enjoy its financial benefits 'while accruing none of the adverse religious implications' (*Traffic*, p. 68), and Dimmock describes Hakluyt's editing of the

Ottoman-Elizabeth correspondence as 'a pivotally important precedent for Mahomet-free Turks on the English stage' (*Mythologies*, p. 125).

Hakluyt also published Edmund Hogan's report on his embassy to Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Sa'dī of Morocco, in which he commented that al-Manṣūr preferred the English to the Spanish because their religion rejected idols (PN₁, p. 158). Letters from Elizabeth to al-Manṣūr are also included (PN₁, p. 238), as are al-Manṣūr's edict in favour of English trade (PN₁, p. 231) and letters to the 'great Sophie of Persia' (PN₁, p. 361). PN₁ also covers another venture into Muslim territory (pp. 208-22), the 1583 expedition led by John Newbury, who spoke Arabic, and Ralph Fitch (d. 1611) to India, eventually reaching Akbar's court after much adventure and help from an English Jesuit, Thomas Stevens (d. 1619), with a letter from Elizabeth addressed to the 'invincible Emperor, etc.', asking for 'mutuall and friendly traffique of merchandize' (PN₁, p. 207; she called Akbar 'Yeladin al-Kubar'). Newbury disappears from the records after the expedition, and probably died in India.

In PN₂, volume 2, which has more material on Turkey than PN₁ (see Wittek, 'Turkish documents'), Hakluyt not only defends the Turkish trade against its critics but does so with biblical references, again invoking Solomon. In the dedication to Cecil, he writes, 'if any man take exception against our new trade with Turks and misbelievers, he shall show himself a man of small experience in old and new histories', and then asks:

... for who knoweth not that King Solomon of old entered into league with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a Gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, Florentines, Venetians and Palonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signor, and have been this many yeeres and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and paid him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? ... Why then should it be blamed in us, which is usual and common to the most part of other Christian nations? ... let our neighbours, which have found most fault with this new league and traffike thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were urged to seeke further to provide vent for our natural commodities. (*3v, original pagination)

Compared, for example, with the way Hakluyt deals with Africa, his treatment of the Muslim world is favourable. His accounts of travel to Morocco, Turkey, elsewhere in Ottoman space, Persia and India are all important to his overall narrative of expansion. For its part, Africa does not really feature in his scheme except as a 'stop on the way to somewhere

else (Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor*, p. 53). In fact, Hakluyt saw Africa as standing in the way of reaching the Americas! (Hall, *Things of darkness*, p. 62). His treatment of Africa has been represented as showing incipient racism, identifying Africa as dark, unknown and unknowable. Hall comments that, while Hakluyt set out to bring the dark into the light, 'Africa in the Hakluyt narratives remains both unknown and uncivilized because it is written as ultimately "unknowable"' (*Things of darkness*, p. 48). As early as 1965, Eldred Jones analysed Hakluyt's material on English journeys to Guinea 'to provide evidence of racial intolerance on behalf of the Elizabethan English towards black Africans' (P.E.H. Hair, 'Guinea', *Hakluyt handbook*, vol. 1, 197-207, p. 205, see E.D. Jones, *Othello's countrymen*, London, 1965). Leaving aside issues about Hakluyt and race, in contrast to Africa's role, Turkey's in particular becomes increasingly more important. The number of documents of Ottoman origin increases from six in PN1 to 17 in PN2 (Witteck, 'Turkish documents', p. 123). This does not include additional material of English authorship.

Finally, an example of the way Hakluyt used paratext shows how he attempted to shape readers' ideas on Islam's standing and role in the world. This text surrounds the account of the incident involving the *Jesus*, a ship confiscated in 1584 by the Ottoman Pasha of Tripoli (called King in the text) after, unknown to the crew, French consular officials had smuggled aboard a man wanted for debt. The captain and mate were hung and the men imprisoned. Following Sultan Murad's intervention, 26 men were released. One of the survivors, Thomas Saunders, published an account, *A true description of a voyage* (1587), which Hakluyt reproduced in PN2, vol. 1, pp. 184-91. As Schleck's analysis shows, the original publication emphasised God's role in saving the crew ('Forming', p. 133). Half way down the long title, in larger, bold print, the original read, 'together with the most wonderful judgement of God', then in smaller print, 'upon the king of Tripolie and his Sonne, and a great number of people' (reproduced, in Schleck, 'Forming', p. 132). None of this appears in PN2, nor do the words 'infidels', 'torturers' and 'tyrant'. Among other changes, Hakluyt abbreviated the marginalia by 60 per cent and changed two notes to downplay their Christian triumphalism (Schleck, 'Telling true tales', p. 136). Most significantly, he added 'three royal letters, one from Elizabeth to the Ottoman Sultan', and 'two from Murad to his vice-roys in North Africa' ordering the crew's release, and the ship's return (the ship apparently could not be located, so it was not returned, Schleck, 'Telling true tales', p. 132). Hakluyt's paratext serves to 'take the edge off

the pamphlet's original moral message' that, although the Turks might torture Christians, 'God will vindicate his chosen people in the end'. The clear intent of the changes is to focus on 'co-operation' between Turkey and England, not on 'divisions between them' (Schleck, 'Telling true tales', p. 137). Instead of crediting direct divine intervention by God to rescue good English Protestants from infidel, perfidious Muslims, Hakluyt represents the incident as illustrating that Elizabeth's working with Murad was responsible for the crew's release. Elizabeth's 'good foreign relations' are the 'best guarantee of bodily safety and commercial gain' beyond England's shores (Schleck, 'Telling true tales', p. 144). No longer is the account an instance of the 'paradigmatic... eternal enmity between Christians and Muslims' (Schleck, 'Telling true tales', 143) but it appears to point to the benefits that cooperation between followers of the two religions can achieve. Important also is the way in which Hakluyt's inclusion of Elizabeth's letter dilutes the original account's reinforcement of the trope of untrustworthy Muslims. The Queen suggests that Murad's subordinates had been 'perhaps ignorant of' his 'pleasure', that is, unaware of the treaty (PNI, p. 200). The Pasha's actions, however harsh, could be mitigated, too, if he thought the crew complicit in the debtor's presence aboard the *Jesus*. Murad's letter clearly stated that they had been unaware that the French had stowed him away (p. 192).

SIGNIFICANCE

A director of the Virginia Company, Hakluyt wanted England to establish colonies in America, where he even acquired a benefice. However, first and foremost he supported commerce. Significantly, '*traffiques*' was added to the 2nd edition's title. Commercial guilds had sponsored his education and early research. Members of the Clothworkers' Company were instrumental in founding the Turkey Company. Richard Staper, guild master for 1591 and an alderman, was his source for most of the Turkish material (PN-G, p. 14) and loyalty to the Clothworkers affected how he constructed his narrative. For example, he passes over the contribution toward setting up the Turkey Company made by Thomas Cordell, member of the rival Mercers' Company, only crediting his patrons (Skilliter, *Harborne*, p. 11). He told Cecil that 'our chief desire is to find out ample vent for our cloth, the natural commoditie of our Realm', thus identifying what he considered to be the 'fittest places for that purpose' (PN-G, p. 44). More than colonising foreign parts, the establishing of trading stations around the world and enjoying the peaceful relations that often resulted from mutually beneficial trade, might be more practical and

ultimately more providentially significant. Of course, Hakluyt could not have known that trading stations in India would end up taking over the whole Mughal Empire, to which it had initially struggled to gain entry. He was very interested in freedom of the seas, translating H. Grotius's *Mare liberum* in 1609, for without liberty to sail uninhibited, commerce could not flourish. Hakluyt's translation has been edited by D. Armitage as *The free sea* (Indianapolis IA, 2004). Hakluyt included an entry on free navigation in PN₂ (VI, pp. 188-208). With its wide circulation and thorough narrative reproduced in countless publications, PN would have motivated many to set out for distant places, making an inestimable contribution to England's and later Britain's imperial endeavours.

Arguably, Hakluyt's support for cordial relations with Muslim rulers and for trade with their states subordinated theology to political and national security concerns. Yet he did more than support these ventures. He championed them. Although aware that Elizabeth's correspondence with Murad III had its critics both at home and in Europe, he made this even more widely known by publishing it. Through French translation and diplomatic leaks, this caused a scandal in Europe, where Elizabeth's relationship with Murad was condemned as 'hateful and pernicious to all Christendom' (Burton, *Traffic*, p. 61). Hakluyt obviously thought that England would gain financially from trade with the Ottomans, but he also saw trade and traffic as mutually beneficial. Schleck concludes that Hakluyt wanted 'cordial international relations with rulers of all lands, irrespective of religion' to 'greatly enhance the safety and the coffer of those willing to venture abroad on behalf of the English nation' ('Forming', p. 138). Certainly a nationalist, here he is a patriot, giving a pragmatic reason to set religious difference aside. Thus, surmising that Hakluyt probably did 'expect the ultimate conversion of all other faiths', Dimmock comments that he could deviate 'from the dominant perspective on religion when it was in English mercantile and political interests to do so' ('Multiple faiths', p. 228). Yet further analysis of Hakluyt's purposes suggests that his primary motives were at root deeply theological.

For Hakluyt, the metaphorical rebuilding of Solomon's Temple, or healing the world, was as much part of the Christian mission as preaching the Gospel. The Fall did not rob people of all ability to develop human civilisation or to advance technologically and, while the final peace may depend on God's intervention, human action, choice and reason were also required (Sacks, "To deduce a colony", pp. 214-15). Thus, if collaboration between Christians and Muslims nurtures peace between

their states, such collaboration progresses God's providential purposes and is integral to engaging in God's mission. The pejorative references to Islam in his text were almost all embedded in other people's writing and, although he did express reservation about Muslim trustworthiness, it did not dampen his enthusiasm for Murad's charter of trade, which he supported against outspoken criticism. Indeed, he framed the narrative of the 'Captivity of Thomas Saunders' to counter the trope of Muslim duplicity.

Bishop Aylmer of London (d. 1591) wanted nothing to do with Turkey and asked the Lord Mayor to stop the trade (Dimmock, *Mythologies*, p. 125). James I would be reluctant to renew the Turkey's Company charter, preferring to end direct trade and relations with Turkey. He would like to have seen 'Christian princes unite for the destruction of their common foe', the Turks, observed the Venetian ambassador (*Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs... existing in the Archives of Venice*, Volume 10, London, 1900, p. 125). As a cleric, Hakluyt knew what he was doing theologically as well as pragmatically when he so strongly defended Anglo-Ottoman relations. He was shifting away from seeing Islam and Muslims in a wholly negative light, or as only doing good as a potential scourge against bad Christians. Affirming that Muslims, in alliance with Christians, could further God's mission may be a significant development in Christian thinking about Islam. Perhaps Hakluyt thought that, by putting divisive differences aside, Christians and Muslims could focus instead on the common task of healing the world. In what is really a poem on maritime liberty, in a segment headed 'Of unitie, showing of our keeping of the sea', that is, open for trade, Hakluyt's source eulogises human peace and unity, which Hakluyt believed commercial exchange even between people of different faiths could nurture: 'When mens weyes please unto our Lord It shall convert and bring to accord Man's enemies unto Peace verrey, In unitie, to live to Goodis paye, With unitie, peace, rest and charitue... Hee that was here clad in humanitie... give us peace...' (PN2, vol. 1, p. 207).

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Clinton Bennett

Thomas Nashe

DATE OF BIRTH 1567
PLACE OF BIRTH Lowestoft, Suffolk
DATE OF DEATH 1601
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Nashe's fierce writing style drew him into numerous controversies throughout his lifetime. He was born in November 1567 in Lowestoft, Suffolk, as the third child of William Nashe and his second wife Margaret. He left Lowestoft to be educated at St John's College, Cambridge, and then moved to London in 1588. Here, his circle of literary acquaintances led to both friendships and feuds.

Nashe collaborated with writers such as Ben Jonson, Christopher Marlowe and Robert Greene. His strong loyalty to Greene prompted his pamphlet war with Gabriel Harvey. As Nashe was a writer on the fringe of court society, he moved in various social circles. He turns up at Sir George Carey's castle on the Isle of Wight and Robert Cotton's mansion in Huntingdonshire, as well as on the streets of London, residing there between brew-houses. Nashe's writings consequently embody a sense of reportage as portraits of Elizabethan life, customs and social culture.

Nashe made his living primarily as a popular prose writer. In texts such as *Pierce Penilese, his supplication to the Divell* (1592), *Christ's tears over Jerusalem* (1593) and *The unfortunate traveller* (1594), he reflects and participates in England's emerging print culture, news networks and international relations. At the same time, his forceful writing style and biting satire provoked a number of controversies, including pamphlet wars with Martin Marprelate and Gabriel Harvey. Nashe's final attack on Harvey in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (1596), as well as his part in the controversial play *Isle of Dogs* (1597), led to harsh censorship of his writing.

In 1599, orders from Archbishop John Whitgift and Bishop Richard Bancroft banned all Nashe's books. While the effects of this ban are unclear, it nonetheless marked the end of his literary career, and he died in mysterious circumstances in 1601.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Have with you to Saffron-Walden

DATE 1596

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This work is Nashe's final reply in his long-standing feud with the writer and scholar Gabriel Harvey and his brother Richard, arising from the pamphlet wars between them that had been particularly inflamed by Harvey's scathing account of Robert Greene in *Four letters* (1592). Its full title is *Have with you to Saffron-Walden. Or, Gabriell Harveys hunt is up. Containing a full answer to the eldest sonne of the halter-maker. Or, Nashe his confutation of the sinfull doctor. The mott or posie, in stead of omne tulit punctum: pacis fiducia nunquam. As much to say, as I sayd I would speake with him.* With a length of 168 pages, *Have with you* is a humorous pamphlet with a chaotic, eccentric style that Nashe structures as a dialogue between himself and a group of friends who are concerned about the delay in defending his reputation, damaged by Harvey's last pamphlet. Nashe invites the reader to imagine this all taking place as he reads to his friends the manuscript of his answer to Harvey, which includes a short introduction mocking Harvey's *Pierce's supererogation*, a pretentious oration parodying Harvey's writing style, and an extended mock-biography of Harvey's life. After Nashe has read the manuscript to his friends, they take turns replying to the charges in Harvey's text. Nashe stages the mock-biography as a discussion on the rights and wrongs of the quarrel by introducing the comments and arguments of four 'interlocutors'. Nashe then casts himself, as Piers Pennilesse, in the role of the respondent, putting the case to the group and facing Harvey's charges.

This dialogue, seen as a masterpiece of English satire, reveals issues relating to transnational print culture, international news reporting, authorial reputation and patronage. Nashe repeatedly employs references to Muslims, and particularly Turks, to describe and insult Harvey. For example, he claims Harvey is so lean that it appears he is fasting four times a year, like the Turks. Nashe even illustrates the antagonism between himself and Harvey by comparing their feud to the religious divides between Turks and Persians. In addition to using a range of references to Turks for descriptive purposes, Nashe also includes English stereotypes of Muslims as insults to Harvey. In one instance, Nashe equates Harvey's past affairs with women to ladies hanging themselves 'for the love of Mahomet'. Throughout *Have with you*, Nashe mocks Harvey's writing style and personal character using references to Turks.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nashe's *Have with you* illustrates Renaissance English attitudes to and relations with the Islamic world. In part, his references to Turks, used to

degrade Harvey's character, contribute to the wider fears and misconceptions about Islam that were common in England at the time. Nashe's pamphlet, then, offers a good example of the growing use of the Turk as a kind of stock villain in English Renaissance literary culture, where the word 'Turk' became synonymous with cruelty, lust and untrustworthiness. Beyond Nashe's exaggerated stereotypes, however, *Have with you* also reveals the knowledge of Islamic customs that was available in England. For instance, he claims that his rivalry with Harvey is similar to the controversy between Turks and Persians 'about Mahomet and Mortus Alli, which should be the greatest'. Nashe's *Have with you* thus adds to existing information about the Islamic world through England's interaction with the Ottoman Empire, as well as contributing to familiar stereotypes of the villainous Turk in Renaissance English literature.

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Jessica Apolloni

Giles Fletcher the Elder

DATE OF BIRTH Probably 1546
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire
DATE OF DEATH 11 March 1611
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Giles Fletcher was baptised on 26 November 1546 in Watford, Hertfordshire, and was therefore probably born in late October or early November (Cooper, 'Fletcher, Giles', p. 299, gives 1549 as his year of birth). Since his father, Richard Fletcher (d. 1586), was vicar of Bishop's Stortford at the time, he is likely to have been born there. He is also known as Giles Fletcher the Elder to distinguish him from his son, Giles the Younger (d. 1623), who became a poet of note, as did his other son, Phineas (d. 1650). Fletcher was educated at Eton College (1561-5) and King's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted as a scholar. Becoming a fellow in 1568, he graduated BA (1569), MA (1573) and LLD (1580). He was a lecturer from 1572. During 1576, he was involved in the dispute at King's over Roger Goad's appointment as provost. However, a year later he was deputy public orator. In 1578, he became a senior fellow then bursar in 1579, and finally dean of arts in 1580. He left Cambridge that year to marry Joan Sheafe (d. 1614), as fellows had to be celibate. In 1580, he was appointed commissary to the chancellor of Ely diocese.

From 1582, he was a justice of the peace for Sussex and chancellor of Chichester diocese. In 1584, he became MP for Winchelsea, serving on three committees. By this time, he had begun publishing poems. In 1586, he began his diplomatic career, accompanying Sir Thomas Randolph to Scotland. The following year, he was part of a delegation sent to Hamburg to negotiate a commercial treaty. His most prestigious appointment followed in 1588, when he became ambassador to Moscow, tasked with securing trading rights. His account of this experience, *Of the Russe commonwealth, or, The manner of government by the Russe emperor... with the manners, and fashions of the people of that country* (1591), annoyed the Muscovy company merchants because it criticised the Tsar. Extracts appeared in Richard Hakluyt (*Principal Navigations*, 2nd edition, 1598) and Samuel Purchas (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625). However, his mission

was successful and in 1598 he was sent to the United Provinces to negotiate another trade treaty. From 1597, he was treasurer for St Paul's Cathedral, London. He also undertook various tasks for the Privy Council. When his brother died in 1596, he became responsible for his debts, which he repaid with the help of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, whom he regarded as his patron. He fell from favour in 1601, when Lord Essex's revolt failed. Although he denied any involvement, Fletcher was in prison until 1605. He spent his remaining years trying to secure a return to public service, and dealing with financial hardship caused by Richard's debts and his term in prison. In 1610, he did secure a mission, this time for the Merchant Adventurers' Company to handle a matter with the Danish ambassador.

Cooper lists a total of ten publications ('Fletcher, Giles', p. 301), of which Berry says two were published posthumously ('Giles Fletcher, the Elder', p. 200). Cooper does not include *The Policie of the Turkish Empire*, a compilation of texts published in 1597, which depicts Muḥammad as a manipulative impostor. The origin of Fletcher's interest in Turkey and in Islam is not known. He appears to have set out to try to explain the Turk's 'Marshall discipline' (p. A2), yet, while denigrating Islam, he could 'not help but register' its 'virtues and success' as a 'mirror' to display 'Christianity's corruption' (see Martin, in Marlowe, *Tamberlaine the Great*, p. 310). He had a reputation for piety, wrote several religious works and served on a parliamentary committee concerned with clergy appointments (Hasler, *History of Parliament*, p. 141). Fletcher died in London on 11 March 1611, and was buried in St Catherine Coleman, Fenchurch Street.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great. Part one and part two*, ed.

M.R. Martin, Peterborough, Ontario, 2014, pp. 310-20

L. Munro, art. 'Fletcher, Giles, the elder', *ODNB*

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Policie of the Turkish Empire

DATE 1597

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Printed for William Stansby by John Windet in London in 1597, *The Policie of the Turkish Empire, the first booke* comprises 25 chapters, running to 164 pages. Recto pages have signature pagination, although some are unnumbered. The dedication, to Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's House (sig. A2v to A2r), is followed by a note to the reader (sig. A3v to A4v, recto is blank). Fletcher's name does not appear in the text, but the work is routinely attributed to him.

The text itself is a compilation of translated material, although it lacks any references. Fletcher describes it as a 'collection of Turkish histories discovering the policie of the Ottoman Empire both in the state of their religion and in the manner of their civil government' (A2). The main source is Philip Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (1578), and there are also indications of Theodore Bibliander's Latin Qur'an of 1543 (see Martin, in Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, p. 301).

In the Note to the Reader, Fletcher says that, given their vile and barbarous origin, people think it strange the Turks achieved greatness so quickly, although this can be attributed to their martial discipline, the singularity of their virtue and good government (A3). Their whole polity is designed to enlarge their empire and religion. Almost every chapter that follows deals with religion. Chapter 1 covers the life of Muḥammad, and Chapter 2 relates how the Turks adopted Islam. Chapter 3 is on the Qur'an, and Chapters 4 and 5 on Islam's main teachings, as are Chapters 7-13. Chapter 6 is on circumcision, 14 is on deadly sins, followed by chapters on avarice, lust, gluttony, laziness and anger. Chapter 20 is on pilgrimage, Chapter 21 on hospitals and other institutions connected with health, 22 on burial customs and 23 on beliefs about heaven, hell and judgement. Chapters 24 and 25 are concerned with Sufi orders.

In Chapter 1, Fletcher recounts that Muḥammad (Mahomet), the false prophet who invented Islam (Br), was born in 591 from a Jewish mother and an Arab father. Insinuating himself into the good favour of the rich woman who employed him, Muḥammad married her and began to devise ways of gaining honour so that he could hide his lowly status. In league with Sergius, an Arian heretic, he decided that the best route was to launch a new religion. Together, the two concocted ('patched up') its doctrines according to their 'wicked affections' (B2r), blending elements from Judaism, Christianity and Arianism (B2v). Muḥammad started to communicate this secretly, beginning with his wife, pretending that he was receiving messages from Gabriel. More and more people became followers, 'seduced by his impostures' (B2v), which attracted opposition from the leaders of Mecca, who saw the new religion as a danger to public safety (B3r).

Fractious intra-Christian rivalry helped Muḥammad's cause. Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, tried to divert perceived threats from Persia and Arabia by turning his two enemies against each other. Muḥammad was then so mighty that in 623 he was elected duke and prince of all Arabs, with Damascus as his capital (Cr). He spent the rest of his life there, fashioning the Alcoran with its fables and invented miracles. At times, he added and deleted content as his passions and lewd conceits induced him. After a nine- or ten-year reign, he died, probably from poison, aged 40. Since he boasted that he would rise after three days, his body was at first left unburied, but after 12 days it stank so much that dogs ate it (Cv). Thus ended the life of a monster whose false religion 'filled the world with Idolotrie and Infidelity', causing the confusion and ruin of millions (Cv). Later, in Chapter 20, the book says that Muḥammad died in Mecca and his body was transported to Medina and buried there beneath a green vault. He had prophesied that it would not lie there beyond a thousand years (P3v-P4r).

Chapter 2 begins with the rule of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, followed by a garbled account of how the Turks adopted Islam. In about 1300, a Turkish captain called Ottoman (presumably Osman I or his father) was appointed governor in Asia by Saladin (dead since 1193), and rapidly expanded his territory, aided by civil discord among Muslims (Mahometists) and Christians (D2r).

Next, Fletcher turns to the teachings of Islam. All the Muslim laws and beliefs are found in the Qur'an, which was first brought together by Muḥammad and has 30 parts (D4r, unnumbered in text). However, it is doubtful whether the Turks' Qur'an is the same book that Muḥammad

composed, since Mahomet II, conqueror of Constantinople, 'caused another booke to be devised' because the existing one contained absurdities, contradictions and much that was repugnant (Er). Nonetheless, the Turks revere their scripture with a form of idolatry (Ev).

Fletcher lists eight commandments of Islam (E3r-Erv, following Thomas Herbert, *Some years travel*, London, 1638, pp. 255-62, though in a different order): proclaiming one God and Muḥammad as prophet, honouring parents, doing to others as you would be done by, praying at set times, fasting annually, giving alms, marrying, and refraining from homicide except by order of law or justice (this is also the list found in Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia*, 1653, p. 117). Sections then describe these more fully. Muslims reject the Trinity and Jesus's divinity, but accept that there is a Holy Spirit and that Mary was a virgin. They recognise Jesus as a great prophet but not as Christ or Saviour. They acknowledge God's power, wisdom and justice, and they emphasise God's mercy. They think of Paradise as a place of carnal pleasures. They ignore God's 'spiritual graces', valuing instead his power and gift of material blessings (E4r unnumbered in text). Man is made in God's image, and thus God makes provision for humanity. Yet by joining Muḥammad and God together in their commandment, the Turks commit blasphemy. Turks are not allowed to convert on punishment of death – Judaism and Christianity were invalidated by the coming of Islam – and their priests will for a small fee give false testimony against Christians, sometimes hoping to make them 'turne Turke' (F4r, unnumbered).

Many of the other commandments largely comply with natural law and also with Christianity. Living peacefully in society is regarded by the Turks as a virtue, and legal penalties give measure for measure. However, the respect which Turks hold for each other does not extend to Christians, whom they treat with hatred. Turks pray solemnly at five set times each day, for which they prepare with 'minds well disposed' (H3r). Friday is observed as the holy day because Muḥammad was born on that day. Drunks, felons, lewd women and others are barred entry to the communal prayers, and women pray in their appointed area away from men. The sections on the seven deadly sins are generally uncritical of Muslim belief, except on lust. In theory this is detested as much as any other sin, but in practice not only are sexual improprieties between men and women rampant but so is sodomy (N2r).

Fletcher goes on to describe mosque and hospital buildings, and gives details about the chief religious officials of the empire. His final conclusion is sobering: lost in their superstitions, blasphemy and idolatry, Turks

perish like flies caught in a spider's web from blindness and error (Yr). Yet God permitted this heresy to prevail against Christians, 'because they haue not walked in the right way and truth of his religion . . . as a iust plague for all their vnthankfulness, securitie and negligence' (last page).

SIGNIFICANCE

Written by a well-educated man at the very end of the 16th century, this polemical text shows how easily myths and legends about Muḥammad could be found. Given that Fletcher was educated at Eton and Cambridge and held a doctorate, it is surprising that he accepted so much without apparently checking. Yet he was a serious writer, and as his text develops he appears to have used sources that reflect much more favourably on life in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, from vilifying Muḥammad at the start, his work all but transforms into praise for many aspects of Islam, including Muslim devotion and works of charity which even extended to Jews and Christians.

There are some negative judgements in these generally more positive segments, including the charge of sodomy, and lying for a fee in testimony against Christians. Sodomy was an emerging theme in European writing on the Ottomans, and it is often hinted at in other works such as in John Shute's English translation, *Two very notable commentaries* (1562; see *CMR* 6, p. 729). The charge that Muslims simply could not be trusted grew more popular as full-blown Orientalist attitudes developed. Williamson compares what Fletcher says here with the incident in Thomas Kyd's 1592 drama, *Soliman and Perseda*, in which two Muslims are paid to 'accuse a loyal Christian of treason and subsequently swear on a copy of the Qur'an that they are telling the truth' (*Materiality of religion*, pp. 183-4). In fact, Fletcher does not make as much of some of his criticisms as he might have. Describing the Turks' lust as a deviation from what Islam teaches, he actually resists criticising Muḥammad's many marriages. His unflattering description of Sufi orders may reflect how Anglicans and Protestants in general thought at the time about Catholic friars. His accusation that Muslims commit idolatry seems forced, given his description of mosques as devoid of any images or pictures.

For all his criticisms of Islam, Fletcher set out to explain what he described as Turkey's imperial success by exploring its martial discipline, singularity of virtue and good government. England at the time was engaged in increasingly profitable trade with Turkey, and diplomatic relations were cordial. An England that had some imperial ambition of its own could arguably learn lessons, even from monstrous Turks. Here,

Fletcher's text appears to be informed by what Gerald MacLean calls 'imperial envy': examples range from 'fantasies about the Turks wanting to be "English" to admiration for specific features of the great empire: its power, potency, military might, opulence and wealth' (*Looking east*, Basingstoke, 2007, p. 20). Significant for Christian-Muslim relations is the fact that, alongside traditional calumny and negative ideas about Islam, a writer such as Fletcher could also find in what was available to him positive material on Muslim devotion, respect for parents, generosity, charitable acts and reverence for their scripture. He actually argued that the Turks had deleted some of the Qur'an's ridiculous content. Could this imply that reform might bring Muslims closer to Christianity?

PUBLICATIONS

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Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great*, appendix B, pp. 310-20 (extract with introduction)

STUDIES

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E. Williamson, *The materiality of religion in early modern English drama*, Farnham, 2009, pp. 183-4

Clinton Bennett

Elizabeth I

DATE OF BIRTH	7 September 1533
PLACE OF BIRTH	Greenwich Palace, London
DATE OF DEATH	24 March 1603
PLACE OF DEATH	Richmond Palace, Surrey

BIOGRAPHY

Elizabeth was born on 7 September 1533, the daughter of King Henry VIII and his second wife Anne Boleyn. Unlike her elder half-sister Mary, she was raised as a Protestant. She succeeded Mary in 1558. In the next 45 years, she presided over the expansion of England's overseas trade, voyages of discovery and a literary Renaissance. On the one hand she downplayed her gender, believing that her role as sovereign transcended this, while on the other she did nothing to discourage what amounted to a cult that focused on her virgin status and saw her rule as a matter of divine destiny (see Hackett, *Virgin mother*). Although she was staunchly Protestant, she was nonetheless careful to steer a course between Catholicism and Puritanism. She tried to make sure that the Church of England was sufficiently 'Catholic' to placate Catholics yet also Protestant enough to satisfy Puritans.

At Hatfield Palace, Hertfordshire, where she spent most of her childhood, Elizabeth was educated by private tutors from Cambridge University. One of these, Roger Ascham, wrote that 'within the walles of her priue chamber' Elizabeth 'obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to understand, speake, & write both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as scarce one or two rare wittes in both the Universities haue in many yeares reached unto' (Ascham, *The scholemaster*, p. 67).

Although fighting with Spain was a continuing part of her reign, Elizabeth otherwise kept England out of war after the loss of Calais, England's last Continental possession, in 1558. She is sometimes depicted as harbouring imperial ambitions, especially after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, when she was painted her with her hand resting on a globe. It is more likely that her ambitions were commercial rather than territorial (Loades, *Elizabeth I*, p. 311). Hence, the various voyages of discovery she sponsored were strategically motivated to ensure that England could trade and grow economically without being outflanked

by Catholic powers. She rarely actively commissioned an exploratory or commercial initiative, but instead gave 'permissions'. It was under her that the great commercial companies developed, with monopolies on trade in their respective regions. These included the Levant Company (1581), the Barbary Company (1585) and the most successful and lucrative, the East India Company (1600), which ended up displacing a Muslim empire.

Alongside chartering these monopolies, Elizabeth also opened diplomatic relations with Muslim rulers, first Persia (a letter to Shah Tahmasp I in 1561, requesting safe passage for the adventurer Anthony Jenkinson in his enterprise to open trade relations with Persia on behalf of the Muscovy Company), then the Ottomans (1583) and Morocco (1600). In fact, she engaged in extensive correspondence with the rulers of Turkey and Morocco, and in the case of Turkey also with the sultan's wife, which represents the most sustained correspondence between a Christian ruler and Muslim rulers before the modern era. Elizabeth's excommunication by the pope in 1570 made it possible for her to trade items that were prohibited by papal law, including weapons and ammunition. To her, this represented an embryonic Protestant-Muslim anti-Catholic alliance, though little came of it apart from small favours on each side. After her death, James I distanced himself from any such policy, although while it lasted England enjoyed a new relationship with Muslim realms that was largely discontinuous with former relations. Due to espionage by rival powers but also publication of some of her correspondence with the Ottomans by Richard Hakluyt, initially in the 1589 edition of his *Principall navigations*, this putative alliance became widely known, discussed and criticised by England's enemies, for whom the English had become 'New Turks'.

Elizabeth did not marry or formally name an heir. Her cousin, James VI of Scotland, succeeded her as James I of England in 1603.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Iniunctions geuen by the Queenes Maiestie, anno Domini 1559, the first yere of the raigne of our soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth, London, 1568

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Correspondence with Sultan Murad III

DATE 1579-95

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Murad III ruled from 1574 until his death in 1595. Court correspondence between Murad and Elizabeth began in 1579 and continued until his death. Murad wrote in Ottoman Turkish, which was translated by a *dragoman* into Latin. Elizabeth always replied to Murad in Latin. Incidentally, Europeans at this time studiously avoided calling the Ottoman Empire by that name; it was always Turkey (MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 6). Istanbul, too, was always Constantinople; the name was not officially changed until 1923 (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 228). Elizabeth also corresponded with Murad's favourite consort and the mother of his heir, Safiye, who more or less ruled after her son's accession. The *Calendar of state*

papers includes eight letters from Mehmed to Elizabeth (see Brown, *CSP, Venice*, vol. 10, p. 582).

Elizabeth saw the Anglo–Ottoman relationship as an important alliance at a time when Protestant England was isolated from much of Europe, especially following her excommunication by the pope in 1570. At about the same time, she also developed a friendly relationship with Morocco. Elizabeth took her royal correspondence very seriously, developing her own protocols. She had paper printed with her ‘crowned E.R. cipher’, and another with the ‘royal arms, surrounded by the garter’ (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 20), while the enterprise was supported by a secretariat that ‘employed between 55 and 65 men’. She hand-wrote the most important letters, signed others that had been written for her, and each kind of letter was folded in a distinctive way (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 28). While she most commonly communicated in Latin, she also wrote in French, Italian, Spanish and, least often, English. The language for a particular letter was carefully chosen. Even when she might have been able to respond to a letter in the same language, she might not if this implied ‘particular friendship’ when there was none (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 28).

Letter writing was an equally elaborate exercise for the sultan. Opening with an invocation to God, a letter would have his calligraphic sign-manual (*tuğra*) affixed, drawn in black, gold, carmine red, cobalt blue, ‘or a rainbow of pastel hues’ (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 135). For the text he used black Arabic script, which was then ‘dusted in gold’ (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 136). Specific documents had a set number of parts, for example, a ‘command’ had 12, a letter nine (see Skilliter, *Harborne*, pp. 17, 77). Elizabeth did not usually follow the practice of embellishing her letters, though she did adjust this to meet a recipient’s ‘cultural expectation’ (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 29) sometimes adding illuminated letters or, in Safiye’s case, perfume. G.B. Harrison argues that Elizabeth personally composed her state letters, whether written in her own hand or dictated to secretaries (*The letters*, London, 1935, p. x).

Unusually, the correspondence between Murad and Elizabeth was initiated by the sultan, although he may have been under the impression that William Harborne, an Englishman visiting Istanbul to negotiate trade privileges, was directly representing Elizabeth. Although probably a spy for Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth’s Secretary of State, who was keen to revive trade with Turkey, Harborne was acting at the time as a private merchant. Later, he became England’s ambassador to Turkey.

Murad's letter of 15 March (some sources give 20 March) 1579 was not the first that Elizabeth had received from an Ottoman ruler. Records show a letter dated 1565/6 from the then sultan (who would have been Selim II) offering friendship, but it is not known whether she responded (MS London, BL – Cotton Nero B xi, fol. 76r). Earlier, too, Elizabeth had corresponded with the Safavid shah (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, Glasgow, 1903-5, vol. 2, pp. 3-4). However, Murad III's letter, offering friendship and open trade, began a sustained, cordial correspondence that remains unique in the history of Ottoman relations with non-Muslim states. The complete original of this first letter is not extant; Ottoman records kept summaries, and what actually reached Elizabeth was a doctored Latin translation (MS London, BL – Cotton Nero B viii, fol. 50r-v) that was somehow altered so that, instead of granting permission for trade to all Elizabeth's subjects, it restricted this to Harborne and his two principal backers, Edward Osborne and Richard Staper. It is not known who altered the text: it may have been Harborne, or Osborne or Staper after the letter reached London, although it was a crime to alter diplomatic communications, or even Muṣṭafā Beg, the Latin translator. Muṣṭafā, a 'mediator' (*çavuşa*), worked for Harborne as well as for the sultan, and he wrote to Elizabeth on 15 March 1579 offering to help bring about an alliance between Turkey and England, since she 'held the most Christian of all religions' and was envied by 'Christians throughout the world'.

The sultan's letter shows his interest in developing commercial and diplomatic relations with England. He was rebuilding his navy after the defeat at Lepanto, and had recently started a war with Persia. He needed materials, and he knew that Elizabeth was no longer bound by papal restrictions on trading arms and goods that could be put to military use. Neither Murad nor Elizabeth mentioned this, though both appear to have had this 'illicit' trade in mind. Murad may also have known that from as early as 1551 England had sold 'munitions' to Morocco (Skilliter, *Harborne*, p. 23).

The version of Murad's letter that reached Elizabeth addresses her in flowery terms and with apparent admiration, and it describes her as a 'worshipper of Jesus'. It is likely, though, that Muṣṭafā's Latin version differed from the original Ottoman Turkish, obscuring the way in which the sultan addressed Elizabeth not as an equal but as a vassal (England was a *vilâyet*). For 'king' or 'queen' the sultan habitually used a Serbo-Croat term that suggested only qualified legitimacy. Thus, Elizabeth would have been addressed as *kiralice*, not as *sultana* or *malika*, though the

Latin version uses *regina*. Elizabeth was the ‘most sacred Queen, and noble prince of the most mighty worshippers of Jesus, most wise governor of the causes of affairs of the family of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant rain, and sweetest fountain of nobleness and virtue, lady and heir of the perpetual happiness and fortune of the noble realm of England’, whom he wished ‘prosperous success’ (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, Glasgow, 1903-5, vol. 5, p. 169). Murad indicates that he will grant the three Englishmen permission to trade in his imperial dominions, and will instruct all kings, judges and officials not to molest or trouble them or hinder their safe passage to and from his realm (p. 170). At its conclusion, his letter requests (commands in the original Ottoman) reciprocity for his merchants in Elizabeth’s realm, and for her ‘friendship’ (p. 171).

The letter was despatched in a satin pouch with a silver (not gold) capsule, which indicates that the sultan did not at this stage regard Elizabeth as a major monarch. On the other hand, he very much wanted access to the goods her state could provide.

In her reply dated 25 October 1579, Elizabeth uses all her royal titles as Queen of England, Ireland and France, and adapts her title *Fidei defensoratrix* to ‘the most mighty and invincible defender of the Christian faith against all kinds of idolatries, of all who live among the Christians and falsely profess the Name of Christ’, thus emphasising common ground between the Protestant and Muslim rejection of idolatry, and implying that Catholics did not. She calls Murad ‘mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkey’ and ‘most sovereign Monarch of the East Empire’ (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, Glasgow, 1903-5, vol. 5, p. 175). Referring to the grant of privileges to three of her subjects, and how swiftly this had been given, ‘without any intercession of ours’ (indicating that Harborne did not carry a royal warrant), she points out that it would be an even greater mutual benefit for England and Turkey if the privilege was ‘enlarged to all our subjects in general’ (p. 176). She concludes with a plea that British captives now manning Ottoman galleys might be released, which would give her even more ‘abundant cause’ to ‘commend his clemency’ and to beseech that God, ‘who only is above all things, and all men, and is a most severe revenger of all idolatrie, and is jealous of his honour [would] . . . adorne’ him ‘with . . . gifts’ (p. 178). Her reply does not concede subservience, but neither does it betray reservations about the sultan’s right to be considered a powerful, important and legitimate ruler. By emphasising shared worship of the God who is ‘above all’ and who ‘revenges idolatry’, she stresses common ground between the two faiths, avoiding what might emphasise difference, such as the status of Jesus.

In 1580, Elizabeth received from Murad the first Charter of Privileges issued for the English people as a whole. This time, Murad mentioned her French and Irish realms, and called her 'the most honourable Queene of Christendom'. Reference to Harborne as 'her most worthy servant' suggests that, despite the scorn and suspicion of the European ambassadors, Harborne had established a good rapport with Murad, even though after becoming ambassador he chose to live apart from the rest of the diplomatic community. The Charter sets out a total of 22 privileges, including the right to sail under the English flag and appoint an ambassador at Istanbul as well as consuls at 'Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis, in the west, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselues . . . and in the roome of the former Consuls place others'. It remained the basis of all subsequent British-Ottoman capitulations, augmented and renewed until they were abolished in 1922. Elizabeth wrote back thanking Murad on 8 January 1581 (MS Oxford, Bodleian – Tanner 79, fol. 159).

The capitulations led to the opening up of direct trade. Elizabeth granted a charter to the new Turkey Company, headed by Harborne's backers, which was given a monopoly. When the charter was renewed in 1592, it was renamed the Levant Company, which over its 244-year history played a role in the 'development of English commerce . . . second only to that of the East India Company' (Horniker, 'Harborne', p. 304).

Some of Elizabeth's communications contain requests for the release of individual prisoners, begging pardon for the misdeeds of some of her subjects, whom she calls 'a few abject creatures' following an act of piracy (SP 97/1 fol. 16, draft, 26 June 1581), while through her ambassador she pressed the sultan to help her against Spain. Although Murad did not attack Spain directly because he was preoccupied with his war against Persia, he harassed Spanish ships in the Mediterranean, preventing them from joining the Armada, and so he did aid Elizabeth's 1588 victory (E. Kugler, *Sway of the Ottoman Empire on English identity in the long eighteenth century*, Leiden, 2012, p. 2).

On 5 September 1584, Elizabeth wrote to Murad asking him for restoration, under the Charter, for the loss of the ship *Jesus*, which had been seized in Tripoli, and for the release of the crew. Murad responded by instructing the governor to restore the ship's goods and release the men (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, Glasgow, 1903-5, vol. 5, p. 192). In 1590-1, Elizabeth was, through her ambassador, able to persuade the sultan to make peace with Poland. Murad wrote that he made this peace as a favour to Elizabeth (SP 102/61 fols 23-4, 20 June 1590). Similarly, in 1580

the sultan asked for safe passage to England for merchants sent to make purchases on his behalf (Skilliter, *Harborne*, pp. 77-8), issued various letters of safe conduct for Elizabeth's officials, and asked for Elizabeth's help in obtaining the release of Muslim prisoners in Spain during a time of peace between the English and Spanish (Allinson, *Monarchy of letters*, p. 149). A draft letter to Murad from Elizabeth dated sometime in 1590 in Lord Privy Seal Cecil's hand exhorts him 'to prevail on the king of Morocco to fulfil his promise of a subsidy to Don Antonio, expelled by Philip II from the throne of Portugal' (*Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, London, 1802, p. 226, entry 36).

SIGNIFICANCE

Irrespective of how the Elizabeth-Murad correspondence is to be analysed in terms of motive, it represents a unique episode in the story of Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy; there is no other example of such sustained communication between an Ottoman sultan and a Christian ruler. Elizabeth's actual attitude towards Islam was probably ambivalent. In 1565, before the cordial correspondence with Murad began, when the Ottomans were laying siege to Malta, she ordered prayers for the island to be offered 'three times a week for six weeks' in every church (A. Jackson, *Buildings of empire*, Oxford, 2013, p. 73). The preface to the prayer authorised for this occasion in the diocese of Salisbury describes Turks as 'infidels, and sworne enemies of Christian religion', and continues, 'if they should prevail against the Isle of Malta, it is uncertain what further peril might follow to the rest of Christendom'. This sentence is often attributed to Elizabeth herself. The prayer refers to Turks as 'miscreants' and as 'our mortal enemy', beseeching God to 'overthrow' and 'destroy' them. The Turks err by elevating the 'wicked monster... Mahumet above... Jesus Christ' (see W.C. Clay (ed.), *Liturgical services. Liturgies and occasional forms of prayer set out in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Cambridge, 1847, pp. 519-23). A 'Sermon against Idolatry' was also authorised, which similarly describes 'Infidels, Saracens and Turks' as Christendom's 'common enemies' (*Sermons, or homilies appointed to be read in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1824, p. 207, Homily xiv).

Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570 appears to have prompted a reformulation of her view of the Turks. Isolated from Catholic states, she needed not only new allies but also fresh outlets for England's rapidly expanding commercial ventures. The opening of direct trade with the Ottomans would make England the Ottomans' major European trade partner, displacing Venice and France throughout the 17th century, except

during England's civil war (1642-60) (H. Inalcik, 'The Turkish impact on the development of modern Europe', in K.H. Karpat (ed.), *The Ottoman state and its place in world history*, Leiden, 1974, 51-8, p. 57). In adjusting her own style as defender of the faith against all idolaters, thus emphasising what Protestants and Muslims shared, she subtly avoided any derogatory or divisive reference to Islam over rival claims of superiority for Jesus and Muḥammad. Elizabeth did describe Murad's empire as 'Musulman-like' ('letter appointing Harborne', Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, vol. 5, p. 226), but no one disputed that Turks were Muslims. Lisa Jardine points out that, in addition to this careful use of language, Elizabeth may have seen a parallel between the place of England and the Ottomans 'in the arena of European politics' ('Gloriana', p. 216). Protestants and Muslims were both considered 'infidels and heretics' by Catholic powers, so English Protestants could even 'identify turbaned figures in contemporary art as themselves' (Jardine, 'Gloriana', p. 217). Both were confronted by the threat of being 'trampled underfoot' by the Habsburgs. Could not both be 'following the true religion of the Book, free from alienating rituals, superstition and idolatry?' (Jardine, 'Gloriana', p. 218). Thus, it suited Elizabeth to 'let it be known' that she 'flirted seriously (certainly not a tautology in terms of Elizabethan diplomacy), throughout the 1580s and 1590s, with Anglo-Turkish political accord' (Jardine, 'Gloriana', p. 218). The good relations she also enjoyed with Morocco were another experiment in Protestant-Muslim accord.

Elizabeth's diplomatic intercessions to maintain peace between the Ottomans and various Christian states testifies to a belief that conflict is not the only form of relationship that can or should exist between Christians and Muslims. Elizabeth's cordial correspondence with the Ottomans may have been pragmatic, not really based on deep conviction that Christians and Muslims share beliefs in common, but it still shows that a Christian sovereign could extend friendship toward a Muslim ruler.

There is a case to be made that early English interest in the Ottoman Empire saw beyond the alleged atrocities and anti-Christian image of the Turk, to see it as a fascinating power that 'controlled a great deal of Eastern Europe and a third of the known world'. Later, that space came to be seen in negative, polarised Orientalist terms as one that was 'waiting to be conquered and controlled', and to be envied for 'its power, potency, military might, opulence and wealth' (MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 20). But at this time, for some, it even offered 'a model of a religious state that . . . pre-empted the possibility of sectarian uprisings by

its multicultural tolerance' (MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 14), and was thus a state that England might emulate both at home and in administering its hoped-for future colonies.

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- Murad to Elizabeth, 21 June 1580, pp. 115-16, 247
- Murad to Elizabeth, 1-10 September 1580, pp. 123-4, 253-5
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Correspondence with Safiye Sultan

DATE 1593, 1599

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Safiye Sultan was born in Albania, probably in 1550 because she was 13 in 1563 when Mihrimah, who functioned as Queen Mother (*Vālide sultan*) for Selim II, her younger brother, presented her to the then Prince Murad as a concubine. She had been enslaved by pirates, and according to Matar she converted to Islam (*Islam in Britain*, pp. 123-4). In 1566, Safiye gave birth to the future sultan, Mehmed III. At this time, Murad's relationship with Safiye was monogamous, which gave her the status of *Khāṣṣekī*, chief or favourite companion, a designation that could be extended to either a legal wife, or, as in this case, a concubine. During this period, the sultans rarely took legal wives, preferring concubines chosen for their beauty. After Mehmed's birth, Safiye was one of two women in the royal household who exercised considerable power (Pedani, 'Safiye's household', p. 11), and her power increased after Murad's mother died in 1583. After Mehmed's accession in 1595, Safiye became *Vālide sultan*, a position that, over time, had gained quasi-official recognition as an 'office with a title' that exercised 'political influence' (Peirce, *Imperial harem*, p. 229).

Safiye first wrote to Elizabeth when she was still the mother of the heir, and she continued the correspondence after becoming *Vālide sultan*. Murad may initially have asked her to write to Elizabeth, thinking that it might be politically astute for a woman to write to a woman, although it is known that Edward Barton, England's second ambassador, had established contact with Safiye when he was still embassy secretary. Safiye first wrote to Elizabeth on 4 December 1593, after Elizabeth, at Barton's suggestion, had sent gifts to her as well as to Murad, to whom gifts had not been sent for some time (see F. Heal, *The power of gifts. Gift exchange in early modern England*, Oxford, 2014, p. 163). Unfortunately, Elizabeth's letters to Safiye do not survive, but something of their content can be reconstructed from what Safiye wrote. Richard Hakluyt included a Latin version and English translation in the second edition of *Principal navigations* (1599), where it is the last document in volume 2 part 1. The Ottoman text is reproduced in Skilliter ('Three letters', 1965).

Safiye's letter is 24 lines long, written on a single sheet of paper sprinkled with gold dust. A brief invocation appears in the top half, to the right of centre, reading 'He is the Helper' in English. In every line except

the last, five colours of ink are used: black, blue, crimson, gold and scarlet. The original, now in the British Museum, suffered some damage during a fire in 1731, when it was part of Sir Robert Cotton's collection. It has lost its seal, although a description survives: it had a gold cover set with small diamonds and rubies (Skilliter, 'Three letters', p. 148). Unlike Safiye's second and third letters to Elizabeth, this first is professionally written by a trained calligrapher and uses some of the forms of an official or 'solemn' letter (Wittek, 'Turkish materials', p. 139). The opening (lines 1-6) invokes God and asks blessings on Muḥammad as the foremost of all prophets and best of all created beings. Then Safiye introduces herself as mother of the heir to Murad, whose extensive domains are listed (lines 6-10). Safiye then addresses Elizabeth (lines 12-14, the text has been damaged here), greeting her as the crowned ruler of England who is obeyed by princes, follower of the Messiah, and a woman of Mary's way who is chaste and virtuous. Safiye invokes blessings on her in this world and the next (lines 14-15).

Safiye then acknowledges Elizabeth's gifts and her letter, which was 'full of marvels' with more fragrance 'than pure camphor and ambergris' (line 15). Elizabeth's expression of love for her has stirred the desire to hear more news about her and to mention her intentions at the sultan's feet. Thus, Safiye promises to use her influence at court to help advance Elizabeth's goals, as one member of royalty for another. Elizabeth had clearly invested time and expense in having her letter written in a style that met some of the Ottoman court's cultural expectations, and appears to have understood that she was writing to a woman who occupied an important position in matters of state. From Safiye's mention of her expression of love, it can be assumed that Elizabeth's letter had offered friendship to the *Vālide sultan*.

The gifts, which were sent out on the Feast of the Ascension, are listed as a picture of Elizabeth set with diamonds and rubies, ten garments made from cloth of gold, three pieces of gilt plate, a case of silver and gilt bottles, and two pieces of fine Holland cloth (Cotton Nero B xi, fol. 124r). At this time, under Elizabeth's Statutes of Apparel, 15 June 1574, in England only women ranked as viscountess or above could wear cloth of gold gowns.

Safiye asked Barton, through her personal servant acting as intermediary, what gift she should send Elizabeth in return. He informed her that the Queen would appreciate a Turkish costume, which she thereupon sent with the letter. When Elizabeth again sent gifts to the Ottoman

court, this time to confirm her third ambassador's appointment in 1599, she included a beautiful coach for Safiye as well as the famous clock-work organ for the sultan. Unfortunately, the organ sustained damage on the journey, and the embassy staff discussed giving Mehmed the coach instead, which was intact. However, Safiye was apparently expecting the coach and, excited that it had arrived, immediately sent two horses to meet it. This suggests ongoing contact between Safiye and Elizabeth's agents in Istanbul. She also had herself taken out on a *caïque* to sail around the ambassador's ship to 'get a better view', as did Mehmed (Bent, *Early voyages*, p. 60). Mehmed had written to Elizabeth to inform her of Murad's death and his accession, calling her 'glorious . . . above all Rulers who follow Jesus', and saying that he wished to preserve the friendship between their realms and would renew the treaty between them (Rose-dale, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 60).

Realising that they could not disappoint the *Vālide sultan*, the embassy personnel decided instead to repair the organ. An engineer, Thomas Dal-lam, who had accompanied it aboard the *Hector*, set up an awning in the private garden of the palace and re-assembled the organ. Safiye was fascinated by this, and observed him from the far side. The embassy secretary, Paul Pindar, then personally delivered the coach (Bent, *Early voy-ages*, p. 63; see also Rosedale, *Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 78-81). She had this covered and used it for trips into town. However, the organ was destined to be destroyed by Sultan Ahmed I, perhaps because he objected to its figurative decoration, or he saw it as an unwelcome reminder of Europe's technological innovations.

Safiye's second letter, possibly sent on 25 November 1599, gratefully acknowledges the coach and salutes Elizabeth as 'the pride of the virtuous Christian women, the chosen of the honoured ladies in the Mes-siah's nation, the supreme mediatrix of the Nazarene sect, trailing the skirts of pomp and dignity, possessing the tokens of honour and glory, Elizabeth, Queen of England, may her last moments be concluded with good' (Skilliter, 'Three letters', p. 139). Unlike the first letter, written in calligraphic hand, the second (27 lines long) is in a cruder hand and the 'spelling is often incorrect' (Skilliter, 'Three letters', p. 134). This could suggest that Elizabeth had sent Safiye a less elaborately crafted letter, not as a sign of disrespect but to signify intimacy between two women of rank. Safiye declares their friendship and assures Elizabeth that she does not cease from admonishing her son to 'act according to the treaty'. Gifts accompanied the letter, including a jewel-studded tiara. Elizabeth

was very concerned when the tiara failed to arrive with the rest of the gifts, and its final arrival 'put an end to a minor international scandal' (Peirce, *The imperial harem*, p. 228; see Andrea, *Women and Islam*, p. 28, for a list of all the gifts exchanged). At one point, Elizabeth sent Safiye a portrait of herself.

Safiye's third letter was of similar style. It was also accompanied by gifts, and it appears to be another version of the second. Comparing these two with letters from Safiye to the Doge of Venice, it would seem that they were more typical of her than the first, which may be unique. Again, the *Vālide sultan's* third letter expresses friendship and says that she will act according to the wishes that Elizabeth expresses in her letter. This suggests that Elizabeth may have asked for Safiye's assistance on a specific issue.

The second and third letters were first published by Kurat (1953), after he came across them in what is now the National Archives at Kew, then the Public Records Office at Chancery Lane. There is also a personal letter from Safiye's personal servant, Esperanza Malchi, to Elizabeth, also possibly dated November 1599. She greeted Elizabeth by saying that just as the sun's rays shine throughout the universe, so does her power and greatness. Ever since she learned of Elizabeth, she had wanted to serve her, even though she is a Jew. She also lists the gifts that were being sent and asks Elizabeth to send Safiye cosmetics and cloth or wool items rather than jewels. As a woman, she could ask this without embarrassment (Skilliter, 'Three letters', p. 143). As it happens, Elizabeth and Mehmed III both died in 1603. Mehmed's successor, Ahmed I, retired Safiye on a pension in the Old Palace away from court (Peirce, *Imperial harem*, p. 127), where she died in 1605.

SIGNIFICANCE

Andrea describes Safiye's offer of assisting Elizabeth as an assertion of her own 'dignity and authority', even though Safiye was more or less confined to the harem. In return, all Safiye requires is Elizabeth's continued friendship and correspondence (*Women and Islam*, p. 26). Elizabeth on her side shows awareness that a woman such as the *Vālide sultan* was an important ally, one to be nurtured through gifts and letters. In this, she was following her diplomats' advice, which also suggests that they were becoming wise to the ways of the Ottoman court.

Especially significant for Christian-Muslim relations is the way in which Safiye chooses to address Elizabeth, and how she refers to her Christian faith by describing her as a follower of the Messiah and as a

woman of Mary's way. The Qur'anic term *Masīh* tends to avoid the problem of Jesus' divinity, while Mary has an honoured place among women in Islam: 'Behold! The angels said, O Mary! God has chosen you and purified you, chosen you above the women of all nations. O Mary! Worship your Lord devoutly. Prostrate yourself, and bow down (in prayer) with those who bow down' (Q 3:42-3).

Safiye may or may not have known that her description of Elizabeth as a woman of Mary's way could have offended Protestants. She obviously did know that Elizabeth was unmarried, describing her as 'chaste and virtuous'. Celibacy, which is not encouraged by Muslims, might not be thought commendable, though by linking her reference to Elizabeth's celibacy with her status as a 'woman of Mary's way' Safiye presents this as a sign of piety, not as morally problematic.

This late-16th-century correspondence between two powerful women, one Muslim and one Christian, shows that friendship and mutual respect was possible beyond barriers of faith. It may well be unique.

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*Correspondence with Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr
al-Sa'dī*

DATE 1579-1603

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Unspecified

DESCRIPTION

Beginning in 1579 and continuing until the year in which both rulers died, Elizabeth I and Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Sa'dī of Morocco (r. 1578-1603) exchanged letters and diplomatic missions, and engaged in

mutually beneficial trade. Their letters are mainly found in the National Archives at Kew (State Papers, Foreign 71, and Royal Letters, 102 sub series Barbary) and the British Library (Cotton, Nero B Viii and Xii). Many are reproduced in de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, while a number of the Arabic documents are found in J. Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary* (including several not in de Castries). De Castries contains 12 letters from Elizabeth and eight from al-Manṣūr.

Al-Manṣūr, who saw himself as having influence in Europe, would like to have reconquered Spain for Islam. Proud of his descent from Muḥammad, he also saw himself as more entitled to be recognised as caliph than the Ottoman sultan, whom he never addressed as either emperor or caliph.

The relationship between Elizabeth's England and al-Manṣūr's Morocco fluctuated, though their friendship appears to have been genuine; their correspondence continued even when neither side was especially happy with the other. Part of the background was Elizabeth's willingness to enter alliances or quasi-alliances with Muslims based on shared Muslim-Anglican hatred of idolatry as well as hostility toward Spain.

Elizabeth's interest in Morocco predated 1578, having started during the reign of al-Manṣūr's predecessor, 'Abd al-Malik, who sent her a friendly letter in October 1576 informing her of his accession. He greets her as 'Sultana Elizabeth, daughter of the mighty, high-born . . . most glorious Sultan Henry', and wishes God's favour and blessings on her. One subtlety of the Arabic text, though, which would presumably be lost in translation, was that he switched between the courteous 'we' and the less courteous 'I' perhaps because he was addressing 'a woman and an infidel' (Hopkins, *Letters*, p. 1, note). In response, anxious to secure supplies of saltpetre for making gunpowder and protection for English sailors, many of whom were being captured by Barbary pirates, she sent Edmund Hogan (or Huggins), an 'esquire of her body' (technically a personal attendant, but often more like a gentleman courtier), as ambassador in April 1577 to negotiate this. Hogan's mission was a success. He found 'Abd al-Malik to be cultivated, urbane, a music lover and knowledgeable in the Old and New Testaments. 'Abd al-Malik told Hogan that he liked neither Philip of Spain or his religion, and that 'he beareth a greater affection to our Nation than to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols'. Hogan reported that 'the Moores called him the Christian king' (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, p. 158; Hogan's report is on pp. 156-9).

Release of captives often featured in Anglo-Moroccan diplomacy, with both sides freeing some.

On 10 July 1577, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Elizabeth in Latin (only the *basmla* was in Arabic) (Nero B VIII fol. 70; see Matar, *Europe*, p. 73), and friendly correspondence followed. But this auspicious beginning of Elizabethan-Moroccan relations was interrupted by the Battle of Al-Ksar el-Kebir, known in England as Alcazar, on 4 August 1578, when King Sebastian I of Portugal invaded in support of the deposed sultan, 'Abd al-Malik's nephew. Both Sebastian and the former sultan were killed in the battle, and 'Abd al-Malik died the same day from illness. He was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, who won the battle. He took the throne name al-Manṣūr.

English and Irish adventurers led by Thomas Stukeley had fought with Sebastian in the battle, which was enough for al-Manṣūr to stand aloof from relations with Elizabeth. Yet he also needed allies, especially anti-Spanish ones, and Elizabeth qualified, so he wrote to her offering friendship. De Castries includes two letters to Elizabeth from late 1579, one in Arabic and one in English (*Sources inédites*, vol. 1, pp. 352-3; English text also in J. Nicholls, *The progress and public processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 5/2, London, 1823, p. 288), and one dated March 1581 in Spanish (*Sources inédites*, vol. 1, pp. 386-7). British State Papers include a letter dated 23 June 1580, in which al-Manṣūr greets Elizabeth in very flowery language as 'the greatest among those who follow the religion of Christ' and promises to continue to facilitate her business in Morocco as she will his in England owing to their 'evident love' (State Papers 102/4 20; see Matar, 'Elizabeth', p. 58). In 1585, Elizabeth granted a charter to the Barbary Company (which later merged with the Levant or Turkey Company) to engage in trade. England's exports included timber, armour and various metals, and among its imports were salt, saltpetre, sugar, gold and such items as dates, almonds and aniseed. Elizabeth thought Moroccan sugar superior to others, and personally ordered this in large quantities (García-Arenal, *Aḥmad al-Mansur*, p. 2). The trade was mutually beneficial, albeit forbidden under papal regulations and classical *sharī'a*.

Elizabeth's second ambassador to Morocco was Henry Roberts, also an esquire, who resided there from 1585 to 1588, and then accompanied al-Manṣūr's first ambassador, Rais Merzouk Ahmed Benkacem to London, on a mission that was kept a secret. Benkacem took with him a request from al-Manṣūr for his ships to be victualled and re-fitted in English ports, which Elizabeth granted (de Castries, *Sources inédites*,

vol. 2, pp. 520-1, 'request' 26 February 1588; pp. 222-3, 'response' March 1589). Interestingly, the request states that such ships would be employed against al-Manṣūr's Muslim enemies, not against Christians.

Elizabeth's third and last ambassador to al-Manṣūr was Henry Prannel, accredited in 1601 after the sultan's principal secretary, Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud Anoun ('Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad al-Annurī) spent six months in London with a retinue of 30, attracting considerable public comment, not always favourable. Their use of prayer beads reminded onlookers of Catholics, and they were mean toward the poor, refusing to give them alms 'allegedly because they were Christian' (García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*, pp. 92-3; see also B. Harris, 'A portrait of a Moore', in C.M. Alexander and S.W. Wells [eds], *Shakespeare and race*, Cambridge, 2000, 23-36, pp. 31-3, on their time in London). Al-Manṣūr's own reputation for generosity and kindness became legendary, featuring in one of William Painter's novellas (*The palace of pleasure*, London, 1567, vol. 2, tale 35). Messaoud may also have inspired Shakespeare's Othello (V.M. Vaughan, *Performing blackness on English stages, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 59). Al-Manṣūr's letter of 27 March 1600 refers to released Flemish captives accompanying his delegation to London (Hopkins, *Letters*, p. 7).

Not much ever came of the two rulers' shared animosity towards Spain, although Elizabeth's victory over the Armada in 1588 boosted her prestige with al-Manṣūr. His court historian, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fishtālī (d. 1621), wrote about this as a victory against the tyrant and polytheist Philip, who was 'against Islam' (he uses the Qur'anic term, *tāghiya*, 'tyrant', and calls Philip a *mushrik*, 'polytheist'), which God had aided by sending a 'sharp wind' against him. As Matar points out, this is a reference to the way in which God destroyed the people of 'Ād in Q 41:16 ('Elizabeth', p. 62; al-Fishtālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā'*, Rabat, 1974, p. 96). Al-Fishtālī is equally exuberant about the 1596 raid on Cadiz, which al-Manṣūr had assisted by supplying saltpetre and copper (*Manāhil al-ṣafā'*, p. 187; see Matar, *Europe*, pp. 159-62).

When Elizabeth requested al-Manṣūr's help in supporting the exiled Don Antonio's claim to the throne of Portugal against Philip, al-Fishtālī commented that she 'realized she could only rebuild what had been destroyed... with the help of the Prince of the Faithful' (Matar, 'Elizabeth', p. 59; al-Fishtālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā'*, p. 101). Elizabeth and he haggled over the cost of launching an attack, and at one point in 1590, Elizabeth's secretary, Lord Burleigh, drafted a letter to Sultan Murad III asking him to put pressure on al-Manṣūr to fulfil his promise of a subsidy to Don Antonio (*Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*,

London, 1802, p. 226, entry 36). Al-Manşūr replied with an apology for not responding to her request (entry 44). The same year, frustrated over the situation, she intimated to al-Manşūr that if he could not deliver she might pay their friendship less attention and concentrate instead on her relations with the Grand Porte (de Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 2, pp. 34-9, 30 August 1590). Al-Manşūr's reply dated 22 March 1592 did not take offence, greeting her as the 'firm-footed' queen, 'full of celestial light' (de Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 2, pp. 68-70), language he also used in addressing the Sharif of Mecca (Matar, 'Elizabeth', p. 65, n. 31).

If Elizabeth expected al-Manşūr to assist in the Anglo-Dutch raid on Cadiz in 1587 led by Francis Drake, she was disappointed. In fact, al-Manşūr's hands were tied because Philip held two Moroccan princes captive (P. Pearson, *Commander of the Armada*, New Haven CT, 1989, pp. 178-9). However, she did expect help in the May 1589 attempt to invade Portugal, also led by Drake with John Norris. This did not materialise, and Drake wrote to al-Manşūr to complain. Al-Manşūr replied in a letter on 11 September 1589 telling Drake and Norris that their fleet had left before 'we had heard any news of it', so he had been unable to 'supply... anything' in time (State Papers 102/4 9-2, Hopkins, *Letters*, pp. 4-5).

Messaoud tried to negotiate a joint Anglo-Moroccan expedition to the East Indies to attack the Spanish there and establish colonies (State Papers 71/12/64, 25 February 1601, de Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 2, pp. 206-9). Al-Manşūr wished that Elizabeth's land should remain 'perpetual... high estate among the Christian nations'. Nothing came of this. Elizabeth had the Irish rebels to deal with, and in a letter dated 3 July 1602, although still polite and respectful, al-Manşūr hinted that Elizabeth's status was perhaps somewhat diminished (Matar, 'Elizabeth', p. 73).

Other letters from al-Manşūr greeted Elizabeth cordially as especially revered among 'countries which follow the Messias', or with similar words (14-23 September 1596, de Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 2, pp. 99-100; 27 February 1601, pp. 206-9; 3 July 1602, pp. 210-16). On 17 February 1601, he informed her that Prannel (who may have been the Henry Prannel who became a London alderman in 1588) had arrived, and had shared her 'deep affection for our lofty Prophetic Majesty' (State Papers 102/4 26; Hopkins, *Letters*, p. 8; de Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 2, p. 204). The sultan thought he merited a higher-ranking ambassador than Prannel, who was a Barbary Company agent, although he received him (García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*, p. 94). Unlike Sultan Murad III, who never used Arabic or Ottoman Turkish titles for non-Muslims but

borrowed terms from Serbo-Croat, al-Manṣūr always called Elizabeth *malika* or *sultana*. In fact, as Matar observes, he addressed her more courteously than he did Muslim rulers who opposed him, often reducing their rank ('Elizabeth', p. 65). For her part, while her letters did not use the formula used in letters to Murad, which stressed her hatred of all idolatry, she instead sometimes ended on the intimate note of shared kinship-in-kinship, which she regularly used in corresponding with Christian royalty. She ended her very last letter of 3 April 1603 with 'your sister and relative according to the law of crown and sceptre' (*vuestra hermana y parienta segun ley de orona y ceptro*) (de Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 2, pp. 220-1, and see pp. 132-3 for an earlier example in a letter sent during 1598).

SIGNIFICANCE

Sustained over a period of almost 25 years, this correspondence between Queen Elizabeth I and Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr shows evidence on both sides of skilful diplomacy and willingness to collaborate, despite religious difference. Indeed, the way each chose to address the other suggests that they were inclined to minimise problematic differences, finding ways of respecting the other's religious identity without needing to compromise their own religious principles. Al-Manṣūr preferred to use 'Messiah' when referring to Jesus, a qur'anic title that is arguably less divisive than 'Christ', which more clearly invokes belief in Jesus' divinity. For her part, Elizabeth chose to downplay her Christian identity by refraining from making many references to it at all. In her letters to Sultan Murad III, she adapted her title of 'defender of the faith' to defender against 'all kind of idolatries'. This formula is not present in her correspondence with Morocco, but awareness that iconoclasm was a shared Protestant-Muslim principle appears to have informed her desire to forge relations. Matar refers to al-Manṣūr's interest in Protestantism, which he found 'more appealing than the "idolatry" of Rome' ('Elizabeth', p. 74). Indeed, Hogan's reference to 'Abd al-Malik's iconoclasm may have suggested the idea of emphasising this to Elizabeth in her letters to Murad. Neither side ignored religion, but they found enough common ground to align their commercial and political interests. At al-Manṣūr's court, Elizabeth was even seen as God's instrument by helping in the fight against the tyrant Philip. Matar describes this as providing the only source for studying Elizabeth 'from outside the Anglo-centric and Euro-centric parameter' ('Elizabeth', p. 57).

Elizabeth's attitude toward Muslims is somewhat complex, even perplexing. On the one hand, she did business with Murad III and with al-Manṣūr, and also received the latter's ambassadors in London. During this period, the Ottomans did not send any. On the other hand, she did not much like the presence of 'Blackmoores' in her capital. In 1596, she wrote an open letter to the Lord Mayor saying that there were too many, and that they stole jobs from the English (National Archives, PC 2/21, fol. 304, 11 July 1596). She returned to the subject in 1601, ordering that some should be deported (National Archives, PC 2/21, fol. 306). Presumably, a good proportion of these were Muslims. The letter stated, 'most of them are infidels having no understanding of Christ or his Gospel'.

This begs questions about her views on race, colour and religion, although it does not automatically represent xenophobia: she herself employed seven black musicians and three black dancers (P. Fryer, *Staying power. The history of black people in Britain*, London, 1984, p. 80). She may, in fact, have been referring to prisoners of war from a Spanish possession, whose continued involuntary presence in England made it difficult for her to negotiate the return of English prisoners from Spain and elsewhere (E.C. Bartells, 'Too many Blackamoors. Deportation, discrimination and Elizabeth I', *Studies in English Literature* 46 (2006) 305-22, p. 308). Elizabeth may have regarded light-skinned Moors, known as 'white Moors', among whom al-Manṣūr would have been included, as acceptable. Whatever the case, the Elizabeth-al-Manṣūr correspondence is a striking example of a Christian and Muslim ruler for whom hostility was not the only option or the inevitable reality between their realms.

The friendly relationship between these Christian and Muslim rulers was later recalled with nostalgia, when Queen Mary II (r. 1689-94) was informed that Sultan Ismā'īl (r. 1672-1727) would like to enjoy with her the same correspondence and friendship that Elizabeth had had with al-Manṣūr (Matar, 'Elizabeth', p. 76, citing State Paper 71/15 101r). Ismā'īl later wrote to Queen Anne that she had been misled by France into signing the Treaty of Utrecht (1713): the French 'will deceive you and take you by cunning when they snatch their prey' (State Paper 102/4 99; Hopkins, *Letters*, p. 39).

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Clinton Bennett

Richard Knolles

DATE OF BIRTH Late 1540s
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Cold Ashby, Northants
DATE OF DEATH June 1610
PLACE OF DEATH Sandwich, Kent

BIOGRAPHY

Richard Knolles's date of birth is unknown. It was probably towards the end of the 1540s, and his place of birth was possibly Cold Ashby, Northamptonshire. Records show that he attended Lincoln College, Oxford, where he graduated BA (1565) and MA (1570). He was elected Fellow, and remained at the college until August 1572. He returned there as a visitor during 1576. Since he was sent to university, his family were probably gentry. Sir Roger Manwood (d. 1592) appointed him headmaster of Sandwich Grammar School, one of several schools he founded, and Knolles held that post for at least 30 years. Sir Roger's heir, Peter, encouraged Knolles's writing and made books and sources available from his own wide contacts.

Knolles's first and most important book was *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, published in 1603 with a dedication to King James I. This has been described as the first serious work in English of historical scholarship on the Ottoman Empire. His translation of Jean Bodin's *La république* as *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale* was published in 1606, whilst his translation of the Latin original of Camden's *Britannia* remains unpublished (Woodhead, 'Knolles', p. 1952).

Records show that Knolles was still at Sandwich Grammar School in 1606, although the governors were anxious for him to retire. The exact date of his death is unknown. He was buried in St Mary's Church, Sandwich, on 2 July 1610, so he presumably died in late June of that year.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Generall Historie of the Turkes

DATE 1603

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (in full, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. Together with the liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours faithfullie collected out of the best histories, both auntient and moderne, and digested into one continuat historie vntill this present yeare 1603*), the result of 12 years of research and writing, was first published in 1603. A second edition with additional material appeared in 1610, probably published shortly before or soon after Knolles's death. The first edition ran to 1200 folio pages, the second to 1296 folio pages.

The work begins with a dedication to King James I, followed by 'The Authors Introduction to the Christian Reader', which makes Knolles's Christian outlook explicit. Next, he lists 36 authors whose works he consulted and from which he crafted a synthesis or, as he put it, a continual history. These sources included travellers' reports, letters, various European histories and much Byzantine material, as well as material from a recent Latin translation by Johannes Leunclavius (d. 1594) of a late 15th century Ottoman chronicle. His sources were written in a range of languages, including Greek, Latin, Italian and German. He did not use any written in Arabic or Turkish, though some of the authors he did use had access to sources in these languages (Vitkus, 'Knolles', p. 568). The main body of the work follows the life of each Ottoman sultan to produce a text divided into 13 sections, ending with a section on 'The Greatness of the Ottoman Turks'. Dates and short summaries appear in the margins. Beneath a portrait of each ruler and four lines of Latin verse (then translated) about him, each section has a chart that also indicates the rulers in the East and West and the pope at the time. Each includes

physical descriptions of the ruler, as well as comments on his personality and interests.

From small, obscure beginnings, the Ottomans had become 'the terror of the world'. At the beginning of his Introduction, Knolles laments the 'declining state of the Christian commonweale' and the inestimable number of Christian lives lost to the Turkish scourge. The 'false prophet, Mahomet' had been born in an 'unhappy hour' for the 'destruction of mankind' and the 'unspeakable ruin' of the Christian Church and state. Muḥammad's religion is 'supersitition'. The 'just and secret iudgement of the Almighty, who in iustice deliuereth into the hands of these merciesse miscreants, nation after nation, and kingdome vpon kingdome, as vnto the most terrible executioners of his dreadfull wrath, to be punished for their sinnes'.

Knolles leaves no doubt about his attitude towards the Turks in his use of such terms as 'miscreant', 'princes of darkness', 'heretic' and 'infidel'; they are crafty, deceitful and cunning, as well as lazy and slothful, their court a den of sexual iniquities, despotism and danger. Occasionally, he reveals awe for the Ottomans' achievements, which appear to be both 'magnificent or glorious' and 'dreadful and dangerous'. He also refers to the Turks' legendary 'military discipline' and 'incredible obedience unto their princes and sultans'. They even manipulate Christians to fight each other, 'to the utter confusion of themselves' (p. 340). He constantly repeats the need for Christian unity against the 'common enemy', a call that King James also made. He contrasts Christian disunity with what he calls the 'rare unity' of the Turks in matters both political and religious. Turks are the 'whip of the Christian worlde' and the 'scourge of Christendome' (*Generall Historie*, 1603, p. 42). They would only be satisfied when they had conquered the whole world. Janissaries feature prominently, compared with whom Christian soldiers are untrained, mere fodder for the enemy.

The 1610 edition of the *Historie* includes additional material on the war in Hungary. Later editions also add further information. The fifth edition (1631) was updated by Sir Thomas Roe, who had served as ambassador to the Mughals and then in Istanbul, and it includes some Ottoman diplomatic correspondence. The sixth edition (1687-70) was edited by Paul Rycaut, and it also includes material from his residency at the embassy in Istanbul.

Compiled from the best sources available at the time and written in an attractive prose style, Knolles' book broke new ground in historical

writing. It pioneered English historiography of the Ottoman world, since no earlier text properly qualifies as scholarly. Explicitly Christian in intention, it advocates Christian unity to bring about the defeat of the Ottomans, whose success it regards as due to Christian disunity and also to God, who permitted their victories as a punishment for Christians. These ideas were not new, but they had usually been expressed in works of polemic rather than of serious scholarship.

The work perpetuated many negative stereotypes about the Ottomans as infidel and barbarian, and as Christianity's mortal enemies. This did little to encourage people to see Muslims, at this time synonymous with Turks, as equally human to themselves, rather than demonising them. Many later writers used the book as their authority, and thus 'Western chroniclers repeated' the 'tales of wickedness and cruelties' carried out by the Turks (Senlen, 'Richard Knolles', p. 392).

Despite his negative attitudes, Knolles could not help expressing some awe of the Turks, perhaps experiencing what Gerald MacLean calls 'imperial envy' (*Looking East*, p. 20). MacLean comments that Knolles's 'monumental compilation' (*Looking East*, p. 4) shows that interest in the Ottomans was 'becoming firmly rooted in English soil by the 1550s, the same decade that Fiennes Moryson set out to see for himself, and Marlowe's *Tamberlaine* declared his imperial ambitions in high-astounding terms for the first time, before dragging the captive Ottoman emperor infamously about in a cage' (*Looking East*, p. 56). By the time Knolles wrote, English trade with the Ottomans was well established, and an ambassador had resided in Istanbul since 1583. Even though James disliked these ties with Turkey, and would have liked to withdraw from trade and diplomacy, vested commercial interests were too strong for even him to break. The English were dealing with the Ottomans, a space that still seemed distant and exotic to many but with which relations existed and would continue.

SIGNIFICANCE

Frequent reprintings of the *Historie* testify to the popularity it enjoyed in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In 1701, John Savage edited a two-volume abridgement. Later editions were entitled, *The Turkish history, comprehending the origin of that nation, and the growth of the Othoman empire*. The way in which Knolles knitted his material together into a prose narrative attracted praise: it has been described as a 'monument of Elizabethan prose' (Parry and Özbaran, *Richard Knolles*, p. vii) and as 'the most enduring monument to Elizabethan interest in the Ottoman

empire' (Akalin, 'Discovering self', p. 68). Admirers included Samuel Johnson, and Lord Byron. Johnson remarked that the *Historie* had sunk into obscurity due to the 'barbarity of the people whose story' it had told, but said that it displayed 'all the excellencies that narration can admit'. Byron said that the book was one of the few he had enjoyed as a child, and that it had later given an 'oriental colouring' to his poetry (both cited in Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, p. 109.). However, Edward Gibbon was more doubtful that such a verbose work compiled from Latin writers would be of much interest to enlighten readers (Senlen, 'Richard Knolles', p. 383). Shakespeare is believed to have drawn on Knolles in writing *Othello* (Tosi and Shaul Bassi, *Visions of Venice in Shakespeare*, p. 21).

The fact that several diplomats with experience in Turkey contributed to later editions of the work shows that those professionally involved in Anglo-Ottoman relations read and valued the book. However, perhaps more significantly, its popularity indicates that information about Ottomans was becoming something that was not only needed by those directly involved in relations needed, but also wanted by ordinary people.

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Clinton Bennett

Henry Timberlake

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Titchfield
DATE OF DEATH 1625/6
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Only very scant information remains of the early life of the merchant and traveller Henry Timberlake, apart from his being born in the parish of Titchfield, near Portsmouth. Such origins near the sea were appropriate for a man who later became known for his maritime career and for the writings that resulted. The next trace of Timberlake is found in the archival records of 1597, where his ownership of shares in the merchant ship *Edward Bonaventure* is noted. This ship was known for its trading ventures in Russia and the Levant, where Timberlake was also to travel on the ship *Trojan* in March 1601, accompanied by a Middlesbrough merchant called John Burrell. Timberlake's account of his travels, *A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrimes* (1603), concerns his journeys in the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land. Timberlake's death can be dated to shortly before or in 1626, the year in which his will was proved. He left a wife, two sons and a daughter, who are mentioned in the will. He appears to have been a relatively successful merchant and a member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers and the East India Company, owning holdings, lands and assets in Bermuda, Essex and London.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English pilgrimes

DATE 1603

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Timberlake is best known for this book, which came out in quarto in 1603 under the full title of *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes: what admirable accidents befell them in their journey to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria, and other places: Also what rare Antiquities, Monuments and notable memories (concording with the ancient remembrances in the holy Scriptures) they sawe in Terra Sancta, with a perfect description of the old and new Ierusalem, and scituation of the Countries about them. A discourse of no lesse admiration, then well worth the regarding: written by one of them, on the behalfe of himselfe, and his fellowe Pilgrime*. It became a success by early modern standards, seeing eight reprints during the 17th century and a further three in the 18th century. Framed as a letter sent from Jerusalem, it is not only an account of Timberlake and John Burrell's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and a description of the holy sites, but a picaresque tale of adventure, combined with a perhaps slightly less page-turning description of egg incubation practices in Egypt.

For a book of its length (it totals only 26 pages in its first edition), *A true and strange discourse* covers a lot of ground. Timberlake describes travel and caravan routes, distances between cities (comparing them with distances of English cities from London) and the topography of Jerusalem, and provides information about local inhabitants, some 'wild Arabs' and, perhaps most interestingly, his encounter with an unnamed Moor, who becomes his travel companion. Timberlake first travelled in a caravan of 'Turkes, Jewes, and Christians' and 750 camels headed for Damascus, then continued towards Jerusalem with a group of Eastern Christians. At the gates of the Holy City, Timberlake describes how he rejects Burrell's advice to pose as a Greek on entry, instead proudly declaring himself an Englishman, with the result that he was cast into

prison after the ‘Turks flatly denied, that they had euer heard either of my Queene or Countrey’. He credits his release to an unnamed ‘Moor’ he had met when washing his clothes, with whom he describes having talked in ‘Franke tongue’. Unbeknown to Timberlake, the Moor had just 40 days previously been transported on Timberlake’s ship from Algiers to Alexandria and was on his way to Mecca to perform the *hajj*. He had travelled with Timberlake to Jerusalem, ‘& such kind care had the Infidel of me, as he would not leaue me unaccompanied in this strange land, which I cannot but impute to Gods especiall prouidence’.

After leaving Jerusalem, Timberlake travels together with John Burrell, ‘his Moor’, dromedaries and some ‘wild Arabs’ back to Cairo, a journey during which he credits the Moor with saving his life, rescuing him not only from hunger but also from potential kidnappers and blackmail. In Cairo, Timberlake pays his ‘honest Moore’, rewarding him with six pieces of gold, and sends him to Mecca with a caravan. His last Muslim contact before reboarding the *Trojan* is a janissary, who escorts him on the last leg of his journey. We get glimpses of his many encounters with Eastern Christians, Turks and Arabs, but only ‘his Moor’ is singled out and reviewed as exceptional, ‘the honest’ one in a sea of dishonesty. Interestingly, the amount of detail about the ‘honest Moor’ increases in subsequent, posthumously published editions of the book, including Nathaniel Crouch’s 1635 edition. It would thus seem that it is this travel companionship that makes Timberlake’s text stand out from the competition.

SIGNIFICANCE

Timberlake’s entry into Jerusalem and his encounter with the Moor is perhaps the most famous episode in his account. It has often been used to illustrate early modern English national pride, and given as an example of positive Christian-Muslim interaction in the early modern period, as described for example in Joan Taylor’s *The Englishman, the Moor and the holy city* (2006). Positive descriptions of this kind are rare in early modern English travel writing, where travellers often credit their escapes and successes to their own wits, rather than to help from an infidel.

Former Levant Company chaplain William Biddulph criticised Timberlake’s account in his own book, claiming that the work must have been published without its author’s consent, so different are Timberlake’s openness towards other cultures and his friendly attitude towards his travel companions from Biddulph’s own mainly hostile view of Turks and Moors. Apart from the instances involving the friendly Moor, Muslims or ‘Turks’ are rarely described in detail by Timberlake. Little is written about

their religious life or customs, other than that they presented an obstacle to the Christian traveller, requiring payment of *kaffar* or entrance fees. Acting as a spy, Timberlake also makes notes of arms and the strength of gates, as if giving advice for future Christian conquerors.

PUBLICATIONS

H. Timberlake, *A true and strange discourse of the trauailes of two English Pilgrimes: what admirable accidents befell them in their iourney to Ierusalem, Gaza, Grand Cayro, Alexandria, and other places: Also what rare Antiquities, Monuments and notable memories (concording with the ancient remembrances in the holy Scriptures) they sawe in Terra Sancta, with a perfect description of the old and new Ierusalem, and scituation of the Countries about them. A discourse of no lesse admiration, then well worth the regarding: written by one of them, on the behalfe of himselfe, and his fellowe Pilgrime*, London, 1603, reprinted 1608, 1609, 1611, 1612, 1616, 1620, 1631, 1683 (*Two journeys to Jerusalem beautified with pictures*), 1685, 1692, 1695; STC 24079 (1602), 24080 (1608), 24081 (1609), 24083 (1612) (digitalised versions available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

G. MacLean and N. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world 1558-1713*, Oxford, 2011, pp. 18, 43
 Taylor, *The Englishman, the Moor and the Holy City*
 Raiswell, art. 'Timberlake, Henry (d. 1625/6)'

Eva Johanna Holmberg

Matthew Sutcliffe

DATE OF BIRTH 1549 or 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH Halifax, Yorkshire
DATE OF DEATH 1629
PLACE OF DEATH Efford, Devonshire

BIOGRAPHY

Matthew Sutcliffe or Sutclyfe was born in Halifax, Yorkshire, in 1549 or 1550, the second of five sons born to John and Mary Sutcliffe. At the age of 15 he entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, moving to Trinity as a scholar in 1568. He graduated BA in 1571, MA in 1574. A minor fellow from 1572, he became a major fellow during 1574 and began to study law. By 1581, he was *lector mathematicus*, an LLD and had probably been ordained, although one source thinks that this happened later (Troup, 'Biographical notes', p. 173). In 1582 he was admitted as a member of Doctors' Commons, the body that operated as an Inn of Court for ecclesiastical lawyers. Troup discusses whether Sutcliffe also obtained a Doctorate of Divinity.

When he left Trinity, Sutcliffe either practised law or held clerical office, probably as Vicar of West Alvington, Devon, a benefice he later kept alongside other appointments. In 1586, he became an archdeacon in the diocese of Bath and Wells and a cathedral prebendary at Bath. In 1588, he became a prebendary at Exeter and was rapidly elevated to the deanship, remaining dean for 40 years. He accumulated other benefices and a canonry at Wells, receiving permission to hold these offices concurrently. He was briefly excommunicated for challenging John Bridgeman, who, believing the living of West Alvington vacant, had occupied it. King James issued a pardon (see Troup, 'Biographical notes', p. 195).

Sutcliffe was also a royal chaplain under Elizabeth I (Troup, 'Biographical notes', p. 175). He married Anne Bradley of Louth, Lincolnshire, but sources do not record the date. From inherited property and employment, he died a wealthy man, leaving his wife a manor in Efford, Devonshire. His only child, a daughter, had predeceased him. He also left revenue from property to Chelsea College, and to two clergymen. He died in 1629, and at his request he was buried in Exeter Cathedral without any monument.

Sutcliffe is primarily remembered for his anti-Catholic and other polemical writings, and as instigator and first Provost of Chelsea College, which was founded to defend the Anglican faith. Samuel Purchas, who dealt with Islam in his 1613 *Purchas his pilgrimage; or, Relations of the world and the religions*, was among the 19 Chelsea Fellows, of whom 17 had to be theologians. The anti-Protestant writings of English Catholic refugees at Douay and Reims were especially targeted, so much so that the Catholic Church decided to establish a counterpart. Intended for Douay, it was in fact opened at Arras College, Paris, in 1667. Chelsea College went into decline after James I and Sutcliffe's death in part because Charles I favoured Arminianism, and did not share many of the College's views. It was finally shut down early in the Commonwealth period.

Of the 23 works that have been attributed to Sutcliffe, several of them reprinted during his lifetime (Cooper, *DNB*, pp. 176-7), his *De Turcopapismo* (1599, 1604) combines attacks on Islam with anti-Catholic polemic. Another work, *The practice, proceedings and lawes of armes* (1593), includes an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the 'famed Ottoman military machine' (M. Dimmock, *New Turkes*, Aldershot, 2005, p. 184).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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F.B. Troup, 'Biographical notes on Dr Matthew Sutcliffe', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 23 (1891) 171-96

Secondary

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D.J. Mullin, 'The life of Matthew Sutcliffe', in idem, *The English writings of Matthew Sutcliffe*, Madison WI, 1998, 1-41

J. Venn and J.A. Venn, 'Sutcliffe, Matthew', *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, 1927, vol. 1/4, p. 186

T. Cooper, art. 'Sutcliffe, Matthew', *DNB*, 1898, vol. 55, 175-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De Turcopapismo, 'Turcopapism'

DATE 1599, 1604

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

De Turcopapismo was first published in London in 1599, at 248 pages long, then in 1604 as a much larger work, 605 pages long, divided into four books (its full title is *De Turcopapismo, hoc est, de Turcarum & Papistarum aduersùs Christi ecclesiam & fidem coniuratione, eorùm; in religione & moribus consensione & similitudine, liber vnus. Eidem... adiuncti sunt, de Turcopapistarum maledictis & calumnijs, aduersus Gulielmi Giffordi... volumen... quod ille Caluinoturcismum inscripsit, libri quatuor, etc.*).

Although one writer in *Notes & Queries* appears to have doubted Sutcliffe's authorship, there is no good reason for this because the uncompromising controversialist style is clearly Sutcliffe's while the text throughout shows his hatred of Catholicism. As with Sutcliffe's other writings, this responds point by point to the text it aims at refuting, *Cabvino-Turcismus* by William Rainolds (Reginaldus) and William Gifford (Giffordus).

Sutcliffe's sources are referenced in marginal notes. Norman Jones describes these as 'reading like a Who's Who of Orientalists from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries' ('Adaptation of tradition', p. 165). They indicate that Sutcliffe was especially indebted to Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541-1608), whose *Les trois mondes* covers the life of Muḥammad and history of the Saracens; also to Johann Sleidanus (d. 1556), author of *Commentarium de statu religionis & Rei publicae Carolo Quinto Caesare* (1555), in which he pioneered a Protestant interpretation of history. A number of others cited had lived in the Ottoman Empire, including Guillaume Postel (d. 1581), whose *De la république des turcs* Sutcliffe cites in the 1575 edition, and Christophe Richer (d. 1553), whose *De rebus Turcarum* (1540) was reprinted in the Bibliander edition of the Qur'an of 1550. One, George of Hungary (d. 1502), was a former Turkish captive; his *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* (1481) pointed to similarities between Catholicism and Islam in fasting and prayer.

Among other sources are the 1550 Latin Qur'an, Phillip Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (1578) and *Contra sectam Mahumeticam libellus*, a 1511 edition of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Contra legem Saracenororum* from about 1300. Sutcliffe also consulted earlier sources, including Vincent of Beauvais, Euthymius Zigabenus, Dante Alighieri and Plutarch, from whom he borrows the image of Rome as the western Babylon (or whore) (*De Turcopapismo*, 1604, p. 384), worshipping money and spurning God (p. 484), the bilge of shamelessness and sins, heated, raging, obscene and terrible (p. 603).

Sutcliffe defines Islam (always referred to as *Mahometismi*, 'Mahometans') as the collection of errors and impieties held by the Turks that had either been received from Muḥammad or his successors, or was found in the Qur'an (p. 19). He accuses Catholics and Muḥammad equally of imposing their teachings on their people, and both of believing in salvation by works or through human effort, such as pilgrimage, fasting and ritual. Comparing the Sufi dervishes and Catholic mendicant orders, he characterises both as wolves in sheep's clothing (Matthew 7:15, on false prophets), while Muḥammad's claim to be God's messenger was as false as the pope's to be Christ's vicar on earth (p. 54).

In his eagerness to vilify Catholicism, Sutcliffe sometimes praises Islam. Although he considers the Qur'an to be corrupt, he argues that Muslims have more respect for their scripture than Catholics do for theirs (p. 33), while in quite substantial sections of the text he presents Catholics as the worse of the two (pp. 91-133, 600-1). There are numerous biblical references, but none directly from the Qur'an, even though Sutcliffe did have access to Bibliander's edition.

SIGNIFICANCE

Norman Jones ('Adaption of traditions') considers Sutcliffe's book to be the *summa* of the type of literature it represents. Comparing Catholics and Muslims had 'become a staple of Protestant propaganda'. One of Sutcliffe's interlocutors, Robert Persons SJ (or Parsons), however, thought that Sutcliffe had made himself ridiculous by attempting to refute Rainolds and Gifford (*A Sermon preached at Pauls Cross the 25 November 1621*, London, 1621, p. 57). Generally, Sutcliffe probably had an inflated opinion of his own scholarship (Houlston, *Catholic resistance*, p. 165). Certainly, his work has been characterised as 'astute' but not always 'scrupulous' (J. Keble [ed.], *The works of Roger Hooker*, Oxford, 1888, p. lxxv). His reputation for vitriolic language is well deserved. Yet in reading as many sources as he did, Sutcliffe demonstrated that a non-specialist could write about Islam at considerable length by using what was available in Latin and vernacular languages.

Like some earlier Christian authors on Islam, Sutcliffe would have had Christian readers in mind rather than Muslims. As Jones observes, 'in order to make Catholics look as bad as possible, he had to compare them with the worst possible image of the Turks' ('Adaptation of tradition', p. 165). On the other hand, he could also depict Turks as worse than Muslims (Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 115). It is unlikely that Sutcliffe anticipated that Muslims would read his book, which as a Latin

text would be inaccessible to most. Given the size of the book, it shows how relatively easy it was for an English writer to recruit Islam as an intra-Christian polemical tool, and that there was a level of interest in pursuing this approach. In other words, there was a market for this particular type of polemic. Sutcliffe's anti-Catholic writing was popular, too, which would have made this combination of anti-Catholic with anti-Islamic polemic an attractive option.

Trade with Muslim states was underway when Sutcliffe wrote, and more information, some sympathetic, on Muslim life was becoming available. Sutcliffe adopted from the beginning a negative view of Islam as false and heretical, though others, even when they used some of the same sources, had started challenging this popular demonising of Turks. Elizabeth I developed friendly relations with the Ottoman court, stressing shared Protestant-Muslim rejection of idols. Some even argued that 'it would be better to unite with the Turks than the Pope' (Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 63); Sutcliffe was aware of this saying. Arguably, in writing what he did, Sutcliffe did not shed new light on Christian-Muslim relations or add significantly to knowledge of Islam, but he did draw together 'the majority of medieval and Reformation polemic against the Turks', which makes *De Turcopapismo* a useful compendium. In the debate about whether Catholics or Protestants were closer to Muslims in their mutual error, this is an important text.

PUBLICATIONS

De Turcopapismo, hoc est, de Turcarum & papistarum aduersùs Christi ecclesiam & fidem coniuratione . . . liber vnus. Eidem præterea adiuncti sunt, de Turcopapistarum maledictis & calumnijs, aduersùs G. Giffordi volumen Caluinoturcismum libri quatuor, London, 1599; STC 23460 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

De Turco-papismo: hoc est, De Turcarum et papistarum aduersus Christi ecclesiam & fidem coniuratione, eorumque in religione & moribus consensione & similitudine; liber vnus: Eidem præterea adiuncti sunt, de Turco-papistarum maledictis & calumnijs, aduersus Gulielmi Giffordi famosi pontificum Rom. & Iebusitarum supparasitastri volumen illud contumeliosissimum, quod ille Caluino-Turcismum inscripsit. Libri quatuor. In quibus non tantùm huius hominis leuissimi, sed etiam aliorum importunissimorum scurrarum aduersus orthodoxam Christi ecclesiam continenter latrantium, malitia & petulantia reperitur, hominumque piorum fama ab eorum calumnijs vindicator, London, 1604; STC 23461 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

- J.C. Boswell and G. Braden, *Petrarch's English laurels, 1475-1700*, Farnham, Surrey, 2012 (entry 374 on Sutcliffe)
- V. Houlston, *Catholic resistance in Elizabethan England. Robert Persons's Jesuit polemic, 1580-1610*, Aldershot, 2007
- A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed. The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant thought, 1600-1640*, Cambridge, 2002
- J.C. Boswell, *Dante's fame in England. References in printed British books 1477-1640*, Newark DE, 1999 (entry 150 on Sutcliffe)
- N.L. Jones, 'The adaptation of tradition. The image of the Turk in Protestant England', *East European Quarterly* 12 (1978) 161-75, pp. 164-6
- A.L. Prescott, 'English writers and Beza's Latin epigrams. The uses and abuses of poetry', *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974) 83-117, pp. 107-8
- Troup, 'Biographical notes'

Clinton Bennett

Thomas Helwys

DATE OF BIRTH	Probably 1575
PLACE OF BIRTH	Broxtowe Hall, Nottinghamshire
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1614 and 1616
PLACE OF DEATH	Newgate Prison, London

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Helwys, a co-founder of the Baptist denomination in Britain, was born in Nottinghamshire into a prosperous family belonging to the landed gentry. The exact date of his birth is unknown. It was probably during 1575, although 1550 is also commonly cited. He enrolled at Gray's Inn in 1592, and qualified there as a barrister in 1595. Already his father's heir, he settled in the family home at Broxtowe Hall, and by then he had developed separatist and Puritan sympathies, partly influenced by his uncle, Sir Gervase Helwys, Lieutenant of the Tower of London (d. 1615).

By 1600, Broxtowe Hall was serving as a safe haven for dissenters from the religious establishment. Among those who visited or stayed there was the Anglican clergyman John Smyth (d. 1612), who formally left the Church of England during 1607, and left England with others from his church for Amsterdam, where religious diversity was more openly tolerated. Helwys, who renounced his membership of the Church of England in 1608, joined them that year, leaving behind his wife, who had been arrested.

Disagreements over uniting with the Mennonites led to a split with Smyth and other English dissenters in Amsterdam, and by 1611 Helwys was contemplating a return to England (Early, 'Thomas Helwys', pp. 35-6). Before doing so, he penned his best-known work, *The Mistry of Iniquity*, the first plea in English for complete religious liberty, including religious freedom for Jews and Muslims.

Sometime in late 1611 or early 1612, Helwys led his small following back to England. They established the first Baptist church on English soil in a former convent at Spitalfields, London. He sent a copy of *The Mistry*, with a hand-written preface, to King James I, who responded by having Helwys, his wife and congregants arrested on charges of treason. Helwys died in Newgate Prison sometime between 1614 and 1616, in which year his uncle Geoffrey, a London alderman and former sheriff, referred in his will to Joan as Hewlys's widow.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- MS Amsterdam, Amsterdam City Archives – Mennonite archives, 'Wybrands Memorial B' 1349 (5609/10) (Helwys's Latin letter to Waterlanders)
- MS Amsterdam, Amsterdam City Archives – Mennonite archives, 'Wybrands Memorial B' 1350, 09 (Helwys's English letter)
- MS Amsterdam, Amsterdam City Archives – Mennonite archives, 'Wybrands Memorial B' 1357-1363 (Dutch correspondence concerning relations with the English)
- Thomas Helwys, *A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity*, Amsterdam, 1612
- J. Robinson, *Of Religious Communion Private, and Publique*, Amsterdam?, 1614
- J. Foster, *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, together with the register of marriages in Gray's Inn chapel, 1695-1754*, London, 1889, p. 8
- J. Early, *The life and writings of Thomas Helwys*, Macon GA, 2009 (for a list of all extant Helwys documents, see pp. 51-2)

Secondary

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- S. Wright, art. 'Helwys, Thomas', *ODNB*
- R. Groves, 'Introduction', in Thomas Helwys, *A short declaration of the mystery of iniquity*, ed. R. Groves, Macon GA, 1998, xix-xxvi
- J.G. Clayton, 'Thomas Helwys. A Baptist founding father', *Baptist History and Heritage* 8 (1977) 2-8
- B.R. White, *The English separatist tradition*, London, 1971, ch. 6
- E.A. Payne, *Thomas Helwys and the first Baptist church in England*, London, 1966
- W.T. Whitley, 'Thomas Helwys of Broxtowe Hall', *Baptist Quarterly* 7 (1943-5) 241-55 (pub. separately as *Thomas Helwys of Gray's Inn and Broxtowe Hall*, Nottingham, 1936)
- J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, J. de Hoop Scheffer, and W.E. Griffis, *History of the free churchmen called the Brownists, Pilgrim Fathers and Baptists in the Dutch republic, 1581-1701*, Ithaca NY, 1933, pp. 96-176
- W.H. Burgess, 'The family of Thomas Helwys', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* 3 (1912-13) 18-30
- C. Burrage, *The early English dissenters in the light of recent research (1550-1641)*, London, 1912, vol. 1, pp. 215-19 (includes Helwys's letters)
- W. Burgess, *John Smyth, the se-Baptist, Thomas Helwys, and the first Baptist church in England*, London, 1911, pp. 107-296
- B.D. Evans, *The early English Baptists*, London, 1862, vol. 1, pp. 197-219
- A.C. Buckley, art. 'Helwys, Thomas', *DNB*, 1885, vol. 1, pp. 375-6

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*A Shorte Declaration of the Mistery of Iniquity,
The Mistery of Iniquity*

DATE 1612

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Believed to have been printed in Amsterdam, this first ever plea for complete religious liberty in English is 212 pages long. Helwys presumably took the copies with him when he returned to England. The title is from 2 Thessalonians 2:7: 'For the mystery of iniquity doth already work.' The book begins with a four-page 'Note to the Reader', and an outline of the contents. Pagination cited below is from the 1935 facsimile edition.

Sections 1-7 discuss the respective remits of the temporal and spiritual authorities, arguing that these spheres are separate, that the former has no authority over the latter, and that the king of England is a subject of King Jesus. This caused a general uproar; it obviously annoyed James I and incited his action against Helwys.

Much of the book is of interest mainly for its Baptist theology. However, in what is arguably its most influential passage, Helwys says that Muslims (he uses the term 'Turk') and Jews have the right freely to practise their religion in England without sanction or restrictions. He expounds his view about freedom of conscience at some length (pp. 37-83). On p. 53, he states:

Our lord the King is but an earthly King, and he hath no aucthority as a King but in earthly causes, and if the Kings people be obedient & true subiects, obeying all humane lawes made by the King, our lord the King can require no more: for mens religion to God, is betwixt God and themselves; the King shall not answere for it, neither may the King be iugd betwene God and man. Let them be heretikes, Turcks, Iewes, or what soever it apperteynes not to the earthly power to punish them in the least measure.

At this time, there were very few Muslims in England, apart from diplomats from Morocco and Persia and perhaps a few returned Barbary renegades, seamen who had been captured off the North African coast and converted to Islam. Helwys may have met Muslims and Jews in Amsterdam: a prosperous and sizeable Jewish community lived there at this time, and he explicitly refers to Muslims and Jews in Holland as seeking

only 'safety and profit', that is, causing harm to none (p. 211). Given that negative views of Islam dominated the English imagination and literature, often at the time directed against the Turks, Helwys would have known that his inclusion of them might invite shock and scorn. In fact, the general outrage that his plea caused at a time when the civil authorities were still not prepared to tolerate any dissent, let alone cease to police religious belief and practice, diluted any specific opprobrium that his Islamic reference might have provoked.

There is another reference to a Turk in the section on baptism. Here, Helwys rejects the argument that a baptism is valid as long as certain words are said even if it is performed in a false church. If this were so, he writes, 'then a Turk baptizing a Turk with water and those words in anie assemblie whatsoever, is the true Baptisme of Christ in the essential parts thereof' (*Mistery*, p. 141). This may be simply recruiting a Turk to serve in an *argumentum ad absurdum*, though Helwys evidently implies no malice towards Turks. A further reference to Turks and Jews on p. 132 as constituting 'no church' shows his willingness for unbelievers to enjoy the same civil rights as members of the 'true church'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Given Martin Luther's view that the ruler has the right to choose the religion of his state, with which England's rulers concurred, Helwys's contention that people should be free to choose and practise any faith would be seen as seditious. Even the Act of Toleration of 1660 would exclude Catholics and Unitarians. Helwys's championing of complete religious liberty was taken up by his successor, John Murton, who wrote *Objections Answered* (1615) and *A Most Humble Supplication* (1620), both defences of religious liberty. First in England, then in North America, a Baptist tradition of championing and defending religious liberty developed, sustaining what the man known as the 'first permanent Baptist' had pioneered.

When the first national Baptist-Muslim dialogue initiative began in the USA in 2007, Baptists stated that, despite the ways in which they had offended Muslims, their long tradition of defending religious liberty ought to result instead in their respect for Islam and other religions. One Baptist organisation, the Alliance of Baptists, has asked for forgiveness on behalf of Baptists for doing too little to 'counter the prejudice of centuries' (C. Bennett, 'Christian-Muslim relations in the USA', in P. Hedges [ed.], *Contemporary Christian-Muslim encounters*, London, 2015, pp. 160, 162-3).

PUBLICATIONS

There is no known MS. There are four known extant copies of the first edition, which are lodged in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Regents Park College, Oxford; Trinity College, Dublin; and Dr Williams's Library, London. The Bodleian copy includes Helwys's autograph preface.

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- T. Helwys, *The Mistery of Iniquity, etc.*, ed. H.W. Robinson, London, 1935 (difficult to read, but superior to modernised versions)
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STUDIES

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Clinton Bennett

Samuel Purchas

DATE OF BIRTH November 1577
PLACE OF BIRTH Thaxted, Essex
DATE OF DEATH 1626
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Samuel Purchas was born in Thaxted, Essex, probably in November 1577, since he was baptised on 20 November. He matriculated at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1594, graduating BA in 1597 and MA in 1600. He was ordained deacon in the Church of England in 1598, and priest in 1601. Later, he received the Lambeth BD (1615), which was incorporated at Oxford the same year. Stubbe cites this as one of only a few Lambeth degrees granted before the Restoration (W. Stubbe, 'Correspondence of Sylvanus Urban: Lambeth degrees', *Gentleman's Magazine* 216 (1864) 633-5, p. 635). After a curacy at Purleigh, Essex, Purchas was vicar of Eastwood from 1604, before holding rectorships at St Martin Ludgate (1614), Snoreham (1615), and finally All Hallows, Bread Street. In about 1614, he became Chaplain to Archbishop George Abbot, and between 1621 and 1624 he was a Fellow of King James' College, Chelsea, under its provost, Matthew Sutcliffe (d. 1629), Dean of Exeter and author of *De Turco-papismo* (1604), which depicted Catholicism and Islam as related heresies. Founded in 1609, this college was tasked with producing anti-Catholic polemic. It was dissolved early in the Commonwealth period.

Purchas is mainly remembered for taking up the task of chronicling overseas travel and exploration, and for championing colonisation: from 1624, he served on the court of the Virginia Company. He started to write a collection of travel narratives, *Purchas, his Pilgrimes*, before 1619, when he published the first edition (later known as *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*). He may already have met Richard Hakluyt, and assisted him in codifying his unpublished manuscripts, which he included in his second edition in 1614 (publisher's note to the 1905 edition, p. xxv). Further editions followed in 1617 and 1625. Famously, Samuel Taylor Coleridge was reading this book when he became inspired to write his poem 'Kubla Khan' (*Works*, ed. J.C.C. Mays, Princeton NJ, vol. 1, 1969, p. 511).

Purchas also published the first edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered* in 1613 (expanded in subsequent editions, 1614, 1617, and posthumously 1626). It is here that he gives his own account of Muslim faith and practice. Given that the main title of this work is almost identical to that of his collection of narratives, and that it is sometimes bound with the other work, the two are easily confused. Until the publication of the 1649 English Qur'an, there was more qur'anic material in *Purchas his Pilgrimage* than in any other English text.

Purchas died in 1626. The exact date is unknown, though records indicate that he was buried on 30 September at Ludgate.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Purchas his Pilgrimage

DATE 1613

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (in full, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation unto this present. In foure parts*) was published in 1613. The second, enlarged edition appeared in 1614, the third in 1617 and the fourth in 1626. Each successively increases in size: 1613, 752 pages plus front and end matter; 1614, 627 pages plus front matter; 1617, 1031 pages plus front matter; 1626, 1047 pages plus front and end matter.

Copies are often bound with Purchas's other work, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and they can be confused as part of that larger work. While the two are separate works, there is some overlap. In *Pilgrimes*, Purchas presents mainly eye-witness accounts of the 'History of nature' ('To the reader', first page), but says that his aim is neither theological nor philosophical. Following Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt, his purpose was to extend geographical and navigational knowledge. Although he does sometimes comment in his own voice, *Pilgrimes* mainly presents other people's words. On the other hand, while he also incorporates some reports by others into *Pilgrimage*, here the main voice is his own.

Pilgrimes has references to Islam and Muslims in its accounts of travel in India, Persia and elsewhere, though coverage is unsystematic and usually peripheral to the main narratives. In *Pilgrimage*, on the other hand, Purchas specifically sets out to explore the world's religions 'from Paradise to the Arke, and thence follow her round bout the World, and (for her sake) observe the World itself, with the several Countries and Peoples therein, the chief empires and states, their private and Publique customs, their manifold chances and changes, also the wonderful and most remarkeable effect of Nature, events of Divine and humane Providence Rareties of Art; and whatsoever' could be 'found by Relations of Historians' ('To the reader', first page). His purpose, this time, was expressly theological.

By the term 'pilgrimage', Purchas did not mean a physical journey but spiritual growth (see Helfers, 'Explorer', p. 175); his journey was a literary pilgrimage, not a literal one. By the time the fourth edition appeared, he had consulted about 1,300 sources and the book was the largest that had

so far been printed in English type (D. Birch, *Oxford companion to English literature*, Oxford, 2009⁷, p. 814). Although he includes the fabulous and fanciful in his work, he also pioneers 'what might be called a "modern" historical epistemology', despite criticism of his intrusive theologising, of his jingoism and of the way he manipulated 'his sources, abridging, and selecting them according to no discernible method except his own biases' (Bauer, *Cultural geography*, p. 79-80).

The following description is based on the second edition of 1614, though it also refers to the fourth edition of 1626 when comparison sheds light on relevant development in Purchas's thinking or knowledge. Book 1 covers ancient Mesopotamian religion, beginning with the immediate post-creation period; Book 2 covers Hebrew religion; Book 3, the religions of the Arabians, Saracens and Turks; Book 4, the religions of the Armenians, Medes and Persians and other peoples in what Purchas calls Asia; Book 5, the East Indies; Book 6, continental Africa; Book 7, Ethiopia and African islands; Book 8, North America; and Book 9, South America. There is no book on Europe. Most of the material on Islam is in Book 3, pp. 227-336 (the equivalent section in the fourth edition is on pp. 223-324). As well as printed sources, Purchas also draws on conversations with travellers.

Among Purchas's sources on Islam, he lists the Latin translation of the Qur'an and related material on Islam (known as the *Collectio Toletana*) published by Theodore Bibliander in his *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* (1543), though he seems to have preferred the Italian version of 1547 published by Andreas Arrivabene, which was supposedly translated from the Arabic but was actually from the Latin. This included much of the polemical and other content of Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*. He was aware that this material was originally translated by 'an Englishman', whom he calls Robert Retinensis (*Pilgrimage*, p. 250), and by Herman Secundus (or Herman of Dalmata, see *Pilgrimage*, p. 259). He also uses Herman's *De generatione Muhamet*, and his *Principes Iudaeorum, & magistri in Israel*, which was attributed to the 7th-century rabbi, Abdias ben Shalom. (Book 3, ch. 5 is almost entirely taken from this latter work, which Purchas says is chapter 12 of the Italian Qur'an.) He also uses material, possibly unpublished, by his friend William Bedwell (d. 1632), and further material by Thomas Erpenius (d. 1624), thus drawing on the work of leading contemporary scholars in the field of Arabic and Islam. Other sources include Riccoldo da Monte di Croce ('Friar Richard', d. 1320), (*Pilgrimage*, pp. 247, 254, 277), Leo Africanus (d. c. 1534) and

Pierre Belon (d. c. 1564), as well as the two best sellers, Giles Fletcher's *The Policie of the Turkish Empire* and Richard Knolles's *History of the Turks*, and also William Biddulph, chaplain to English merchants in Aleppo.

In Book 3, in the parts on the history of Arabia, ch. 3 is on Muḥammad's life and ch. 4 on the Qur'an, followed in ch. 5 by 'other Mahumetical speculations'. Ch. 6 is on the pilgrimage, 7 on Muḥammad's successors, 8 on the origins of the Turkish nation, 9 on Turkish wars, 10 on Turkish opinions about religion, followed by four chapters on rites, religious functionaries and buildings. In Book 4, ch. 9, he returns to Islam to describe 'the Sophian secte or Persian religion' (*Pilgrimage*, pp. 387-92). Albeit from a translation of a translation, Purchas drew more directly on the Qur'an than any previous writer in English before him. Pages 249-58 are almost entirely paraphrases of qur'anic teachings, much of them faithfully rendered. Although Purchas was not a specialist, the material he presents shows how much information was available in existing sources for a scholar to employ, including dates given in the Muslim calendar.

He describes Muḥammad's mother as a Jew and his father as a pagan idolater whose lineage was so base that Turks are uncertain whether he was Arab or Persian (*Pilgrimage*, p. 243). Muḥammad used sorcery and incantations to induce the wealthy Gadija (Khadija) to marry him, to 'satisfy his ambition', and assembled a company of thieves and outlaws, who robbed and raised a mutiny around Mecca. Then Sergius, a Nestorian monk, persuaded him to 'countenance his rebellion with the pretence of Religion', and in council with some heretical Christians and malcontented Jews, Muḥammad decided to promulgate a 'New Law' for which he claimed divine authority (*Pilgrimage*, p. 244). He was nevertheless baptised by Sergius.

He spent two years with Sergius and Abdalla, a Jew, pretending to converse with the Angel Gabriel in a cave two miles from Mecca, before he returned to Khadija and persuaded her to accept his 'vaine belief'. His slave, Zeidinus (Zayd), assisted in this and was rewarded with freedom. However, a rumour began that Muḥammad was mad and possessed by a devil, although he was able to perform miracles: he is said to have split a tree that blocked his path and then made it whole again once he had passed through, a trained bull brought him chapters of the Qur'an (*Pilgrimage*, p. 245) and, according to Friar Richard, he split the moon with his thumb (*Pilgrimage*, p. 254; Purchas questions the similar story of a trained bird, *Pilgrimage*, p. 265). From *De generatione Muhamet*, Purchas describes the legend that the light of Muḥammad was created 2000

years before Adam (*Pilgrimage*, p. 246) and, when he tells the story of the Night Journey and Ascension, he does not indulge in mockery, unlike many other writers of this time (*Pilgrimage*, pp. 247-8).

In several places, Purchas refers to Muḥammad fabricating revelation to support his immoral conduct, including Q 33:50-1, where Muḥammad is permitted to have his many wives, and Q 33:37, where he is allowed to take Zaynab from Zayd, by now his freedman (*Pilgrimage*, p. 254). He rejects the legend that Muḥammad's tomb is suspended by a magnet, and locates it at Medina, 'not as some write, at Mecca', and he expresses suspicion about the claim that Muḥammad's body was eaten by dogs (*Pilgrimage*, p. 249). He dates Muḥammad's birth as 8 May 570 and his death as 8 May 631, which, given the still-popular preference for 666, is surprisingly close to the accepted dates of 3-4 February 570 and 8 June 632. Development in his knowledge is seen in his description in the fourth edition of *Pilgrimage* (p. 249) of the Qur'an as divided into 114 chapters which all begin 'in the name of god showing mercie, mercifull', while in the second edition he gives 124 chapters beginning 'in the name of the merciful, pittifull God'.

Purchas constantly denigrates the language of the Qur'an as confused and inconsistent, and he complains that the rhyme is sometimes beyond all harmony, commenting that it has only ever attracted vulgar people and that no one he knows can find any reason or order in it (*Pilgrimage*, pp. 249-50). He also thinks it contradictory that Muslims say the Qur'an was given in one night when they divide it into chapters related to Mecca and Medina (*Pilgrimage*, 4th edition, p. 249). Yet among the rubbish, 'in diverse parts, the better to cover his filthiness', Muḥammad 'hath dispersed good sentences like roses scattered on a dung heap, and flowers in a puddle, concerning alms, prayer, tithing, and justice, etc.', even though other verses establish his tyranny (*Pilgrimage*, p. 255).

Mixed in with pejoratives about the Qur'an and Islam, Purchas can also refer to Muslims praying devoutly, abstaining systematically during 'Lent', preferring to lose their life than their religion, detesting images and Christians for their superfluous expenditure in building churches, and following moderation in their mosques, as well as their diet and apparel (*Pilgrimage*, p. 299). Other positive comments include their care of animals and preference for cats over dogs (*Pilgrimage*, p. 296).

When he comes to Turkish history later on, Purchas closely follows Fletcher and Knolles. Like Fletcher, he says that Muslim hospices are usually open to all travellers regardless of religion (*Pilgrimage*, p. 299),

and also that, their law notwithstanding, Muslims (by which he means Turks) commit sodomy (*Pilgrimage*, p. 294) and that they are addicted to sorcery and dreams. Persians are more reasonable in their religion than Muslims of other races (*Pilgrimage*, p. 277), and are hated by Turks more than Christians are (*Pilgrimage*, p. 294). In 770, owing to diversity of opinion, the caliph convened a council that 'reduced the doctrine of Muḥammad' into 'fixed books', and it is now forbidden on pain of death to 'speake or write otherwise of their law' (*Pilgrimage*, p. 276, referring to a source that has not so far been traced).

SIGNIFICANCE

Given that Purchas thought that any religion was better than none, and he regarded Catholicism as the worst of all, Islam fares reasonably well in his *Pilgrimage*. Timothy Fitzgerald suggests that, compared with Richard Hakluyt, Purchas had developed a more sophisticated 'vocabulary of religion and religions'. Although he wants to distinguish true religion from false religion and superstition, he leaves this distinction 'ambiguous', arguably beginning to use 'religion' as a 'generic mode of description' and providing a 'modern discourse on world religions as early as 1613'. His definition of religion as the 'schoole wherein we learn man's dutie towards God' (*Pilgrimage*, 4th edition, p. 26) recalls Lord Herbert of Cherbury on natural religion. What he compiles amounts to a world ethnography, in which 'religion is both the one true religion' and 'a generic category that includes superstition as religion'. Whatever religion is for him, he embeds it in 'a complex range of human activities' which, with respect to Islam, treats it as more than an anti-Christian creed (Fitzgerald, *Discourse*, pp. 202-6).

Despite his pejorative description of Muḥammad as a scheming opportunist, Purchas still sees Islam as having the capacity to bind men and God together. Few early-17th-century writers, especially ordained clergy, wrote of Islam even as a qualified good rather than an unmitigated evil. That Purchas thought Muslims could have some type of relationship with God is a significant shift for Christian-Muslim relations (even though he subscribed to the age-old view that God had used Islam to punish Christians). Also of some significance is Purchas's direct use of the Qur'an as a source of information, as well as eyewitness material. Although he repeated some popular calumnies, he rejected a number of others and did not simply repeat everything he came across but made some effort to evaluate it.

Although Purchas's use of the Qur'an was necessarily selective (Dimmock, *Mythologies*, pp. 59-60), he ended up rendering more Qur'anic passages into English than anyone else had before. While he tended to place Islam within a Christian framework, as is evidenced by his use of such terms as 'priest' and 'religious orders' and by his references to the lack of belief in original sin among Muslims, he did appear to regard it as an authentic form of religion. He was trying to develop a new vocabulary for his herculean task of tracing the religions of humankind from the beginning to his own day, and he arguably ended up pioneering an approach to the plurality of religions that incorporates individual instances into a generic category termed Religion (he uses the capital R), which he attributed to 'the testimonie of Nature, written in our hearts' (*Pilgrimage*, p. b2). It follows that Islam as an instance of Religion has a relationship with what God has revealed to humanity.

Purchas's *Pilgrimage* was a major source for Alexander Ross's often reprinted *Pansebeia. Or a View of All the Religions in the World* (1653), which also discusses Islam within the framework of generic religion.

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Clinton Bennett

Anthony Sherley

Antony Shierlie, Seigneur Scierley, Antonius Sherleyus,
Antonius Scherleyus, Antonio Sceles, Antonio Sirley,
Antonio Syrley, Antonio Xerlei, Antonio Xerley,
Antonio Cherley

DATE OF BIRTH 1565
PLACE OF BIRTH Wiston, West Sussex
DATE OF DEATH 1633
PLACE OF DEATH Granada, Spain

BIOGRAPHY

Anthony Sherley was born on the Sherley family estate of Wiston, West Sussex, in 1565. He matriculated at Hart Hall College, Oxford, in 1579, where he graduated BA in 1581, and was elected a fellow of All Souls College in 1582, before moving on to the Inner Temple in 1583. He joined the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands with his father and elder brother, where he led an infantry company at Brielle and Bergen op Zoom, and a cavalry company during the Cologne War in 1587-8. He later attended Leicester while he oversaw the organisation of England's defences against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Sherley was dispatched by Principal Secretary Walsingham to make contact with Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, and Henri of Navarre (later King Henri IV) to prepare for Peregrine Bertie, 13th Baron Willoughby's expedition to Normandy in 1589. He participated in Willoughby's military campaign as a volunteer, and later served as colonel of cavalry during Sir John Norris's campaign in Brittany, to expel the forces of the Catholic League from Blavet in 1591-5.

Sherley had earlier joined the aristocratic Dudley-Devereux-Sidney family through his marriage to Frances Vernon, daughter of Sir John Vernon of Hodnet in Shropshire, and cousin of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex c. 1590. He also accompanied Sir Robert Sidney on a mission to the court of Henri IV, where he was created a Knight of St Michael as a gesture of friendship, though he was forced to surrender the insignia at his return to England in 1594. Sherley planned a privateering expedition with his father's financial backing to seize the island of São Tomé, but

this instead took him to the Cape Verde Islands, Dominica, Colombia, Jamaica, Honduras, Guatemala and Newfoundland in 1596-7.

He returned only to discover that his father had been bankrupted, and promptly joined the Earl of Essex's expedition, known as the Island Voyage, wherein he had an active role in the charges brought against Sir Walter Raleigh, and emerged from the voyage as one of Essex's most trusted lieutenants. Essex dispatched Sherley at the head of a company of veterans to shore up the defences of Ferrara against an invasion by the Papal States, but Duke Cesare d'Este of Ferrara capitulated to the Pope while they were passing through Germany, and Sherley led his company to Venice instead to await further instructions. He held discussions with Grand Duke Ferdinando I de Medici of Florence, Senator Giacomo Foscarini of Venice, members of the Essex secretariat, and the dragoman Michelangelo Corrai before embarking for the eastern Mediterranean in 1598.

He led his company, which included his brother Robert, through Ottoman Cyprus, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, and reached the former Iranian capital Qazvin shortly before Shah Abbas I returned from his victory over the Uzbeks at Ribat-i Pariyan. The Shah received Sherley in 1599 as a high-ranking member of the English aristocracy and dispatched him to Europe as part of an embassy to establish a political and military alliance with Muscovy, the Papal States, the Holy Roman Empire, Habsburg Spain, France, Poland-Lithuania, England, Scotland, Venice and Florence, but Sherley fell out with the Persian ambassador Husayn 'Ali Beg Bayat and was dismissed during the course of the embassy in 1601. Meanwhile his brother, Robert, remained in Persia, where he was employed by the Safavid state. When Anthony failed to return, Robert was sent to James I's court as ambassador in 1611, offering trade privileges and famously wearing Persian attire.

Next, Anthony acted as a political counsellor and operative for the Emperor Rudolf II of Habsburg, King Philip III of Spain and King James VI of Scotland in Venice in 1601-4, relaying information on the Ottoman-Safavid War, Jalali Revolts and Ottoman court politics to the emperor, and he was subsequently employed by the latter from 1605 to 1606 as ambassador to Mulay Abū Fāris al-Sa'dī in Morocco, to create a diversion against the Ottomans in North Africa. He was appointed Admiral of the Levant Seas by Philip III when he returned, and led an expedition to the Greek islands of Corfu, Kefalonia, Zakynthos, Skiathos and Mytilene, before being dismissed from his post in 1610 for disturbing the balance of

power and threatening the *Pax hispanica*. He nevertheless continued to provide the Spanish government, and the Count-Duke of Olivares in particular, with advice concerning military, economic, and administrative reforms in Spain and its overseas territories until his death at Granada in 1633.

Sherley's adventures and those of his two brothers captured the imagination of his time, and were elaborated in a number of accounts by his attendants and in the play, *The travailes of the three English brothers* (1607) by John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation of his travels into Persia

DATE 1613

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Sir Anthony Sherley probably completed his *Relation of his travels into Persia* between his dismissal as admiral and his brother Robert's departure from Madrid for London with the manuscript in 1610-11 (the full title is *Sir Antony Sherley his relation of his travels into Persia. The dangers, and distresses, which befell him in his passage, both by sea and land and his strange and vnexpected deliuerances. His magnificent entertainment in Persia, his honourable employment there-hence, as embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, the cause of his disapointment therein, with his aduice to his brother, Sir Robert Sherley. Also, a true relation of the great magnificence, valour, prudence, iustice, temperance, and other manifold vertues of Abas, now King of Persia, with his great conquests, whereby he hath enlarged his dominions. Penned by Sir Antony Sherley, and recommended to his brother, Sr. Robert Sherley, being now in prosecution of the like honourable employment*). The manuscript at the Bodleian Library is untitled and covers 35 folios, while the edition printed in London for Butter and Bagfet in 1613 covers 139 pages.

Sherley begins by recalling his military experience and the circumstances of his journey to Persia (pp. 1-5), followed by an account of his passage through Ottoman Cyprus, Syria and Iraq to Safavid Persia (pp. 5-29), the rise of Shah Abbas I to power against the background of Ottoman-Safavid rivalries (pp. 29-80), and the deliberations that supposedly took place at the Safavid court concerning a Perso-European

alliance (pp. 80-120), and it concludes with his taking leave of the Shah and his brother Robert Sherley at Isfahan in 1599 (120-39). He presents the Ottoman Empire under Sultans Mehmed III and Ahmed I as being in an advanced state of decline by means of comments on the apparent corruption, rebellion and desolation witnessed on the road from Paphos to Baghdad. He then sets up a sharp contrast with his description of the Safavid Empire as populous, thriving and stable under the exemplary rule of Shah Abbas.

Sherley goes on to provide an account of the supposed deliberations involving high-ranking members of the Safavid court on the merits and demerits of a possible alliance with Europe, during the course of which he draws attention to the desirability of the Safavid Empire as a political, military and trading partner, as well as areas where technical, military and commercial exchanges might assist the Safavids in countering the expansionism of the Ottoman Empire. Aware that Turks and Persians follow different branches of Islam, Sherley promoted an alliance with Persia that would strengthen Christian princes against Ottoman territorial ambitions.

Anthony had been a guest of his brother Robert in Madrid from February to June 1611, before the latter departed for London on a mission similar to that of 1600-1, and Anthony almost certainly intended to provide moral, political and economic arguments towards a better reception of the mission.

Sherley's *Relation* belongs to the third series of texts concerning the encounters of the Sherley brothers with the Ottomans and the Safavids, which, along with Thomas Middleton's *Sir Robert Sherley* (1609) and John Cartwright's *The preachers travels* (1611), were published to coincide with Robert Sherley's arrival in London as ambassador of Shah Abbas I. Anthony made use of the first series of texts published to coincide with his return from Safavid Persia, namely the anonymous *True report of Sir Anthony Shierlies iourney* (1600) and William Parry's *New and large discourse of the trauels* (1601), as well as the second series published to coincide with his brother Thomas's release from captivity in the Ottoman Empire and repatriation to England, which included Thomas Sherley's own *Discours of the Turkes* (1606-7), Anthony Nixon's *The three English brothers* (1607) and John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins's *Travails of the three English brothers* (1607). However, Anthony Sherley's *Relation of his travels* was more ambitious in its scope, structure and presentation, in purporting to provide for decision-makers the

latest information on the Ottoman and Safavid empires, through a range of genres including political analysis, dialogue and allegorical romance.

SIGNIFICANCE

Anthony Sherley's *Relation of his travels* marked a clear departure from previous Anglophone literature about Persia, thanks to its primary concern with practical suggestions regarding Anglo-Persian relations, rather than earlier antiquarian, ethnographic or dramatic interests. He provides analyses of the Ottoman and Safavid state structures based on his reading of classical historians, including Livy, Plutarch and Tacitus, as well as 16th-century political theorists such as Niccolò Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini, to communicate his views to courtly audiences. He notes the presence of Arab, Armenian and Kurdish minorities in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the presence of Kurds, Turkmens and Georgians in the Safavid Empire, and makes particular mention of Allah Virdi Khan, Shah Tahmāsp Quli Beg, Bagrat Mirza (later Bagrat VII of Kartli) and Constantine Mirza (later Constantine I of Kakheti) among Georgian elites at the court of Shah Abbas I in 1598/9.

Sherley's account with its associated literature 'sheds light on... attitudes to contemporary Persia and to English contacts with the Mediterranean world', demonstrating 'understanding of the religious and political diversity of the Muslim world' (J. Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance writing, 1549-1622*, London, 2014, p. 158). Even while 'Turk' commonly served as a synonym for all Muslims, Sherley's readers learned that Muslims in Persia and those in Turkey belonged to different, mutually hostile branches of Islam. The Ottomans might represent a threat to Christian Europe's freedom and stability, but friendship with other Muslims might help to keep that threat in check. Awareness that Islam is not the same everywhere could aid Christians in forging relations with specific Muslim communities or individuals, since more accurate knowledge of their particular beliefs offered possibilities for mutually beneficial exchange. That Sherley worked for a 'foreign king on a worthy cause' (Grogan, p. 160) on the one hand captured the popular imagination, while on the other it showed that hostility was not the only mode of relationship that Christians and Muslims could experience.

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Kurosh Meshkat

George Sandys

DATE OF BIRTH 2 March 1578
PLACE OF BIRTH Bishopthorpe Palace, York
DATE OF DEATH Late February/early March 1644
PLACE OF DEATH Boxley Hall, Kent

BIOGRAPHY

George Sandys was born on 2 March 1578 in Bishopthorpe Palace, the official residence of the Archbishop of York, the youngest son of Archbishop Edwin Sandys (d. 1588). He probably attended St Peter's School in York before matriculating at St Mary Hall, Oxford, on 5 December 1589. He soon transferred to Corpus Christi, where two older brothers had studied. However, before taking his degree, he moved to London's Middle Temple, although there is no record that he was called to the bar. At this time, it was not unusual for young men to attend either university or an Inn of Court or indeed both without qualifying, while nonetheless gaining an education that would serve them well. Sandys became an accomplished and acclaimed translator of classical poetry. His brief Oxford association still earned him an entry in *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1692).

In 1602, he married Elizabeth Norton, gaining property in Yorkshire as a result, though they separated in 1606, after which the Nortons accused Sandys of having 'very carelessly neglected his estates' and of deserting Elizabeth (Davis, *Poet adventurer*, p. 38). He appears to have settled in Canterbury, close to his brother, Sir Edwin. Knighted in 1603, Edwin was a member of parliament and a co-founder of the Virginia Company. In a 1609 document, Sandys referred to himself as 'George Sandys of Canterbury gent' (Elisson, *Travel, colonialism*, p. 43). That same year, he was one of the three chief executors of the Company named in its renewed charter (S.M. Berniss, *The three charters of the Virginia Company*, Baltimore MD, 2007, p. vi).

In May 1610, Sandys embarked on a tour across Europe, heading towards Constantinople. He visited Paris, then Venice, reaching Constantinople on 27 September. In January 1611, he sailed to Egypt, visiting Alexandria and Cairo. From there, he travelled overland to Palestine for the Easter celebrations in Jerusalem. His return journey took him to Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicily, Naples, Vesuvius, Rome, Florence and many other historical sites. By March 1612, he was back in London.

His *A relation of a journey begun an. Dom. 1610* (1615), or in later editions *Sandys' travels*, with its early reference to 'Coffa' (coffee, p. 66), and an account of an attack by bandits en route to Jerusalem (p. 139), proved popular. Seven editions appeared in the 17th century and the text was frequently cited in a wide range of literary works. Samuel Purchas included a lengthy extract in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his pilgrimes* (1625). Sandys represented the Turkish polity as religiously tolerant; he did not depict Turks as wholly 'Other' or evil, although he did see their empire as stagnant and failing. Sir Edwin had also travelled in Europe, writing *A relation of the state of religion in the western partes of the world* (London, 1605). This work, which influenced his brother, makes frequent reference to the Turks. Sir Edwin thought that Catholic preoccupation with the threat they caused was keeping Protestants safe, and that Christians should settle their differences.

During 1619, Sandys failed in a bid to become governor of Bermuda. However, in 1621, the year in which the first two volumes of his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were published, he was appointed treasurer of Virginia with a grant of 1500 acres. He left for Jamestown in July, accompanying his niece's husband, Sir Francis Wyatt (d. 1644), the new governor. When the grant turned out to be uncleared forest, Sandys had to buy additional land for farming. Relations with the indigenous population were tense, and on 22 March 1622, 300 colonists died during an uprising. Sandys helped defend the settlement. The revolt resulted in London assuming direct control of the colony, although Sandys was reappointed to its council in August 1624. He returned to London in 1625, with 'another dangerous and perhaps thrilling escape, from Turkish pirates, on the way home' (Davis, *Poet adventurer*, p. 197). Meanwhile, he had completed his translation of Ovid, and volumes 3-5 were published in 1626.

Charles I appointed him a gentleman of the privy chamber, and he was twice reappointed to the Virginia council (1626 and 1628). In later years, he served on a royal commission and on other official committees, becoming the colony's London agent in 1639, when Sir Francis Wyatt was reappointed governor. Sandys' other publications include his translation of Book One of Virgil's *Aeneid* (1632) and *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes* (1636), subsequently set to music by Henry Lawes (1662). The second edition (1638) included additional poetry from Job, Ecclesiastes and Lamentations. Richard Baxter (d. 1691) described Sandys' paraphrases as 'elegant': he had 'restored to Job its original glory' (*Poetical fragments*,

London, 2nd edition, 1689, 'to the Reader', sixth page). Sandys' poetical works were posthumously gathered into one volume (*Works*, 1872).

He sometimes attended the Savoy Chapel, where Thomas Fuller, whose *The historie of the Holy Warre* cited his *Relation*, reported meeting him in 1641 (Fuller, *History of the worthies*, vol. 3, p. 434). When Wyatt returned from Virginia in 1642, Sandys moved into his family home, Boxley Abbey, Kent, where he died in late February or early March 1644. He was buried in St Mary's and All Saints, Boxley, on 7 March. Although relatively obscure today, he enjoyed a considerable literary reputation in his lifetime, with at least five short biographical accounts in print before the end of the century.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation of a journey

DATE 1615

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

A relation of a journey began an: Dom 1610. Fovre books. Containing a description of the Turkish empire of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and ilands adioyning, was first published in 1615. A dedication to the then Prince of Wales, who as Charles I would appoint Sandys a gentleman of his privy chamber, follows initial engravings, with a map of the eastern Mediterranean accompanying. Then come the 309 pages of text, divided into four books. The first edition was 'an expensive folio volume' (Schleck, *Telling true tales*, p. 32), probably because Sandys hoped wealthy readers would see him as highly qualified for supervisory employment. Despite its cost, the book proved popular, with editions in 1621, 1627, 1632, 1637, 1652, 1658, 1670 and 1673. The last four editions were called *Sandys' travels*, while in 1740 an edition appeared as *A general history of the Ottoman Empire illustrated with useful notes and observations, after the manner of Mr. Sandys*.

A relation of a journey was translated into Dutch in 1654 (reprinted 1665) and into German in 1669. Book 2 of the text was translated into French by O.V. Volkoff as recently as 1973, when a facsimile English edition was published in Amsterdam. Samuel Purchas included an extract in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his pilgrimage* (London, 1625, book 6, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 896-920), beginning with the journey from Rhodes and ending at Malta, and leaving out Sandys' historical material, which

Purchas thought deflected from what he had actually seen (marginal note, p. 896). The popularity of Purchas' text also helped to promote Sandys' account.

The description below is based on the original 1615 edition. Material relevant to Christian-Muslim relations is found throughout the text, but especially in the section dealing with Turkey and the Turks. This covers the period from Sandys' arrival in Constantinople on 27 September 1610 until he turns his attention to the Greeks and Franks in Turkey, shortly before sailing for Egypt on the *Trinity* of London in late January 1611 (pp. 29-77). However, as he was within Ottoman territory during most of his travels, relevant comments are also found elsewhere. He was especially interested in land cultivation, making comments about how the Empire used its resources, and in its organisational strengths and weaknesses.

It would appear that Sandys intended to convey intelligence or information that might prove useful to England in its colonial endeavours, and gain him employment in that same venture. His general interest in



Illustration 2. Frontispiece of *Relation of a journey*, showing Sultan Achmet holding a yoke and trampling on the scales of justice

the Ottomans was clearly influenced by his brother's book, *A relation of the state of religion in Europe*, in which a link is drawn between the security of Protestants and the continued Catholic-Ottoman conflict, which diverted attention from them.

Sandys' section on 'Mahometanism' (pp. 52-61) resembles popular garbled and ill-informed versions of Islam's origin and teaching, and leaves no impression that he had consulted Islamic sources. He identifies Muḥammad's father as pagan, his mother as Jewish, and his place of birth as 'Itrap' (Yathrib), where he was born in 551. By means of witchcraft he married his employer, becoming captain of a band of Arabs that 'followed... Heraclius in his Persian warres' (p. 52). After a mutiny, Muḥammad started preaching that he was 'sent by God to give a new law to mankind' as God's 'last prophet' (p. 53). He said that he was 'greater than Christ, as Christ was greater than Moses'. He lived in a cave for two years, where, assisted by Sergius, a Nestorian monk, and Abdalla, a Jew, he composed his 'damnable doctrine... a hodgepodge of sundry religions'. He persuaded his wife that Gabriel, who 'had cut out his heart, and taken from thence the little black core', brought him messages. He attracted opposition from Mecca's nobility and was forced to flee to Medina. From there, he waged a 'successful warre against the Syrians, planting his religion among the vanquished'. He passed-off the trances that were caused by his falling-sickness as occasions of revelation, and a pigeon trained to feed from his ear as the Holy Ghost. He excused his own 'lecherous' conduct with laws declaring his acts 'not only to be no crime' but 'of high honour'. Since he promised to rise again after three days when he died, his body was kept above ground until it turned putrid, when it was buried at Medina.

The 'Alcoran', 'the summe of their religion', is written in Arabic and must never be written or read in another language (p. 54). However, since Mahomet's day it has been altered, especially by Mahomet II (the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, d. 1481). Turks revere the Qur'an no less than Jews the Old Testament and Christians the New. They never touch it without clean hands, and kiss it, embrace it and swear by it.

Next, Sandys describes some of the contents of the Qur'an, including the narrative of Adam's creation, Iblis's rebellion (referring to him as 'an angel of light'), verses on Jesus's virgin birth, on being 'the breathe and word of God', curing diseases and his assumption into heaven before any crucifixion occurred. Muslims acknowledge the Holy Spirit as a power in the Godhead, not as a person.

They are commanded to pray seven times a day, announced by priests calling out 'from the tops of steeples' (p. 55). Friday is their Sabbath, 'yet they spend but a part . . . in devotion'. During prayers, the priest may read a portion of the Qur'an. Women are not permitted to enter 'their temples' but may 'look in through grates'. Boys are circumcised at the age of eight, when they can 'answer the priest, and promise for themselves'. Turks fast during the month of 'Ramazan', which ends in festivities (p. 56). The Qur'an encourages almsgiving, which is extended to Christians and Jews, even to 'birds and beasts' (p. 57).

Sandys describes the provision of hospitals and hospices for 'passengers', as well as Istanbul's great mosques. After referring to *Shahids* as martyrs for the faith, he turns to belief about the after-life, with its promise of black-eyed virgins in paradise as beautiful as the hyacinth (p. 59). A quite lengthy discussion follows about whether the Qur'an's depiction of a corporeal heaven is allegorical (pp. 59-60). The problem Sandys has here is an unwillingness to concede that Islam allows rational thinking. Thus, referring to Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, d. 1037), he concludes that the philosopher much admired in Europe could only reconcile faith and reason by laying the former aside. Sandys has it that, while Christian theology says that although religious truth may be above reason it is not contrary to reason and philosophy, in Islam Mahomet's words always trump reason. Mahomet, who was 'wicked, cruel, disloyal and treacherous', said that God has a body, thus God is corporeal or will be after the general resurrection. Islam roots out all 'vertue, all wisdom and science, and in summe all liberty and civility' (p. 60). In a later passage, where he describes his encounter with Muslim pilgrims setting out for Mecca, Sandys writes more positively of rival sects that, while they 'refute each other' for heresy, 'yet they do not traduce each other' (p. 124).

Sandys' description of Mahometanism ends with 'Of the Turkish Clergie' (pp. 61-2). He names Ebbubecher, Omar, Ozman and Haly as Muḥammad's successors, who enlarged the religion and dominions. Haly was 'persecuted . . . and slain by the others for affirming the right of succession' (p. 61) after he married Muḥammad's daughter. The Persians follow Haly, and charge his predecessors with adding to the Qur'an.

After referring to the Egyptians establishing a rival caliphate, which was later suppressed, Sandys describes the mufti as the highest religious official of the Turkish Empire, 'equal to the ancient popes'. The emperor rises when he approaches and takes no decisions without his counsel, and he wears the 'greatest turbant in the Empire'. His house contains a

seminary where boys are trained in the 'mysteries of their law'. Below him, two *Kazaskers* (military judges) have jurisdiction in the empire's European territory and in Africa, respectively, while every town has a *Kadi*. Clergy who claim descent from Muḥammad commonly wear green, and should any Christian inadvertently or out of ignorance wear this colour, they will have their clothes ripped off, and might also be beaten (p. 62). Muslim law is grounded on the precept 'thou shalt not do what thou wouldst not have done to thee', which was 'drawne from' Christ and does not part company very much from Moses' law. Witnesses are essential in any legal proceedings, and Christians and Jews cannot testify against a Turk. Recently, 'bribery' not previously prevalent, has corrupted officials' integrity.

Concerning Turkish 'manners, etc', Sandys' next section (pp. 66-70) includes one of the earliest descriptions of Muslim wives and women in English literature, providing information on their dress and use of cosmetics, with a copperplate image on p. 68. When women leave the house to pray at graves or visit the public baths, 'which for excellency of building are next to their mosques', they cover their heads, 'for they are forbidden by the Alcoran to disclose their beauty unto any . . . but . . . their husbands' (p. 69). Only males under 12 and eunuchs may accompany them. Sandys had heard that sexual relations between women take place in the 'remote closets' of these bathhouses. Describing women's beauty and ivory-smooth skin, Sandys mentions how they esteem 'large eyes . . . for Mahomet doth promise women with such . . . in his imaginary paradise'. Earlier, describing how coffee-house owners keep 'beautiful boys' to procure customers, he hints at male homosexual proclivities (p. 66), although the sultan had eight of his pages executed for committing sodomy (p. 73). Men treat their bond-women with almost as much respect as their wives, and make no distinction between their children. Men may divorce wives at pleasure (p. 67).

Sandys thinks Turks are 'lazy' (p. 72). At one time skilled, the empire's soldiers are now 'enfeebled with the continued converse of women', and drunk with 'prohibited wine' (p. 50). The empire has grown 'too monstrous for the head', and is perhaps 'near an extreme precipitation' inviting its defeat.

Sandys devotes four pages to describing Sultan Achmet (pp. 73-6), referred to throughout the text as a tyrant. Despite the empire's size and the sultan's grand titles, Sandys thinks it has a fundamental weakness, which is that no one is allowed to accumulate too much command

experience, or to pass their experience and skills on to their heirs. In other words, it lacks what he refers to as 'nobility'. Turks themselves are rarely 'employed in command or service' (p. 47), while commanders are frequently moved from post to post, and thus spend more time travelling than they do in their work (pp. 51-2). As a result of the *devşirme* system, the empire is under the control of non-Turkish slaves whose loyalty the sultan enjoys because he can 'advance' them 'without envy' but also 'destroy them... without danger' (p. 51). However, this also means that skills are not passed on: 'there is no nobility of blood, no known parentage, kindred, or hereditary possessions' (p. 47).

Throughout the text, Sandys repeatedly points out that non-Muslims are left free to worship as they wish (p. 14). His interest in different versions of Christianity is evident in detailed descriptions of their beliefs and worship. He describes Greek Orthodox, Copts, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites, Georgians and Nestorians, and how all these 'nations and sects' celebrate Easter in Jerusalem 'according to their several customs' (p. 173), yet do so without rancour. He probably attended the services of some of these traditions.

SIGNIFICANCE

Sandys was a keen observer of what he saw, producing detailed and often captivating descriptions of dress, customs and manners, as well as of buildings and places. His account represents an early example of a new type of travel narrative that goes beyond sensational, often polarising images of exotic people and places recorded to stimulate readers' imaginations, towards objective reporting. Arguably, Sandys also wanted his account to be seen as a work of literary merit; hence, his classical references. His book has been described as the 'outstanding English travel-book on the Levant' in the 17th century and as 'perhaps the only one that can claim literary merit' (Fedden, *English travellers*, p. 8). Consulted by Ben Jonson and John Milton, among other poets and dramatists, for Eastern colour, Sandys' book was 'referred to, and cited by, a large number of authors across an extraordinarily broad range of topics' (Ingram, 'Readers and responses', p. 287). Yet it also had pragmatic aims. First, Sandys wanted other travellers to find the book useful as a guide to the places visited. Second, he hoped that potential employers in England would recognise him as a worldly-wise, educated man capable of managing their estates. Schleck emphasises that Sandys' intended readers were members of the nobility and that he wrote to 'confirm' his 'position within that community, with an eye toward his preferment' (*Telling true tales*, p. 31).

Sandys may also have had political goals in terms of presenting lessons that England might learn on how to govern future colonies: administrators should be experienced men drawn from the gentry or aristocracy; land should be cultivated. Schleck suggests that Sandys had the colonisation of Virginia in mind; thus, his 'account of the Levant is steeped in a model of land use based primarily on economic efficiency and the moral responsibility a ruler has not to "waste" his land's natural resources' (*Telling true tales*, p. 34). Some at this time saw the Ottoman system as a strength because it did not privilege birth but ability. Sandys appears to see what was often depicted as a meritocracy as a weakness. Matar has suggested that his depiction of the Holy Land as uncultivated and thinly populated represents an invitation for the English to colonise this wasted space (*Turks, Moors*, pp. 136-7). While Ellison interprets 'Sandys' comments on the devastation wrecked by the Ottomans' in Palestine as criticising 'their style of governance, rather than colonialist hopes' (*George Sandys*, p. 99) negative Orientalist tropes can be identified in Sandys' text, including his reference to homosexual proclivities, the incompatibility between Islam, science and philosophy, and its alleged opposition to liberty and freedom of thought. Islam as the enemy of science later became a popular theme. Sandys gives an early example of this charge, one that continues to attract support today (see R. Spencer, 'How Allah killed science', *The politically incorrect guide to Islam*, Washington DC, 2005, pp. 87-98).

Sandys' description of Muslim women has been identified as pioneering: 'Sandys was the first English traveller to focus on women in the Ottoman Empire and to provide a detailed account . . . of their social customs and behaviour.' Matar interprets what Sandys wrote as appreciative of how Muslim women's religion kept them 'pious . . . and chaste', possibly contrasting this with how English women 'did what they wanted to do . . . disrespected their husbands, and made cuckolds of them' (Matar, 'Representation', pp. 136-7). Others comment on Sandys' reference to lesbianism as symptomatic of a tendency to depict 'non-European peoples as more easily given to same-sex relationships' (A. Loomba, *Colonialism/postcolonialism*, Abingdon, 2008, p. 155), thus contributing to the 'us-them' construct of difference. His depiction of what he called Turkish tyranny may have had another ruler in mind, however – King James I, whose style of governance bordered on absolutism (Ellison, *George Sandys*, p. 81). Undoubtedly a royalist, Sandys nevertheless had strong Parliamentary ties. Two brothers, later joined by a third, and several

other relatives, sat in the Commons. Not everyone who wrote as Sandys did about the Turkish polity saw it as weakened by poor leadership and laziness. Francis Osborne (d. 1659), for example, thought the sultan's conduct was actually rather similar to that of European rulers, including Elizabeth I, who also killed off relatives, nor did he think the empire a militarily spent force (Çırakman, *From terror to sick man*, p. 77-8; see F. Osborne, *Politically reflections upon the government of the Turks*, London, 1656, p. 36 on Elizabeth, pp. 66-7 on military acumen).

Sandys' account of Islam's origin and of Muḥammad's character can hardly be called positive. Often identified as a humanist thinker, it seems that humanism did not free him from 'the influence of Christian polemic against Islam' (Kalin, 'Roots', p. 189). On the other hand, his references to Muslims extending charity to Jews and Christians, to their honouring of parents and to the golden rule are far from pejorative. He fell short of totally 'othering' Turks. Depicting the Turkish polity as religiously tolerant, too, was positive, almost certainly intended as a contribution to debate about tolerance in England. Sandys 'showed that, contrary to the belief of most West Europeans, toleration of multiple religions did not automatically lead to social unrest'. Rather, 'in the Ottoman empire, Sandys showed a tolerant society working efficiently and effectively together' (Ellison, *George Sandys*, p. 77). By including Jews, whom he saw as hardworking and long suffering (p. 146), Sandys anticipated debate later in the 17th century about readmitting Jews to England. He also saw the variety of Christian churches he encountered in the East as challenging any single version's claim to be 'the final arbiter of faith' (p. 29), thus Christians should learn to co-exist peacefully.

Negatively, it is significant that someone who spent time in the Islamic world could reproduce so much calumny and fable when describing Islam. This suggests that Sandys had little interest in learning about Islam first-hand from Muslims or from Islamic sources, because he did not think this was necessary. He repeated the type of account that was readily available in English literature, presumably because he thought it was accurate. Comparison with a later 17th-century account written in Constantinople in 1658, Isaac Barrow's *Epitome fidei et religionis Turcicae*, shows that someone prepared to consult primary sources could almost replicate a Muslim account when he wanted to, although elsewhere Barrow also recycled calumny. Of more positive significance for Christian-Muslim relations, however, is the way Sandys' description of Muslim life and society included some commendable aspects, challenging the way

others, including Richard Knolles, totally demonised Turks and Muslims. Also significant is the way Sandys recruited the Ottomans to comment on King James' absolutist tendencies, and to present a moral case for good land management. Thus, his class and political interests to some degree shaped what he wrote and perhaps influenced what he saw.

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Clinton Bennett

Fynes Moryson

DATE OF BIRTH 1565 or 1566
PLACE OF BIRTH Cadeby, Lincolnshire
DATE OF DEATH 12 February 1630
PLACE OF DEATH St Botolph's, London

BIOGRAPHY

Fynes (also Fines and Fiennes) Moryson (also Morison) was born at Cadeby, Lincolnshire, probably during 1565 or 1566. His father, Thomas, held an important post in the Treasury (he was Clerk of the Pipes) and represented Great Grimsby in Parliament in 1572, 1584, 1586 and 1588-9. Moryson matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1580, graduating BA in 1584. Elected a Fellow, with duties as Bursar, his MA followed after three years (1587). By 1589, Moryson was studying civil law but by then was disillusioned with what he saw as a life of ease as a Fellow of whom not much was expected, and he decided to travel.

Two Fellows were permitted to apply for leave to travel or study abroad, and by 1591 Moryson had received his pass. Sailing to Germany from Leigh-on-Thames on 1 May 1591, and narrowly escaping from pirates, he visited 11 European countries over the next four years. He kept detailed notes, collecting a great deal of data on geography, political organisation, diet, dress, what he called 'local colour', habits, agriculture and religion. He did not think of himself as a tourist but as a seeker of knowledge. He developed various survival techniques, as the published account reveals. Moryson spent time at the universities of Padua and Leiden, and compared different approaches to teaching and learning. Fluency in French, German, Italian and Dutch greatly aided his endeavours. He passed himself off as French, Dutch or German when the situation made this prudent, and sometimes used disguises. By pretending to be a Catholic, he gained access to places where Protestants would not ordinarily have been admitted (Aune, 'Moryson, Fynes', p. 716).

After returning to England, where the travel pass was renewed, he set out again accompanied by his brother, Henry, this time for the East, having an 'itching desire to see Jerusalem, the seat of religion... and Constantinople' (*Itinerary*, Part 1, pp. 197-8). They left England on 8 December 1595, travelling through Germany, across the Alps to Venice,

then by ship to Cyprus and Jerusalem. They spent 10 days in Jerusalem, falling ill with dysentery, of which Henry died on 4 July 1596, surrounded by a 'rascall multitude of Turkes and Moores' (Hughes, *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. xviii). Although emotionally devastated by his brother's death, Moryson continued on alone to Crete, and then to Istanbul (which he always refers to as Constantinople), where he lodged with the English ambassador, Edward Barton. He left Turkey at the end of February 1597. The journey back took five months.

Apart from a visit to Scotland, where he met King James VI and was possibly involved in diplomacy, he spent the next year staying with his sisters in Lincolnshire, working on his *Itinerary*. However, when his brother, Sir Richard, secured a job for him in Ireland with Sir Charles Blount, the Lord Deputy, he travelled there to take up the position. First, he went to Cambridge to resign his Fellowship, receiving two months' salary as a parting gift (Lee, 'Moryson, Fynes', p. 173). He actually ended up as Blount's chief secretary when that more prestigious post became vacant the day he arrived. Blount took part in several military encounters with the Irish rebels, and was wounded in the thigh. In 1603, Moryson accompanied Blount back to England, where Blount's death in 1606 left him with a modest pension and time to return to writing his travel account.

Little is known about Moryson's life after publishing the *Itinerary*, except that he died in St Botolph's parish, London, on 12 February 1630. Lee thought that he died soon after publishing the *Itinerary* in 1617, since he more or less disappeared from sight once his volumes were printed ('Moryson, Fynes', p. 174).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

An itinerary

Fynes Moryson's Itinerary

DATE 1617

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Moryson first began work on his *Itinerary* in about 1598. However, he more or less started again in 1609, setting out to produce a shorter, more publishable version. This was eventually published in 1617, printed in four volumes, divided into three parts (its longer title is *An itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the tvelve domjnions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Diuided into III parts*). Part 1 is the travel diary, covering Europe and Moryson's journey to Jerusalem. Part 2 covers his period in Ireland, combining his own account of the Nine Years' War, or Tyrone's Rebellion, with official documents. Part 3 is a more detailed socio-political-economic description and analysis of each country visited. A portion of this remained in manuscript form until 1903, when it was translated and published as Part 4, *Shakespeare's Europe* (some material was not included), even though it was originally intended to supplement Part 3. It appears that this section had been completed by 1620 and had received an imprimatur for publication in 1626, though it was not published possibly because the first volume had not been a financial success (Hughes, 'Introduction', p. xli). Page references below are to the 1907 Glasgow edition, and from the 1903 volume.

In Part 1, Moryson comments on the voraciousness of the Turks. He says that fewer Christian pilgrims now make the journey to Jerusalem because of the 'extortions' and 'foul injuries' imposed by the Turks (vol. 1, p. 447), and he complains about the way in which they claimed all his

dead brother's possessions in the sultan's name (vol. 2, p. 67). Were it not for the help of the local English Factor (and Consul), he would have yielded to this extortion, and 'willingly given [himself] and all that [he] had, to them for a prey'.

In Part 3, surveying the traffic, industry, trade, agriculture and diet of the Turks, Moryson repeatedly writes about how the 'great Tyranny' under which they live makes them indolent. For example, 'They do not labour in any kind more than necessary . . . so the Jewes, the Greekes subject to the Turkes, and other Confederate Christians' carry out all the trade (vol. 4, p. 122). 'By reason', he writes, 'of their foresaid Tyranny, of the temperance in diet', they do 'little fishing or fowling'. Again, 'By reason of the said tyranny . . . the Turkes are negligent in Husbandry and trade, so they are in manuall Arts . . .' (p. 123). 'By reason of their slothfulness, all trade is in the hands of Christians' (p. 125). However, traders arriving in Istanbul 'hardly find there any commodities to export' (p. 124). Thus, in his opinion, as Europe's trade with the East Indies develops, the Turkish trade will decline as richer commodities become available (p. 125). Except for their 'curious cleanliness', he finds Turks 'slovenly' (p. 125). He makes much of their drinking habits, remarking that, either 'out of licentiousness' or because it is a 'common error of mankind to desire forbidden things', even 'religious men' drink 'largely', although their religion forbids alcohol (p. 129). If they cannot obtain wine, they use the 'juice of a black poppy, called Opium to raise the spirits to a kind of glory' (p. 129).

In Part 4, published in 1903, Moryson begins his historical overview with the birth of the 'wicked Mahomett' in 597, uncertain whether he was Arab or Persian (p. 1). In about 622, Mahomett wrote the Alcoran about his 'new religion' and was saluted as king by the Saracens (p. 2). By 640, his followers had overrun Persia, but a split then occurred, dividing the religion between Egypt and the 'Caliph of Persia'. About 1040, the Turks cast off the Saracen yoke and 'made themselves a king' (p. 2). In later times, Shah Ismā'īl of Persia 'became the Author of a new Mahometan sect [Shī'a Islam], differing from that of the Turkes, as pretending a more pure reformation thereof and thereby sowed a successive and deadly hatred, rising from the said difference in religion' (p. 3).

Moryson confesses that he could imagine nothing more 'miserable than a towne taken by the Turkes, for they demolish all monuments sacred and profane, and spare not the lives of anyone' who is not thought suitable for slavery (p. 13). Those who embrace Islam become 'slaves to the divell' (p. 13). The 'great Tyrant', the sultan, does not hesitate to take the 'heads, and goods, of the greatest when they are full of riches'

(p. 16). 'The Turkish law, divine and civil, is from Mahomett, and its chief interpreters, the Mofty, are regarded as oracles' (p. 17).

He remarks that Elizabeth I's 'great actions in prevailing against the Pope [and Spain] made her much admired of the emperor, and his mother, and of all the great men of the court'. Indeed, by the time Moryson reached Istanbul, a great number of diplomatic exchanges had taken place between the English and Ottoman courts, and a type of alliance existed (p. 31). He recorded, however, that when the emperor saw how small England was on a map, 'he wondered that the king of Spain did not digg it with mattocks, and cast it into the sea' (p. 31).

Moryson explains that the leaders of the Turkish state are not Turks but captured Christians, or Christians who had turned 'Mahometan'. Even the poorest of these may rise up to the highest office of state (p. 36). But Turkish justice is 'chill', a true tyranny. Christians cannot testify against a Turk, who can 'without any triall at law . . . beat with cudgells a Christian or common Turk' (p. 61). False accusations and frauds are daily committed against Christians, with no recourse, and Christians cannot carry arms (p. 63). Corporal and capital punishments include Christians being burned at the stake for the crime of 'speaking anything against the law of Mahomet' (pp. 67-8).

SIGNIFICANCE

Moryson's account of his observations of Ottoman life, including religious aspects, attracted interest in his lifetime because he had written from first-hand experience. His dislike of the Turks fitted in well with popular conceptions of them as barbaric and anti-Christian. His repeated descriptions of Turkish tyranny would confirm for many readers the conviction that, lacking justice, the Ottoman state was not even to be recognised as legitimate, a notion found in John Foxe. If converting to Islam made a person the devil's servant, it was obvious whom Turkey served. Ill-treatment of Christians, a constant theme in the *Itinerary*, with its description of Turks as indolent, did nothing to improve their image in England at a time when King James I did not want any dealings with Turks, but instead wanted to unite Christian princes against them.

Moryson's account, partly published in 1617, in many respects contrasts sharply with Henry Blount's, which was published in 1636, although there is common ground. Generally, the difference lies in Blount's willingness to like Turks and much of what he observed, and Moryson's almost total unwillingness to like anything about them, except possibly their 'cleanliness'. Both were aware of the limitations involved in being an outside

observer, not a long-term resident (see Moryson, *Itinerary*, Part I, 'Note to the Reader'; Henry Blount, *A voyage into the Levant*, London, 1636, p. 2). Blount was also aware of what he called 'conceit' about the superiority of a person's own culture, and how this can colour the way in which others are perceived, and he attempted to guard against this 'zealous ignorance'. Perhaps his deism and free thinking was more liberating here than Moryson's staunch Protestantism (see A.W. Ward, 'An Elizabethan traveler (Fynes Moryson)', in A.W. Ward, *Collected papers, historical, literary, travel and miscellaneous*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1921, 198-230, p. 211).

At times tedious, Moryson's account can also be amusing, and his attempt to explain market-forces, economics, currency fluctuations and new technologies added to the work's value as more than a travel narrative. The work remains of interest, especially to social historians. The Ottoman segment was a rare first-hand account at the time he wrote, and was quite widely read.

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Clinton Bennett

Robert Burton

DATE OF BIRTH 8 February 1576/7
PLACE OF BIRTH Lindley Hall, Leicestershire
DATE OF DEATH 25 January 1640
PLACE OF DEATH Christ Church, Oxford

BIOGRAPHY

As R. Nochimson remarks, 'the ordinary facts of Burton's life are difficult (if not impossible) to establish conclusively' ('Studies', p. 86). There is some certainty that Robert Burton was born on 8 February 1576/7 at Lindley Hall, his parents' estate in Leicestershire. A lifelong student, he matriculated in 1593 at Brasenose College, Oxford, and received his BA in 1602, his MA from Christ Church in 1605 and his BD in 1614. He was nominated to the Oxford living of St Thomas the Martyr, and became vicar in 1616. During the 1620s, he appears to have maintained several college tutorships, and in 1624 he became librarian at Christ Church. In the 1630s, he returned to the county of his birth, when he was granted the rectory of Seagrave in Leicester by his patron, Lord Berkley.

In addition to the six editions of *The anatomy of melancholy* crafted between 1621 and his death in 1640, Burton produced a short play, *Alba*, begun around 1606 and revised in 1615. No copy remains of this first work. On 16 February 1616 or 1617, his satirical comedy, *Philosophaster*, was performed at Christ Church. He also composed over a dozen poems, but the bulk of his writing went to the many editions of *The anatomy* edited throughout his life.

The anatomy is a testament to Burton's wide learning and passion for books, though it is important to clarify that he was socially insular and generally secluded himself in the monastic setting of the Bodleian Library. He took little interest in public affairs, did not travel outside England, and did not master any languages beyond English and Latin. Some scholars say he knew French and Greek, though this is dubious, and it is certain that he did not know Arabic.

The manner of Burton's death remains open to question. Scholars are divided over his apparent suicide, the result of the 'undergraduate witticism' (Evans, *Psychiatry*, p. 11) that his death on 25 January 1640 was self-inflicted. Burton's self-scripted epitaph adds to the uncertainty: *Paucis*

notus paucioribus ignotus hic iacet Democritus Iunior cui vitam dedit et mortem melancholia ('Known to few and forgiven by fewer, here lies Democritus Junior, who gave his life and death to Melancholy'). Whether Burton killed himself in order to fulfil his own prophecies remains unresolved.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The anatomy of melancholy

DATE Six versions between 1621 and 1651

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The anatomy is primarily a response to a medical condition (its full title is *The anatomy of melancholy; what it is, with all the kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostics, and several cures of it, in three partitions, with their several sections, members, and subsections philosophically, medicinally, historically opened and cut up*), whether understood as a philanthropic attempt to alleviate a 'perceived epidemic' in others (Gowland, *Worlds of Renaissance melancholy*, p. 2) or a cathartic attempt to assuage Burton's own

melancholic condition. The task of producing and revising it occupied Burton through most of his adult life. According to the 'Textual Introduction' of Faulkner, Kiessling, and Blair's edition (which is used here), it expanded in each of the five editions between 1621 and 1638, and reached its fullest form in the posthumous 6th edition of 1651. Each edition grew 'at every level from single words to entire paragraphs' (*Anatomy*, vol. 1, p. xxxviii). The 1621 quarto edition of 880 pages had grown by over 150,000 words by the time of the 1651 folio edition of 842 pages.

Written under the pseudonym Democritus Jr., *The anatomy* consists of a lengthy introduction followed by three partitions. The first partition presents a general overview, including the causes, symptoms and prognostics of melancholy; the second covers cures and medicines; and the third deals with two specific cases, lovesickness and religious melancholy.

Two sections predominantly deal with religions: the introductory 'Democritus to the reader', and the section of the third partition on religious melancholy. In these two sections there are copious passing references to Islam, which demonstrate a division between Islam as a system of distorted religious superstition and estimable scholarly individuals who happened to be Muslim believers. In order to uphold the authority of these scholars, Burton usually remains silent about their religious background.

Burton often refers to individual Arab scholars and philosophers (Babb, *Sanity in Bedlam*, p. 44), including Gerber (Abū Mūsā Jābir ibn Ḥayyān), Alkindus (Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī), Alhazan (Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham), Avicenna (Abū 'Alī l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā) and Averroes (Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Rushd), probably on the basis of the Latin translation of al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-ḥāwī* (*Continens*), as well as Latin translations of some of their works (Heyd, 'Robert Burton's sources', p. 20). He tends to call them simply scholars, though he occasionally identifies them as 'the Arabians', avoiding any reference to Islam.

The fullest references to Islam come in the third partition, where Burton discusses the pervasive nature of religious melancholy. As in 'Democritus to the reader', this partition is riddled with passing references to Islam, and there are also mentions of Muḥammad and the scholars Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd.

As might be expected in this period, Burton directs vehemence towards Muḥammad, whom he saw as taking advantage of those around him: 'So Mahomet did [target the uneducated] when he published his

Alcoran' (vol. 3, p. 357). He carries his antipathy over to the Qur'an itself: '[It is] full of nonsense, barbarism, confusion, without rhyme, reason, or any good composition, first published to a company of rude rustics, hog-rubbers, that had no discretion, judgement, art, or understanding, and is so still maintained' (p. 357). Antipathy is also evident in his brief description of Islam as designed to 'delude a company of rude & barbarous clownes' so that believers can be 'kept in awe, and so cowed, that they dare not resist', and remain 'misled by superstition' until they are damned to hell (pp. 379-81).

Burton takes a different approach in his references to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and Ibn Rushd (Averroes): 'But [a general reader] that shall read the *Turks' Alcoran*, the *Jewes' Talmud*, and Papists' *Golden Legend*, in the meane time will swear that such grosse fictions, fables, vaine traditions, prodigious paradoxes and ceremonies, could never proceed from any other spirit, then that of the divell himselfe, which is the Author of confusion and lies, and wonder withall how such wise men as have bin of the Jewes, such learned understanding men as *Averroes*, *Avicenna*, or those heathen Philosophers, could ever been perswaded to beleieve, or to subscribe to the least part of them: *aut fraudem non detegere*, but that as *Vanninus* answeres, *ob publicæ potestatis formidinem allatrare philosophi non audebant*, they durst not speake, for feare of the law' (vol. 3, p. 370). He sees an evident paradox between these learned, truthful scholars, and the superstitious Islamic beliefs they held.

As he describes the ubiquity of religious melancholy in this partition, Burton divides the world into six parts, two of which are Muslim. One is controlled by the Turks: 'The Mahometans extend themselves over the great Turks' dominions in *Europe*, *Africke*, *Asia* to the *Xeriffes* in *Barbary*, and his territories in *Fez*, *Sus*, *Morocco*, &c' (vol. 3, p. 341); and the second part is controlled by other Muslims: 'The *Tartar*, the great *Mogor*, the *Sophy of Persia*, with most of their dominions and subjects, are at this day *Mahometans*' (p. 341). There is enmity between them: 'See how the Divell rageth! Those [two parts are] at oddes, or differing among themselves, some for *Alli*, some for *Eubocar*, for *Aomar*, and *Ozimen*, those foure doctors, *Mahomets* successors, & are subdivided into 72 inferior Sects, as *Leo Afer* [Leo Africanus] reports' (p. 341). His point in making this division is to show how certain religious groups have either been infiltrated by superstition, as is the case with the Christian sects, or have intentionally harnessed superstition, as is the case with the Catholics and the Muslims. For example, 'the Turks in their Alcoran [use superstition to control the masses], when they set down rewards and several punishments for every

particular virtue and vice, when they persuade men that they that die in battle shall go directly to heaven . . . ' (pp. 348-9). As is the case with most of Burton's direct references to Islam, here it is a superstition that leads its deluded followers to hell.

SIGNIFICANCE

Burton's attitude towards Islam is not untypical of its time, and is unremarkable for any particular insights it offers. The implicit tension he shows in casting the faith as a misleading superstition on the one hand and employing Muslim scholars among his authorities on the other was shared by many intellectuals in Early Modern Europe.

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Jeffrey Squires

William Shakespeare

DATE OF BIRTH Baptised 26 April 1564
PLACE OF BIRTH Stratford-upon-Avon
DATE OF DEATH 23 April 1616
PLACE OF DEATH Stratford-upon-Avon

BIOGRAPHY

The time-span between William Shakespeare's entrance onto and exit from the world's stage was 52 years, yet the events, significance and consequences of these five or so decades have been discussed for centuries since. Much has been claimed for the man from Stratford, the actor, the poet, the Bard; the genius.

The debate begins over Shakespeare's exact date of birth. William Oldys' assertion in the 18th century that Shakespeare was born on 23 April provides a neat mirroring with the date of his death, as well as forcing a connection with the official day of another national hero, St George, the patron saint of England, but it has been dismissed by others as nothing more than a myth (Honan, *Shakespeare*, pp. 15-16).

What is certain is that Shakespeare was born into a family of middling prosperity. His father's career was fluid to say the least, ranging from farmer and glover to alderman and bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon before his financial downfall. Prior to this, the family could afford to send the seven-year old Shakespeare to the nearest grammar school, the King's New School, for eight years.

By the time Shakespeare was 20, he had married his pregnant bride and become a father of three, including twins. Most probably, the increasing need to provide for his young family accounts for the existence of what are termed the 'lost years'. His life, like that of every other great historical figure, has a touch of mystery. From 1585 to 1592, Shakespeare is almost entirely absent from the written record and there are various theories as to his whereabouts. Records show that he died a wealthy man (see Cooper, *Searching*, pp. 193, 194-5).

His reappearance in 1592 is the first confirmation of Shakespeare as an actor and poet living and working in London. A posthumous publication by the dramatist Robert Greene, entitled *Greene's goats-worth of witte*, attacks Shakespeare as an 'upstart crow' for having the 'audacity'

as a lowly actor to attempt to write plays and even for feeding off the literary gifts of others, claiming them as his own. What the vitriol does indicate is that Shakespeare must have been in the capital and in the world of the theatre for some time. Greene's assault from the grave, however, did not damage Shakespeare in the least. He not only survived the ignominy but succeeded in overturning it. Henry Chettle, who published the pamphlet, later apologised specifically to two playwrights for having done so, also in print (*Kind-harts*, 1593). Discussion centres on whether Shakespeare is one of the two, as some biographers think (see Honan, *Shakespeare*, pp. 158-9). Those who question that Shakespeare wrote the plays usually argue that the author must have had a higher education or have travelled widely in Europe (Wilson, *Evidence*, p. 13). In fact, a good grammar school education at the time was not far below undergraduate level. (For authorship theories, see Hope and Holston, *Shakespeare controversy*). The 17th Earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere (d. 1604) and Sir Francis Bacon (d. 1626) are two of the most popular candidates. For others, see Shapiro's *Contested Will* (pp. 2-3). Mainstream scholars have tended to be reluctant to engage with the attribution question. Shapiro, who has, writes that, after devoting years of study to researching this, his belief in Shakespearean authorship 'remains unshaken' (p. 8).

Shakespeare's career was intertwined with the fortunes of the acting company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, later renamed the King's Men when King James became their patron in 1603. Shakespeare not only performed and wrote for the troupe but also owned part of it. All in all, he is accredited with 38 dramas (some as collaborations), 154 sonnets, two narrative poems and perhaps some others of doubtful authorship. His lasting legacy is that almost all of these works were and still are considered masterpieces. Furthermore, they are not all of one type. Shakespeare was the master of all genres. In the histories, there is the deformed royal villain in *Richard III* and the petty squabbles of the ruling classes that would rip England apart in the *Henry VI* plays. The tragedies, too, are wide-ranging. There is the brutal violence of the ancients, and Shakespeare's first Moorish character, the wicked and loathsome Aaron, in *Titus Andronicus*, and the consuming passion of 'treacherous', youthful love in *Romeo and Juliet*. Next to arrive are the three definitive tragedies that represent the peak of Shakespeare's writing, all of which are concerned with intrigues in the corridors of power. Characters in *Hamlet* are destroyed through the paranormal, in *King Lear* through insanity, and in *Macbeth* through murder. In the comedies, *A midsummer night's dream* is set in a magical world with love triangles and the sickness of

unrequited love, whilst the underdog in *The merchant of Venice*, the Jewish Shylock, is a cause for concern and commemoration. Finally, there are the late romances such as *The winter's tale* and *The tempest* with their stories of redemption and forgiveness for all.

Universal themes also abound in Shakespeare's sonnets and narrative poems dedicated to his patron, the third Earl of Southampton. He writes of love, beauty and desire – the themes of life that speak to all. Shakespeare illustrates how these passions can be used as expressions of both ambitious loves and debauched lusts. Shakespeare's legacy has flourished since his death in 1616. His impact on the English theatre and language is immeasurable, his protagonists are household names worldwide and his own name can never be separated from the pinnacle of English drama or from the English psychology of self.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The tragedie of Othello: the Moore of Venice
Othello

DATE Published in 1622

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The tragedie of Othello, the Moore of Venice appears at the peak of the Shakespearean canon, between *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. It was first performed by the King's Company in the banqueting house at Whitehall on 1 November 1604, with Richard Burbage as Othello. After that, it was staged at the Globe and elsewhere, including Blackfriars. Regarded as one of Shakespeare's most enduring tragedies with its tale of ruin in the domestic sphere, it is also one of the longest: the text occupies 132 pages in Norman Sanders' edition (2003). The first edition of this five-act play was published by Thomas Walkley as a quarto volume in 1622, printed by Nicholas Okes. It was 96 pages long (three were blank). Editions followed in 1630, 1655, 1681, 1687 and 1693. It was the last play to be published separately before the first folio edition of 1623, where it runs from p. 310 to p. 339.

The inspiration for the drama can be traced back to the short story *Un capitano Moro*, written by Giovanni Battista Giraldi (1504-73), an Italian author more commonly known as Cinthio. In addition, it has an affinity with *The tale of the three apples* from the *One thousand and one nights* collection, the crux of all three stories being the unlawful killing of chaste wives by unjustly jealous husbands. In *Othello*, Shakespeare embellishes these threads of influence in a whole new way, particularly on the religious and racial planes.

Desdemona, an Italian noblewoman has secretly married Othello, a Moorish general in the Venetian army. Othello's ensign, Iago, vows revenge out of absolute hatred for the Moor, but cunningly masks this loathing under a pretence of sincere love. He tells Desdemona's father, Brabantio, what she has done but the Senate vindicates the couple and sends them with the army to Cyprus to repel an impending Ottoman attack. There, Iago plots to destroy Othello once and for all.

The battle against the Turks does not materialise, their fleet being decimated in a storm, but Iago's actions ensure that Othello must still fight, albeit against his own self. He passionately convinces Othello with

eloquent, sympathetic speeches, that Desdemona is unfaithful to him. Othello then fatally smothers his wife, before learning the truth and taking his own life too, whilst the now silent Iago is arrested.

A major theme of the work is the complications and subtleties surrounding ethnic and religious identities. In particular, the question 'Who is Othello?' will never be fully and completely answered. He is portrayed as an honourable Christian, brave, valiant and principled in religious virtue, and mention is made of his baptism. His wife, too, is a faithful believer. Yet, Othello is also a Moor and references in the play indicate that he is dark-skinned. In Shakespeare's time, Moors were usually, but not always, regarded as black and Muslim. They could also be black and Christian, or white and Muslim, making Othello's exact identity even more doubtful.

This uncertainty is amplified by the protagonist's many references to the Turks. He castigates his army for brawling amongst themselves, comparing them to the Ottomans, and in his suicide speech recalls killing a Turk in Aleppo. The ambiguity of Othello's identity still divides scholars today. Most are of the opinion that Othello has no allegiance to Islam and that the question of Muslim identity is played on by Shakespeare, in that anyone who acts violently is considered to be Muslim. Here is an allusion to the expression, 'turning Turk', popularly used in Shakespeare's day not only to refer to a conversion to Islam, but also to explain negative, irrational changes of personality and character.

However, Cyndia Susan Clegg believes otherwise, claiming that Othello's acts of murder and suicide are the direct consequences of the Moor's return to Islamic law and religion ('English Renaissance', pp. 4-5). What is evident is the correlation between Shakespeare's Moorish creation and the real-life figure, Leo Africanus (1494-1554), an African Muslim traveller and author who converted to Catholicism. Discussion of the latter's true religious convictions, like Othello's, continues unabated.

As mentioned above, the inclusion and importance of the Turks in *Othello* is a striking departure from Cinthio's original. The external Ottoman threat quickly becomes an internal struggle against the base inclinations of the ego. It is no accident that the three mentions of Turks after the storm are connected with lying, brawling and murder or suicide. Thus, being 'Turkish' in this sense is not only related to adherents of the Islamic faith, but may even be linked with Christians. This may be read as Shakespeare's utilisation of popular stereotypes of his own day, but the genius of it is that, if it is argued that Othello yields to 'Turkish/ Islamic' traits when destroying everything he loves, it must also be

acknowledged that the sole responsibility for this lies in the 'honest' 'Christian' hands of Iago.

The contacts in *Othello* between Christians and Muslims are presented as being predominantly destructive, especially when Iago's malevolent scheming is considered. Othello is an outsider in Venice. He has made his home there, married a local woman and is admired by the Senate, but this rosy picture is darkened by the hatred of individuals such as Iago. Does Iago detest Othello because he himself was passed over as choice for lieutenant? Or does Iago secretly love Desdemona? Or could it be that Othello may have slept with Iago's wife? All are possible, but it seems that the current of abhorrence in Iago has always been there, as is indicated by his use of racial epithets. Iago picks on points of difference to attack his general: his skin colour, facial features and supposed characteristics. He emphasises the 'unbridgeable' gap between the two worlds that Othello inhabits (Christian and Islamic) and convinces Othello that Desdemona must feel it too. Desdemona cannot fully love her spouse because he is so different from everything to do with Christian Venice, and she is bound to seek a more familiar love in the arms of a more familiar man.

SIGNIFICANCE

Othello was written, performed and published at a time when 'Turk' plays were becoming increasingly popular, following on from the success of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the great* plays (1587-8). This demand was the direct result of current relations between England and the Islamic world, particularly with the Ottoman and North African domains. In a context where Europeans not uncommonly travelled to Muslim lands and in some cases fought for Muslim armies, *Othello* is noteworthy for its reversal of that pattern. Rather than simply following the flow of previous works, Shakespeare's story is of a 'Muslim' in Europe. Furthermore, instead of ordinary Christians turning Turk, suspicion falls on Othello, who may indeed be a convert to Christianity. Many of the issues regarding race, religion and identity still arise in the play, despite this reversal of the situation.

A simple tale of domestic bliss turned violent is complicated by these precise issues, which is why the drama is still read, performed and adapted today across the English-speaking world and beyond. For example, in the Middle East, Othello, Desdemona and Iago are household names (see Ghazoul, 'Arabization', p. 13). In India, there have been adaptations through traditional Hindu dance dramas (Loomba, 'Local

manufacture', pp. 143-63), whilst South African thinkers have used the play to attempt to understand, explain and challenge the nation's history of apartheid (Loomba, *Shakespeare*, pp. 1-2).

Shakespeare's Moor is a tragic hero. Othello is a man of unknown, suspicious origin and this clearly moves away from the stock characters of some 'Turk' plays in which Muslim characters are one-dimensional: iniquitous, angry, strange and lewd. Othello is multi-faceted; a real character displaying the full spectrum of human emotions and it is precisely because of this that he is able to gain the sympathy and trust of the audience. The Black 'Muslim' Moor is the fatal victim; the White 'Christian' Venetian is the depraved villain.

The tale has enjoyed success throughout its performance history and continues to do so in modern times. Its themes are still as relevant, if not more so than in its original context. With contemporary large-scale Muslim immigration to Europe, Othello is living and breathing today. Many Muslims are seeking to make a home and life away from their birth places and family origins. They face the possibility of both integration (characterised by Desdemona and the Senate), where judgements are made on personal character, and alienation (characterised by Iago and others), where judgements are made on personal appearance. Shakespeare's *Othello* thus illustrates two competing realms of Christian-Muslim interaction.

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Nabila Shah

James I

DATE OF BIRTH 19 June 1566
PLACE OF BIRTH Edinburgh Castle
DATE OF DEATH 27 March 1625
PLACE OF DEATH Theobalds House, Cheshunt, Hertfordshire

BIOGRAPHY

James Stuart became the first 'King of Great Britain', as he styled himself, when he succeeded his cousin, Elizabeth I, as king of England in 1603, having succeeded his mother, Mary, as King James VI of Scotland in 1567. He ruled England as James I and was the first monarch of the Stuart dynasty. He was descended from Margaret Tudor, King Henry VII's daughter, through his father, Lord Darnley and also through his mother. Raised by foster parents, the Earl and Countess of Marom in Stirling Castle, James was educated by private tutors from the age of four. His chief tutors were George Buchanan (1506-82) and Peter Young (1544-1628). Buchanan, a poet and playwright as well as an historian, was a major figure in the Scottish Renaissance and had also tutored James's mother. Young, who studied in Scotland and Switzerland with John Calvin's protégé, Theodore Beza, remained close to James throughout the king's life, holding several diplomatic and other appointments. James was instructed in Greek, Latin and French, as well as English, and in such subjects as history, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, the Bible and Christian doctrines.

Although a staunch Protestant, James disliked Presbyterianism, which was dominant in Scotland, associating it with 'egalitarianism and republicanism' (McGrath, *In the beginning*, p. 139). He saw a relationship between the role of bishops and the role and authority of the monarch, 'believing passionately that his royal authority was dependent on bishops' (McGrath, *In the beginning*, p. 138), and he restored bishops in Scotland in 1600. After ascending the English throne, the same debate continued with the Puritans, who preferred elected elders. James coined the maxim, 'No bishops, no king' (McIlwain, *The political works of James I*, p. liv). He also wanted the monarch to be head of the church, a role that Presbyterians rejected. The leading Scottish reformer Andrew Melville (1545-1622) wrote, 'King James is the subject of King Jesus, not "head of

the church” (Smylie, *Brief history of the Presbyterians*, p. 31). For James, his role as head of the church carried responsibility for overseeing the exposition and interpretation of scripture (Cramsie, ‘Philosophy of imperial kingship’, p. 46).

The instability of the period in which he grew up certainly had an emotional impact on James: his father was murdered in 1567; his mother, a Catholic, faced a rebellion by her Protestant subjects, was imprisoned and forced to abdicate, sought refuge in England and was arrested there and was eventually executed by Elizabeth I. The Scottish throne was surrounded by intrigue, from which James was initially insulated by a succession of regents until 1583, when he began to rule directly. This followed a period of captivity, when Presbyterian nobles – who saw him as a threat to their interests – held him in custody. All this left him shy, introverted and inclined towards scholarship, not towards a military life. In fact, turning to writing from an early age, he began to see the task of leaving a literary legacy as a king’s duty, advising his son ‘it best becometh a king to purify and make famous his own tongue, and wherein he may go before all his subjects’ (Fischlin and Fortier, *True law of free monarchies*, p. 166).

He disliked military men and military solutions and saw himself as a peacemaker, with no little biblical inference as a *rex pacificus*, a David-like figure. Diplomat Marin Cavalli reported to Venice that James was ‘averse to war’ and had ‘pacified various feuds between his nobles’ in Scotland (Brown, *Calendar of state papers*, entry no. 17, 20 April 1603). *The Peace-maker* (1618), a publication attributed to James, credits him with helping resolve conflicts between England and Scotland, England and Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, Cleves and Brandenburg (Patterson, *King James VI*, p. 297). For James, writing was the preferred mechanism to exercise power. He was monarch of the word, not of the sword. His ‘poetry, theology and political philosophy served the ends of kingship and authority’ (Cramsie, ‘Philosophy of imperial kingship’, p. 46). His efforts at translating the Psalms, begun as early as 1584 (see Doelman, *King James I*, p. 135), suggest that he was himself conscious of the David allusion; he also liked to see himself as a second Solomon, thus ‘comparisons of James to Solomon were manifold’ (Doeleman, *King James I*, p. 99). He had himself anointed as well as crowned king of England, in the French style. When his non-poetical writing was collected and published in 1616, a preface written by the Bishop of Winchester gave a summary of the history of monarchical writing from biblical times

on, and concluded that in James God had 'given us a Solomon; and God above all things gave Solomon Wisdome' (Montague, 'The Preface to the Reader', p. c2).

After ascending the English throne, James's main achievement was keeping out of wars and making peace with Spain. The price of the 1604 Treaty with Spain was the withdrawal of support for the Protestants in the Netherlands. Only vis-à-vis Islam did James depart from his pacifism; he called for an all-Christian alliance against Turkey, and even appears to have had thoughts about leading a new crusade to liberate Jerusalem. Nor was it accidental that his epic poem *Lepanto* (written in 1585) had an anti-Muslim theme. In 1621, he responded positively to a request to aid Poland against the Ottomans, although his contribution fell short of sending regular British troops (see Rutkowski, 'Poland and Britain', 2008). When courted by Persia on the possibility of a Persian-British alliance against the Turks, James rejected this, not wishing to be associated with any non-Christian allies.

Also in 1621, James's navy assaulted Algiers in an effort to curtail piracy. Thus the only targets of a military operation under his rule were Muslims. James believed that the king should govern in council, that is, advised by a council of his own appointees, and saw no legitimate role for parliament. He constantly clashed with his parliaments, usually over money and their authority, versus his. On the one hand, he reigned during a time of prosperity, itself a result of his avoiding war. On the other, he spent extravagantly. Perhaps ironically, he had to deal with the results of a failed Catholic coup, the Gunpowder Plot, shortly after his 1603 accession. His biggest disappointment was the failure to bring about England's political union with Scotland, which did not occur until 1707 under Queen Anne, having until then met English resistance.

James was genuinely interested in the reunification of the Christian world. He gave Spain personal guarantees about the treatment of Catholics while negotiating the Treaty of London (1604) and he reached out to the patriarch of Constantinople, helping pioneer longstanding relations between the Church of England and the Orthodox communion (see Patterson, *King James VI*, ch. 6). He attempted rapprochement with Pope Clement VIII (Patterson, *King James VI*, pp. 37-8), although the pope was unwilling to convene the General Council that James proposed to deal with issues that divided Protestants and Catholics. Parliament refused to repeal anti-Catholic legislation, but James ended execution as a penalty linked with religious matters. His appointment of Catholics to various offices during his Scottish and British periods attracted criticism, too.

Despite his literary endeavours, the English tended to see James as uncouth. Interest in his writings declined after his death – critics concluded that they had been of interest during his life only due to his royal status. His writing divides into biblical commentary, theology, poetry and political discourse, with overlaps between these categories. His work on the Psalms (unfinished) overlapped the biblical and the poetic, while his *Lepanto*, celebrating the Ottoman naval defeat of 1571, had political significance as well as being a work of poetry. While *Lepanto* is probably his most important and successful work, he is also especially known for his treatise on the divine right of kings, *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and for his book of advice for his heir apparent, Henry, *Basilikon dōron* (1599). The Bible translation project that he authorised after a conference convened with the Puritans (1604) was closely supervised by himself and culminated in the King James Version of 1611.

James died from a stroke after a period of ill-health on 27 March 1625, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. During the funeral service, the Bishop of Lincoln compared his death to Solomon's; both kings died at about 60 years of age, and 'at Peace' (Croft, *King James*, p. 129-30). His second son, Charles, succeeded him as king.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*The Lepanto of James sixth, King of Scotland
His Majesties Lepento or, Heroricall Song being
part of his Poeticall exercises at vacant hours*

DATE 1591

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Lepanto of James Sixth, King of Scotland is a short epic poem by James when he was still king of Scotland, commemorating the defeat of the Ottoman navy in 1571 by a coalition of Catholic states known as the Holy League, led by Don John of Austria (1547-78). This was the only Ottoman set-back during the 16th century and many Europeans saw it as proof that the Ottomans could be defeated, and even as indicating their demise and imminent end.

Written in somewhat broken lines of 14 syllables, the poem is 915 lines long. At the end, there are two choruses taking up five additional pages. In all printed editions, lines are split into two. The poem was probably written in 1585, and appears to have circulated initially in manuscript form, which may or may not have had James's approval. It was first published in his second collection of poems, *His Maiestie's Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Hours*, in 1591. He republished it in a single volume in 1603, which was almost certainly part of his preparations for succeeding Elizabeth I, signalling his intent to be monarch of the word, even Britain's chief poet. *Lepanto* is the only poem that James re-published in this way, and was obviously the work on which he rested his literary reputation. Of little actual poetical merit, it nonetheless attracted praise from contemporary literati. In his edition of James's poetry, James Craige cites 27 poets and writers who praised either the poem or James's poetical skill (*The poems of James VI. of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1955, vol. 2, Appendix A, pp. 269-70). The manuscript version in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Bodley 165), is in Scots. Thus, at some point James or an associate must have translated the poem.

The poem is preceded by a two-and-a-half-page preface, 'The Author to the Reader', in which James refers to stolen copies having circulated in manuscript form, and to the charge that he had written the poem in 'praise of a forraine Papist bastard', implying that some saw this as unbecoming a Protestant. He replied that he had not set out to glorify Don Juan, who was merely the instrument used by God to deliver the victory.

The poem begins by declaring that it sings a wonderful work of God in which the baptised race defeated the circumcised in a 'bloody battel bolde', killing many. Then, in a scene reminiscent of the Book of Job, Satan taunts God with Turkish victories. God replies that, even though all Christians do not serve his Son correctly in all things, he will aid them in ending Turkish oppression, and he sends Gabriel to Venice to 'put into their minds' the resolve to take revenge for the 'wrongs the Turks have done'. The Venetian Senate, with a League of Christian princes, then forms a fleet to attack the Turkish navy, with Don Juan of Austria at its head (l. 205).

Next, James describes the contributions of the various participants as their ships set out for battle, including 8000 men from Spain, 12,000 from Italy and 3000 from 'countries colde and wide'. Turkish spies report back to their masters on the gathering fleet, but they miscalculate numbers and take it to be smaller than it was (l. 330). The Turkish navy sails into the Gulf of Lepanto, waiting for battle to begin. A victory for them would see millions of Christians enslaved, and thus the Christians knew how much was at stake. Battle ensues. The Ottomans invoke Mahomet's aid (l. 545). Casualty follows casualty on both sides; as a Christian dies, the Muslim responsible is slain. Then the battle seems to favour the Turks as more Christians perish, but finally, after several attempts, the galley of the Turkish commander Müezzinzade Ali Pasha is boarded, and his head is cut off and fixed to a masthead of the Christian flagship. Turkish morale collapses, and the battle ends with greater Turkish than Christian losses.

The first concluding chorus praises God for the victory, and celebrates the end of the Turkish yoke. The second suggests that as God had delivered this victory to those who do not profess his name as they ought, how much greater a victory might he give to those who are 'Christians true'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Twice published during James's own lifetime, and translated into French, German, Dutch and Latin, this poem was widely known in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. While James's poetic skills are generally held to be mediocre at best, *Lepanto* did earn him recognition, at least in his lifetime. Celebrating what was then a rare Christian victory against the Ottomans, it perpetuated many existing tropes about the Turk as the enemy of all Christians, which for James signalled the need for unity. Reference to Satan delighting in Turkish victories in the Job-like opening

scene suggests that, while James thought that all Christians, Catholics included, still served the same God, Muslims did not, but furthered the Great Enemy's purposes.

The poem represented a very different approach to relations with the Muslim world from that followed by Elizabeth I, who entertained and to a degree pursued an anti-Catholic alliance with Muslims. James wanted nothing to do with such a possibility, and even expressed a preference to end all relations with Turkey. In her court correspondence, Elizabeth had shifted away from identifying Turks as wholly opposed to European civilisation towards seeing them as friends and allies. James reversed this. He detested any dealings with them, and was displeased when any Christian prince made peace with Turkey, as in the treaty between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottomans in 1606 (Rutkowski, 'Poland and Britain', p. 187, citing Brown, *Calendar of state papers*, vol. 10, p. 654). By republishing *Lepanto* as he ascended the throne of England, he signalled that his Ottoman policy would depart radically from Elizabeth's.

In 1603, Richard Knolles dedicated his *The Generall Historie of the Turks* to James, confident that the king shared his desire to see the Ottomans overthrown. Knolles also saw a united Christian front as necessary for this to happen. Rutkowski describes James's fascination with the crusaders, perhaps especially Richard the Lionheart, and how, despite his aversion to war, he repeatedly spoke of personally leading a campaign to defeat the Turks if only other Christian princes would do their part (Rutkowski, 'Poland and Britain', p. 188). Early in James's reign, the Venetian ambassador reported that he always spoke with 'disdain' for the Turk: he 'hates him' and 'would willingly lead a campaign against him' (Brown, *Calendar of state papers*, vol. 10, entry 739). Similarly, as late as 1620, a Venetian diplomat reported James as saying that he could think of no greater glory than to die engaged in such an enterprise (Brown, *Calendar of state papers Venice*, vol. 16, entry 586).

While for James and others the victory at Lepanto foreshadowed the rapid demise of Ottoman power, in fact the Ottomans recovered quite quickly, retaining Cyprus for another three centuries.

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Court correspondence

DATE 1603-25

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

James I corresponded with a number of Muslim rulers, especially with the Ottoman sultan and with the Mughal emperor. He initiated the latter correspondence, while the former had developed under his predecessor Elizabeth I, during whose reign the Levant Company had been formed (1581) and an ambassador appointed to Istanbul (1583). Early in his reign, James received letters from the Ottoman sultan extending friendship. These are archived in State Papers (National Public Archives) – Nero, B. XI, 4. He wrote to the sultan as early as 26 December 1603 (State Papers 97/4 fol. 243). James, like Elizabeth before him, wrote to the sultan in Latin, while the sultan used Ottoman Turkish for the ornate, official letter under his *tuğra* (personal calligraphic signature), but also sent a Latin translation. Owing to distances, and multiple-handlers *en route*, the contents of letters, especially in translation, did not always reach the recipient unchanged.

In addition to letters sent by James, court correspondence records also contain descriptions by Venetian diplomats of his attitude toward Turkey, and cite his remarks. The Venetians were especially interested in this because England was seen as a commercial rival in Ottoman space, which Venice had historically dominated despite engaging in a series of military confrontations with the Ottomans. These were interspersed with peace treaties and trading accords. This material (much of it published in Brown, *Calendar of state papers*, vol. 10) makes it clear that James ‘detested’ and ‘hated’ the Turks, wanting as little contact with them as possible, and he only kept an ambassador in Istanbul because his merchants desired this. He repeatedly said that he would like to see Christian princes unite to defeat their common enemy, the Turks, and if only others would do their part he would willingly take the lead (for example, see entries 175 and 739). For his part, the ambassador in Istanbul reported that, after Elizabeth’s death, he was ‘out of favour’ and being ‘badly treated’ (entry 157). When the Levant Company’s charter required renewing in 1604, they objected that James’s tax on currants was too high if they were also to continue maintaining the British ambassador, whom they both appointed and paid for. James’s response was that it was of ‘no consequence’ to him whether an ambassador resided in Istanbul

or not, and that if they felt the need for one they should pay for him. His inclination was to wind the company up and channel trade through Venice instead because it was unfair for the company to enjoy a monopoly (entry 190). The charter lapsed, though eventually, yielding to pressure from the merchant lobby, James renewed it in 1606.

This Venetian correspondence also shows that James was as willing to lead an attack on the Ottomans towards the end of his reign (see Brown, *Calendar of state papers*, vol. 16, entry 586) as he had been towards the start. His views of the Turks as faithless and anti-Christian, articulated in his poem *Lepanto* of 1585, did not change. James's dislike of the Turks resulted in his applying a different standard to his dealings with them from that which he used with his subjects at home. Thus, while he wrote a tract, *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, against tobacco smoking in 1604, arguing that it was detrimental to people's health, and he taxed tobacco heavily, doing his utmost to ban smoking, around 1622/3 (exact date unknown) he wrote to the sultan commending the sale of tobacco, which he said 'was beneficial for the preservation' of 'health' (Tezcan, *The second Ottoman Empire*, p. 126, n. 51; State Papers 97/8, fols 312v-331r).

James sent personal letters to the Mughal emperor in efforts to secure trading privileges. His first envoy, William Hawkins, failed to achieve this (1608). His second, Sir Thomas Roe, was successful. James's letter to Jahāngīr (dated sometime during 1515) requested permission for 'quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hindrance or molestation' within his dominions (Roe, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 2, pp. 553-4). However, an issue that constantly affected Roe's diplomatic efforts was the lack of presents that Jahāngīr found worthy. In February 1617, Roe reported that Jahāngīr, referring to the king's letter, which mentioned a present, described what he had received as 'little, meane and inferior' (Roe, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 2, p. 390). On one occasion, he claimed a whole shipment destined for Roe, which did include gifts for him but also personal supplies for Roe. Roe, however, developed a good rapport with Jahāngīr, although it is said that he hardly dared mention his 'king's name' because Jahāngīr thought so little of James that it all but constituted an insult (N. Matar, 'Queen Elizabeth I through Moroccan eyes', *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008) 55-76, p. 74). Nevertheless, Jahāngīr's reply to James, possibly 20 February 1618, opened with the following flowery salutation:

When your Majesty shall open this letter let your royal heart be as fresh as a sweet garden. Let all people make reverence at your gate; let your throne

be advanced higher; amongst the greatness of the kings of the prophet Jesus, let your Majesty be the greatest, and all monarchies derive their counsel and wisdom from your breast as from a fountain, that the law of the majesty of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection. (Roe, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. 2, pp. 557-8; National Archives, East Indies, vol. 1, p. 68; MS London, BL – Add. 3155, fol. 100)

The letter went on to say that he had commanded all officials to welcome English merchants, who would be free to trade ‘without any restraynt’. Jahāngīr made reference to the prophet Jesus in an effort to establish common ground between his religion and James’s, as had the sultan of Morocco in his letters to Elizabeth. In contrast, James’s letters to Jahāngīr made no reciprocal reference to the emperor’s religion, which was not acknowledged at all. He addressed Jahāngīr as, ‘The high and mightie Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer and Corazon, &c, Greetings’.

There was also some correspondence between James and the ruler of Morocco, Zaydān al-Nāṣir, with whose father, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Elizabeth had enjoyed a friendly diplomatic relationship. Elizabeth, who chartered the Barbary Company in 1585, exchanged ambassadors with Morocco and also explored the possibility of a military alliance. Al-Manṣūr’s letters to Elizabeth spoke of friendship and affection between England and Morocco (see Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary*, document 7, al-Manṣūr to Elizabeth, 17 March, 1600). However, no such close relationship existed between James and the new sultan. A letter from Zaydān dated 21 July 1609 complained that English agents in Castile had sequestered goods belonging to merchants who enjoyed the sultan’s protection, claiming that these had been acquired ‘through fraud and deceit’ (Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary*, p. 10). He said that these goods had been legally obtained through trade with the sultan, and, by supporting the English merchants’ false claim, James was warning foreign traders that they should ‘desist from bringing goods’ to England and ‘avoid’ dealing with England, because James would not protect them from such ‘brigandage’. Unlike England, which tolerated such conduct, the sultan’s territory was well regulated, thus traders would flock to Morocco where ‘justice and equity’ were upheld (p. 11). This letter was written in Arabic and translated by William Bedwell (MS London, British Library – Cotton Nero B XI, fol. 302). Although in a letter to al-Zaydān Charles I later referred to his father’s desire to revive the ‘amyty and correspondacy’ that al-Manṣūr and Elizabeth had enjoyed, the evidence does not support this,

and James appears to have had little interest in re-establishing cordial Anglo-Moroccan relations (de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, vol. 2, p. 256). He did negotiate for the release of English captives, sending John Harrison to Morocco in 1610, 1613 and 1615, but this effort was unsuccessful (Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 14).

SIGNIFICANCE

The main significance of James's correspondence with Muslim rulers and the attitude towards Muslims it reveals is how different this was from Elizabeth I's. Not everyone was convinced that the change in attitudes and the shift toward friendlier relations between some Christians and Muslims that Elizabeth had pioneered was desirable. Catholics such as William Rainolds seized on the idea that there was indeed common ground between Protestants and Muslims, in order to discredit the former: Protestants were so close to being Muslim that conversion would hardly require much change, or time. In response, others turned the tables on Catholics, accusing them of being Muslim in all but name, and therefore unbelievers. James, on the other hand, allowed that Catholics were still Christian, despite their errors, and saw no problem in dealing with Catholics or cooperating with them.

Yet the situation was more complex than one of simply reversing what Elizabeth had achieved. Although James wanted to rule as an absolute monarch, he could not and never did carry through his desire for complete withdrawal from Turkey. He may have realised that trade with the Ottomans had become important, that the world was at least commercially inter-connected, even if different religions were false or, as he saw Islam, anti-Christian. Thus, in the end he not only renewed the Levant Company's charter but was pro-active in extending British trade into another Muslim space, Mughal India. In fact, most European rulers at the time adopted a more pragmatic approach toward the Ottomans, sometimes choosing to avoid conflict, and entered into various treaties with them. Some may have sympathised with James's ambition for an all-out anti-Turkish assault by Christians, but many also probably did not think that this lay in their best interests.

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STUDIES

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- M. Dimmock, *New Turkes. Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in early modern England*, Aldershot, 2005, pp. 198-297
- K. Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco during the embassy of John Drummond Hay*, London, 2005
- G.M. MacLean and N.I. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world, 1558-1713*, Oxford, 2001, ch. 2
- P.J.N. Tuck, *England's quest of Eastern trade*, London, 2001, vol. 1, p. 239
- H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris, 1924, vol. 2, p. 256

Clinton Bennett

Thomas Goffe

DATE OF BIRTH 1591-2
PLACE OF BIRTH Essex
DATE OF DEATH July 1629
PLACE OF DEATH East Clandon

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Goffe was the son of a clergyman. He studied at Oxford from 1609 to 1623, receiving a BA, MA, and BD. During this time, he wrote the plays for which he is best known: *The raging Turk* (c. 1613-18), *Orestes* (c. 1613-18), and *The courageous Turk* (1618). Several other plays have been attributed to him over the centuries, most plausibly *The careless shepherdess* (c. 1618-29) and the lost *Phoenissae* (c. 1619). He also wrote several poems and orations commemorating the deaths of notable aristocrats and scholars (see O'Malley, 'Thomas Goffe', pp. 115-18).

Of these works, the two Turk plays deal most directly with Christian-Muslim relations. They offer heavily fictionalised and altered accounts of the intrigues and violent conflicts of the Ottoman court in the 14th-16th centuries, with a particular focus on fathers and sons and brothers killing each other over the imperial succession. Goffe reproduces common English stereotypes about the savagery of the Turks, as well as concerns about the military threat posed by the Ottoman Empire. Most of the characters are Turkish, but some Christians do appear, particularly in *The courageous Turk*.

In 1623, Goffe became rector of East Clandon, Surrey, where he married, wrote sermons (at least one of which was published) and remained until his death in 1629 (O'Malley, 'Thomas Goffe', pp. 118-22). Early accounts of Goffe's life paint a highly misogynistic portrait of his wife as a 'Xantippe', who lured him into marriage and then drove him to an early grave (see Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline stage*, vol. 4, p. 498, on the documentary sources for this and other biographical information).

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Primary

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- Thomas Goffe, *The tragedy of Orestes*, London, 1633
- Thomas Goffe, *The careless shepherdess*, London, 1656
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Secondary

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- S.S. Güvenç, "A[u]gmenter of Their Kingdome". Goffe's *The couragious Turke, or, Amurath the First* as a Christian tragedy based on Knolles' *The generall historie of the Turkes*, *OTAM (Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies, Ankara University)* 28 (2010) 49-63
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- J. Burton, *Traffic and turning. Islam and English drama, 1579-1624*, Newark DE, 2005, pp. 20, 33, 37, 40, 116-17, 126, 197
- M. Dimmock, *New Turkes. Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in early modern England*, Aldershot, 2005, p. 201
- D. Vitkus, *Turning Turk. English theater and the multicultural Mediterranean. 1570-1630*, New York, 2003, pp. 99-101, 123, 183
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- S.G. O'Malley, art. 'Thomas Goffe', in F. Bowers (ed.), *Dictionary of literary biography*, vol. 58, *Jacobean and Caroline dramatists*, Detroit MI, 1987, 115-22
- S.G. O'Malley, *A critical old-spelling edition of Thomas Goffe's The courageous Turk*, New York, 1979, pp. 1-73
- G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline stage. Plays and playwrights*, Oxford, 1956, vol. 4, pp. 498-511
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- N. O'Donnell, 'Shakespeare, Marston, and the university. The sources of Thomas Goffe's *Orestes*', *Studies in Philology* 50 (1953) 476-84

- O. Burian, 'A dramatist of Turkish history and his source. Goffe in the light of Knolles', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 40 (1953) 166-271
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The raging Turke, or, Baiazet the Second

DATE 1631

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The raging Turk is a five-act tragedy (112 pages long in the original 1631 edition) whose subject matter is drawn from contemporary English accounts of Ottoman history, primarily Richard Knolles's life of the Sultan 'Baiazet II' (Bayezid II, r. 1481-1512) in *The generall historie of the Turkes* (1603). Knolles, fascinated by the 'rise of a small nation, in three hundred years, to the heights of an empire without a rival in power and glory', took this as his theme, and 'embellished thus... with all the stories he came across, about the ruthlessness of the people and the exotic splendour of their lives' (Burian, 'Interest of the English', p. 100). Goffe's authorship of *The raging Turk* is clearly indicated on the title page of the 1631 edition and is generally accepted by modern scholars.

In Goffe's account, Baiazet's six sons (Mahomates, Achomates, Corcutus, Selymus, Thrizham, and Mahomet) scheme to become emperor by deposing and/or killing their father, and he ends up directly or indirectly killing all of them, but not before Selymus (Selim I, r. 1512-20) arranges to have him poisoned. Baiazet also defeats a rebellion by his brother Zemes in Act 2. At the conclusion of the play, Selymus's son Solyman (Süleyman I, r. 1520-66) is crowned emperor and vows to unite the Turks in a campaign to destroy the Christians. He stokes his rage against the Christians by imagining them responsible for his father's death.

The plot is fairly intricate, with multiple battles and schemes, and frequent reversals of loyalty. With the exception of a brief appearance by the goddess Nemesis, all the characters are male, and there are few non-Muslims; the most notable is probably Alexander, the 'bishop of Rome' (Pope Alexander VI, r. 1492-1503), who takes custody of the defeated Zemes and eventually poisons him. Hamon, identified as a 'Physitian' and a 'Jewish Monke', poisons Baiazet at the behest of Selymus.

SIGNIFICANCE

Like *The courageous Turk*, its companion play, *The raging Turk* reproduces and perpetuates 17th-century English stereotypes of Muslims as violent, cruel, unpredictable and grandiose. At the same time, the play's focus on Turkish politics and the virtual absence of Christian characters suggests the inherent interest the Muslim world held for English audiences during this period. It was one of a number of contemporary plays that offered similar representations of Turks or other Muslims. Particularly in its conclusion, where an Ottoman ruler vows to conquer Christendom, the play reflects widespread anxieties about the power and expansionist agenda of the Ottoman Empire.

The play does represent one important instance of Christian-Muslim relations in Alexander VI's dealings with the Ottomans. Alexander offers refuge to Zemes and counsels him against pursuing his rebellion further, in the interests of world peace. He poisons Zemes at the behest of Baiazet but very much against his own will, and he even wonders if Zemes might be a reincarnation of his father's soul. The Alexander episodes tend to highlight the common humanity of Christians and Muslims and the historical fact of political cooperation between the Ottomans and Christian Europe. Of course, anti-papal sentiment, like anti-Ottoman sentiment, was widespread in 17th-century England, so it is not clear to what extent Goffe's Protestant audience would have identified with Alexander as a fellow Christian.

Modern critics have largely disdained or ignored *The raging Turk* as a literary work. Nonetheless, along with its companion play, *The courageous Turk*, and several similar works produced in the 17th century, the play represents part of the historical roots of anti-Muslim stereotypes in the 21st century. Insofar as these plays represent a Muslim empire as a place of continual internecine conflict and violent regime change, they also provide a foundation for some modern Western prejudices about politics in the Muslim world.

PUBLICATIONS

Thomas Goffe, *The raging Turke, or, Bajazet the Second a tragedie*, London, 1631; STC 11980 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Thomas Goffe and R. Meighen, *Three excellent tragædies. Viz. The raging Turk, or, Bajazet the Second. The courageous Turk, or, Amurath the First. And the Tragœdie of Orestes*, London, 1656; STC G1006 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Thomas Goffe, *The raging Turke*, ed. D. Carnegie, Oxford, 1974

STUDIES

- M. Birchwood, *Cultural encounters between East and West, 1453-1699*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2005, pp. 132-3, 136-7
- Burton, *Traffic and turning*, pp. 1, 9, 40, 116, 126, 217, 258
- O. Burian, 'Interest of the English in Turkey as reflected in English literature of the Renaissance. II, Thomas Goffe', *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 19 (1999) 99-121 (on Goffe's debt to Richard Knolles)
- Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline stage*, Oxford, 1941, vol. 1, pp. 502-9

The courageous Turke, or Amurath the First

DATE 1632

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The courageous Turke (to give the original spelling; it is also known as *Amurath*, *The tragedy of Amurath third tyrant of the Turkes*, and *The play of Amurath the Turke*) is a five-act tragedy (64 pages long in the original 1632 edition) whose subject matter is drawn from contemporary English accounts of Ottoman history, specifically from Richard Knolles's *The generall historie of the Turkes* (1603). Goffe's protagonist, the Sultan Amurath, combines two historical monarchs into a single figure. The plot of the first two acts is drawn from Knolles's account of 'Mahomet II' (Mehmed II, r. 1451-81), and Acts 3-5 dramatise episodes from the life and death of 'Amurath I' (Murad I, r. 1362-89). In Goffe's version, Amurath falls in love with a Greek captive, Eumorphe (called Irene in Knolles's life of Mehmed II), and abandons his political responsibilities and his programme of military conquest. Amurath's tutor, Lala Schahin, manipulates him into publicly beheading Eumorphe at the end of Act 2. Amurath (now following Knolles's biography of Murad I) then embarks on a series of savage military campaigns, culminating in a great battle with a Christian army on the plains of 'Cassanoe' in 'Servia' (the 1389 Battle of Kosovo). Amurath is victorious, but dies at the hands of the Christian captain Cobelitz (the Serbian folk hero Miloš Obilić). The play concludes with an account of the imperial succession: Amurath's son Bai-azet (Bayezid I, r. 1389-1402) offers to share the throne with his brother Jacup (Yakub Çelebi), but is persuaded to strangle his brother instead, in conformity to the supposed Turkish custom of killing any competing heirs to the succession. Although most of the action follows Amurath and the other Muslim characters, the play does contain several scenes

featuring Cobelitz and the Christian army, as well as Christian men and women taken captive by the Turks. Eumorphe, as a Greek from Constantinople, is presumably Christian, but her religious affiliation is not emphasised.

Goffe's authorship of *The courageous Turk* is clearly indicated on the title page of the 1632 edition and is not a subject of scholarly controversy. The play is a prequel of sorts to *The raging Turk*, which was probably written first and deals with similar subject matter and themes. Where *The raging Turk* features no female characters and focuses almost exclusively on the Ottoman court, *The courageous Turk* presents a considerably greater diversity of characters (including women and Christians) and actions in a much shorter play. Although both plays indulge in anti-Turkish sentiment and depict Ottoman rulers as bloodthirsty, *The courageous Turk's* portrayal of its Turkish characters is perhaps somewhat more sympathetic and humanised. The play suggests that some of the violent actions of its characters are the products of social pressure rather than of inherent savagery.

Goffe's major historical source is Knolles's *Generall historie*. The episode in which Mahomet II beheads his beloved Irene (which Goffe transposes to Amurath and Eumorphe, and which occupies only the first portion of his play) was of particular interest to early modern English authors and received at least two literary treatments before Goffe: a lost play by George Peele entitled *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the fair Greek* (c. 1594), and William Barksted's poem *Hiren: or The faire Greeke* (1611). A notable retelling of the Mahomet/Irene story after Goffe is Lodowick Carlell's play *Osmond the great Turk, or The noble servant*, published in 1657, in which the king is Melcoshus, emperor of Tartary, and the Christian slave is called Despina (see Chew, *Crescent and rose*, pp. 479-90, for an account of the Irene legend).

SIGNIFICANCE

Like *The raging Turk*, Goffe's other play on a Turkish theme, *The courageous Turk* reproduces 17th-century English stereotypes of Muslims as violent, cruel, unpredictable, and grandiose. At the same time, the play's primary focus on the Turks suggests the inherent interest that the Muslim world held for English audiences during this period. It was one of a number of contemporary plays that offered similar representations of Turks or other Muslims. Particularly in its latter half, where Amurath mounts an incursion into eastern Europe, the play reflects widespread anxieties about the power and expansionist agenda of the Ottoman empire.

According to O'Malley (see *A critical old-spelling edition*, pp. 17-19), Thomas Goffe enjoyed a 'distinguished' reputation in the 17th century. However, modern critics have largely disdained or ignored *The courageous Turk* as a literary work. It has prompted slightly more interest from literary critics than its companion play, *The raging Turk*, but few sustained scholarly analyses. Nonetheless, along with *The raging Turk* and several similar works produced in the 17th century, the play represents part of the historical roots of anti-Muslim stereotypes in the 21st century.

The courageous Turk presents a somewhat ambivalent picture of Christian-Muslim relations. The play generally frames Christians and Muslims as implacable enemies and demonises Muslims. However, in focusing so strongly on its Ottoman characters, it cannot help but make them somewhat sympathetic. At the beginning of the play, Amurath wishes to abandon war and pursue love, and at the end of the play, Baiazet wishes to rule alongside his brother instead of killing him.

Conversely, the play goes out of its way to show the weakness and internal divisions of the Christian forces opposing Ottoman expansion. To a significant extent, it places Cobelitz on a pedestal as a pious exemplar of Christian heroism. At the end of the play, however, his dishonourable assassination of Amurath and subsequent gloating make him seem potentially somewhat villainous (Act 5:4).

The play's depiction of Ottoman society also reflects significant interaction with the Christian world. The play repeatedly dramatises the presence of Christian captives, most notably Amurath's beloved Eumorphe and also notes that these captives are the source of the Ottoman Janisaries (Act 3:5). Finally, the play's Turks share important cultural touchstones with the culture of western Europe, such as an admiration for Alexander the Great.

PUBLICATIONS

One complete and one partial MS remain extant; see O'Malley, 'Thomas Goffe', p. 122

Thomas Goffe, *The couragious Turke, or, Amurath the First A tragedie*, London, 1632 (bound with *The raging Turke*); STC 11977 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Thomas Goff, *Three excellent tragoedies. viz. The raging Turk, or, Bajazet the Second. The courageous Turk, or, Amurath the First. And the Tragoedie of Orestes*, London, 1656; STC G1006 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

O'Malley *A critical old-spelling edition*, pp. 74-173

STUDIES

Slotkin, "Now will I be a Turke"

Güvenç, "A[u]gmenter of their kingdome"

McJannet, *The sultan speaks*

Burton, *Traffic and turning*

Dimmock, *New Turkes*

Vitkus, *Turning Turk*

O'Malley, 'Thomas Goffe'

O'Malley, *A critical old-spelling edition*, pp. 1-73

Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline stage*, vol. 4, pp. 498-511

Burian, 'A dramatist of Turkish history'

Chew, *The crescent and the rose*, pp. 486-8, 491-3

Joel Slotkin

William Lithgow

DATE OF BIRTH	1582
PLACE OF BIRTH	Lanark
DATE OF DEATH	1645 or after
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown, possibly Lanark

BIOGRAPHY

The Scottish world traveller and author William Lithgow was born in 1582 in the small town of Lanark in Scotland. He was the eldest of the three children of the burgher James Lithgow and his wife Alison Graham. Lithgow received a grammar school education in Lanark, but his preferred method of education would seem to have been through acquainting himself with the 'great book of the world', acquiring knowledge through extensive travel and the experience it brought. Lithgow's known travels took him not only to Ottoman lands and North Africa, but from a young age, to Orkney, Shetland, Ireland, continental Europe and the Nordic countries. He described his journeys by foot and caravan in his books, which in various translations reached a Europe-wide audience. His abridged texts also appeared in edited collections, similar to that of Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes* (1625). Opinionated and strictly anti-Catholic, his polemical lance was directed towards not only Muslims, but also Spanish and Italian Catholics, Jews, Eastern Christians and the Irish, who all received a fair amount of criticism. Lithgow was one of a growing number of English travellers who authored books about their journeys in the Ottoman dominions, Persia and the Mughal Empire in the 17th century.

Lithgow's literary journeys began in 1609, when for three years he travelled through France via Paris, to Rome and Loreto, expressing his opinions on the Catholic faith, rituals and relics on the way. After praising Venice for its beauty and magnificence, he sailed down the Dalmatian coast towards the Ottoman Empire, encountering Moorish corsairs on the way. He arrived in Constantinople, where, like most English travellers of the time, he enjoyed the hospitality of the English ambassador Thomas Glover. His journey continued towards Syria, via Aleppo and Damascus, where he joined a caravan of Christian pilgrims on their way through Galilee to Jerusalem, arriving on Palm Sunday in 1612. After

visiting the holy places in and around Jerusalem, he departed for Cairo with a group of German Protestant merchants, who all died on the journey. In Cairo, Lithgow was amazed by the multiplicity of its inhabitants, an aspect that struck most visitors to the city in the early modern period. He then embarked on a return journey from Alexandria via Malta and Sicily and the overland route through France.

His second major journey started in 1613, taking him through warring Europe to Italy and North Africa, where he visited Algiers and Fez. His narrative of the journey through Algeria has given grounds for suspicions that it could have been lifted from Leo Africanus's *Libro de la cosmographia et geographia de Affrica* (1526). His descriptions of his return via Sicily and Naples are more credible, albeit similar to other contemporary accounts. The journey next took him through Vienna and Hungary to Poland, where he met a trading diaspora of his compatriots, and he returned to London via Sweden and Denmark. Back in Britain, Lithgow published the first version of his travels, *A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination*, in 1614 (reprinted in 1616), which he first dedicated to the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

Lithgow's third journey started in 1619 with a visit to Ireland, aiming for the lands of Prester John through Portugal and Spain, but he was arrested as a spy in Malaga. He later gave an account of his torture at the hands of the local Inquisition. Lithgow was freed with the help of the English ambassador and returned home, where he sought justice and compensation for his loss of goods and health, but he ended up in the Marshalsea prison after confronting the Spanish ambassador. In 1627, he returned to Scotland and published the full and comprehensive edition of his travels, *The totall discourse of the rare adventures* (1632), and a poem addressed to the King entitled 'Scotlands welcome to her native sonne' (1633).

His final publications were a survey of London and England (1643) and an account of the siege of Newcastle in 1645. It is unfortunate that after a long life of travels, tortures, toil and writing, Lithgow disappears from the pages of history without the usual traces of death, a will or church record. We hear nothing of him after 1645, apart from the literary afterlife of several new editions and reprints of his books, which is 'a surprising, anti-climactic end for someone who had been much in the public eye in both Scotland and England' (Bosworth, *An intrepid Scot*, p. 12).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- William Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination*, London, 1614
- William Lithgow, *The totall discourse of the rare adventures*, London, 1632
- William Lithgow, *A true and experimentall discourse... of the siege of Breda*, London, 1637
- William Lithgow, *The present survey of London and England's state*, London, 1643
- William Lithgow, *Siege of Newcastle*, Edinburgh, 1645
- William Lithgow, *Travels and voyages: Through Europe, Asia, and Africa, for nineteen years. Containing An Account of the Religion, Government, Policy, Laws, Customs, Trade, &c. of the several countries through which the Author travelled: and a Description of Jerusalem, and many other remarkable places mentioned in Sacred and Profane History: Also A Narrative of the tortures he suffered in the Spanish Inquisition, and of his miraculous deliverance from those cruelties*, Edinburgh, 1700
- William Lithgow, *The poetical remains of William Lithgow, the Scottish traveller*, ed. J.M. Maidment, Edinburgh, 1863, Appendix, pp. L-LLv (various primary documents)
- M.A.E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers 1619-23 (Domestic)*, London, 1868, p. 129, no. 378; p. 133, no. 445
- M.A.E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers 1631-3 (Domestic)*, London, 1868, p. 229, nos. 479-80

Secondary

- C.E. Bosworth, *An intrepid Scot. William Lithgow of Lanark's travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609-21*, Aldershot, 2006
- M. Garrett, art. 'Lithgow, William', *ODNB*
- T. Reid, 'Notes on the life of William Lithgow, traveller', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10 April 1911, 403-15
- F.H. Groome, art. 'Lithgow, William', *DNB*, 1893, vol. 33, pp. 359-61

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The totall discourse of the rare adventures

DATE 1632

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

This work, totalling 507 pages, is an expanded edition of Lithgow's earlier *A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination*, written in 1614 (the title in full is *The Totall Discourse of the rare*

Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene yeares Travailes from Scotland, to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica. Perfited by three deare bought Voyages, in surveying of forty eight Kingdomes ancient and modern; twenty one Rei-publicks, ten absolute Principalities, who two hundred Islands. The particular Names whereof, are described in each Argument of the ten Divisions or Parts of this History; and it also divided into three Bookes: being newly corrected, and augmented in many severall places, with the addition of a Table thereunto annexed of all the chiefe heads. Wherein is contayned an exact Relation of the Lawes, Religions, Policies and Governments of all their Princes, Potentates and People. Together with the grievous Tortures he suffered by the Inquisition of Malaga in Spaine: His miraculous Discovery and Delivery. And of his last and late returne from the Northern Isles, and other places adjacent). Lithgow dedicated his magnum opus to Charles I, hoping to secure royal patronage for his literary efforts and compensation for his mental and bodily sufferings. He describes Islam, Muslims and Christian-Muslim relations in several sections.

This expanded version includes descriptions of Lithgow's three major journeys, two of which were to Islamic lands and empires, or as he phrases it in the preface, his 'tedious and curious Trauailles, in the best and worst parts of the world' (*Total discourse*, sig. A3v). Proceeding mostly in the itinerary format – a traditional mode of travel writing – the text follows Lithgow's footsteps in a methodical manner through his tirades against and regular encounters with Jews, Jesuits, Greek Orthodox and other Eastern Christians.

Islam and Muslims present a major focus of the book, encountered both briefly and from afar, such as in hostile and threatening encounters with Turkish galleys and Moorish corsairs, and more intimately and at leisure, as at civilised dinners with well-known former compatriot renegades, Christian-cudgelling janissaries, and caravan companions with a propensity for tobacco consumption. His descriptions of peoples are largely framed geographically, proceeding from the Italians to the Levantine nations as he reaches their dominions. In *Total discourse* Lithgow expands on his earlier verdicts concerning the situation of the Greeks, joining the chorus of contemporary authors who view them in a negative light.

Christian-Muslim themes abound in the book. There is a description of Istanbul and the Church of Hagia Sophia 'now converted to a Moskuee, and concecrated to Mahomet, after a diabolicall manner', which Lithgow

was able to visit accompanied by a janissary. After this follows a short account of the main features of the Islamic faith and a critical though not very original depiction of the life of Muḥammad, which incorporates elements familiar from late medieval Christian polemics – for example, that Muḥammad was an impostor of mixed Jewish and Christian parentage, was influenced by a monk called Sergius, and suffered from epilepsy (see Dimmock, *Mythologies*). Lithgow also depicts Muḥammad as a trickster who made people believe him and his ‘fantastic fopperies’, though he confuses some aspects of the Prophet’s life, including his place of death. Throughout the work, Lithgow presents Muslims as simple and gullible people, easily led astray by the teachings of their priests and holy men, following ridiculous restrictions on food and drink, yet nevertheless hypocritically breaking these same rules.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lithgow does not refer to sources, although it is clear that he did not invent his views about Islam or Muḥammad alone. It is possible that he had read earlier continental or roughly contemporary English writers such as George Sandys and William Biddulph before composing the 1632 edition of his travels. Lithgow’s overall views of the ‘Turks’ and their empire are negative. He describes them as a corruptive force, enslaving and detrimental to their subject peoples, and he stresses the usefulness of his text on the basis that it provides an eye-witness account and fresh insights. However, many of the themes are far from original, including the depiction of Islam.

The most notable exemplar of Islamic culture for Lithgow was the Ottoman Turks, and he pays more attention to their Scythian origins, the running of their empire, their social customs, law and everyday practices, than to exploring North Africa and Arabic domains. As Edmund Bosworth points out, Lithgow’s approach to Islam was monolithic, ignoring, for example, divisions between the Sunnis and Shī’ites: he reduced the great diversity in Islam to a few ethnonyms: Moors, Turks and wild Arabians being the foremost. In these restricted roles, Muslims mostly represented dangers to the Christian traveller, as Arabs attacking the caravan, as the sensual and libidinous sodomites of Fez, as money-grabbing collectors of *caffar* everywhere, or as proud janissaries regularly abusing their position of power along the caravan routes. Only relatively rarely were Muslim hosts credited for their hospitality and kindness amidst a sea of negative portrayals of corsairs, slavers, soldiers and sultans. Walking in their midst, Lithgow, in a gesture that now seems ironic but was

probably a common custom among travellers, adopts Turkish costume, walking staff and a large turban, as pictured in his book.

PUBLICATIONS

- William Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse of an admired and painefnll [sic] peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica With the particular descriptions (more exactly set downe then have beene heretofore in English) of Italy, Sycilia, Dalmatia, Ilyria, Epire, Peloponensus, Macedonia, Thessalia, and the whole continent of Greece, Creta, Rhodes, the iles Cyclades . . . and the chiefest coutries [sic] of Asia Minor. From thence, to Cyprus, Phœnicia, Syria . . . and the sacred city Ierusalem, &c.*, London, 1614, 1616, 1623, Amsterdam, 1971; STC 15710 (1614); 15711 (1616) (digitalised version available through EEBO)
- William Lithgow, *The totall discourse, of the rare adventures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares travailes from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica*, London, 1632, 1640, Glasgow, 1906; STC 15713 (1632); 15714 (1640) (digitalised version available through EEBO)
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Eva Johanna Holmberg

Thomas Herbert

DATE OF BIRTH 1606
PLACE OF BIRTH York
DATE OF DEATH 1 March 1682
PLACE OF DEATH York

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Herbert was born in York in late 1606 into a prominent merchant family of Welsh origin. Although his father Christopher (d. 1625) was unsuccessful commercially, Herbert benefitted from his wealthy grandfather's estate. In 1621, he began legal studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, from where he later transferred to Jesus College, Oxford. Enrolment at one of the Inns of Court probably followed. There are no records of his attending any of these institutions, although Wood and Bliss include his biography in *Athenae Oxonienses*. By 1626, through family connections, he was in touch with the Earl of Pembroke, a distant cousin, who helped him find employment with the first official English diplomatic mission to the Safavid Empire. Herbert accompanied the ambassador, Sir Dodmore Cotton, and Sir Robert Sherley, who was the envoy for Shah Abbas and wore Persian dress with a gold crucifix attached to his turban to signify his Catholic identity.

The party departed on 23 March 1627 on a ship in an East India Company fleet. They sailed first to Surat, then a major transit port for English ships via the Cape, and from there to Persia, arriving on 10 January 1628. Cotton and Sherley died in 1628, so Herbert and the rest of the party made their way back to Surat. Throughout, Herbert recorded what he saw. They arrived back in England on 18 December 1629 (Lach and van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. 3, p. 571). This voyage provided the basis of Herbert's 1634 book, *A description of the Persian monarchy now beinge, the orientall Indyes Iles and other parts of greater Asia and Africk*. Expanded editions followed in 1638, 1665, 1675, and 1677, retitled *Some yeares travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique*. Much of what he included was actually lifted from other accounts, although his observations about Persia, the first by an English traveller, are among the most authentic in what became a very popular book.

After returning to England, Herbert became a personal attendant to King Charles I, although when the Civil War started in 1642 he sided with the Parliamentarians. By 1644 he held the title of commissioner or military judge. After Charles's capture and before his execution, Herbert attended him as the only Parliamentarian whose presence the king would accept. For two years, Herbert walked a tightrope between treating Charles respectfully and maintaining loyalty to Parliament. For the last few months of Charles's life, he was his sole attendant (Rigg, 'Herbert, Thomas', p. 216). In 1649, he was serving in Ireland, initially again as an army commissioner then later as secretary to the governing authority; he was knighted for his services in 1658. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, he went to London to claim the general pardon. Charles II, expressing appreciation for how he had faithfully served his father 'during the last two years of his life' (Wood and Bliss, 'Thomas Herbert', p. 18) not only pardoned him but created him a baronet.

From then until his death, Herbert revised his travel account, engaged in antiquarian research, assisted William Dugdale in his work on the history of England's monasteries and cathedrals, and wrote about his time with Charles I during his pre-execution imprisonment. He moved back to York in 1665 to escape the plague, and died there on 1 March 1682.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*A Relation Of Some Yeares Travaile Begunne
Anon 1626
Some yeares travels into divers parts of Asia
and Afrique*

DATE 1634

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first edition of *A Relation Of Some Yeares Travaile*, of 1634, was 'about 250 pages' long with 35 'copper plate engravings... probably' by the printer, W. Marshall, 'based on Herbert's own drawings' (*Travels in Persia*, ed. Foster, p. ix). This description is based on the 1638 enlarged edition. Herbert's title indicates that the text is both a travel narrative and a description of various kingdoms in Africa and Asia, especially the Mughal and Persian Empires. He touches on religion, languages, customs, habits, fashion and what he calls people's qualities and descent. There is a great deal of geographical and historical information in this enlarged work. Later editions were even longer, reaching more than three times the word-length of the first (*Travels in Persia*, ed. Foster, p. xi).

References to Islam are mainly contained in the lengthy section on Persia in Book 2, and particularly in 'The religion of the Persians' (*Travels in Persia*, ed. Foster, pp. 251-69), which develops from what had probably begun as a travel diary recording each day's events and observations. (This was published as a separate volume, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*, edited by William Foster in 1928, based on the 5th edition of 1677, omitting what Herbert is unlikely to 'have gleaned first hand [*Travels in Persia*, ed. Foster, p. xii]). It is characterised by an unveiled admiration for everything Persian, possibly encouraged by Sir Robert Sherley, whom the Shah had dispatched to Europe to encourage an anti-Turkish alliance.

Herbert describes how the diplomatic party reached Persia from Surat on 10 January 1628, rested for two weeks then set out on a three-month journey to present their credentials to Shah Abbas at Isfahan. However, on arrival there they learned that the Shah was over 300 miles north on the Caspian shore so they had to set off again, taking a month to cross the territory, including desert, between Isfahan and the Caspian Sea. A few days later, Sir Dodmore Cotton had an audience with Shah Abbas, but the shah soon left for Kazbin, about 100 miles south, where Sherley

also had a residence, asking the party to meet him there. At Kazbin, however, Sherley died on 13 June, and by 20 July Cotton was also dead. The remaining members of the party returned to the Gulf en route for Surat and home.

Throughout this narrative, Herbert praises Persian hospitality, several times referring to lodges set aside for travellers regardless of faith or nationality (see woodcut, *Relation*, p. 194). He describes sumptuous feasts, tables full of gold plate, ornate costumes, beautiful gardens and mosques inlaid with semi-precious stones, with gold domes and features reflecting the sun's 'rich and delightful splendour' (*Relation*, p. 134).

The section on the 'Religion of the Persians' combines accurate information and positive comment with astonishingly mistaken details and adverse judgements, raising interesting questions about how Herbert compiled it. For example, he says that Muḥammad's mother was a Jew (he calls her Emma), and that he was born in Yathrib and later fled to Mecca. His name signifies 'deceit' in Arabic, 'also the number 666, the mark of the Antichrist'. Prompted by Satan and assisted by Sergius, a Sabellian monk and 'an Italian', who baptised him, he 'finished his Alcoran . . . in the year . . . 620'. God had actually intended to send Gabriel with the revelation to 'Alī but the angel mistakenly went to Muḥammad (who Herbert calls an epileptic). He used bribery and magic to attract followers, and before his death in 637 he appointed 'Alī as his successor' (*Relation*, pp. 251-3).

In contrast to these mistaken details, Herbert's treatment of the Qur'an ('the law of peace'), which he calls a poem, gives accurate references to specific suras and descriptions of much that is in them (see especially *Relation*, p. 254). This includes material on Jesus, who was a 'spirit or word' and the Comforter, but 'not sonne of God'; he denied the Trinity, and was not crucified but rather Judas or some 'wicked thief' died in his place. Herbert knows that there are 114 suras, whereas many contemporary Christian reports have 124, following Robert of Ketton's Latin paraphrase of 1145, *Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete*. Yet, when he narrates the story of Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascent, he writes that it is recorded in Q 47 (not 17), although it is actually found only in later traditions. This begs the question whether he had read a translation of the Qur'an or derived all his information from secondary sources.

Herbert draws a number of distinctions between Sunnī and Shī'ī Muslims, whose religion, he says, underwent a reform in 1400 by a saint he names Syed Gunet of Ardabil, intended to 'advance the Sophyan Title

to the Crowne' (*Relation*, p. 251), though he appears unaware that the origins of Shī'ism were much earlier.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book was a commercial success and, as the first such account in English, would have influenced attitudes towards Persians. Through Dutch and French translations, it also had a wider impact. Instead of setting European Christians against all Muslims, it distinguishes between Turks as base and odious and Persians as potential friends and allies. In Herbert's account, the word 'Turk' does not serve as a synonym for all Muslims, as it often did in English writing at this time. This was a significant development, though the garbled or imagined material that accompanies it detracts from it. Jonathan Swift thought *Relation* an example of the 'decadence' of the English aristocracy, 'which Gulliver notes in Glubbudrib'. Swift wrote in his own copy, 'If this Book were stript of its Impertinence, Conceitedness and tedious Digressions, it would be almost worth reading, and would then be two-thirds smaller than it is' (cited by Mezciems, "'Tis not to divert'", p. 13). On the other hand, Ferrier describes Herbert's observations on Persia as 'modest rather than profound, with a sense of wonderment and lacking in conceit' ('Herbert, Thomas').

Although Herbert repeats many insulting details about Muḥammad, when he describes Muslim beliefs and practices there is relatively little that is negative. Was this because he liked much of what he saw? He gives repeated emphasis to Islam's tolerance of Jews and Christians, and the freedoms they enjoy, a far cry from the commonly held view at the time that Islam was implacably opposed to Christianity. In fact, Herbert anticipates the interest in Eastern Christianity and Islam's tolerance that Henry Stubbe pursued in his late-16th-century text – Stubbe uses words first introduced into English by Herbert (N. Matar, *Henry Stubbe*, New York, 2014, p. 227, n. 25). His recognition of the ability of Christians and Jews under Islamic rule to practise their faith freely was rare if not unique at this time, showing the first signs of a shift in Christian understanding and depiction of Muslim society.

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Clinton Bennett

Henry Blount

DATE OF BIRTH 15 December 1602
PLACE OF BIRTH Tyttenhanger, Hertfordshire
DATE OF DEATH 9 October 1682
PLACE OF DEATH Tyttenhanger, Hertfordshire

BIOGRAPHY

Henry Blount (or Blunt) was born on 15 December 1602 at Tyttenhanger, Hertfordshire. His father Thomas, who served for some time as sheriff of Hertfordshire, was knighted in 1603. The Blount family acquired their Tyttenhanger estate from Thomas's aunt; before the dissolution of the monasteries, it had belonged to St Albans Abbey. Henry was educated at St Alban's free school and at Trinity College, Oxford, graduating with a BA in 1618. He enrolled at Gray's Inn, London, and then in 1629 applied for and received permission to travel, touring Spain, Italy and France over a three-year period. Observing that what he saw in Europe was not spectacularly new or different, he decided to travel into a region where he might encounter more novelty. In 1634, he set sail for Turkey, wanting to observe whether Turks were the barbarians they were alleged to be or, putting aside 'unpartiall conceit', they might rather be seen as 'an other kinde of civilitie, different from ours, but no less pretending' (Blount, *Voyage*, p. 2). His account of his journey, *A Voyage into the Levant*, was published in 1636.

After returning to England, Blount became a gentlemen pensioner to Charles I, who liked his book. Charles knighted him in 1639.

A royalist during the Civil War, he took part in several battles and was with the king in Oxford. Nevertheless, during the Commonwealth he was still able to find favour under Cromwell and served on a number of committees, including one on trade and navigation and another on reforming the criminal code. Reputedly also a man about town, it is said that he helped popularise coffee drinking; a 1657 treatise on coffee was dedicated to him (Ellis, *Coffee house*, ch. 9, p. 3). He also denounced those who consumed too much alcohol. He developed a reputation as a free-thinker and is said to have tended toward anti-clericalism, although he employed a dissenting minister, Nathaniel Vincent (1639-97), as chaplain toward the end of his life. Matar says that he discouraged his servants from attending church ('Blount, Sir Henry', p. 303).

He remained in favour under James II, who appointed him sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1666, the same post his father had held. He died in the manor house that he had extensively renovated and extended on the family's Tyttenhanger estate on 9 October 1682.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A voyage into the Levant

DATE 1636

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Using the pagination from the 1977 facsimile edition, *A voyage into the Levant* by Henry Blount, identified as 'HB, gentleman' on the title page then in full at the end of the work, has 126 pages. (The full title is *A voyage into the Levant a briefe relation of a journey lately performed Master H. B, gentleman, from England by the way of Venice into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosna, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt unto Gran Cairo: with particular observations concerning the modern*

condition of the Turks and other people under that empire.) The first edition, published in 1636, was printed in London for Andrew Crooke, 'to be sold under the signe of the bear in Paul's Churchyard'. There are no chapter headings. The book went through eight reprints between 1636 and 1671, and also appeared in German (1687) as well as Dutch (1707).

Blount begins by explaining that, having travelled in Europe, he had not encountered much that was very different from what he already knew. However, turning toward the south-east, to space now occupied by Turks, who seem to him to be the 'only moderne people, great in action', he sees that there could be 'no better scene' of interest to a traveller than Turkey, because the Turks had laid a foundation for their empire 'as no other ever did' (Blount, *Voyage*, p. 3). His aim was to describe the 'Religion, Manner and Policie of the Turks' without the conceit of assuming that they were barbarians 'as we are given to understand', and not 'another kind of civilitie, different from ours'. He was also interested in learning about other religious communities living among the Turks, especially the Jews, whom he called 'obstinate and contemptible', and about the Turkish army, then 'going against Poland'. Did the discipline of the Turkish army 'incline to ours' or was it different, he asked. Describing the Ottoman Empire as probably the 'greatest concourse of mankind in these times', he wanted to know how so much diversity was accommodated if, as some claim, the space was full of 'sottish sensualitie' (*Voyage*, p. 3). Or was there some 'spirit of government' that permitted this?

Contracting a Janissary as a guide, Blount set sail from Venice on 7 May 1643. It took him 52 days to reach Istanbul (he calls it Stambole, signifying 'faith' and 'plenty') by land and stayed there for five days, lodging first with a Muslim family and then, after changing his attire, with Christians (p. 26). He thought the Ottoman army well organised and, above all, disciplined. Invited by a pasha with whom he drank coffee to ride with them against the Poles, Blount replied that, if he so wished, he could do so, since it 'was lawful for an Englishman' to aid 'any who were in League with his king', who was not only an ally of the Ottomans but maintained an ambassador in Istanbul. In fact, he said that Charles I esteemed the sultan to be 'the greatest monarch in the world', which may or may not be true (p. 15). But he declined the invitation, saying that the Poles were Christian, though they were of a kind that the English 'much abhorred' due to their idolatry and 'many other points'.

Blount used disguises to gain access to places he could not otherwise have entered. He mainly wore Turkish dress, commenting that when he did not he was likely to be harassed (p. 99). He was sometimes taken

as a spy (see p. 30), and was arrested as one in Rhodes. At one point, he pretended to be Scottish to escape from potential danger if he were recognised as English (p. 33). There is, though, no evidence that he was a covert agent, 'but his tenacious gathering of information and observations' even at military fortifications led 'others to assume that he was' (Aune, 'Passengers, spies', p. 141). He also visited an English gentleman in Galata. Then, after kissing the hand of the English ambassador, Sir Peter Weych, he continued his travels, visiting Rhodes and Egypt. By the end of his journey, 11 months after setting out, he had travelled about 6000 miles by sea and land.

Throughout his narrative, Blount describes what he sees with obvious interest and often with admiration; for example, 'the strangest thing I found among the Turkish Mariners was their incredible civilitie', ready to serve with 'such a patience, so sweet and gentle' and always addressing him respectfully with 'terms of real affection' (p. 75). There are, he wrote, 'no people more courteous of salutation' than the Turks 'in meeting upon the highway' (p. 107). He describes how the Janissaries are recruited from the most promising Christian youth, then trained and given 'high preferment' in the army (p. 62). Especially relevant for Christian-Muslim relations is a section that includes a summary of Islam's beginnings (pp. 80-3). Here, he describes the *Alchoran* as a dialogue between the Angel Gabriel and 'their prophet', written in Arabic and 'given out as the word of God'. The prohibition against translating the Qur'an both preserves the use of Arabic and 'conceales religion'. Differences over interpretation have resulted in various sects among Muslims. Each nation interprets the Qur'an according to their own 'genius', thus 'the Tartars simply, the Mores and Arabs Superstitiously, the Persians ingeniously, and the Turks with most liberty' (p. 80). He had heard many acknowledge that 'the Persians were better Mahometans than themselves' (p. 81), which 'makes the Turkes much braver soldiers against the Christians than the Persians'. Zeal, malice and disdain accompany them into battle against Christians, but only 'National emulation' against the Persians. Commenting on how he was badly treated when in Christian dress, he suggests that it may be necessary for Turks to maintain hostility toward Christians since they are engaged in perpetual military conflict with them (p. 99). Janissaries had told him that they went unwillingly to war against Persia.

Blount next describes what he calls Islam's 'pleasing doctrines' that give it attractiveness. Thus, God did not give man sexual appetites in order to have them frustrated but to be enjoyed, while by permitting

polygamy Islam ensures a high birth rate, which is ‘the foundation of all great empires’ (p. 82), and similarly the prohibition on alcohol ‘hardens the soldier, and prevents disorder’. Muḥammad framed his religion to appeal to human nature, avoiding superstition and reliance on miracles, which can be fabricated (p. 78). His preaching about Paradise favoured hope above fear. Those who die in battle have the promise of lush gardens, and beautiful maidens awaiting them (p. 67). Apart from the ill-treatment of Christians, the only vice among the Turks was sodomy, though they did not regard it as a sin (p. 79). Before he ‘shuts up’ about Turkish religion, he turns to the topic of salvation. Hell is reserved for those who do not recognise Muḥammad, while heaven awaits those Muslims whose good deeds outweigh their bad. Consequently, Turks engage in many charitable acts, supplying Turkey with excellent hospitals and mosques.

Next, Blount describes how the ‘priest’ in the mosque proclaims that there is one God and how prayers take place five times daily (accurately identifying the times), observing that Muslims may perform this duty wherever they are, at home or on the highway (p. 88). This section concludes with a description of what he calls ‘two Lents’, one lasting three days, the other a month.

In the next section, he turns to the administration of justice, describing the system of *qadis*, and commenting that if any official is found to be corrupt he is dealt with severely, as an example (p. 89). Discussing Turkish justice, Blount says that one outstanding feature is swiftness of despatch (p. 91). Although law is said to be derived from the Qur’an, the book is ‘manifestly no book of particular law’, and judges do not apply its contents literally but ‘by way of illumination’ (p. 92).

He describes how, when they capture any new town, the Turks immediately build public baths ‘which they establish with faire revenues’ (p. 100), because cleanliness is seen as a remedy for disease. Their diet is very full, if ‘grosse’, preferring fat to any delicacy (p. 101). The Turkish disposition is ‘generous, loving and honest’ (p. 103), and the only ‘bestly piece of injustice’ he found was their habit of buying as slaves any Christians they found; he comments that he had often had to draw his knife to preserve his own liberty, and would have had no remedy if his Janissary had ‘sold’ him (p. 102).

Blount explains that the Turks do not kill people because of their religion, but impose heavy tax burdens on non-Muslims so that over time, realising they are ‘poore, wretched, taxed and disgraced...subject to

the intolerance of every Rascall', many convert to Islam (pp. 110-11). On the other hand, Turks rarely become Christians (p. 122). Returning to his opening question of whether the Turks are barbarian or another type of civility, he remarks that it is often a nation's vanity to think itself more civil and ingenious than others, to see others as superstitious or stupid: the Egyptians despised the Greeks, the Greeks the Romans (p. 108). Here he appears to be answering his question in the affirmative: Turkey is another civilisation, different from his own but not barbarian.

SIGNIFICANCE

Blount's account has been described as an early attempt, perhaps the first, at empirical observation of the Ottoman world (MacLean, *Rise of oriental travel*, pp. 127, 234; Starkey and Starkey, *Unfolding the Orient*, p. 104; Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 90; Ord, *Travel and experience*, p. 190). Todorova describes Blount's account as the 'practical embodiment of Bacon's empiricist philosophy which postulates that knowledge could be reached only through experience and that generalizations could be based only on observation' (*Imagining the Balkans*, p. 90). In modern terminology, the work can be described as an exercise in structured empathy or in phenomenology. Aware of the biased European view of the Ottoman world as 'barbarian', Blount surmises that it might instead be another civility from his own, different but not necessarily inferior.

Unlike many Europeans writing about the Muslim world, Blount resisted generalisations about Islam, pointing out that the Qur'an is subject to varying interpretations ranging from the 'superstitious' to the 'liberal'. Thus, he avoided one of the later tropes found in much European writing, that Islam was monolithic, unchanging over space and time. As MacLean has argued ('Ottomanism before Orientalism?'), his writing cannot be characterised as Orientalist: he did not reduce everything to a single essence, or juxtapose 'us' as superior to the 'other' as 'inferior'. MacLean also suggests that there is an element of what he calls 'imperial envy' present, because when he is confronted by the size and military prowess of the Ottomans, Blount expresses the hope that England, perhaps as obscure then as the Ottomans were before their expansion, might also gain an empire. So, might there be lessons to learn on how to govern a large, multi-cultural imperial entity?

Blount's account contrasts sharply with other contemporary or near-contemporary descriptions of Turkey, such as that of Fiennes Moryson who, when travelling in Turkey only 30 years earlier, saw only tyranny,

injustice, slothfulness and oppression of Christians, finding nothing he could praise or admire in Ottoman space. Like Moryson, Blount did describe ill-treatment of Christians, but he attempted to understand how this fitted into the imperial context of a polity that was designed to engage in constant war (p. 95). Neither liked Ottoman food much, but Blount did not ridicule it as Moryson had.

Turning to what Blount writes about Islam, he seems to have avoided using such terms as 'false prophet', 'fabricated', and 'anti-Christian', just as he chose not to include any popular legends such as the trained bird that was supposed to have eaten grain from Muḥammad's ear, or the fate of Muḥammad's body after he failed to rise from the dead. Nor does he refer to the Qur'an as a compilation of earlier Christian and Jewish material. When he describes Islam as designed to accord with people's natures, he does not imply that this is bad or undesirable. Muḥammad set forth the Qur'an as God's word, and Blount does not censure him for doing this but instead speaks of some 'pleasing doctrines'. At no point does he explicitly censure Muḥammad's moral conduct or condemn his use of the sword. Blount and Moryson were of similar backgrounds: both were sons of country gentlemen with university educations, and both studied law. However, their methods of observation and their assumptions produced two very different accounts.

Blount was open about what he admired in the Turks, and his description of their religion lacks any really negative assessment, although he sees Islam as Muḥammad's own work. In fact, Suranyi claims that the book self-consciously promotes toleration of others (*Genius of the English nation*, p. 34).

The main significance of Blount's account lies in its aim to see others as they see themselves, confronting common tropes, or at least checking to see if these had roots in reality. For him, conceit lay behind seeing your own nation, culture and religion as superior to all others, and he thus tried to set aside the popular image of a tyrannical, oppressive Ottoman polity. Not a religious man in conventional terms but a deist and free-thinker, his unconventional stance may have allowed more openness toward expressions of religion that differed from those then predominating in England. At the very least, he was able to see much that he admired in the Ottoman space, reducing the Ottomans' otherness while at the same time respecting what was different about their culture.

PUBLICATIONS

A voyage into the Levant a briefe relation of a journey lately Master H. B., gentleman, from England by the way of Venice into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosna, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt unto Gran Cairo: with particular observations concerning the modern condition of the Turks and other people under that empire, London, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1650, 1664, 1669, 1671; STC 3136 (1636); 3137 (1637); 3138 (1638); Wing B3316 (1650); B3317 (1664); B3318 (1669) (digitalised versions available through *EEBO*)

Henrich Blunts . . . Morgenländische Reise durch Dalmatien, Sklavonien, Thrazien, und Egypten u. in welcher die Grundfeste des Türkischen Staats genauesichtig untersucht wird. Erstlich von ihm in Englisch verzeichnet, nun aber in die Reine Hoch-teutsche Sprache . . . , Helmsthad: Johann Nicolaus Gerlach, 1687 (German trans.) 4 It.sing. 37 (digitalised version available through *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*)

Zee- en land-voyagie van den Ridder Hendrik Blunt, na de Levant. gedaan in het jaar 1634: waar in op het naauw-keurigst verhaalt word, 't geen hem onderweegen van Venetiën door Dalmatiën, Slavoniën, Bosna, Hungaryen, Macedoniën, Thessaliën, Thraciën, Rhodes, tot aan Groot-Cairo in Egypten, en van daar wederom te rug met veel-vuldige gevaren en ongemakken is overgekoomen: als mede veele bysonderheeden van koningrijken, landschappen, steeden, paleysen, moskëen, chans, gebouwen, kasteelen, rivieren, zee havens gebergkens, pyramiden, obeliskens &c.: daar en boven der Turken gods-dienst, zedelijk gedrag, wapen-rusting, gerigts-oeffening, kleding, manier van leven, oorlogen, overwinningen en op wat wijze de christenen, jooden en anderedoor hen overheerde volkeren handelen, Leiden, 1707 (Dutch trans.)

J. Churchill, *A collection of voyages and travels, consisting of authentic writers in our own tongue. . . . And continued with others of note, that have published histories . . . relating to any part of the continent of Asia, Africa, America, Europe . . . Digested according to the parts of the world . . . with historical introductions to each account . . . And with great variety of cuts, prospects . . . Compiled from the . . . library of the late Earl of Oxford,* vol. 1, London, 1745

J. Pinkerton, *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages, in all parts of the world,* vol. 10, London, 1811

O.V. Volkoff (trans.), *Voyages en Egypte des années 1634, 1635 & 1636,* Cairo, 1974 (partial French trans.)

A voyage into the Levant. A briefe relation of a journey performed lately by Master H. B, gentleman, from England by the way of Venice into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosna, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt unto Gran Cairo: with particular observations concerning the modern condition of the Turks and other people under that empire, Amsterdam, 1977

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E.J. Holmberg, *Jews in the early modern English imagination. A scattered nation*, Aldershot, 2011

M.G. Aune, 'Passengers, spies, emissaries and merchants. Travel and early English identity', in B. Charry and G. Shahani (eds), *Emissaries in early modern literature and culture mediation, transmission, traffic, 1550-1700*, Farnham, 2009, 129-46

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Clinton Bennett

The Life and Death of Mahomet

DATE 1637

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Life and Death of Mahomet (in full *The Life and Death of Mahomet, The Conquest of Spaine together with the Rysing and Ruine of the Sarazen Empire*), published in 1637, was attributed to the explorer and soldier Sir Walter Raleigh (c. 1551-1618), although he almost certainly did not write it. A number of other texts were also spuriously attributed to him.

The work is 273 pages long, although there are only 15 full lines of print on each page. It carries a portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh on the verso of the title page with the words, 'the true and lively portraiture of the honourable and learned knight S^r Walter Raleigh'. Following the full title, it reads 'Written by S^r Walter Raleigh, K^t', and names Daniel Frere of London as publisher. A4 to A5 (original pagination) is a Dedication by Frere to Raleigh's son, Carew, the 'true heir of' his 'father's legacies'. The work does not use headings or chapter divisions, though four sections can be identified, a brief 24-page account of the life of Muḥammad (original pagination, B to C2), the early caliphs (pp. C2-C5), the Moorish conquest of Spain (pp. 33-130, original pagination unreadable), and then what becomes more or less a panegyric on the figure of Almanzor, a fictitious or perhaps composite individual, after whose death the Saracen Empire began to disintegrate. The text ends: 'This writing of the life of Jacob Almanzor was finished in the Castle of Cufa on the 4th day of the Moone of Rabek the first in the 110th year. Praise be to God. Amen.'

George Sale traces the bulk of the work on the conquest of Spain to a Spanish writer, Miguel de Luna, who claims as the main source for his 1559 book, *Histoire des deux conquêtes d'Espagne par les Mores*, a certain Abucacim Tarif Abentarique, who wrote in 140 AH (757). De Luna adds the final section from a text allegedly written by Ali Abencufian, who supposedly wrote in about 110 AH (728), which corresponds with the date cited above. Sale points out that on p. 37 there is a reference to the contents as an abbreviation of the writings of two authors, both contemporary with the conquest of Spain. He doubts that there ever were two such historians, and concludes that de Luna's work was 'a forgery of

his own, for there never was any such caliph of the Saracens in Asia as Jacob Almanzor' and the account of him is 'mere romance'.

Sale thought the first section of the work was a combination from a variety of Christian sources, commenting that he doubted that Raleigh had any connection with it, which is 'for the most part false and ridiculous', and that no MS had been found 'in his study' (cited by W. Oldys, *The works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, London, 1829, vol. 1, pp. 459-60). Oldys identifies several other lives of the 'pretended prince' (Almanzor), including one by Robert Ashley (London, 1627), probably the main source for the 1654 play *Revenge for honour*, which also features Almanzor and his sons Abilqaulit and Abrahen. Dimmock (*Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*) has suggested a possible link between the work and writings associated with Alexander Ross, who may have translated André du Ryer's French translation of the Qur'an into English and also expanded and edited Raleigh's *History of the world*. He points to similarities with *The life and death of Mahomet* (pp. 395-407) and with the 'Needful caveat', an essay included with English translation of du Ryer in which Ross defends the whole project (*The Alcoran of Mahomet*, London, 1649). However, the 'Life' in Ross is more detailed than the one attributed to Raleigh. For example, it narrates Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascension, and the circumstances of his death. Similarities include the role of Sergius, and the conquest of Medina by force (in Ross, after an initial defeat). It repeats more calumny: God gave Muḥammad permission to fulfil his own desire; Muḥammad was a sorcerer; animals brought the word to him. Dimmock surmises that 'Given their many similarities, the *Life of Mahomet* attributed to Raleigh and the "Life and Death of Mahomet" that prefaces the *Alcoran* may, feasibly, have stemmed from the same pen' (*Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 166). Finally on attribution, Oakeshott concludes that while not by Raleigh, the text 'may have been prepared for his use', and Raleigh 'may have worked over it' ('Sir Walter Raleigh's Library', p. 287).

The brief account in *The life and death of Mahomet* says he was born in 571 to a Jewish mother and an Arab merchant from Mecca, Abdalla. His mother died when he was young. At the age of 16, he became a merchant's bondsman and, pleased with his work, his master made him his 'factor'. At the age of 25, he married his employer and he pursued his trade vigorously until he was 38, travelling to Egypt, Syria and Persia. Being at this time 'satisfied with wealth', he began to 'think on his Soule'. On his travels, he had discussed religion with Jews and Christians, and

compared their beliefs with the idolatrous religion that he himself practised. Concluding that paganism was 'the way to perdition' and influenced by two Christians who lived in Mecca, he decided to follow the Christian path. Then Satan intervened, and, taking advantage of Mahomet's weakness (which is not specified), he inflamed his pride so much that he imagined himself to be a prophet. Aspiring to this role, he took up a solitary life in a cave in the mountains, seldom returning to his home. He began to teach a mixture of 'gravity' and 'holynesse', calling for the destruction of idols and for the 'good life'. To add credence to his teaching, he put the 'falling sickness' from which he suffered to good use by pretending that he was conferring with the Archangel Gabriel during his fits.

He became famous, and decided it was time to 'divulge' some works to the world. Thus, with the help of a Jewish scribe and a Christian monk, Sergius, he composed a 'new treatise', which was 'collected out of the Old and New Testaments' to give his doctrines credibility and to 'humour the hearers'. He produced not only a new religion but with it a 'new forme of government'. Opponents called him an 'impostor' and a 'hypocrite', pointing to his 'sensualitie and drunkenness', of 'which he was guilty'. They attempted to apprehend him but, warned by friends, he left his cave and fled into the desert. This was in 622, 'from which flight the Turks begin their computation [Athe gira]'.

Now thinking about becoming a king as well as a prophet, Mahomet took advantage of his followers' anger at the loss of their property in Mecca to take revenge. He took Medina by force (this is inaccurate), and the people elected him chief and saluted him as caliph or king (titles the historical Muḥammad did not claim). He appointed Friday as the holy day, because this was the day of his election as king. His next conquest was Mecca, which he achieved by shedding the blood of his 'neighbour citizens' and of any who rejected his 'doctrine' (in fact, according the Muslim historical tradition, Mecca surrendered without bloodshed and only a few citizens were killed for heinous crimes committed against Muslims).

Other princes of Arabia now attacked him, but he prevailed, despite being wounded, bringing all Arabia under his rule. He then invaded the domains of the emperors of Constantinople and Persia, triumphing over Syria and the city of Jerusalem (events which in fact took place after Muḥammad's death). Full of glory but tired of war, he delegated government to deputies and sequestered himself away from public affairs.

Three years later, in 631, he died, telling his companions that as long as they kept his 'fantastical Law' they would prosper and flourish. His tomb was in Mecca (p. 226, repeating, unlike Ross's *Life*, a common belief that he was buried there).

This 'false Prophet and usurping prince' pretended to be descended from Ishmael, and in order to claim legitimacy said that Ishmael was the son of Sarah, not of Hagar. For this reason, Arabs are known as Saracens. Although there is some dispute over the correct succession of caliphs, it is agreed that the fourth caliph, Horzman or Azman, husband of Muhammad's daughter ('Uthmān the third caliph, husband of two of Muḥammad's daughters), 'recovered Mahomet's papers' and digested these into a single volume of four books and 206 chapters called 'Alcoran'. This caliph greatly expanded his territory.

Here the text jumps to 'the reign of Abilqualit Jacob Myramamolin further named Almanzor', who supposedly succeeded his father in the year 675 and 'without comparison, was the greatest monarch then living'. In the 37th year of his caliphate, the conquest of Spain was begun (pp. 32-3). These details are evidently confused, and this ruler is impossible to identify, though the connection with Spain raises the possibility that his name refers to the Andalusī Umayyad minister Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, known as Almanzor, who was effective ruler in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Few names or dates given in the text are reliable, while the use of Islamic mixed with Gregorian dates adds to the confusion.

What follows is more or less the story of the Moorish conquest of Spain from a Muslim perspective, in which the legend or part legend of Count Julian (given the title Earle in this text) and his daughter, Florinda, play a major role. Taken up by such later writers as Walter Scott in *The vision of Don Roderick* (Edinburgh, 1811) and Washington Irving in *Legends of the conquest of Spain* (London, 1835), the earliest account is in *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus* by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 871). The text describes how the Visigoth Don Roderigo wrongfully usurped his nephew's throne to become king of Spain. Don Julian, who is usually described as ruler of Ceuta near Tangiers, had sent his daughter Florinda to Roderigo's court. When Florinda resisted the king's advances, he raped her (p. 56). Julian's response was to persuade 'Almanzor's Lieutenant to invade Spain'. The lieutenant sent him to Syria to lay his case before the caliph, whereupon the caliph sanctioned an invasion of Spain and appointed Tarif Abinzioc (the historical Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād) to lead this

(p. 63). The conquest proceeded, with various Christian opponents of Roderigo as well as Don Julian helping the Moors, and it resulted in Roderigo's defeat.

The work goes on to describe the first battles between the Visigoths and the Moors, and the fates of the main protagonists in the story, Count Julian and Florinda. It goes into great detail about Almanzor, who, it relates, at the age of 63 handed over the crown to his son and retired to a monastery. 'Had he been a Christian', it comments, 'his equal could hardly have been found' (p. 135). He hated avarice; he patronised scholarship and learning, including translations of Aristotle; he was fluent in 11 languages; he ate with moderation; he made food available daily to the hungry; he gave people shelter in the winter if they had none; he bathed frequently; and he repudiated lies as from the devil. Returning every Friday to the palace after prayer in the mosque, he heard petitions from the people and pronounced judgment nine days later; the lives of the guilty were not spared; and the debts of the poor were paid from his own pocket. Magistrates were not spared if found to be liars or corrupt; he gave generously, no matter whether the recipients were Jews, Christians or Moors; he sold valuable possessions so that money could be distributed to the poor; he built hospitals, mosques, schools and colleges, and settled endowments on them. He saw true governance as God's realm; his task was to reflect God's will on earth.

This eulogy, supposedly by a courtier of Elizabeth I about a Muslim caliph, goes on and on.

SIGNIFICANCE

On the one hand, this work, with a somewhat meandering narrative and many historical inaccuracies, gives Christians 'no fresh information' (H.M.K. Shairani, 'Appendix', pp. 192-238 in Henry Stubbe, *An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism*, ed. Shairani, London, 1911, p. 237), but on the other, attribution to Raleigh did attract readers; in the early 20th century D.S. Margoliouth described the text as 'the most famous' work on Muḥammad's life prior to his own (*Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, London, 1905, p. iii). Inaccuracies in the section on Muḥammad include the conquest of Medina by force and the reference to the surrender of Mecca being accompanied by much bloodshed, in addition to the claim that Muḥammad made use of his 'falling sickness' to pretend to be conferring with Gabriel. The rest of the text does contain some accurate details on the Moorish conquest of Spain, including recognizable historical names and events, but it is difficult to match much of the

narrative with what is known about the conquest. Almost nothing that is written about the Arab caliphate is at all historical.

What is significant, however, is that, compared with much writing already available on Muḥammad and Islam, comparatively little calumny and criticism is repeated. Muḥammad is a 'false prince and usurper' who was led astray by the devil and constructed Islam in league with Jews and Christians to pretend holiness, but despite reference to his drunkenness and sensuality his character is not completely assassinated. There are no references to trained animals purportedly bringing him verses of the Qur'an (unlike in Ross), or to the fate of his body after death. The real villain of the piece is actually the Visigoth King Roderigo, who was a usurper and a rapist, and who at the end slunk away from battle in disguise.

Unlike much literature on the Muslim conquest and Christian reconquest of Spain, there is no real moral polarisation here with wholesale demonisation of the Muslims. Indeed, the hero of the piece is Almanzor, whose description may for many Christians have bordered on blasphemy, since he could not have hoped for salvation. The author nevertheless presents him in the most positive light, at the very least seeing beyond a polarisation of 'us' as godly and good, and the 'other' as demonic and bad, and beginning to perceive the Muslim world as similar to the Christian, which, when the work was published, was very divided and violent. In other words, looking beyond a person's professed religion to their character, he saw that good and bad could exist in any religion.

Sir Walter Raleigh, whose name was from the beginning associated with the text, was a staunch Protestant and supporter of Elizabeth I, and he would have been familiar with her opening up of commercial and diplomatic relations with Morocco and the Ottomans. The pamphlet appears to have been informed by a newly developing worldview that could envision Christian alliances with some Muslims in specific circumstances.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

M. Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in early modern English culture*, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 166-70

W. Oakeshott, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's library', *The Library* 23 (1968) 285-372

Clinton Bennett

Thomas Fuller

DATE OF BIRTH Early 1608
PLACE OF BIRTH Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire
DATE OF DEATH 16 August 1661
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Fuller was born in early 1608 in the East Midlands. He was baptised on 19 June 1608. His father, Thomas, was a rector in Northamptonshire, and his mother, Judith Davenant, was the daughter of a wealthy London cloth merchant and the sister of the future bishop of Salisbury, John Davenant. Fuller earned a BA from Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1625, and an MA in 1628. After ordination, he served as perpetual curate at St Bene't's Church, Cambridge, from 1630, before moving to the rectory at Broadwindsor, Dorset, to which his uncle appointed him in 1634. He returned briefly to Cambridge to receive his BD in 1635. His uncle also installed him as a Prebend of Salisbury.

At Broadwindsor, he composed *The historie of the holy warre*, printed in 1639, and *The holy state and the profane state*, a collection of pithy character sketches and essays, printed in 1642. Fuller married his first wife, Eleanor Grove of Chisenbury, in 1637, but she died in 1641 after giving birth to their son, John. A moderate Royalist and Anglican clergyman, Fuller had to abandon his position in Dorset after the outbreak of the English Civil War. He served as curate of the Chapel of the Savoy, London, between 1642 and 1643.

Joining King Charles I in Oxford as the war began, he served as chaplain to Lord Hopton's regiments for about a year, then became chaplain to the king's infant daughter. In 1648, Lord Carlisle appointed him curate at Waltham Abbey, Essex. In 1658, he moved to the smaller parish of St Dunstan, Cranford, where he could spend more time writing. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate, he wrote several commonplace books and printed sermons and historical works such as *The church-history of Britain* (1655), considered his most important text, in which he presented a Protestant view of events in answer to those of Catholic historians. In 1652, Fuller married Mary Roper, with whom he had several children. He ended his career as a chaplain in extraordinary to Charles II,

who also restored his former livings and prebendal stall at Salisbury, which he had forfeited under Cromwell. In 1660, the University of Cambridge awarded him the degree of DD by royal mandate.

Fuller's most famous work is *The history of the worthies of England*, a collection of biographies and anecdotes for entertainment and instruction, left unfinished and printed posthumously in 1662. He was buried at Cranford, where 'at least two hundred' clergy attended (Bailey, *Life*, p. 690). Toward the end of his life, he was earning enough from writing to support himself and his family, an unusual situation at this time.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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 Anonymous, *The life of that reverend divine and learned historian Dr. Thomas Fuller*, Oxford, 1661
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The historie of the holy warre

DATE 1639

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The historie of the holy warre discusses the causes, ramifications, and potential justification for crusading, or what Fuller and his contemporaries termed holy war. Printed at Cambridge in 1639, it was 286 pages long. It went through three subsequent editions in 1640, 1647, and 1651 with no significant changes; it was also bound and sold with some editions of Fuller's *The holy state and the profane state*.

After a brief discussion of the history of Jerusalem following the death of Jesus, the fate of the Jews, and the beginning of Islam, the first four books present the major military campaigns to the Holy Land from 1095 to the fall of Acre in 1291, and provide details on the ecclesiastical and political government of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. Notable sources include medieval chronicles by William of Tyre and Matthew Paris, as well as early modern texts on the East by Richard Knolles and George Sandys. It is perhaps indicative of Fuller's mediatory method that he cites, for example, both Caesar Baronius's pro-papal ecclesiastical history and the Magdeburg Centuriators' Lutheran church history. The fifth and final book of the *Historie* examines diverse topics such as the trial of the Templars, Christians' breaking pacts with non-believers, the status of Jerusalem, and the current power of the Ottoman Turks. While Fuller is a careful scholar and expresses scepticism towards exaggerated or miraculous events reported in earlier texts, his primary purpose is to entertain and instruct and he is quick to seize upon any chance to express disdain for Roman Catholic corruption.

Given the subject matter, Christian-Muslim relations are prominent throughout the *Historie*. There is little emphasis on doctrinal differences, however, since Fuller repeats medieval Christian disparagements of Islam as a heretical combination of pagan, Jewish and Christian beliefs that gains converts because of its putative celebration of carnal pleasures and conquest. Even so, Fuller's account of Islam largely is limited to the political manoeuvrings of historical rulers, though he recognises the virtuous behaviour of Saladin and blames the Christians' vices for their losses, including constantly breaking their treaties with Muslims (p. 247), for which the popes were mainly to blame (p. 249). Some of the pilgrims

were 'no doubt most religious and truly valiant', but many were thieves, murderers, rapists and adulterers lured on by the promise of pardon (pp. 256-7). On Saladin he wrote, 'His wisdom was great... in that he was willing to be advised... His justice to his own people was remarkable; his promise with his enemies generally well kept... [m]uch he did triumph in mercy', and 'He wanted nothing to his eternall happinesse, but the knowledge of Christ' (pp. 132-3). All in all, he thought the crusades a sad waste of life and money, which he summed up on page 228: in 'continuance' the war was 'the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloodshed the cruellest, for pretenses the most pious, for the true intent the most politick the world ever saw'. Even if he conceded that the crusades were fought for a just cause, he argued that their prosecution was unjust (pp. 142-3).

In certain respects the *Historie* appears as an oddity in Fuller's corpus, since it is the only work to engage with Christian-Muslim relations at any length and is focused (albeit critically) on a Catholic practice. However, several aspects of the *Historie* are comparable to his later writings. In terms of its scope, range of sources, clever commentary, and application to 17th-century England, it is akin to *The church-history of Britain*, which begins with the pagan Britons and ends with the death of Charles I. Moreover, a section in the first book of the *Historie* on the topography of the Holy Land likely served as the inspiration for *A piasight of Palestine* (1650), a geographical survey of biblical history that ends with the hope for the restoration of the Jews in Palestine as well as their conversion to Christianity. This use of biblical history to comment indirectly on England's Reformation in the midst of the Civil War parallels the *Historie's* earlier use of crusade history to chastise the divided status of contemporary Christians. Throughout many of his works Fuller displays a moderate, humanist approach to Christian belief that consistently rejects what he sees as the greed and ambition of popes while acknowledging examples of sincere faith in the medieval past. By contrast, Fuller shows no such understanding of Islam, calling it a 'senseless religion' (p. 7) and incorrectly describing it, in comparison to early modern Christianity, as 'not able to go to the cost of a controversie' (i.e., endure a religious schism) because 'all colours may well agree in the dark' (p. 284).

SIGNIFICANCE

Fuller's *Historie* is the first account of the crusades in English that treats them separately from more general royal, ecclesiastical, or Eastern



Illustration 3. Frontispiece of Fuller's *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, representing his critical stance towards the Crusades

histories. The next major work in English to discuss the crusades was John Nalson's 1685 translation of the Jesuit Louis Maimbourg's *Histoire des croisades*, and it would not be until Charles Mills' 1820 history that another original English text solely devoted to the crusades would be published. In contrast to previous early modern works that presented war against Muslim opponents as continuous with the medieval Catholic past and its struggle against pagan and Islamic 'Saracens', Fuller's narrative asserts a discrete origin and ending point for the major military campaigns to the Holy Land. By undercutting the justifications for holy war, emphasising the practical consequences of the campaigns, and somewhat acknowledging the claims of Muslims to rule the Holy Land, the *Historie* seems to share new views regarding just war theory and international law, such as those found in Francis Bacon's philosophical *An advertisement touching an holy warre* (1622-3), upon which Fuller explicitly draws. At the same time, other aspects of Fuller's work echo medieval positions still being employed in the early modern period, as when he describes Muslims as the 'generall and common foe of our Religion' (p. 277), and when he draws on Richard Knolles' positive treatment of holy war in *The generall historie of the Turkes* (1603) to conclude with the hope that 'the fall of this unweldie [Ottoman] Empire doth approach' (p. 285).

All in all, the *Historie* is valuable for its insight into Anglican attitudes towards the Catholic institution of crusading and English participation in it in the mid-17th century. Fuller's work, though reliant on primary texts by other authors, nonetheless contains original writing that analyses the reasons for Christians' successes and failures. While hostility to the papacy is evident throughout, it is balanced with admiration for English contributions to the crusading effort, which are described alongside other national examples. Without any significant understanding of Muslims in general or the Turks in particular, Fuller's work is simultaneously critical of Christians' past use of holy war and polemical against Islam. His advocating for gentle reforming measures rather than military force in the discussion of the Albigensian crusade against heretical European Christians typifies his moderate attitude towards conflict among Christians in his own time, whereas his description of the Turkish Empire as a 'cruel tyrannie' and a 'nation without... moralitie, arts and sciences' (p. 285) perpetuates the hostile, unsympathetic view of Christian-Muslim relations implicit in crusading practices. The book contributed to thinking about the justness of crusades in Scandinavia towards the end of the 17th century (J. Møller Jensen, *Denmark and the crusades, 1400-1650*, Leiden, 2007, pp. 342-3).

PUBLICATIONS

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N. Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the age of discovery*, New York, 1999, pp. 160-2

Lee Manion

Thomas Hobbes

DATE OF BIRTH 5 April 1588
PLACE OF BIRTH Westport, Wiltshire
DATE OF DEATH 3 December 1679
PLACE OF DEATH Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Hobbes, often called Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, was born on 5 April 1588 in Westport, a parish in Malmesbury, Wiltshire. Members of the Hobbes family had held civic office. His father, Thomas Hobbes, a poorly-paid curate, was later excommunicated due to his behaviour, after which he abandoned the family and died in obscurity. A childless uncle took an interest in Hobbes and financed his schooling. He attended Magdalen Hall, Oxford, graduating with a BA in 1608, and in the same year was appointed tutor to William Cavendish, son of the then Baron Cavendish, at Cambridge, where his degree was incorporated. Hobbes was never very appreciative of his Oxford education, which he considered too narrow and Aristotelian, although he translated Aristotle's *Rhetoric* with commentary (1639). In *Leviathan*, he wrote that the 'frivolous terms and obscure language of the Schoolmen taught in the Universities. . . regulated by the Popes authority . . . serve . . . to prevent . . . errors from being detected' (Aubrey and Clark, *Brief lives*, p. 383). By 1610, he was travelling with his pupil in Europe, where they spent five years. During this period, he worked on the first English translation of Thucydides' *A history of the Peloponnesian War* (1628).

He remained in the Cavendishs' employment until his pupil succeeded as 2nd Earl of Devonshire in 1626. A period as tutor to Gervase Clifton, son of a wealthy Nottinghamshire baronet and MP followed, with most of 1629-30 spent on the European continent. Next, he rejoined the Cavendish family as an advisor to the Dowager Countess. Around 1630, he compiled a catalogue of the books and manuscripts in Chatsworth House Library (Dyzenhaus and Poole, *Hobbes and the law*, p. 220). In 1634-6, he was back on the continent accompanying the 3rd Earl of Devonshire. During these tours, he became acquainted with leading philosophers and scientists including Descartes and Galileo. He was especially attracted by the thought of Francis Bacon, for a while acting as his amanuensis.

Although critical of the way many scientists worked, Hobbes's own philosophy would be described as 'closer to the assumptions on which modern science rests than any of the competing philosophies of the seventeenth century' (Tuck, *Hobbes*, p. 50). As civil war loomed, Hobbes, a royalist, went into voluntary exile. He lived in France from 1640 until 1651, becoming mathematics tutor to the Prince of Wales. However, from 1651 he was banned from court because his views on religion as subject to the state offended those who held that the church had independent authority. At this time, Hobbes was working on his most acclaimed work, *Leviathan*, acknowledged as a classical exposition of social contract theory. Hobbes's insistence that the state 'trumped' the church as the locus of religious authority features prominently in his famous controversy with Archbishop John Bramhall (see Jackson, *Hobbes, Bramhall*, p. 1).

Returning to England in 1651, Hobbes submitted to the Commonwealth regime, which he justified on the grounds that established authority merits loyalty in return for peace and security. He 'could tolerate parliament alone, but not a system in which governmental power is shared between king and parliament' (B. Russell, *The history of Western philosophy*, New York, 2008, p. 551). After the Restoration, he fell foul of the House of Commons, which in 1666 tried to condemn him as a heretic and atheist, specifically mentioning *Leviathan*. His friend and earliest biographer, Aubrey, dismissed this charge, saying that 'his writings and virtuous life testify against it' (1696, p. 353). Scholarly exchange on the exact nature of Hobbes's theological views is ongoing (see Wright, *Religion*). It was Charles II who secured his freedom by letting the bill languish in the Lords. Hobbes agreed, however, to 'keep his ideas to himself' (Green, *Hobbes and human nature*, p. 47). Copies of *Leviathan* were later burned; the cost of the book also tripled (Wright, *Religion*, p. 10). Hobbes destroyed some of his own writing, too, to escape penalty. A political treatise, *Leviathan* was always intended to be a popular rather than an academic text. Charles II gave him a modest pension. Aubrey also refers to a rumour that Hobbes received a pension from the French king for his defence of monarchy.

Hobbes engaged in many controversies. He regarded himself as a gifted mathematician but overrated his skills; his controversy with the Savillian professor at Oxford, John Wallis, exposed his conceit in claiming to have solved the squaring of the circle. Notwithstanding his failures, Alexander says that Hobbes's 'attempts' to square the circle 'show

a powerful mathematical mind at work' (*Infinitesimal*, p. 282). However, too many Royal Society members were anti-Hobbesians for him to be admitted, an exclusion he resented, although Jesseph says that he was 'simply too controversial' to be 'welcomed' as a member (*Squaring the circle*, p. 277). After 1651, he rejoined the Cavendish family, more for 'general intellectual companionship' than as an employee (Malcolm, *Aspects*, p. 21); he spent most of his time translating Homer, and writing a work on physics. The original *DNB* entry lists a total of 34 published works. During this final phase, he became a friend of John Aubrey, who wrote the biographical sketch on which all lives, including this one, draw. Hobbes died at the Cavendish's Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, on 3 December 1679. In his draft autobiography (see Aubrey and Clark, *Brief lives*), Hobbes still defended his mathematical contribution; his reputation, however, rests on his political thought. He is considered the first noteworthy English philosopher to have 'created English language philosophy' (Tuck, *Hobbes*, p. vii). Reference to Islam in *Leviathan* (1651) recognised it as an ideal civil religion, which, although very brief, radically parted company from those for whom Islam was a tyrannical, illegitimate system with no redeeming features at all. It has been argued that proponents of civil religion, beginning with Hobbes, exhibit an 'enduring . . . partiality for Islam' (R. Beiner, *Civil religion*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 59).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

For a full description of the archival sources, see 'Textual introduction', in N. Malcolm (ed.), *The correspondence of Thomas Hobbes*, Oxford, 2 vols, 1994-7, vol. 1, xlii-lxxii. They include:

MS London, BL – Add. 32553 (bound letters from Hobbes to Henry Stubbe and others)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Aubrey 9 (donated 1673; Aubrey's draft life of Hobbes)

Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, collection of Hobbes', papers, mostly published in Malcolm, *The correspondence*

R. Blackbourne, *Thomae Hobbes Angli Malmesburiensis Philosophi Vita*, London, 1681

The moral and political works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. Never before collected together. To which is prefixed, the author's life, Extracted from That said to be written by Himself, as also from The Supplement to the said Life by Dr. Blackbourne; and farther illustrated by the Editor, with Historical and Critical Remarks on his Writings and Opinions, London, 1750

- A. á Wood and P. Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Oxford, 1813, vol. 3
- J. Aubrey and A. Clark, "*Brief lives*", *chiefly of contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the years 1669 & 1696*, Oxford, 1898, pp. 321-403 (including correspondence and draft Latin autobiography by Hobbes, pp. 395-403)
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- G.H. Wright, *Religion, politics and Thomas Hobbes*, Dordrecht, 2006 (translates Latin appendix pp. 36-174)

Secondary

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- R. Tuck, *Hobbes*, Oxford, 1989
- R.G. Ross, H.W. Schneider and T. Waldman, *Thomas Hobbes in his time*, Minneapolis MN, 1974
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Leviathan

DATE 1651

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first edition of *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme & Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill*, was published for Hobbes at the Green Dragon in St Paul's Churchyard by Andrew Crooke in 1651. This is known as the 'Head edition' due to the printer's device (a head on a capital) on the title page. There were two versions of this edition, one printed on large-size paper (35 cm high) with a hand drawn red line in the margin, an expensive edition probably intended for collectors, the

other printed on standard sized paper (29-30 cm), intended for a popular market. Hobbes's target audience was the thinking public, rather than scholars. The dedication, to Francis Godolphin (d. 1667), a parliamentarian and friend of Hobbes, runs for two pages, followed by the main text of 396 pages. There were some misnumbered pages in the first run, corrected in later copies. The large-paper copies are considered the more accurate because corrections were added (Tuck, *Revised student edition*, p. xlix). Two subsequent editions are generally thought to have been pirate copies. These are known as the Bear edition, and the Ornament edition, both sometimes dated 1651 but thought to be later. The Bear edition was printed in Holland. These are also identified by their respective title page devices. When unbound sheets of *Leviathan* were seized by the authorities in 1670, they probably came from a putative attempt to reprint the banned text. When it was banned by Parliament in 1666, the price tripled. Copies were burned in 1683 (Wright, *Religion*, p. 10). The 2003 critical edition by Schuhmann and Rogers has a detailed discussion of printers' errors, corrections, variants and subsequent editions (pp. 47-258). Malcolm, who also analyses *Leviathan's* editorial history, concludes that the Bear edition contains some important textual changes, while there are no 'new material alterations' in the Ornaments edition, which is thus 'of much less interest to editors of Hobbes' (*Aspects*, p. 336).

There is a hand-written, parchment scribal copy of the work in the British Library (Egerton MS 1910), possibly intended for Charles II but never presented. This is believed to have been completed in France before Hobbes's return to London. Hobbes also produced a Latin version, which was printed in Amsterdam in 1668, of which few copies survive. This was the final part of a larger work, popularly known as the *Opera omnia*, containing Hobbes's Latin texts, the other seven having been published previously. There are more extant copies of the 1670 reprint. There has been speculation that Hobbes originally wrote a Latin draft. This seems unlikely because he corrected Henry Stubbe's translation, which, however, was left incomplete. Newey remarks that it is 'hard to see why Hobbes would have gone to the effort of correcting Stubbe's drafts if he already had a complete Latin version to hand' (*Routledge guidebook*, p. 44). On dating the Latin version, see Nelson's 'Translation as correction'. The Latin version is abridged, with fewer biblical references, omitting some of the more polemical content and replacing the final section, 'Review and conclusion', with an appendix defending Hobbes's theology. This has three chapters, 'On the Nicene Creed', 'On heresy' and 'On objections to *Leviathan*', all in dialogue form (translated

in Wright, *Religion*, pp. 36-174, and E. Curley, *Leviathan*, pp. 498-548). Some modern editors, including Curley, however, choose at times to follow the Latin version. This description uses pagination from the standard Head edition.

This work of political philosophy only contains two brief references to Islam. In order to understand their significance, which is explored below, arguably disproportionate to the space they take up in the text, a summary of Hobbes's proposals about human nature, society and government is necessary. The first 16 of 47 chapters discuss man, the second 15 'A Commonwealth', followed by 12 on 'A Christian Commonwealth' and the final four on 'The Kingdom of Darknesse'. Hobbes's aim is to explain the origin and necessity of the social contract, without which anarchy and fear of others pervade human life in the state of nature, which is 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short', lacking 'culture, art, letters, and even commodious buildings' (p. 62). Hobbes denies that people naturally know right from wrong, or justice from injustice and that these are universal and unchanging, thus challenging Aristotle, Aquinas and many other moral philosophers. He chastises the universities for teaching Aristotelian ethics (p. 383).

All people want to do is harm or kill others, steal their property and spouses, and take revenge against those who harm them. War results when men and women live in their natural state, so mutual fear and pride in self-preservation, not mutual good will, compel people to establish a Commonwealth, State or Civitas (p. 1) to police human interactions. This depends on everyone subscribing to a covenant, or social contract, which results from the human facility to think rationally (p. 13). This Commonwealth is an artificial creation since it does not exist naturally. For Hobbes, it represents a single authority or power which must be obeyed; its head alone has power to enforce rights – such as property, protection and personal liberty. Thus, individuals covenant to 'authorise all the actions and judgements of that Man, or Assembly of Men, in the same manner, as if they were his own, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men', and a Commonwealth is created (p. 88). Power is best invested in a sovereign or monarch, elected or hereditary, although it can be exercised by an Assembly. This is less ideal because number leads to inconsistency, and even Civil War, while 'a Monarch cannot disagree with himself' (p. 96). Thus, Hobbes could on the one hand submit to Parliament during its rule, while remaining a monarchist at heart.

Hobbes utilised the figure of the biblical Leviathan, a great sea monster, as a metaphor for the Commonwealth, which is personified by its Head, or Governor, who becomes a superman (on Hobbes's use of this symbol, see Schmitt and Schwab, *Leviathan*). In order to maintain peace, people must regard this Head with awe: 'without a common Power to keep' people 'in awe . . . there neither would be, nor need to be, any Civil Government or Commonwealth at all' (p. 86). Hobbes's preference for a single head, clear throughout the text, is also shown by the famous frontispiece illustration, which depicts Leviathan as a large figure looming above the land, with tiny citizens (bottom right) facing him. Much discussion centres on whether that figure resembles Oliver Cromwell, King Charles II or the Duke of Cornwall, or is a composite of several men (see Newey, *Routledge guidebook*, p. 46).

Although Hobbes denies the possibility of an ultimate aim or greatest good, he argues that the Monarch's interests and those of his subjects are identical, so he is obliged to rule for their benefit. If he fails to protect, or demands action that threatens anyone's basic right of self-preservation, they can rebel (p. 64). In Hobbes's Christian Commonwealth (which corresponds with the Kingdom of God), laws are derived from scripture, and the sovereign is the supreme religious and civil authority. Thus, only the civil power can levy taxes, or enforce religious conformity. Hobbes vilifies the Catholic Church for elevating ecclesiastical authority over civil powers, and for claiming papal infallibility (p. 306). Life in any state that falls short of his proposed Commonwealth is equivalent to living in the Kingdom of Darkness.

Hobbes probably thought that science would ultimately replace religion, but he saw the desire to worship as a human instinct, and so in need of regulation (p. 55). His first Islamic reference occurs when he is discussing how Gentile (as distinct from Judeo-Christian) sovereigns, made images of themselves into objects of worship to enhance their subjects' awe of them. Or, they took care to implant beliefs and precepts to help preserve peace in their subjects by passing these off as 'the dictates of Some God, or other Spirit' (p. 57). This is how 'Mahomet set up his Religion'. He 'pretended to have conference with the Holy Ghost, in the forme of a Dove' in order to show that what his law forbade 'was also displeasing to God'. Hobbes argues that the Sovereign, not bishops or a synod of presbyters, determines what the people are required to believe, and the form of worship they must follow. However, repulsed by the role religious differences played in the Civil War, and by anarchy in general,

he also thought that minimal legal requirements for religious conformity were preferable. Defending his own theology, he accepted the Nicene Creed because he thought it biblically justified, but criticised its Greek formulations as arcane and unbiblical, so that 'the very theologians who published explanations... almost all used definitions drawn from the Logic and Metaphysics of Aristotle' (Wright, *Religion*, p. 90).

The second Islamic reference occurs when Hobbes discusses whether conscientious disobedience on religious grounds is justified, that is, should a subject refuse to attend worship if required by the law? Supposing that a 'Mahometan' living in a Christian Commonwealth is ordered to attend a Christian service or face death; he asks, should he refuse? His reply is no, because to refuse would justify all 'private men to disobey their princes'. Outer conformity does not change inner belief, which 'is a gift of God' and 'cannot be taken away'. Thus, the Muslim would still be Muslim 'inwardly in his heart' (p. 271). Lemetti cites a similar statement by Hobbes in a letter to Bishop Bramhall: 'If in this kingdom a Mahometan should be made by terror to deny Mahomet and go to church with us, would any man condemn him?' (*Historical dictionary*, p. 203).

SIGNIFICANCE

The apparently disparaging reference to Muḥammad passing off the alleged dove as the Holy Spirit may appear to be an accusation of insincerity or fraud, perpetuating Christian condemnations of Muḥammad. However, it can also be understood as representing Muḥammad as an astute ruler who realised that establishing religious conformity within his embryonic state would strengthen its stability and cohesion. He may have used a trick to achieve this, and Hobbes may consider this suspect, though he stops short of condemning Muḥammad for this.

Hobbes's belief that religion results from human agency, not from divine intervention, applied equally to all religions; for him 'religion' was an inclusive category (although superstition must be challenged because it was against reason). Muḥammad was to be seen as a wise legislator whose motive was laudable: 'to keep the people in obedience and peace', which were essential. Given Hobbes's view that religious dogma is whatever the state prescribes, a state is as much at liberty to prescribe Islam as Christianity. In this he parted company from those, such as John Foxe, who saw Islamic states as illegitimate (see *CMR* 6, p. 770).

Hobbes posited that God exists on the premise that an eternal first cause is logically required (p. 53). However, his God is silent and unknowable (and corporeal, which he defended in his Latin appendix,

Wright, *Religion*, p. 155). God's 'greatness and power are unconceivable' (p. 53), and while Hobbes does not explicitly deny the possibility of revelation, he points out that all we have to rely on is people's claim to have received it, and that 'sanctity can be feigned' (p. 148). Christians traditionally accuse Muḥammad of feigning sanctity; however, for Hobbes, we also do not know how God communicated with Moses, or when and how his Laws were written down. In fact, Hobbes pioneered what later became redaction criticism of the biblical material. What matters is that these Laws 'were positive', and became the civil law of the land (p. 283). It was the Civil Authority, says Hobbes, that made scripture canonical. What matters is not how Moses received his Laws but that the people believed God delivered them to him (p. 234). This can also explain how Islamic law gained recognition; regardless of how Muḥammad received or claimed to receive revelation, it was people's faith and acceptance of that law that gave it legitimacy. Muslim sovereigns, like all heads of state, have the right to supervise religious belief and practice and, unless this undermines good governance or disturbs peace, subjects must comply. There is no way to prove that scripture is God's word; this rests on faith, so 'If Livy says the gods once made a cow speak, we distrust not God but Livy' (p. 32).

Hobbes more or less originated the social contract theory of political organisation, and may also have launched a trend of good-will toward Islam that social contract thinkers continued. John Locke parted company with Hobbes by separating the civil and religious, but he included Muslims as entitled to enjoy religious freedom in England. Matar says that while Hobbes shared 'seventeenth century prejudice against Islam as a religion, he drew a line between theology and believers in order to mark the crucial line between persecution and toleration'. Just as Muslims allow Christians religious liberty in their lands, 'so should Britons provide legal status and shelter for Muslims in Britain' (N. Matar, 'Britons and Muslims in the early modern Period', in M. Malik (ed.) *Anti-Muslim prejudice, past and present*, Abingdon, 2010, 7-26, p. 22). Jean-Jacques Rousseau also parted from Hobbes's version of contract theory by arguing for a republican government, but he wrote:

When Christianity gained power with the conversion of Emperor Constantine in the 4th century, the humble Christians changed their language, and soon this so-called kingdom of the other world turned, under a visible leader, into the most violent of earthly despotisms... Mahomet held very sane views, and linked his political system well together; and, as long as

the form of his government continued under the caliphs who succeeded him, that government was indeed one, and so far good (*The social contract and discourses*, trans. G.D.H. Cole, London, 1920, p. 115).

The writer on Islam who was perhaps most influenced by Hobbes was Henry Stubbe (1632-76), who began but did not complete a Latin translation of *Leviathan*. Tuck argues that, following Hobbes's thought, Stubbe saw Islam as a superior form of civil religion (*Hobbes*, p. 89), and his defence of Muḥammad (correctly named) against Christian calumny (including the dove or pigeon myth) represents him as a wise legislator worthy of Christian respect. Stubbe also emphasised that Muḥammad's followers believed his claim to be a prophet, and that his every action confirmed this (N. Matar, *Henry Stubbe*, New York, 2014, p. 128). Written between 1671 and 1674, Stubbe's book was not actually published until 1911, although its contents were known through the circulation of various manuscript copies.

On the one hand, reference to Islam was almost incidental in *Leviathan*. On the other, it is significant of itself that the first English language political thinker of note, in what many still consider to be a major political treatise, pioneered the notion that Islamic states are as legitimate as other civil polities based on the social contract. However, despite the two Islamic references, we have no information on what Hobbes knew about Islam (Lemetti, *Historical dictionary*, p. 203). Hobbes wrote what he did on Islam as a Christian. Despite controversial ideas about the Trinity (see *Leviathan*, p. 268, and Wright, *Religion*, p. 180), which attracted the accusation of atheism and caused *Leviathan* to be proscribed, he thought himself Christian, hence his many biblical references and theological self-defence.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Egerton 1910 (17th century; scribal copy)

There are numerous editions and translations of *Leviathan*. Here, early editions and translations, and also important modern editions and translations are listed. For more details, see N. Malcolm (ed.), *Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan*, Oxford, 2014, vol. 1, which includes a list of 17th-century editions (pp. 326-32) and a discussion of modern editions, including important translations (pp. 303-8).

Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme & Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill, London, 1651 (known as the Head edition); Wing H2246 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

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Clinton Bennett

Peter Heylyn

DATE OF BIRTH 29 November 1599
PLACE OF BIRTH Burford, Oxfordshire
DATE OF DEATH 8 May 1662
PLACE OF DEATH Westminster

BIOGRAPHY

Peter Heylyn was born in 1599. He graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1617, after which he took up lecturing on historical geography at the college. His popular *Microcosmos. A little description of the great world*, published in 1621, was based on his lectures.

Heylyn was ordained in 1624 and, in the late 1620s and early 1630s courted the favour of William Laud, the chancellor of Oxford University, who became Bishop of London in 1627 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Executed in 1645 for treason and the advancement of popery, Laud's life and beliefs became the subject to which much of Heylyn's later writing would be dedicated.

In 1630, Heylyn became chaplain-in-ordinary to the king. The ensuing decade was given over to preparing works of religious and Royalist polemic, the reputation of which earned Heylyn clerical livings in Durham, Oxfordshire and Hampshire.

During the Civil War, having been a prominent participant in the 1640 convocation that legitimised Laudian church reforms, Heylyn retreated to Hampshire, where he was attacked by Parliamentarian troops. Escaping, he returned to Oxford, and produced a number of texts in support of the Royalist cause, including a verse response to Laud's execution.

The 1650s saw the publication of *Microcosmus*, now expanded into a new version under the title *Cosmographie*. In addition, Heylyn continued the business of polemical writing, vigorously defending the Church of England and arguing for its re-establishment. In 1661, he published a history of the English Reformation, *Ecclesia restaurata*. He died in Westminster the following year, and two important works appeared posthumously: a biography of Laud, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), and an attack on Presbyterianism, *Aerius redivivus* (1670).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Microcosmus; Mikrokosmos; Cosmographie in Four Books

DATE *Microcosmus*, 1621; *Mikrokosmos*, 1625; *Cosmographie*, 1652

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Heylyn's compendium of historical geography was popular and earned several reprintings throughout the 17th century. It first appeared in 1621

under the title *Microcosmus, or A little description of the great world a treatise historical, geographical, political, theologicall*. This was a quarto edition of 417 pages. An expanded quarto edition of 814 pages appeared in 1625, now entitled *Mikrocosmos*, and reprints followed in 1627, 1629, 1631 (twice), 1633, 1636 and 1639 (twice). In 1652, following the English Civil War, Heylyn was 'by the unhappiness of my Destinie, or the infelicity of the times, deprived of my Preferments, and divested of my Ministeriall Function' (1652, sig. A3r) and turned his attention to a new edition of the work, substantially expanded. This appeared in a folio volume under the title *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principall Kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof*. The four books of the new edition were separately paginated, Book 1 comprising 324 pages, Book 2, 278, Book 3, 258, and Book 4, 197. A second folio edition of *Cosmographie*, running to 1095 pages, appeared in 1657. After Heylyn's death, in 1662, the text continued to flourish, with reprints issued in 1666 (twice), 1667, 1669, 1674 (twice), 1677, 1682 and 1703.

Heylyn's text offered geographical and historical descriptions of all the nations of the world, culled from as many learned sources as he could muster. His aim was to correct earlier scholarly works on the subject, some of which 'slightly runne ouer the world, and obserue only the Oeconomie and politiuie gouernment of each kingdome: others indeed make peculiar mention of Prouinces, and in them a citty or two or three'. Heylyn proposed to combine both approaches and insisted on the importance of including with this material 'many conclusions of pollicie: the diuersities, and different tenets of religions' (*Microcosmus*, Preface). Thus, Heylyn's text, in all its versions, makes passing references to Islam whenever it treats a nation in which the faith had official status or was popularly practised. Throughout, Heylyn is at pains to take stock of the state of Christianity in the regions he describes, and frequently to lament its marginal place in the life of a nation. One section, first included in *Microcosmus*, expanded in 1625 and again enlarged in *Cosmographie*, gives an introductory description of the life of Muḥammad and Islam's core beliefs (*Microcosmus*, pp. 318-21; *Mikrocosmos*, pp. 612-17; *Cosmographie*, Book 3, pp. 121-3).

Heylyn is consistently disparaging about Muḥammad, whom he terms 'the *Impostor*'. Muḥammad's father having been 'a *Pagan* full of idolatorie, his mother a Iew blinde with superstition', it was inevitable, Heylyn supposes, that he would be born 'so Godly an *Imp*'. Muḥammad was,

in Heylyn's account, 'of low stature, schaldheaded, euill proporioned, and as euill conditioned, being naturally addicted to all villanies, infinitely theeuish, and insatiably lecherous'. His epilepsy was passed off as 'a diuine rapture wherein he conuersed with the Angell *Gabriell*. And 'He was well seene in Magicke, by whose aid and helpe of the Diuell, hee taught a white *Pigeon* to seed at his eare, affirming it to be the *Holy Ghost*, which informed him in Diuine precepts'. These supernatural abilities are cited as the basis for Heylyn's claim that Muḥammad's ascent to a position of command among the Arabian people enabled him to lead them in rebellion against the Greek Empire. The '8 Commandments', of which Heylyn and a number of other early modern authors believed the Qur'an to be 'a glosse', are set out, as are 'the causes of the deplorable increase and continuance of this irreligious religion' (*Microcosmus*, p. 320). On the Islamic practice of calculating time from the '*Hergira*', Heylyn notes 'I cannot but observe, that *Mahomet* compiled his deuclish *Alcoran* beginning his Empire; and [Pope] *Boniface* the third his *Antichristian* title beginning his Empire nigh about the same time' (*Microcosmus*, p. 321).

Clearly, these remarks were not original. Heylyn's sources for the 1621 account were the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot's *Briefe description of the whole worlde* (1599), Edward Brerewood's popular *Enquiries touching the diversities of languages and religions through the chief parts of the world* (1614), Royalist traveller George Sandys's *Relation of a journey begun an. dom. 1610* (1615), William Biddulph's *Travels of certain Englishmen* (1609) and another much-reprinted text, Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his pilgrimage* (1613).

The enlargements of the section introducing Islam in 1625 and 1652 give some clues as to the development of Heylyn's thought. In 1625, Heylyn added details of Muḥammad's marriage to his former master's mistress to his account of the Prophet's life, adding that he lived with her until the age of 38, when 'God permitting, & the Diuell tempting him to it, he began to affect the name and estimation of a Prophet; and so cunningly he demeaned himself, that a sudden opinion of his sanctity was quickly divulged'. Emphasis was given to this episode as the spark for Muḥammad's exhortation to 'the *Arabians*, to renounce their allegiance to the *Greeke Emperours*' (*Mikrocosmos*, p. 613). These details passed through numerous early modern texts, and it is difficult to identify the source Heylyn used, though Purchas, whose *Pilgrimage* was issued in expanded form in 1615, 1619 and 1625, gives similar emphasis (though in more detail) to 'Mahomet' as an instigator of rebellion.

In addition, the 1625 edition fleshed out the information Heylyn gave on the Qur'an's principal doctrines. The story of 'Uthmān's composition of a four-volume Qur'an assisted by Muḥammad's wife and daughter is recounted. Further information gives anthropological examples of the observance in practice of the Qur'an's instructions (times for prayer are given, punishments for criminals set out). Heylyn's observation that 'he who in his Pilgrimage to *Mecha* doth not, coming or going, visit the Sepulchre of CHRIST is reputed not haue merited, or bettered himself' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 122) is described by MacLean and Matar (*Britain and the Islamic world*, p. 165) as a credulous echo of Fynes Moryson's descriptions of Catholic holy places in the Ottoman lands. A less condemnatory passage, borrowed from Biddulph, states 'Mahomet taught that eury one should be saued by his own Religion, him only excepted that revolteth from the *Alcoran*, vnto another law; and that at the end of the World, all men that professed any Religion should goe into Paradise; the Iewes vnder the banner of Moses, the Christians vnder the banner of CHRIST, and the Saracens vnder the banner of *Mahomet*' (*Mikrocosmos*, p. 616). If this sounds atypically conciliatory, the following paragraph, taken from Purchas, may redress that: it begins, 'The opinions which they hold concerning the end of the Wold, are very ridiculous' (*Mikrocosmos*, p. 616). Although he seems to have consulted Quintus Curtius Rufus and Lambert Danneau for some of his geographical information, and made some recourse to William Lithgow's *Most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination* (1614, reissued 1616) and Giles Fletcher's *Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597), the principal sources of Heylyn's expanded account of the tenets of Islam in 1625 were still Biddulph and Purchas.

By 1652 and *Cosmographie*, two events had given Heylyn cause to alter his views. First and most significant was the English Civil War leading to the execution of Charles I, a tragedy of which Heylyn said he had 'too much English bowels to please myself in the reicittall' (*Cosmographie*, 'To the Reader'). Even so, the process of preparing *Cosmographie* during the Civil War years seemed to have had a profound effect on him: 'the observation of the fall of so many great and puissant Empires, the extirpation of so many mighty and renowned Families, the desolation of so many flourishing Christian Churches, as the composing of this book did present me with [...] did more conduce to the full humbling of my soul under the mighty hand of God, then either the sense of my misfortune, or any other morall consideration which had come before me' (*Cosmographie*, 'To the Reader'). The second significant event was the appearance

in 1649 of Alexander Ross's translation of the Qur'an into English from André du Ryer's French translation of 1647. Now, Heylyn felt the need to insist, 'considering that the *Alcoran* it self is now extant in the *English*, and every one that lists may read it', that it was 'A thing so full of tautologies, inchohaerencies, and such gross absurdities, of so impure and carnal mixture, that he must lay aside the use of his natural reason, who is taken by it, if force, ambition, or the want of Christian education do not lead him on' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 123).

Still further information was added in 1652 to Muḥammad's biography, giving more on his early life and insisting that it was 'by *Soceries*' that he came to marry his master's mistress. Now Heylyn describes Muḥammad's coming under the influence of Sergius, 'who found him a fit Instrument for the *devil* to work on', and gave him 'to entertain thoughts of hammering out a *new Religion*, which might unite all parties in some *common principles*, and bring the *Christians, Jews, and Gentiles* into which the world was then divided, under one Professor' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 121). After the Civil War, Heylyn gave greater emphasis to the revolutionary and rebellious aspects of Muḥammad's rise. Heylyn describes the Prophet's retiring to a cave outside Mecca to meditate, while Sergius prepared the people for his emergence, after which, 'out-comes the principal *Actor* with some parts of his *Alcoran* (pleasing enough to *sensual minds*) which he proffered to have received from the Angel *Gabriel*' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 121). Muḥammad's 'proclamations of liberty to all *slaves and servants*', Heylyn says, drew unto him such a rabble of unruly people, that without fear of opposition, he dispersed his doctrines, reducing them at last to a book or method' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, pp. 121-2).

The phrase '*rascal Rabble*', one much deployed by Heylyn elsewhere, is again applied to Muḥammad's followers. Muḥammad's prowess as a warrior is emphasised, as is the establishment of the Islamic faith by force. In the assault on Medina, he was 'Repulsed at first with loss of men, and a wound in his face, by which some of his fore-teeth were beaten out, there likely to have to have made an end of his new *Religion*, if not recovered by his Souldiers for a further mischief'. His next battle was more successful, Heylyn reporting 'he took the City, converting the *Synagogue* to a Temple for his own impieties: the news whereof so startled the *Phylarchy*, or nobility of *Mecca*, that they armed all their powers against him, and sped so well in the beginning of the war, that they drove him forcibly from their territories, which not long after he subdued, and set his chief seat at Mecca' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 123). Muḥammad's death was 'frantick and distempered', 'his dead body being kept four daies in

expectation of a *resurrection*, which he promised to perform at the end of three'. Thereafter, Heylyn notes Muḥammad's 'Successors out of that wicked and worldly policy, keeping up the reputation of that *Religion* after his decease, which they derided in his life; and calling themselves *Caliphs*, or *Vicars* Generall, to him, their Prophet' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 124).

SIGNIFICANCE

Heylyn's Muḥammad belongs to the tradition of polemical biographies of the Prophet described in Daniel, *Islam and the West*. The 'Mahomet' of *Microcosmus* and *Cosmographie* also displays several of the traits identified in Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet* of early modern accounting for the Prophet: he, is indeed, a 'dark double' (p. 1) of Christianity, an exemplar of idolatry, and a bellicose conqueror. But Heylyn's conception of Islam is not always as derogatory as his treatment of Muḥammad. Opprobrious remarks, though by no means eliminated, are fewer in relation to the faith's central tenets, which, following Biddulph, Heylyn tends to report without comment. A single paragraph, paraphrased from Breerewood, launches an outright attack on the faith, seeking to demonstrate 'the causes of the deplorable increase and continuence of this irreligious religion' (*Cosmographie*, Book 3, p. 123). Not being a freethinker, Heylyn could not take the position later held by Toland and Stubbe that 'the Religion of Mahomet is founded on the Doctrine of the Nazarene Christians and the Arrians' (Shairani, *Henry Stubbe, An account of [...] Mahometanism*, p. 146), and he naturally deplored the wide propagation of Muslim beliefs. As he said, however, while the words of *Microcosmus* and *Cosmographie* were his own, 'the matter I deriue from others' (*Microcosmus*, 'Preface'). And while, in his reporting of Muslim nations, he sometimes embellished his source material with disapproving jibes, he refrained from doing so when reproducing Biddulph's account of Islam's principal beliefs.

One of Heylyn's stated aims was to take account of 'the antient and present face of Christianity, in all parts of the World; the planting and Government of Churches, the Heterodoxies and opinion of those severall sects into which it now doth stand dismembered' (*Cosmographie*, 'To the Reader'). In particular, Johns ('Natural history', p. 110) points out that Heylyn's purpose was to argue for a particular ecclesiastical polity: that of episcopacy. His orthodox Anglican agenda needs to be kept in mind in reading Heylyn's treatment of other religions, including Islam. The parallels between Heylyn's portrayals of Muḥammad and of his religious

opponents in the Christian churches are plain to read. Heylyn's phrase 'rascal Rabble', introduced to these passages in 1652 to describe the early followers of Muḥammad, was a favourite of his, much applied to opponents of Anglican church government. It seemed to gain particular currency during the interregnum, when, of course, a weight of political import attached to it. Of the Spartan King Eurypon's attempts to ingratiate himself with the population, Heylyn wrote in 1658 that he had procured 'the favour and good will of the rascall rabble; by which he purchased nothing but the losse of Royalty' (*The stumbling-block of disobedience and rebellion*, London, 1658, p. 41). From *Microcosmus's* first appearance, Heylyn was keen to stress that Muḥammad had been the instigator of a popular uprising against the ruling empire. That Muḥammad's own empire was instigated 'by force of arms' is further stressed in *Mikrocosmos*, and in *Cosmographie* he takes greater pains to draw out the rebellious origins of the faith and the illegitimacy of its self-appointed priests.

It was common in the 17th century to present Muḥammad as a sorcerer. The story of his having 'taught a white Pigeon to feed at his eare, affirming it to be the Holy Ghost, which informed him in Diuine precepts' (*Microcosmus*, p. 321) was repeated often, and Dimmock notes that the dove 'parodies the physical manifestation of the holy ghost in Christian theology' (*Mythologies of the Prophet*, p. 15). It is also worth noting that, in a Christian context, those claiming to have received direct divine inspiration were inevitably stamped with the pejorative label 'enthusiast'. Luther defined enthusiasm as: 'spirites, whiche boaste themselues to haue the spirite, without and before the word and thereafter iudge, interpretate and deme the scripture or worde pronounced by mouthe, according to theyr pleasures'. Notably he adds, 'the Papacye also is all together Enthusiasmus, wherein the Pope doth boaste, that al lawes be in the coffer of hys herte' (*The chiefe and pryncypall articles of the Christen faythe to holde againste the Pope*, London, 1584, 'Of Confession').

Also typical were 17th-century presentations of the pope and Muḥammad as equivalent. Heylyn's adherence to this trend, however, is confined to one sentence, already quoted, that appeared in the first edition of *Microcosmus*, and a second that appeared in 1625: 'I haue heard many say, that it is better for a man that would inioy liberty of conscience, to liue in the Countries professing *Mahumetanisme*, then Papistry: for in the one he shall neuer be free from the bloody Inquisition; in the other he is neuer molested if he meddle not with their Law, their Women, or their slaues' (*Mikrocosmos*, p. 616). A. Milton (*Laudian and royalist*

polemic, p. 232), shows that Heylyn came to speak more favourably of the Church of Rome in the 1650s.

Though his texts were popular and quoted extensively, Heylyn's views on Islam received relatively little attention. Principally, the religious aspects of his work were picked up as ammunition in Christian doctrinal disputes. In disparaging the argument that tolerance ought to be shown to Catholics because of their fundamental belief in Christ, the polemicist and Quaker apostate Francis Bugg invoked Heylyn's argument that: 'The Mahumetans hold Abraham to be the Friend of God, and Moses the Messenger of God, and Christ the Breath of God. And they Punish such as speak against Christ, whose Religion was not (say they) taken away, but mended by Mahomet' (*New Rome arraigned*, London, 1697, sig. A2v). Ross consulted Heylyn in preparing his translation of the Qur'an, claiming that 'Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* [and] Heilin in his *Geography*' had offered translations of 'the chief heads' of the Qur'an (André du Ryer, *The Alcoran of Mahomet*, trans. Ross, London, 1648, p. 409).

The 1911 edition of Stubbe's *Account of [...] Mahometanism* uses Heylyn to place the Restoration scholar's sympathetic portrayal of the religion in the context of 17th-century descriptions of Islam, though references to Heylyn are notably absent from later works on Stubbe. While, overall, very little detailed critical attention has been paid to Heylyn's presentation of Islam, his pronouncements on the subject are often quoted as exemplary of 17th-century polemical accounts of Muḥammad and the Muslim faith. For examples of this, see I. Smith, *Race and rhetoric in the Renaissance*, London, 2009, p. 143; M. Dimmock (ed.), *William Percy's Mahomet and his heaven*, Farnham, 2006, p. 35; P. Almond, *Heretic and hero. Muhammad and the Victorians*, Wiesbaden, 1989, p. 9; and B. Porter Smith, *Islam in English literature*, New York, 1977, p. 4.

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Alexander Ross, Hugh Ross, Thomas Ross

DATE OF BIRTH Alexander, 1591; Hugh, about 1595; Thomas, 1620

PLACE OF BIRTH Alexander, Aberdeen; Hugh, Balmachy;
Thomas, Richmond

DATE OF DEATH Alexander, 24 February 1654; Hugh, late 1649;
Thomas, 27 October 1657

PLACE OF DEATH Alexander, Bramshill, Hampshire; Hugh, Westminster; Thomas, Westminster

BIOGRAPHY

Alexander Ross (d. 1654), Hugh Ross (d. 1649) and Thomas Ross (d. 1675) (also rendered Rosse), all members of the Scottish clan Ross, have each been identified as translator and editor of the first English version of the Qur'an, the 1649 translation of André du Ryer's French translation. Alexander Ross's authorship of the appendix, 'A needful caveat', which bears his name, is undisputed. However, responsibility for other sections of the publication, namely, a translator's note to Christian readers, chapter index, the 'Life and death of Mahomet' and the translation of the main text, is the subject of debate. Alexander, the best-known of the three, who also wrote about Islam in *Pansebeia* (1653), is routinely and traditionally credited, but strong cases have been made for Thomas and Hugh, both of the Balmachy cadet branch of the clan. Hugh was Thomas's uncle; their fathers were half-brothers. Alexander's exact relationship with Hugh and Thomas is unknown because we have no information about who his parents were. However, some kinship was acknowledged in Hugh's will (see Hallen and Stevenson, *Antiquary*, vol. 8, p. 28). It is reasonable to suppose that these members of clan Ross were acquainted, although there is little actual evidence; Hugh's will only links two of them. One scenario, that all three had some involvement, minimises Thomas's role to that of a go-between. One of these men, however, made the contents of the Qur'an available for the first time in English which, despite flaws in what was a translation of a translation, took readers closer to the original than any other contemporary text. The following biographical sketches include reference to the pros and cons for each having supervised the book's publication.

Alexander Ross was born in Aberdeen, probably in 1591. Since he is traditionally identified as the translator of this work, his biography is explored first of the three. He was educated in Aberdeen at the Grammar School and at King's College, Aberdeen, from where he graduated BA (1604), MA (1608) and later DD. He may also have studied at Marischal College, to which he left a bequest. He was ordained, and he briefly served a parish in Aberdeen. Some suggest that he moved to England because he was committed to the episcopal system; however, he later expressed somewhat ambivalent views about both the episcopal and presbyterian systems: 'Episcopacy is more subject to error and corruption', he wrote in *Pansebeia* (p. 290), while Presbyterianism 'is more subject to disorder and confusion', so presumably he migrated south for other reasons.

He became headmaster of Southampton Grammar School in 1616, though he did not keep this post for very long. His favour of literary pursuits over teaching displeased the patron, the Earl of Hertford, and he left in 1620. By 1622, he was chaplain to the future Charles I, then Prince Charles, a post he is said to have secured with the help of Bishop William Laud, to whom he dedicated several books. Laud's sponsorship has been questioned, however (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 268). Later, he held benefices in Southampton and on the Isle of Wight, though he appears to have abandoned his Southampton parish following some allegation of financial malpractice. By the mid-1640s, he had left the Isle of Wight and was running a successful private school in London. Some sources say that he had been ejected, but Malcolm thinks that he left the Isle before he was pushed ('1649 translation', p. 269). He died in the home of his friend, Sir Andrew Hensley, at Bramshill, Hampshire, on 24 February 1654, leaving a substantial estate with legacies, among others, to Aberdeen, Oxford and Cambridge universities, as well as to relatives (Anderson and Johnstone, *Fasti*, pp. 272-4, reproduces his bequest).

Alexander Ross was a prolific writer, and he engaged in numerous controversies. He produced over 30 theological, historical, biblical and poetical works (for his bibliography, see Johnstone, *Alexander Ross, poet*). Among these works were a continuation of Sir Walter Raleigh's *The history of the world* (1651) and his *Pansebeia, or view of all religions of the world* (1653). If he did translate and edit the Du Ryer text, which was published in 1649, he may have wanted to attract a reward from the king, Charles I, who might have seen a similarity between Muḥammad's and Parliament's tyranny and illegitimacy. However, Charles's execution

foiled this, so he 'sent his text to the Commonwealth licensor' instead (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 76). According to this view, he proceeded with the publication as a disguised attack on Parliament, especially targeting its 'dismantling of the National Church', which he thought risked heresy running wild. Citing a passage from the 'Caveat' (which does name Ross), which praised Muslim devotion, kindness to strangers and how even the sultan did not act without 'consulting his Mufti' as a lesson for Christians, Matar describes this as a 'scathing attack on the new regime' that 'desecrated churches and cathedrals' and set itself up as a religious authority (*Islam in Britain*, p. 80). All this might explain why Parliament tried to suppress the text.

Either Alexander or one of the other two Rosses commissioned John Stephenson to publish the book, and Robert White to print it. It was Thomas Ross who took the manuscript to White, probably in December 1648, since White registered the book with the Stationers Company on 29 December (Plomer, *Dictionary of the booksellers*, p. 193). Copies were printed. Then, on 19 March 1649, Parliament issued a warrant to seize these, shut down the press and arrest 'the Printer', and issued summonses for Thomas Ross, Stephenson and John Downham, the censor, who had already licensed publication (*Journal of the House of Commons*, 1648-51, London, 1802, vol. 6, p. 168). The fact that the translator was waiting for 'a historie of Mahomet's life' was recorded by Samuel Hartlib (d. 1662), the so-called 'intelligencer of Europe', who gathered information on everything he could (MS Sheffield University – HO, 31/22/9B, Ephemerides, 1648, part 1).

Thomas Ross was questioned and dismissed with a caution not to meddle further with 'things of that nature' (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum 1649-50*, London, 1875, pp. 59, 63, 70). White was released, while Stephenson and Downham probably offered the defence, which was accepted, 'that all correct procedures had been followed', although there is no official account (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 262). Was Thomas summoned because his name was known in connection with the translation, even if he was merely a courier? Did he attend because Hugh (see below) had already left for Holland, or in order to take the blame for his uncle, if Hugh Ross was the translator, or for Alexander, a distant relative? Malcolm and Feingold think that Alexander Ross's involvement only began after the Parliamentary investigation, when either the authorities or the translator commissioned him to write 'A needful caveat', presumably to further justify the already licensed

publication. The 'Caveat' explained to Christian readers why they should not fear to read the Qur'an, which would equip them to rebut its heresy. Change in pagination suggests that the 'Caveat' was added after the main text had been type-set. It has 'signature-numbering but no page numbering, unlike the "Life", which 'carries on the page numbering of the text' (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 271).

Against Alexander having translated the text is the fact that he is not known for any skill in French, and that he only admitted to writing the 'Caveat' (*Pansebeia*, p. 116). Malcolm also points to differences between the 'Life' and the 'Caveat', suggesting that Ross could not have written both. He argues that the original commissioning of a 'Life' by someone else militates against Alexander's role as translator, since as a 'hack writer' he would have had the confidence to write this himself, and he later cobbled 'together an account of Islam' in his *Pansebeia* (p. 271). He may, of course, have commissioned someone else to do the translation, which was printed without mention of publisher, printer or licence, oddly giving the impression that it was actually unauthorised (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 264). This may have been designed to add to the book's commercial appeal; the French original had sold well in both official and pirated versions (Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran', p. 476). Feingold argues that the main motive behind the translation was profit, and that those responsible anticipated that such a book 'was certain to generate sales' (Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran', p. 480). Another interpretation, however, is that Ross really wanted to defend religious diversity, that his theology was less conformist than suggested above, and that he protested too vehemently about the Qur'an's errors and perfidy. It may not be a coincidence that, in his will, he left money to 'ten sequestered' clergy who had been ejected from their parishes because of 'their conscience' (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 268).

Pansebeia repeats anti-Islam rhetoric, yet, as Elmarsafy argues, it also 'prompted a paradigm shift according to which the validity of religions other than Christianity became increasingly acceptable in late-17th-century England' (*Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 9). More recently, in *CMR* 6, Thomas Burman refers to the 1649 text as 'often, and wrongly, attributed to Alexander Ross', but does not suggest a translator (p. 36). However, in the same volume Nabil Matar refers to Alexander as the translator of *du Ryer* (p. 18). Matar describes Alexander Ross as a royalist who had planned to publish the text with the king's blessing, considering that it would not in any way compromise Christian faith, but rather would

help Christians to evangelise Muslims. In the end, though he thought Parliament intolerant of diversity, he submitted the text to their censor, the Presbyterian John Downham, who also licensed preachers under the Commonwealth (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 76). Dimmock argues that the 1649 'Life' owes a specific debt to the 'recent publication of Walter Raleigh's *Life of Mahomet* (1637) – a mysterious text this is almost certainly not by Raleigh'. Similarities suggest that the two may have 'stemmed from by the same hand' (*Mythologies*, p. 166), although whose hand remains an open question.

Hugh Ross was probably born in 1585 in Balmachy (also Balamuckie and Ballamouchie). No information is available on his early life. In fact, much of his biography remains 'utterly obscure' (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 295). Information gleaned from *The Scottish antiquary* indicates that he was the eldest son of Walter Ross, the third Laird of Balmachy (d. 1625), and his first wife, Margaret Munro. Hugh Ross, who became the fourth Laird, worked from about 1626 to about 1641 as a quasi-official British consul in Dunkirk, tasked with negotiating the release of English, Scottish and Irish subjects imprisoned during the Anglo-Spanish War (1625-30), then undertaking various other legal and diplomatic duties. Malcolm speculates that Hugh Ross's years in France, where he met former Barbary Coast captives, may explain his interest in Islam and his competence in French ('1649 translation', p. 282). Ross used his own funds to finance his work in France, which is probably why he mortgaged the Balmachy estate (Hallen and Stevenson, *Antiquary*, vol. 5, p. 173). He claimed recompense from the English and Scottish governments in his will (Hallen and Stevenson, *Antiquary*, vol. 8, p. 28). He next appears in records as a groom to the bedchamber of the future James II, a post he held until 1648, thus retaining this appointment into the Commonwealth. There is no information on his education. His nephews, including Thomas, went to Charterhouse school and Cambridge, which could indicate that he himself was also formally educated, although he did not have 'scholarly propensities' (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 279).

Malcolm argues that Hugh Ross translated Du Ryer's book during 1648, and commissioned a new section on Muḥammad's life by his friend, the Arabic scholar John Boncle, who had probably studied with Abraham Wheelock, the first Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Boncle, whose career flourished equally under the monarchy and the Commonwealth, failed to deliver this, probably because he was working on another anti-Muslim text (which did not reach publication). Ross waited sometime

for this 'Life' after finishing the translation, but ended up compiling it himself, drawing heavily on Michel Baudier's *Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs* (Paris, 1625) and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his pilgrimage* (London, 1613) (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 284). Before the actual printing, however, Hugh had followed other royalists to Holland. He returned to England sometime in 1649, and died in Westminster several weeks after drawing up his will on 19 June, leaving a very modest estate and describing Alexander as among the 'nearest in blood to me of my father's and mother's side' (Hallen and Stevenson, *Antiquary*, vol. 8, p. 27).

Malcolm prefers Hugh Ross as translator because he is known to have been competent in French and had some interest in Islam, although he does not think he had any particular ideological, religious or political motives (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 295). One problem with crediting the translation to Hugh Ross is a reference to the translator having translated other French texts, since none by him are known (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 271, citing Samuel Hartlib).

Thomas Ross was born in 1620 in Richmond, Surrey, the youngest son of James by his second wife. In turn, James was Walter's son by his second wife, and thus Hugh's half-brother. James had served as a footman and page to Charles I. He was also appointed constable of Launceston Castle, Cornwall, and owned a manor in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Charterhouse, where his brother Robert later became a pensioner, and at Christ's College, Cambridge, gaining his BA in 1642. Joining the royalist side in the Civil War (started 1642), Ross went into exile with the future Charles II. After undertaking various tasks, he became tutor to Charles's natural son, James, in 1658. According to one source, he was briefly jailed in the Tower of London during the Commonwealth but was released when no evidence of treason was found (Hallen and Stevenson, *Antiquary*, vol. 5, p. 18). After the Restoration in 1660, Ross reclaimed the constablenesship of Launceston (James had died in 1643), but soon sold it to take up the post of librarian at St James's Palace, which included grace and favour accommodation. In 1663, when James, now a duke, was honoured by Oxford University, Hugh Ross was made MA. He continued to undertake a range of duties, including helping farmers recover exorbitant taxes levied during the Commonwealth period. Various other posts followed, including groom of the privy chamber (1666), secretary to the ambassador to Sweden (1671) and, before his death in 1675, keeper of game outside the ten mile boundary from Westminster. He attracted a considerable reputation as a scholar. One source reports

on his knowledge of 'Latin, Greek, and other languages, besides Dutch and French' (*A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe*, ed. T. Birch, London, 1742, vol. 3, p. 348). Malcolm, though, thinks that Thomas was less proficient in French than Hugh ('1649 translation', p. 280).

Feingold argues that Thomas is the most likely candidate for being the translator of du Ryer, partly because he had scholarly credentials. He translated several works of poetry, including *The Second Punick War between Hannibal and the Romanes* (1661) by Silius Italicus from Latin, dedicated to the king (for other works, see Zimansky, 'Literary career'). On the other hand, Alexander Ross also had scholarly credentials. In fact, the 1649 translation is really rather amateur. On the one hand, Malcolm points out that it was not informed by current English scholarship on Islam ('1649 translation', p. 274), and on the other Feingold suggests that, in the late 1640s, Thomas needed income and that the main motive for the project was to make a profit (Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran', p. 478). Feingold thinks that Thomas was responsible for the translation, adding some of the additional sections and ended up writing the 'Life' when his Cambridge friend Thomas Smith was unable to deliver it ('Turkish Alcoran', pp. 486-7). In fact, Feingold thinks it likely that Thomas may have started to translate the main source of the 'Life', Baudier's *Histoire*, for which a licence was approved during 1649, although this was never published. Feingold speculates that he may nonetheless have completed the translation, and that if Hartlib knew this it would fit his claim that the Qur'an's translator 'had translated other works out of French' ('Turkish Alcoran', p. 487). However, the same argument could be offered in favour of one of the other Rosses as translator of the *Histoire*. Feingold finds Malcolm's argument, that it would have been out of character for someone known to have subsequently published several translations from the Latin, 'perplexing' ('Turkish Alcoran', p. 486). Malcolm in fact recognises Thomas's scholarly credentials, arguing that he would not have needed to commission a 'Life' by somebody else but 'would surely have done the relevant research himself' and would also have added annotations to the translation ('1649 translation', p. 274). Thomas died in Westminster on 27 October 1675.

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Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Alcoran of Mahomet

DATE 1649

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Alcoran of Mahomet (in full, *The Alcoran of the Mahomet, Translated out of Arabick into French, by the Sieur du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the King of France at Alexandria and newly Englished for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish Vanities. To which is prefixed, the life of Mahomet, the prophet of the Turks, and author of the Alcoran. With A needful caveat, or admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran, by A. Ros*) was printed in London in 1649 (André du Ryer's *L'Alcoran de Mahomet* was first published in Paris in 1647). The title page does not identify a printer or translator. Following the title page, the translator inserted a note 'To the Christian reader' (A2r-A3v). This explains that while the Muslims' scripture, the 'ground-work of the Turkish religion',

has been rendered into Latin, French and Italian, there was as yet no English translation. Thus the need for the current book, which will provide readers with information 'about their enemies' to better prepare them for encounter: readers will find what follows rude, ridiculous, full of contradictions, obscenities and blasphemies.

The next two pages translate du Ryer's 'Epistle to the Reader', which explains how the 'false prophet' pretended to receive his Law from God and an angel, and often makes God speak in the plural. Also known as 'El Forcan' (*al-furqān*), or that which distinguishes good from evil, the book is divided into many chapters and many 'signs' or verses. It has been expounded by many Mahometan doctors, whose explanations are as 'ridiculous' as the original, which they claim was written on a Table kept in heaven (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*, Q 85:22). Muslims wash before touching it. The only success that the doctors can allege is of their wars and the greatness of their empire, because Islam has been spread by the sword. Muḥammad wrote 120,000 sayings but only 3,000 are considered authentic (a reference to his Hadiths). Gabriel supposedly brought a copy of the book to Muḥammad, who 'could neither read nor write'. Some chapters begin with letters which 'some men will not expound for fear of' saying something that 'may displease their false prophet'. Most doctors, however, identify these letters with the Divine Names. Readers will wonder that 'such absurdities have infected the best part of the world', and will now be able to see for themselves how 'contemptable' the book is.

The next four pages, which lack signature pagination, translate du Ryer's 'Summary of the Religion of the Turks', which is an outline of the main elements of Islamic belief. These are followed by testimonials that du Ryer may have solicited from his former fellow consuls following his dismissal from Alexandria in 1626, to defend 'his integrity' (Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, p. 28). Next, pages a1-r to a4-r translate the Table of Contents, listing the names of the 114 *sūras* and also numbering them, which du Ryer did not do. Both the French and English versions, though, give the number of verses for each chapter, and identify whether they were 'written' at Mecca or Medina. Individual verses are not numbered, possibly to make the text easier to read (Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, p. 101).

The text of the Qur'an itself follows the Table, running to 394 pages (ending with Cc5-v). It has both signature and Arabic pagination. There are two items of end matter, 'The life and death of Mahomet' (C6r-Dd4r) and 'A needful caveat . . . by Alexander Ross' (Ee1r-ff3v, leaving ff4 blank,

no Arabic numbering). The attribution of the 'Caveat' to Alexander Ross is undisputed, though the author of other segments and the translator of the main text are unidentified.

The 'Life' and 'Caveat' are described in separate entries; the description here focuses on the main text. As a translation of a translation, the text cannot be better than the one it translates. In the event, it has retained none of the poetic quality of the Arabic original. Du Ryer, whose earlier translation of *Gulistan* into French had managed to preserve Sa'di's 'freshness and concision' (Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, p. 83), took care to render the Arabic into 'fluent and elegant French' (p. 121). He wanted, suggest Hamilton and Richard, 'to please a western readership' as his intent was to 'introduce' to them 'a work of eastern literature', which he hoped they would appreciate (p. 101). He also summarized some passages and sometimes missed the point of the original, though he 'seldom' betrayed 'the general meaning' of the Arabic (p. 120). Furthermore, he consulted earlier translations and also *tafsīr*, which are referenced in marginalia and footnotes, together with Orientalist sources including Thomas Erpenius. He most often cites the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by the Egyptian scholars Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. The English translator includes these marginalia and sometimes adds a note of his own, thus more or less alerting English readers to the fact that such commentaries exist (p. 100).

Sometimes du Ryer incorporates later Muslim interpretations into his text, and the English translation copies this. Thus, the translation of Q 4:157 states that someone resembling Jesus was crucified instead of him (du Ryer, p. 95, *Alcoran*, p. 61, Arabic pagination), while at Q 57:7-12, the translation supplies a book in the hands of those on the 'right' and 'left' on Judgement Day (du Ryer, p. 564; *Alcoran*, p. 336), and at Q 55:17-20 it describes one sea as salty and the other as sweet (du Ryer, p. 561, *Alcoran*, p. 334).

SIGNIFICANCE

Compared with du Ryer's *L'Alcoran*, the English *Alcoran* is neither elegant nor scholarly. It did, however, attract enough readers to end up becoming 'one of the more popular books of seventeenth-century England' (Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 9), and it was reprinted once in 1649, and then in 1688. Printed in Springfield MA in 1806, it was the first version of the Qur'an published in the USA; President John Adams owned a copy. However, it was not reprinted – or translated – as frequently as the du Ryer translation (it appeared in numerous pirated editions).

Both Malcolm and Feingold, who have recently discussed the authorship of the 1649 Qur'an, think that it was not translated for any ideological purpose. Feingold argues that the translator had set his eyes 'squarely on profit' ('Turkish Alcoran', p. 496). It remained the only version of the Qur'an in English until 1734, and influenced the way in which future translators rendered the Arabic. Already familiar with the phraseology of the 1649 edition, they may have subconsciously echoed this. The 1649 Qur'an was 'quoted in many of the numerous writings on Islam' published 'in the second half of the seventeenth century' (Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, p. 114).

One cleric, Edward Terry, formerly chaplain at the British Embassy in India, complained that the 1649 Qur'an was encouraging atheism, while Bishop White Kennett of Peterborough 'thundered against' its 'licensing... as indicative of the proliferation of heresies unleashed by the revolution' (Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran', p. 495). In response, the Independent minister Daniel Neal lampooned Kennett, asking whether he doubted that the Gospel could not 'support itself gainst the follies of an impostor?' (*History of the Puritans*, New York, 1844, vol. 2, p. 113).

Henry Stubbe, whose pioneer re-thinking of Muḥammad's status and of the Qur'an was written around 1671-4, thought it ridiculous to try to transpose a poetic text into prose: 'the Alcoran, being such a poem, is not to be judged of by any translation into prose, much less as is formed in Christendom. Our English, doth follow the French, and the French is very corrupt, altering and omitting many passages' (N. Matar, *Henry Stubbe*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 208-9). George Sale, who produced the first English translation of the Qur'an directly from Arabic, thought the 1649 Qur'an an improvement on Robert of Ketton's paraphrase but saw errors on 'every page', and complained that notes to explain difficult passages were lacking (*The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, London, 1734, p. vi). A more recent translator, A.J. Arberry, cited two passages from the 1649 Qur'an (Q 12:23-29 and 19:16-34) to demonstrate its flaws (*The Koran interpreted*, New York, 1955, pp. 8-10), while Nabil Matar judges it to be 'uncouth', 'harsh' and 'uncompromising' (*Islam in Britain*, p. 79), saying that it contains accurate information on Islam alongside errors. Almas points out how much the beginning of the 'Summary of the religion of the Turks' is a Christianised form that recalls the opening of the Nicene Creed, 'The Turks believe in one sole God, in one sole person, maker of heaven and earth' ('Early modern English understanding', pp. 10-11).

If the translator's main motive was commercial, it indicates that he and his backers believed that a market existed in England for a Qur'an in English. In other words, they calculated that sufficient interest in Islam existed to make it worthwhile to publish. In fact, the non-specialist translator succeeded where others failed, for he produced the first rendering of the Qur'an in English while several contemporary Arabists failed to finish theirs. John Boncle, later Headmaster of Charterhouse (1652-4) and Eton (1654-5) and Oxford's Superior Bedell of Divinity from 1652, worked on a 'new translation with marginal references' but did not publish it (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 283). Abraham Wheelock, the first Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, also contemplated translating the Qur'an but did not complete anything (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 287; this would have been into Latin and Greek). The text supplanted Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his pilgrimage, or Relations of the world and religions* (1613) which, until then, paraphrased more of the Qur'an's content than any other book in English.

If Alexander Ross also translated the main text, then, depending on how the 'Caveat' is interpreted, he may have intended to promote religious toleration by demonstrating that Islam was not as dangerous as was popularly imagined. Elmarsafy refers to Ross's *Pansebeia* as prompting 'a paradigm shift according to which the validity of religions other than Christianity became increasingly acceptable in seventeenth century England' (*Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 9). Discussion surrounding the readmission of Jews to England (allowed 1656) raised the issue of whether this would lead to others whose religion was regarded as false immigrating as well. One writer complained that the translation of the Qur'an into English had been caused by Satan, and alleged that it omitted the grossest and more ridiculous blasphemies because du Ryer had secretly worked for the sultan (in fact, his service to the sultan was public knowledge). He said that it disparaged the Saviour, and denied the Trinity, and complained that toleration of Islam and other non-Christian religions served Satan. Malcolm describes this writer as anonymous, but others identify him as Richard Holdsworth, then Dean of Worcester (*An answer without a question*, London, 1649, pp. 5-6). While it is difficult to assess how much the publication of the 1649 Qur'an did contribute to tolerationist and religious freedom discourse, it may be significant that including Islam as a permitted religion in England became more common. For example, when in 1652 Oliver Cromwell was pressed by John Owen and others to support a 15 point list of Christian fundamentals to which

all authorised Christian churches must subscribe, he famously replied, 'I had rather that Mahometanism were permitted amongst us, than that one of God's children should be persecuted', indicating that he 'thought these limitations too restrictive' (C.H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the rule of Puritans in England*, New York, 1906, pp. 30-67). A little later, in 1689, John Locke included Muslims in his first plea for religious liberty (*A letter concerning toleration*, Huddersfield, 1796, p. 62).

PUBLICATIONS

The Alcoran of the Mahomet, Translated out of Arabick into French, by the Sieur du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the King of France at Alexandria and newly Englished for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish Vanities, London, 1649

The Alcoran of Mahomet. To which is prefixed, the Life of Mahomet, the prophet of the Turks, and author of the Alcoran. With a needful Caveat, or Admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran, London, 1688; Wing K747A (1649); Wing K748 (1688) (digitalised versions available through *EEBO*)

The Koran, Commonly called the Alcoran of Mahomet, Charleston, CA, 2012

The Alcoran of Mahomet, London, 1933

The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mahomet, Springfield, MA, 1806

The Alcoran of Mahomet, London, 1718

The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French, by the Sieur Du Ryer... And newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities. (The life and death of Mahomet, etc.-A needfull Caveat or Admonition for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran, by A. Ross.), London, 1688

The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French, London, 1649

STUDIES

Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 164-9

Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran'

Malcolm, '1649 translation'

Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment Qur'an*, pp. 8-9

A. Hamilton and F. Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental studies in seventeenth-century France*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 110-14

Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 76-82

L.M. Almas, 'Early modern English understanding of Islam through the 1649 Alcoran of Mahomet', Iowa City, 1999 (MA diss. University of Iowa)

G.J. Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 200-1

A. Hamilton, *Europe and the Arab world. Five centuries of books by European scholars and travellers from the libraries of the Arcadian Group*, Dublin, 1994, pp. 96-100

'The life and death of Mahomet, the prophet of the Turks, and author of the Alcoran'

DATE 1649

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

'The life and death of Mahomet, the prophet of the Turks, and author of the Alcoran' occupies pages 395-407 of the 1649 Qur'an translation. It has both number and signature pagination (Cc6-r to Dd4-r). The text was probably written in a hurry after the translation of the French text was complete because an invited contributor failed to deliver. It draws heavily on Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his pilgrimage, or Relations of the world and religions* (1613) and on Michel Baudier's *Histoire générale de la religion de Turcs* (1625), while similarities with *The life and death of Mahomet* (1637) attributed to Walter Raleigh have also attracted comment.

The contents can be outlined as follows. Mahomet's father, Abdalla, was a pagan, and his mother was Jewish. He was born in Jefreb (Yathrib). His mother died when he was two, and he was abandoned by his uncle, Abdal Mutalib (with a marginal note that some describe him as Mahomet's grandfather). He was bought by some Ishmaelite merchants, who in turn sold him to Abdemonople, for whom he travelled in Syria, Egypt, Persia and elsewhere, increasing his master's wealth. A Nestorian heretic named Sergius, fearing for his life in the Byzantine Empire, where various sects and heresies competed, took refuge in Arabia with Abdemonople, hoping to 'propagate his infectious Heresie' and take revenge on Christianity. He practised on Mahomet, who was 'subject to receive the impression of his design' (p. 396). When Abdemonople died, Mahomet

married his mistress, having insinuated himself through sorcery or gifts into her favour (p. 397).

Mahomet was now wealthy and, though he 'sometime continued his trade', he began to project a sanctimonious air which attracted admirers, who esteemed him 'above his expectation'. Sergius continued to coach Mahomet, teaching him that Jesus was human not divine, that God is one, Christianity a false invention and Judaism obsolete. Among rude and ignorant Arabs, Mahomet could 'assume the title of a prophet sent by God', and since Christians and Jews were mutual enemies making contradictory claims, he could 'save the world by another law' (p. 398). Mahomet spent the next two years in a cave outside Mecca, while Sergius 'proclaimed the vain perfections of his life'. Returning to the world 'as if from the Oracles of heaven', Mahomet announced his prophethood, using the falling sickness from which he suffered to advance 'his wicked design'. His wife was horrified that he was stricken by a 'hideous infirmity', but Mahomet convinced her that when he fell unconscious the angel Gabriel was conversing with him. To add credence to his claims he 'promulgated some chapters of his Alcoran', declaring that this offered salvation unattainable through Moses' Law, David's Psalms or Jesus' Gospel (p. 399). Unlike theirs, his law contained nothing that was difficult, instead 'leaving all to Liberty'.

Beginning with his wife's family, he attracted a large following of 'vulgar people', which led him to conclude that it would be 'easie to obtain a kingdom' (p. 400). Under the pretence of religious reformation, he allied his cause with 'liberty' and freed his slave, Zeidi, thus enticing slaves all over Arabia to sacrifice 'their lives at his command'. Joined by 'fugitives' and 'vagabonds' who would do any 'villainy' in his name, he 'marched toward Medina, the place of his birth and burial', where he preached in a synagogue, though his hearers 'beat him' and drove him out of town (p. 401). Gathering his troops together, he engaged the Jews in battle, during which he lay for some time in a ditch as though dead. When he won, he turned the synagogue into a temple and attracted alliances with powerful princes, who gave him their daughters in marriage. However, the nobles of Mecca, perceiving that a new religion would involve a new government headed by Mahomet, whose 'base and obscure beginnings' were unacceptable to them, drove his supporters from the town. Battles followed in which Mahomet conducted himself valiantly and 'often prevailed'. Offering freedom to prisoners who embraced his law, he took Mecca by force, giving immunity to all who recognised his prophetic

office, which 'out of ignorance' many did (p. 402). Now ruler of a vast territory, his message of liberty prompted a mass defection of soldiers from Heraclius' army. Heraclius realised that he should crush the Arabian upstart and engaged the Arabs in battle, but Mahomet's army made territorial gains in Syria, Egypt 'and other provinces of Africa' (p. 402).

Fearing that, if he entered Antioch, he might be tempted to abandon Mecca, Mahomet returned to Arabia. When he fell ill, he told his followers that he would rise and ascend to heaven three days after dying (p. 404). After many days this did not happen, and when his body started to putrify they buried him in Medina, where his relics are annually visited. He died on 12 June, having lived for 10 years as a prophet in Mecca and 13 in Medina. On p. 404, there is a physical description of Mahomet: he was not tall, had large sinews and was brown, had the lust of 40 men, was subtle and quick-witted. God permitted him to confirm his law by force of arms, not by miracles (p. 405). An account of the Night Journey and Ascension follows, ending on page 406 with the statement that Mahomet had 'other flights' too, which he performed by art or sorcery, including training a pigeon to pick grain from his ear and an ox to bring him chapters of the Qur'an. He passed these tricks off as Gabriel's communications. One of his daughters married Haly ('Alī), another Osmen ('Uthmān), both of whom succeeded to rule. Heaven ordained that Mahomet should be a scourge against Christian disunity. On the day of his death, a comet appeared at noon then stayed in place for 30 days, portending the rise and fall of the Arab Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

It could arguably be expected that the first rendition of the Qur'an into English, albeit from a French translation and not directly from Arabic, might be accompanied by a more accurate life of Muḥammad. Dates and sequences of events here bear little correspondence to early historical sources. Imputation of insincerity, sorcery, use of the sword, sexual licence and failure to rise again after his death, all present a negative view of Muḥammad and his religion, and add nothing new. Indeed, it seems unlikely that anyone with scholarly credentials about Islam wrote this. It could have been written by almost anyone with access to a large number of secondary texts, and it resembles most closely the similarly titled *Life and death of Mahomet* (1637), which was linked with Sir Walter Raleigh, but almost certainly not by him. For example, his wife Khadija's negative reaction to Muḥammad's 'fits' appears in Christopher Saint German's *Here after followeth a lytell treatyse agaynst Mahumet* (1530),

as does the myth that Muḥammad's corpse began to stink (see *CMR* 6, pp. 640, 642).

On the other hand, these myths feature in books by people with respectable academic credentials, and thus represent what passed at the time for knowledge on Islam. Such a text is *The new age of old names* (1709) by Joseph Wyebarne (on whom see J. Welch, *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St Peter's*, London, 1852, p. 67, and J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, 1927, vol. 4, pt 1, p. 481). He received one of the best educations available at the time, attending Westminster School as a Queen's Scholar, followed by Trinity College, Cambridge, obtaining his MA in 1606. His view of Islam, which is closely consistent with this text, shows how widely the errors in it were accepted as fact. Again, Muḥammad, whose mother was Jewish and father pagan (as in the so-called Raleigh text) framed his law with the aid of Sergius (and another monk called John), used a trained bird and a bull to feign revelation, and also referred to his 'falling sickness' as a time when revelation came upon him. A 17th- century reader would know these myths not only from written sources but also from the earliest visual representations of Muḥammad in English books (see Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet*, p. 48, showing Machomet treated for the 'falling evil' from Wynkyn de Worde's 1499 edition of *The book of John Manderville*, and p. 32, showing 'Machomeete being killed by swine' from John Lydgate's *The fall of princes* [1494]).

One novel feature of this text is that Muḥammad passed off his message as one of liberty, which led to slaves claiming freedom and joining his cause. Of course, this is also given a negative twist because these escaped slaves are described as thieves and rascals. Malcolm suggests that among reasons for writing about Islam in the 17th century were millenarianism, which saw the rise of Islam and the Ottoman victories as signs of the coming end, and debate about toleration, which was rooted in contemporary discussion about readmitting Jews to England, and what limits, if any, there should be to religious toleration ('1649 translation', pp. 289-90).

Malcolm argues that neither of these concerns appears to lie behind the 1649 Qur'an 'Life' ('1649 translation', p. 294). There is, however, a 'passing remark' about 'liberty', which might hint at 'the translator's own political views'. This can be seen as a criticism of the Commonwealth regime for allowing the book to be printed, which it had. In fact, the translator had followed protocol in obtaining a licence, though he

then printed the work without any reference to its having passed the censor, so that, printed without mention of a publisher or printer, it looked like an illegal work (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 264). Feingold comments that this would fit Matar's view that the translator had royalist sympathies and used 'the translation as a club with which to strike out at the loathsome "heretics" in Whitehall' (Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran', p. 476). If, as both Malcolm and Feingold in their recent discussion and exchanges about this text argue, the primary motive was neither political nor theological but commercial, what the publication most obviously signifies for Christian-Muslim relations is that a market for information on Islam existed in 17th-century England. If the book was either a plea for religious freedom or indeed for curbing it, it also shows that writing on Islam could be recruited to serve other purposes, and was available to be used in this way. Whether really intended to provide authentic information on Islam or not, since it accompanied a translation of the scripture of Islam, the 'Life' would have been seen by many readers as doing just that, perhaps even more than a book such as Wyebarne's, which covered a range of topics. Indeed, the calumnies contained in that and other texts may have gained more credence due to their inclusion in this.

PUBLICATIONS

See *The Alcoran of Mahomet*

STUDIES

Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 158-79

Feingold, 'Turkish Alcoran'

Malcolm, '1649 translation'

Elmarsafy, *Enlightenment Qur'an*, pp. 8-9

Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*, pp. 110-14

Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 76-82

Almas, 'Early modern English understanding'

Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning*, pp. 200-1

Hamilton, *Europe and the Arab world*, pp. 96-100

'A needful caveat or admonition'

DATE 1649

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

'A needful caveat or admonition for these that desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran' is the only section of the 1649 Qur'an that was not translated from the original French and to which authorship is attributed. It was written by Alexander Ross. It is a 14-page appendix, added after the main text had been printed. It was probably commissioned as a result of efforts to suppress publication, even though the book had already been approved by the censor. Signature pagination runs from EE1r to FF3v. Printed on 'two extra quires' it has no page numbering (Malcolm, '1649 translation', p. 271). Ross refers to 'the translator' as having exposed the contents of the Qur'an itself to the public, thus indicating another person.

In this appendix, he sets out to justify publishing the Qur'an in English. The first sentence refers to Muhammad as 'the great Arabian impostor' and describes the Qur'an as 'gallimaufry' as 'full of error as its parent', a 'deformed Bratt', a 'monster rought out of Africa'. Possessing the 'glorious light of the Gospel', readers in England might think it 'dangerous and scandalous' to print this 'misshapen issue of Mahomet's brain' produced by the midwifery of a trained pigeon and a heretical monk. However, Ross submits as point 1 that, though those who lack firm doctrinal convictions may be misled, 'solid Christians' face no more danger from reading the Qur'an than from reading about errors mentioned in scripture, or about other ancient abominations. He continues to set out another 16 points. Point 2 develops the argument above: early Church Fathers such as Irenaeus and Tertullian wrote descriptions of damnable heresies in order to refute them. Point 3 argues that were there actually anything beautiful or excellent in the Qur'an, Ross would consider reading it to be dangerous. Fourthly, although received among many nations, the Qur'an's spread owes nothing to any legitimate appeal but to fear of the sword and 'a preposterous desire for liberty'. No nation has voluntarily embraced Islam. Fifthly, translation into various vernacular languages makes it possible to learn about Mahomet's law and religion. Sixthly, Christians should know evil, as well as good, so that they can avoid it. A description of how Mahomet's corpse allegedly began to stink when he failed to rise again after his death follows, including that dogs began to eat it. Seventhly, he says, various books of necromancy have been allowed to circulate in order to expose their vanity. His eighth point is substantially the same as point five. Nine (almost a page and a half) describes the Qur'an as full of contradictions, yet it has deluded

and misled millions of people. Reference to schisms and divisions in the church of the 7th century appears partly to identify this as responsible for Islam's origin.

Point 10 argues that, after reading the Qur'an, readers will be able to defeat Islam with its own weapons. For example, by calling Christ God's word and a spirit (Q 4:171), the Qur'an actually confirms the Trinity, as it does Jesus' ascension into heaven and other Christian beliefs. Point 11 may be seen as contradicting Ross's earlier assertion that nothing lovely or beautiful will be found in the Qur'an. Here he says that despite 'much dung, we shall meet with some gold . . . some jewels of Christian virtues'. Indeed, Christians might be embarrassed to read about Muslim zeal in devotion, piety and charity. Even the great Turk does not act without consulting the Mufti. Christians who rarely pick up the Bible are put to shame by how often Muslims read their Qur'an. Point 12 describes the Turks as 'our neighbours' whose territory borders ours. Christians should be concerned about the cause of war with Turkey, and whether this is justified. Point 13 argues that to expose the Qur'an's contents 'so that we may laugh at it' is a valuable service to England. Point 14 refers to the zeal of the Turks in praying for the conversion of Christians; thus Christians should be equally zealous about seeking to convert them. Point 15 laments how people are capable of violently defending the most absurd doctrines, as Muslims do. Point 16 equates the Turks with the people of Gog, and the Saracens with those of Magog, who have destroyed so many good Christians.

Finally, point 17 (which takes up four-and-a-half pages) offers a more detailed description of some of the Qur'an's contents. This is a 'hodge-podge' of borrowings from Judaism and Christianity that at times says some Jews and Christians can be saved, then that none can be. Muḥammad's denial of Jesus' divinity compares with that of Arius. He writes about strange stories concerning Solomon and a fly and Noah and a hog generated from elephants (the 'fly' at Q 27:18 is actually an ant – the 1649 Qur'an uses the Middle English *pismire*; the story of Noah and a hog is found in later commentaries, not the Qur'an itself – it explains how Noah dealt with animal droppings in the ark; see B. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, New York, 2001, p. 55). Had Ross translated du Ryer, he would have known that the Noah narrative does not include this story. He also mentions that Muḥammad accepted Jesus' virgin birth and alleged that Christians had corrupted the Bible.

Summing up, Ross reiterates his view that pious, knowledgeable Christians face no danger from reading the Qur'an, but that weak, ignorant

Christians should tread with care. All things are lawful but not all are expedient. The concluding statement confirms the reference in point 9 to Christian disunity and heresies as a contributory cause behind Islam's rise. For our 'sins, rents and divisions' God will overwhelm us with Islam's darkness. If Christians do not repent they will perish.

SIGNIFICANCE

One view is that Ross was invited to write this 'Caveat' at the last minute, because his reputation for Christian, or rather Anglican, orthodoxy would make the argument for publishing the English Qur'an even more credible. The prefatory material had already argued that knowledge of Islam's errors would aid refutation of them. Reference to the Qur'an's contents as full of error, to Muḥammad as an imposter, and to the fate of his corpse, all reflect popular anti-Islamic ideas. Yet, all but contradicting his own rhetoric, Ross also writes of finding gold among the dung, and he praises the zeal of Muslims at prayer, in charitable works and in their desire to convert Christians. On the one hand, attributing Islam's origin to Christian disunity as an expression of divine wrath is almost as old as Christian-Muslim encounters themselves. On the other hand, talking about the presence of gold, and making any positive comment at all about Muslim piety, was still relatively rare at this date.

Another view, presented by Ziad Elmarsafy, sees behind Ross's 'Caveat' a call for toleration, even if the main translator's motive was almost wholly commercial. The fact that Ross's later *Pansebeia* repeats anti-Islam rhetoric yet also 'prompted a paradigm shift according to which the validity of religions other than Christianity became increasingly acceptable in late seventeenth century England' supports this (*Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 9). Elmarsafy says that, far from being renowned for orthodoxy, Ross 'attracted a great deal of criticism for his heterodox views' (*Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 9). In *Pansebeia*, Ross states that no human society has endured without some knowledge of a deity, prompted by experience and 'the light of Nature' (*Pansebeia*, A2r). Most religion is false, yet many who follow other religions outdo Christians in zeal, which mirrors his argument in the 'Caveat'. Thus, Ross repeats traditional negative views of Islam yet cannot but grudgingly admit some positive aspects from which Christians might learn. He almost seems to protest too loudly when he uses very derogatory language about the Qur'an, moving beyond a total denial of Islam toward a partial affirmation. This would add a more novel element to the 'Caveat', which, significantly, accompanied the first rendering of the Qur'an into English. Readers looking for gold amidst

the dung might end up finding this, and concluding that the Qur'an is not quite as full of error as Ross had claimed. Did he want people to see through this camouflage? Aware of how negative popular representations of Islam were, he had no alternative but to reflect them while at the same time virtually (perhaps actually) contradicting the total denial of them. On the other hand, Ross only seems to have supported limited toleration, arguing in *Pansebeia* that states should maintain one religion, although private dissent is acceptable if beliefs do not overthrow 'the fundamentals of truth' (p. 358).

PUBLICATIONS

See *The Alcoran of Mahomet*

STUDIES

See *The Alcoran of Mahomet*

Pansebeia; or a View of all the religions of the world

DATE 1653

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia, or a View of the religions of the world* was first published in 1653. By the end of the century, the text had appeared in six editions (several reprinted) and in Dutch, French and German translations. The 1555, 1658 and 1664 (all Octavo or small folio) editions were bound with *Apocalypsis, . . . Faithfully and Impartially translated out of the Latine by J.D.* This latter work contains the lives of 17 heretics, including Muḥammad, with copperplate illustrations. Catalogue entries identify 'JD' as the Welsh-born Cambridge graduate John Davies (d. 1693), who earned his living by translating from various languages, including Latin (S. Lee, art. 'Davies, John', *DNB*, 1888, vol. 14, pp. 145-6). By the 1696 folio printing of the sixth edition of *Pansebeia*, *Apocalypsis* had become continuous with the main text and there is no reference to 'JD', or to its being translated from a Latin original, and by 1671 Ross is credited as author (S. Halkett, and J. Laing, *Dictionary of anonymous and pseudo-anonymous literature*, London, 1882, vol. 1, p. 116). The 1696 text, on which the description below is based, has a portrait of Ross signed by Pierre Lombart (d. 1691) on the frontispiece.

Ross sets out to describe the religions of the world since creation and the relationships between them. However, about two-thirds of the text deals with what he considers Christian heresies. He tells his readers that even barbarous people have actually embraced a religion and acknowledge a Divinity. Although these religions are false, their existence proves that it is unnatural to reject religion and a Deity. Rather, belief in God is a sign of human rationality and it distinguishes humans from animals. How impudent, then, are 'atheists in the age who . . . dare deny the Essence, or else the providence of God, and count all Religions but inventions of humane policy' (A4). There is, says Ross, only one true way (he means Anglican Christianity), and the alternative is false religion. However, he places Islam in a third, intermediate category. As a mixed religion with Christian and Jewish elements (p. 363), Islam, it seems, lies somewhere between the true and the false.

Section six of the total 15 is on Islam (pp. 116-28). Ross introduces this as a reply to his first question about the religions that are prevalent in Europe, and like the others it is in question and answer format. Here he poses 14 questions. In answer to the first, which is on the Qur'an, he says that it has 124 chapters and is a hodgepodge of fooleries and blasphemies, lacking both 'language and order', just as he had stated in the 'Caveat' to the 1649 translation (p. 116). Strangely enough, the 1649 Qur'an has the standard 114 chapters, although some are paraphrased; it is the Latin translation that has 124. He goes on to say that, born in 591, Mahomet had pretended to receive the Alcoran from Gabriel, although it was 'much altered after his death'. It promises readers a woman in paradise with eyebrows as wide as a rainbow. His second question is: 'What law did Mahomet give?' His reply lists eight commandments: acknowledging one God and Mahomet as his prophet, duty to parents, love of neighbour, set prayers, yearly Lent, charity and alms giving, matrimony and the injunction against murder. The notion that Muḥammad set down eight commandments is also found elsewhere, for example in Thomas Herbert's *Some yeares travels into Africa & Asia* (1638) (p. 255), a popular book, which Ross may have read.

Next, he sketches other opinions that Muslims hold, including their alleged fatalism, belief in heaven and hell and their view that all who live good lives will be favoured. Heaven will contain beautiful women, wine, pleasant rivers, silk carpets, fruitful trees, music and plates of silver and gold. In hell, surrounded by seven gates, people will be chained up, eat fire and will be scalded by hot water.

His fourth question, whether Mahomet is the great anti-Christ, shows that he was imposing a Christian theological framework on his subject. Here, he says that, while Mahomet may be called an anti-Christ, like Arius and others, because he taught a doctrine repugnant to Christ's divinity, he was not the real Anti-Christ, who will not be an Arab but a Hebrew of the tribe of Dan. Besides, Mahomet is dead while the Anti-Christ is still to come. Then he briefly explores diversity in Islam, asking 'are all Mahometans of one profession?' No, he says, there are various sects but the two main ones are the Arabs and Turks (Sunnīs) and the Persians (Shī'a). The latter follow Hali ('Alī), whose sepulchre they visit with great devotion and regard the first three caliphs as usurpers. However, the Persian Sophie limits his authority to secular matters, leaving religion to his Mufty. Persians make God the author of only good, and they pray three times daily, not five. Persians say that souls will not see God's essence, Turks that he will be visible; Persians say that nothing is eternal but God, Turks that his law is also eternal, and they argue over the true Qur'an.

The following three questions and answers also reflect a Christian framework. He enquires what religious orders Muslims have, whether some are hypocritical, and what other, secular clergy there are. He assumes that Sufi *ṭuruq* are like Catholic religious orders, and shows no awareness of the teachings of *taṣawwuf*. He says that most such orders are wicked and irreligious, sparing neither women nor boys in their lust. Some sing for alms, while some rob and murder, living in ignorance and idleness. Members of one order, which he calls the Calenders, are celibate. Among the hypocritical, some go naked except for their privates, while some profess poverty and devote themselves to mediation, prayer, fasting and other spiritual exercises. Turning to 'secular' clerics, he describes eight orders, from Mufti at the top to Sophi or singing men at the bottom.

His reply to question 9 describes acts of devotion, referring to bathing before the five daily prayers, congregational prayer on Friday (which, he says, is Muḥammad's birthday) 'six times bowing to the floor', and giving alms in money or meat. He also refers to the provision of hospitals for strangers to use as well as Muslims, and to monasteries and schools.

Question 10 addresses the annual pilgrimage, which he outlines quite accurately, also mentioning that no man can hinder his wife from taking part, and that servants who accompany their masters are set free. Questions 11 and 12 are on the rite of circumcision and the rites surrounding

sickness and death. This material is descriptive, with no pejorative comments.

The final two questions ask about Islam's geographical reach, and its continuation. While not widespread in Europe, this superstition has gained many followers and out-reached Christianity in Africa and Asia. It is not yet known in America. The endless debates and schisms among Christians have 'made the world doubt of the truth thereof', while the scandalous lives of Christian laity and clergy turn people away. Muslims, on the other hand, are 'generally more devout in their religious dutie, and just in their dealings'. Islam's message, too, is 'more pleasing to the sense than Christianity', while polygamy attracts people (presumably men). Ross also seems to think that allegedly refusing to dispute about or question the Qur'an or to translate it into other languages, and discouraging philosophy, are strengths, producing 'concord amongst them'. So is the teaching that whoever lives a good life, regardless of their religion, will be saved. He also says that Islam teaches that after spending a certain period of time in hell, the wicked will 'be released from thence'. Indeed, Muslims are 'more sober in their speeches and gesture, and more obedient to their Superiors than we are'. They are 'more abstemious and charitable', more devout and reverent in their churches. However, they are instructed to hate enemies and to seek revenge when harmed. Yet they 'suffer no man to blaspheme Christ', speaking reverently of him, as they do of Moses and Abraham. Also, they are zealous in seeking proselytes. No wonder, then, that Islam has spread so extensively.

Islam's rise and continued existence represents a scourge against Christians for their squabbles and disunity. It has already existed longer than 'ever an enemy did against God's people of old'. Its tyranny will be allowed to continue until Christian princes 'love each other' and join in unity against this common foe. As God left Canaanites among the Jews to prick their eyes, so Muslims exists as a whip ready at hand to correct Christians, a goad to the flesh. Yet God is also content to allow Muslims to exist because 'justice is exercised among them'; these Muslim states have strong foundations. Ross commends their hatred of idolatry, their zealousness and devotion. The 'edge of these nations', too, is softened because Islam is composed of elements from Judaism, Christianity and Gentilism, so there is no 'eager desire of its extirpation'. This ends section 6 of the book.

Ross again alludes to Islam in section 15 (pp. 353-86), when he discusses the reason states need religion, a government's duties regarding

religion, and whether more than one religion can be permitted. It is in this section that Ross attributes the origins of false religions to what he calls 'policy', a government's pragmatic realisation that religion is necessary for social stability. In summary, religion is the ground of government and greatness, the foundation of any commonwealth, while governments and princes are duty bound to 'settle and prefer religion'. Only one religion, however, should be permitted in public (p. 355), since there is 'one truth' and thus there can be only 'one religion' (p. 357). However, in private, provided that their religion does not overthrow the 'fundamentals of truth' or 'disturb the government', people may profess whatever satisfies their conscience (p. 358). Ross comments that, while Turks are zealous in their religion, they 'permit Christians, Jews... and others, to enjoy their several religions' (p. 359).

Ross maintains that if one religion is true, others must be false (p. 358), yet, having staked this claim for Christianity, he regards any religion as better than none. Indeed, he says that even false religions keep men in awe of God and obedience to superiors (p. 361). Again referring to Islam as mixing Judaism, Christianity and Gentilism, he says that it is therefore 'partly Christian', while other religions are 'merely heathen' (p. 363).

Islam features again towards the end of this final section, where Ross contrasts its violence with Christianity's 'weakness, suffering and humility' led by the poor and illiterate (p. 384). Jesus' 'humane nature exceedeth Mahomet', who was a 'thief and a robber', while Jesus taught 'peace, love and patience' (p. 384). Jesus permits all to read his word in their native tongue; Muḥammad prohibits 'the vulgar to read the Alcoran'. Jesus worked miracles; Muḥammad faked them. Yet Christians neglect unity and real virtue in endless squabbles. Pure religion is in works, not words. It consists of visiting widows and orphans, and in doing good (p. 385).

In the appendix, originally *Apocalypsis*, which follows the table of contents, Muḥammad is portrayed as the ninth heretic, following Arius. The entry on him covers pp. 438-9. The copperplate image of Mahomet on p. 438 depicts him wearing a 'voluminous turban' with a cap on top, a large moustache, a furrowed brow and beard. This is a copy of the original plate by Christoffel van Sichem (d. 1658), which had been 'created mainly to provide a grotesque and repugnant view of the prophet'. In the original, the moustache is thinner, the beard parted and the right ear is in view. The 'cap seems to overlap the picture's frame' leaving 'the impression that Muhammad protrudes from the two dimensional-

surface of the picture into the actual space of the reader' (A. Saviola, 'Printed images of the Prophet in Western Europe', in A. Shalem (ed.), *Constructing the image of Muhammad in Europe*, Berlin, 2013, 87-142, p. 111; the original image is reproduced on p. 112). The text describes Mahomet as depraved, corrupt, a professor of diabolical arts (not mentioned in Ross's section), an ungodly instrument of Satan and viceroy of the anti-Christ who made a laughing stock of the Trinity. His tomb is held up by a loadstone at Mecca (the Life in the 1649 Qur'an correctly has him buried in Medina). With Arius, he affirmed that Jesus was only a man, with Sabellius he repudiated the Trinity, and with the Manichaeans he claimed that that someone else died on the cross. He gave his disciples the privilege of polygamy, concubines and divorce, placing 'eternal felicity in the lust of the flesh'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ross was wealthy enough when he died for his executors to find £1,000 in gold coins stuffed into his book collection (Aitken, 'Ross, Alexander', p. 251). He earned most of this from his work as a writer, and he evidently died better off than many more famous literary figures. This suggests that he knew his readership and catered for their needs. The number of editions, reprints and translations of *Pansebeia* suggests that it was widely read, and may have informed a great many people on the subject of religious pluralism and theology of religions, to use modern terms. Indeed, with Samuel Purchas's *Purchas, his pilgrimage or Relations of the world and the religions observed* (1616), a book that Ross knew and which also went through multiple editions, his work qualifies as a pioneering attempt at comparative religion before the enterprise was really even born.

Although he portrayed Christianity as the most excellent religion, he thought that religion generically was essential for a stable society, teaching moral standards and civic duty. A non-Christian religion may be false, but even false religion is preferable to none. He even wrote of God 'blessing' the 'professors of false religion' and punishing those who held them in contempt (pp. 361-2, section 15, question 7). He was really saying that Christianity is the best religion, although other religions, including Islam, are not entirely false. In fact, he saw Islam as belonging to a category superior to religions that are wholly heathen, since it is partly Christian, or indeed a Christian sect. Far from denying any positive aspects or validity, Ross affirmed that God permits Islam's continued existence. This was both a negative-positive, to encourage Christian unity, and a

positive-positive because 'justice is exercised among them' (p. 127). The Qur'an might be jumbled, confused and full of fables, but Muslims are devout and charitable, and furthermore they allow Christians to practise their faith freely. In making such points, Ross's real purpose was to attack atheism as unnatural. This meant that he could not totally dismiss any theistic religion, including Islam. Turning to Islam both in the context of religious polemics and also of thinking about religion in general, Ross found it difficult to see it as totally bad, and therefore as completely undesirable. This broadening of Christian thinking on Islam from polemics into enquiry about religion as a social and cultural phenomenon was to be an important development for Christian-Muslim relations.

A.M. Fairbairn (d. 1912), first Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, wrote, 'superstitious and absurd though he be, Alexander Ross, by his "Pansebeia", did more to bring about a scientific knowledge and enquiry into religions and religious ideas with the causes of their rise, growth, and difference, than the whole brood of men like Collins and Morgan and Chubb' ('History of religion', *The Contemporary Review* 48 (September 1885) 439-46, p. 440). As more information on religions became available from 'missionaries, colonial officials and travellers', and as translations such as the 1649 Qur'an appeared, thinking about religion extended to include 'not only Christian data, but Jewish, Muslim, and "idolatry"'. 'Beginning with "*Pansebeia*" there was a steady stream of reference works' appearing at this time (J.Z. Smith, *Relating religion*, Chicago, 2004, pp. 186-7). Placed in this framework, Ross appears to have ended up seeing more similarities between Islam and Christianity than he wanted to admit. Whether he realised it or not, his *Pansebeia* was one of the first works to show a new approach to religion: 'The writings of Alexander Ross, the Deists, Dupuis, De Brosses, Hume, Herder, and Lessing indicate a new attitude toward the non-Christian peoples', which eventually led to 'critical, objective thinking on the religions of the world, one of the new fruits of modern scholarship' (A.E. Haydon, 'From comparative religion to history of religions', *The Journal of Religion* 2 (1922) 377-587, pp. 578-9).

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Clinton Bennett

Robert Baron

DATE OF BIRTH 1630
PLACE OF BIRTH Norwich
DATE OF DEATH 1658
PLACE OF DEATH Norwich

BIOGRAPHY

Robert Baron was born in Norwich and baptised on 22 July 1630, son of Robert Baron, who was an alderman, and subsequently mayor of the city and local benefactor. He was educated at Norwich grammar school before entering Caius College, Cambridge, on 22 July 1645, although he did not graduate. Instead, he joined Gray's Inn on 23 October 1646, and his first printed work, *Erotopaignion or the Cyprian Academy* is signed and dated 1 April 1647. It was accompanied by an engraved portrait and a reminder of the author's youth: 'Aetat:Suae 17'. Baron's tendency towards political allegory is indicated by the inclusion in this work of one 'Lemuroc', an incendiary rabble-rouser, whose name is a thinly disguised anagram for Cromwel[1]. However, it was his unacknowledged indebtedness to a host of poets that would form the mainstay of the work's reputation, so that the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* begins with the assertion that Baron 'claims distinction as one of the most successful of plagiarists'.

In 1649, Baron's second printed work appeared, entitled *An apologie for Paris for rejecting of Juno and Pallas*. His father died in the same year, leaving him the 'Messuage or Tenemt lyeing in Braken and Mulbarton', outlying villages of his native Norwich. The following year, *Pocula Castalia* appeared, a five part work in verse. Appearing in 1655, Baron's apparently final work was also his only play, a tragedy entitled *Mirza* comprising five acts and over 100 pages of dense annotations.

Baron died in Norwich in 1658, but the precise circumstances of his death are not recorded.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mirza: A tragedie really acted in Persia, in the last age

DATE 1655

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Robert Baron's *Mirza* (1655) is a five act dramatisation of the life and reign of Shah Abbas I of Persia. As Baron rather defensively remarks in his preface 'To the Reader', his was not the first dramatic treatment of the story. Shortly before the outbreak of open civil war and the subsequent closure of the public theatres, John Denham's *The Sophy* (1641), dealing with much the same material, had appeared at the Blackfriars theatre. Introducing his own rendition, Baron assures his reader that he 'had finished three compleat Acts of this Tragedy before I saw that, nor was I then discouraged from proceeding, seeing the most ingenious Author of that has made his seem quite another story from this'.

The immediate source for both is Sir Thomas Herbert's *A relation of some yeares travaile, begunne anno 1626* (London, 1634), which relates the diplomatic visit of Sir Dodmore Cotton to the Persian court in 1626. In fact, Abbas was already a familiar figure to English playgoers. Included in that diplomatic party was Robert Sherley, youngest of the celebrated Sherley brothers whose earlier exploits had been initially publicised in Anthony Nixon's pamphlet of 1607 and staged in the same year in the successful 'news play', *The travels of the three English brothers* by Rowley, Day and Wilkins.

The 1655 edition of *Mirza* consists of 8 preliminary pages and 264 numbered pages, with pp. 1-159 containing the text of the play, and pp. 160-264 annotations. The play opens with the ghost of the murdered brother of the present King Abbas calling for revenge in a scene self-consciously echoing Jonson's *Catiline*. In contrast with Baron's juvenile poetic borrowings, this indebtedness is explicitly acknowledged in one of the many annotations to the play, where he explains the scene as being 'not without the example of the matchless *Johnson* [...] in his *Catiline* (which miraculous *Poem* I propose as my pattern)'. With the connivance of the king's concubine Floradella, Ally Beg, the false favourite, provokes the king's jealousy of his son Mirza's popularity with the citizenry and convinces him that the prince and his 'faction' are plotting a rebellion. Abbas summons Mirza from the field where he has been laying siege to a nameless Turkish town, and lures him to court, where he is set upon by seven 'Mutes with bow-strings'. Mirza struggles valiantly, killing three of his assailants, but is finally overcome. At the critical moment, Abbas intervenes and prevents the execution, instead commuting the sentence to blinding: he orders that 'a flaming steel be drawn before/ His eyes, to take away his sight', a detail faithfully transposed from Herbert's account. The blind prince is imprisoned and descends into madness, believing himself transported to a classical underworld. Overtaken by a desire to exact revenge upon his father, he resolves to murder his own daughter Fatyma who has become a favourite companion to her grandfather. As he breaks her neck, he delivers the line: 'The world's too little to satiate my revenge'. Meanwhile, the exiled Duke Emangoly, who has remained loyal to Abbas, learns of Ally Beg's treachery thanks to the indiscretion of Floradella's maidservant, a character in the vein of Shakespeare's Emilia and Webster's Cariola. The conspirators are discovered and condemned to suitably exotic punishments – Ally Beg is to have his eye bored out in anticipation of Abbas's own funeral day, when he is to be burnt on the same pyre, while Floradella is to have her brains beaten out and her limbs burned with 'cats dung'. The king is finally convinced of Mirza's innocence but arrives too late to prevent the prince taking a draught of poison. Mirza dies and the play culminates with Abbas's decree proclaiming Soffie (Mirza's son) heir to the Persian throne and all 'the Empire's hope'. In these latter details, Baron claims an authenticity based on the details of Herbert's account, differentiating his own from Denham's earlier play, in which the tyrant Abbas is deposed and the innocent Fatyma spared. By so doing, Baron identifies the crux of the tragedy and boasts

his version as 'the compleatest Conquest that ever Revenge obtained over Vertue'.

The play has now been correctly dated to 1655, although some scholars (following the original entry for Baron in the *Dictionary of national biography*) continue to misdate it to the late 1640s. The primary reason is a misreading of the play's dedication to 'his Majestie', in which Baron offers his work as a salutary allegory: 'To wait on YOU, the Persian Mirza's come/ From the fair shades of his Elizium:/ . . . for he hopes now/ Not onely to delight, but profit YOU,/ In warning to eschew what spoild his Right,/ The Flatterer, and too powerfull Favourite'. This advice was apparently offered not to a defeated king on the run but to his exiled heir, as an annotated reference to 'our late King Charles' indicates. The copy of the play held in the Thomason Collection further corroborates its post-regicidal status, hand-dated by the bookseller 5 May 1655. The commendatory verses prefacing the play also indicate the radical topicality of the text. One notable royalist, John Quarles, clearly sees this tale of Persian insurrection as a direct allegory for the domestic situation:

Vertue is highly priz'd though overthrown.
 We mourn thy loss, admire thy worth, and grieve
 Our Isle a Mirz' and Allybeg can give
 This Text and Time doe sute, and whilst you tell
 Your tale, wee'l easily find a Parallell.

Clearly intended as a 'Text' to be studied rather than performed, *Mirza* includes over 100 pages of dense annotation for the curious reader.

SIGNIFICANCE

Accompanied by 91 separate annotations, it is clear that Baron intended his work to be studied as a scholarly text as much performed as dramatic work. In his copious digressions, he claims to 'only touch, and that lightly, upon such historical concerns, and customary rites of the *Persians* (essentiall to our *Scene*) as every Scholar is not bound to know, for to such chiefly I wrote this *Tragedy*'. In this sense, the play participates in the ongoing interest in the history and domestic affairs of the Persian Empire. As the 'other' Muslim empire after that of the Ottomans to occupy the English stage, Abbas's Persia seems to have offered a particularly fascinating source for maxims of sovereignty and statecraft. Baron's observations are characteristically wide-ranging and cite well-known authorities on Eastern culture and history. As well as

Herbert's *A relation of some yeares travaile* noted above, both George Sandys' *A relation of a journey begun* (London, 1615) and Richard Knolles' *Generall historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603) are both referenced. The latter in particular had proved a rich repository of narratives for English playwrights throughout the century, in for example, the multiple retellings of the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmet II in 1453. Baron's annotations encompass such diverse topics as the origins of the Ottoman dynasty, the prevalence of the 'Tulipant' (turban), an exposition on 'The Muftie' and the 'Seraglio', which Baron glosses as 'Bawdy houses royal'. The section on 'Mahomet's shrine' includes the obligatory observation that the Prophet's tomb appeared to be suspended miraculously in mid-air by virtue of magnetism: 'he hangs in an Iron Chest attracted to the roof of a Mosque by a loadstone there placed'. Baron's aside that this may be ascribed to a 'vulgar tradition' suggests the extent to which the apocryphal story had begun to be eroded by the contradictory reports of travellers, although he equivocates, reporting it as 'approved of by few good Authors, therefore wave it'.

These annotations show that Baron's interests cover some of the best-rehearsed attributes of 'Mahometanism', including a lengthy digression on *The Alcoran*. Again, the entry contains some of the most familiar tenets of English misrepresentations of the origins of the Qur'an, including the imputed authorship of a Nestorian monk named 'Sergius' and the belief that the Prophet simulated divine inspiration by means of 'holy trances' (dismissed as 'fits of the falling sicknesse' or epilepsy) and a trained 'Pigeon which he taught to feed out of his Ear on pease' in order to give the appearance of communion with the Holy Spirit. In such ways, Christian writers were determined to denigrate Muḥammad as an impostor and Islam not merely as a rival doctrine but as a fraudulent heresy.

Alongside all the traditional calumnies, however, is a topical allusion to more recent English treatments of the Qur'an. Only six years before the appearance of *Mirza*, the first full English translation of the Qur'an had been published. Dated barely four months after the regicide, the translation was seemingly intended for dedication to the king before events took over. The translation itself was a rendering of a French version by Alexander du Ryer and, although routinely ascribed to Alexander Ross, former chaplain to Charles I, closer inspection reveals that Ross is only responsible for the appendix 'A needful Caveat or Admonition for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be any danger in reading the *Alcoran*'. The authorship of the translation itself remains obscure and disputed. In the final lines of his annotation, Baron

alludes somewhat disparagingly to this work: 'for the late published *English* translation I cannot commend its faithfulness', referring his reader instead to the translation 'out of the *Arabic* into *Latin* by *Theod. Bibliander*'.

This treatment of the Qur'an is characteristic of the wider play text, which presents a curious amalgam of enduring fallacies pertaining to Islamic and particularly Persian culture, alongside an ongoing fascination with its peoples, histories and territories. Despite its inevitable distortions and prejudices, Robert Baron's *Mirza* exemplifies an intellectual engagement with its source material indicative of developments towards more sustained study and greater understanding of Islam in the second half of the 17th century.

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Matthew Birchwood

Andrew Marvell

DATE OF BIRTH 31 March 1621
PLACE OF BIRTH Winestead, East Yorkshire
DATE OF DEATH 18 August 1678
PLACE OF DEATH Great Russell Street, London

BIOGRAPHY

Andrew Marvell was born at Winestead, East Yorkshire, on 31 March 1621. His father, also Andrew Marvell, became lecturer (indicating his Puritan loyalty) at Holy Trinity Church, Kingston upon Hull, and Master of Charterhouse Hospital, a charitable foundation, in 1624. Marvell attended Hull Grammar School (there is no actual record, though this is generally accepted) then Trinity College, Cambridge, from the early age of 12. He graduated BA in 1638, and proceeded to study for his MA, but he left Trinity in 1641 when his father died in a boating accident on the Humber. He inherited property known as The Marvells (later Meldreth Court) in Cambridgeshire, on which he took a mortgage. He flirted briefly with Catholicism, when it appears some Jesuits tried to convert him (*The works of Andrew Marvell, Esq.*, ed. Thomas Cooke, London, 1726, vol. 1, p. 5).

Details are vague until 1647, though it is known that he was not in England during the Civil War. He spent about four years in Holland, France, Italy and Spain, learning the vernacular languages. He was back in England in 1647, when he sold The Marvells (see Kelliher, 'Some notes'). From 1650 to 1653, he tutored Lord Fairfax's daughter at Appleton House, Yorkshire. In 1653, he moved to Eton College as private tutor to Cromwell's ward, William Dutton (d. 1675), and in 1655 he marked the first anniversary of Cromwell's rule with his poem, *The first anniversary*. Originally anonymous, it was included in the volume of Marvell's poems that his wife, or rather the somewhat mysterious Mary Palmer, published in 1681. This was censored for pro-Cromwell content (Wilson, 'Marvell's "The first anniversary"', p. 255), although the three poems that were excised, including *The first anniversary*, are found in the British Library copy and another in the Huntington Library, San Marino CA. Mary may or may not have married Marvell; she may have been his landlady or housekeeper (see Tupper, 'Mary Palmer').

During 1656, Marvell was with Dutton in France. Then in 1656, he was appointed to assist the blind John Milton as Latin Secretary to the Council of State. Losing this post in 1660 when Charles II became king, Marvell became reconciled with the new regime. Having received the freedom of Kingston upon Hull in 1658, he was elected as one of the two MPs for the city in 1659 (Withington, 'Citizenship', p. 102). He represented Hull for the next 20 years. In 1660, he intervened to save Milton, who had been detained in the Tower of London on anti-royalist charges. Between 1662 and 1665, he was secretary to Lord Carlisle on his diplomatic missions to Holland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark. He may also have operated as a spy at various times (Smith, 'How to make', p. 208).

In May 1674, he was appointed an elder brother of the Deptford Trinity House, which still oversees lighthouses and pilotage, becoming younger warden in 1678. Marvell died on 18 August that same year at his rented residence in Great Russell St, London, and was buried two days later at St Giles-in-the-Fields.

Marvell supported the toleration of dissent within limits, based on his experience in Holland, but thought that extending this to Islam, Judaism, Catholicism and extreme non-conformists went too far. However, there is a more positive reference to Islam in his 1677 essay, *An account of the growth of Popery*. It may not be accidental, either, that Marvell's nephew, William Popple (d. 1708), whose education he had guided, became a Unitarian and translated Locke's *Letter concerning toleration* from Latin in 1689.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The first anniversary of the government

DATE 1655

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first anniversary of the government under His Highness the Lord Protector was published anonymously in January 1655. In iambic pentameter and rhyming couplets, it is a poem of 402 lines. It was printed by Thomas Newcombe, formerly printer to the king, in an 18-page broadsheet and was to be sold by Samuel Gellibrand at the Golden Ball in St Paul's Churchyard. The poem was first credited to Marvell in the 1681 edition of his *Miscellaneous poems*, where it appeared as *The first anniversary of the government under OC* (pp. 119-29). It was excised from all but two copies, although it was later included in *Poems on affairs of state* (1707), where it was 'misassigned' to Edmund Waller (d. 1687) (Grosart, *Complete works*, vol. 1, p. 169). However, despite this attribution, there 'is no reason to doubt that Marvell' was the author (Wheeler, *Marvell revisited*, p. 112). It is included in various editions of his poetry and works.

When Marvell wrote the poem, he was tutor to Cromwell's ward, and living with Cromwell's friend John Oxenbridge (d. 1674) at Eton College, but was not yet employed by Cromwell's government. He appears to have liked Cromwell, whom he presumably grew to know well. Analysts identify 'seven clearly defined sections', namely comparison between Cromwell and the 'heavenly monarchs' (lines 1-48), Cromwell's building of the harmonious state (49-116), the advent and postponement of the millennium (117-58), Cromwell's coaching accident (159-220), that Cromwell did not govern arbitrarily (221-92), against the Fifth Monarchists (293-324) and tributes from foreign rulers (325-402) (Wallace, 'Andrew Marvell', pp. 213-14; Wallace, *Destiny*, p. 114). The coaching accident occurred on 29 September 1654, when Cromwell overturned his carriage, provoking debate about who would succeed him as well as ridicule that he could safely manoeuvre neither the ship of state nor his carriage.

Although *The first anniversary* is often described as a political poem, religious, especially biblical, motifs feature throughout. The Islamic references are part of the sixth section, on Cromwell's building of the harmonious state.

At this time, it was widely believed that Cromwell 'was destined to play a part in the arrival of the millennium', which 'few doubted' was

approaching (Wallace, 'Andrew Marvell', p. 219). Marvell seems to have accepted this, but he was hesitant to declare with certainty that men and women could be sure of the time (line 143), and he may have thought that human unpreparedness was frustrating God's purposes (line 150). The Fifth Monarchists were a group who believed that four kingdoms would flourish, the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman, and then Christ's thousand years of rule would begin. Some believed that Christ would rule in person, while others thought he would do so through a body of 70 divines (based on the Sanhedrin), the Fifth Monarchists themselves. Many also thought that, if existing laws were replaced by their interpretation of scriptural laws, the millennium would be hastened. They wanted a legal code 'directly and simply based on the Mosaic code' (Wilson, 'The first anniversary', p. 267). Many also hoped that a great Captain (see line 321) would 'lead the troop until Christ's arrival' (Wallace, 'Andrew Marvell', p. 218). In the Nominated Parliament (July-December 1653), which was dissolved when no agreement could be reached on a whole range of legal reforms, among them religion, the Fifth Monarchists supported the re-admittance of Jews to England, which they saw as an End-time event, hoping that many would convert to Christianity (A.B. Chambers, *Andrew Marvell and Edmund Waller. Seventeenth-century praise and Restoration satire*, Philadelphia PA, 1991, p. 29).

Marvell's section in the poem on the Fifth Monarchists begins by comparing them to the sons of Ham, 'a Chammish issue' (line 293), who were cursed. They deride Cromwell's 'fall' from his carriage but would themselves wreck the ship of state:

What thy [Cromwell's] misfortune, they the spirit call,
 And their religion only is to fall.
 Oh Mahomet! now couldst thou rise again,
 Thy falling-sickness should have made thee reign. (lines 301-4)

Mahomet's 'falling-sickness' refers to his alleged epilepsy, an age-old explanation for his prophetic raptures, which at this time served as a metaphor for any type of imposture. The poem goes on to compare the religious enthusiasts Feake and Simpson (whom Marvell represents as Fifth Monarchists, although Simpson was not) trying to pass off their 'rants' and 'sacred foam' as divinely revealed to the way in which Muḥammad had claimed his proclamations were from God (line 305). And a little later, he compares enthusiasts refusing to remove their hats before magistrates (for which, as Grosart, *Complete works*, vol. 1, p. 190,

points out, George Fox and others were sent to prison) to Muslims refusing to remove their *tulipant* (turban), and he drily comments that Feake and Simpson might as well claim prophethood like Muḥammad, because their ‘prophecies’ are ‘fit to be Alcoraned’ (lines 308-10).

This comparison between the Fifth Monarchists and Muḥammad is entirely negative, involving false religious claims. However, a marginally less pejorative reference to Muḥammad (if only through comparison) occurs in Marvell’s prose essay, *An account of the growth of Popery, and arbitrary government in England* (1677). In this 156-page publication, Marvell denounces the pope for claiming universal temporal authority, and for falsifying Christian teaching. ‘Mahomet’, he says, did claim a privileged status – to be the greatest prophet – just as popes presumed ‘to be the only Catholick’, yet Muḥammad was ‘honest’ in owning that his religion was ‘a Religion of the sword’. Furthermore, pagans, Jews and Muslims are ‘of another allegiance and, if Enemys, [are] not Traytors’, unlike the pope, who claims ‘Christianity’ but renounces it by ‘Doctrine and practice’, persecuting ‘those to the death who dare worship the Author of their religion instead of its pretended Viceregent’ (pp. 9-10). Thus, by comparison with the pope, Muḥammad is less objectionable because he is at least straightforward in his declared aims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Dimmock refers to Marvell’s employment of ‘Mahomet’ in this poem as an example of the way in which imposture had by this time come to ‘define Muḥammad’ (*Mythologies*, p. 21). Marvell does not actually use the word ‘imposture’ because reference to Muḥammad’s falling-sickness was enough to plant this criticism in his readers’ minds. Matar suggests that, when Marvell set out to denounce the Fifth Monarchists ‘because of their opposition to Cromwell . . . the worst comparison he could draw was with the Muslim prophet and his revelation’ (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 104). Yet when he shifted to denounce Catholics, Marvell found it possible to modify his negative view of Muḥammad in order to highlight the pope’s crimes. At this time, a popular device was to conflate Catholicism and Islam, or Protestantism and Islam, as hybrid heresies and to say that, of the two, the Christian they opposed was actually the worse. Marvell was no different.

What Marvell’s Islamic references also illustrate is how readily available these images were to writers and poets in 17th-century England. As Matar comments, a term such as ‘alcoraned’ could be ‘bandied about in

treatises and poems' without any explanation because it could be taken for granted that readers were 'familiar with the implications of the references' (p. 104). Thus, Turks and other Muslims could easily be recruited into domestic squabbles. Over time, as more accurate and less biased information on Muslims became available in England, some men and women would begin to question negative images and to rethink attitudes that Muslims were irredeemably bad. One example is the Baptist pioneer Thomas Helwys (d. 1616), who had explicitly included Muslims in his pleas for religious toleration.

During the Restoration, Marvell himself became known as a champion of religious toleration, advocating that religion should primarily be a personal, ethical matter, not one for the state to regulate (see N. von Maltzahn, 'Milton, Marvell and toleration', in S. Achinstein and E. Sauer (eds) *Milton and toleration*, New York, 2007, 86-106). For him, 'a man's conscience' was his 'most precious possession'; to act contrary to this renders you a 'Hypocrite' and a 'knave' (Chernaik, *The poet's time*, p. 114, citing Marvell's prose satire *The rehearsal transpos'd*).

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Clinton Bennett

Francis Osborne

DATE OF BIRTH 26 September 1593
PLACE OF BIRTH Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire
DATE OF DEATH 4 February 1659
PLACE OF DEATH Nether Worton House, Oxfordshire

BIOGRAPHY

Francis Osborne (or Osborn) was born on 26 September 1593 on his father's estate, Chicksands Priory in Bedfordshire, the youngest son of Sir John and Dorothy Osborne. Despite his considerable literary reputation, relatively few biographical details are known. He appears to have been privately educated, and may have travelled in Europe as a teenager (Potter, 'Introduction', p. vii). According to Wood, Osborne was employed in London for some time by the Earls of Pembroke, becoming master of the horse (Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 706). Before his father's death in 1628, he also worked in a junior capacity within the Exchequer, where Sir John was remembrancer. After an absence from official records, he reappears in 1641 holding office under Oliver Cromwell, serving in various judicial capacities, and as a parliamentary visitor for Oxford University.

Osborne's *A plea for a free state compared with monarchy* (1652, printed with *A perswasive to a mutuall compliance under the present government*, which was dedicated to Cromwell) indicates that he thought the Commonwealth preferable to monarchy. Records also show that he was involved in a lengthy legal dispute with his brother, Sir Peter, related to property inherited from their father. After his wife's death in 1657, Osborne sold what was left of his property and lived with his brother-in-law, and with other friends, including his Oxford-based publisher, Thomas Robinson.

Osborne's various political and religious treatises earned him criticism as well as appreciation during his life. He was influenced by Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, of whom Aubrey says he was a 'great acquaintance' (*Brief lives*, ed. A. Clark, Oxford, 1898, vol. 1, p. 370). His republicanism and alleged atheism attracted criticism. The year before he died, Oxford clergy petitioned the vice-chancellor of the University (who was also censor for Oxford) to have Osborne's most popular book, *Advice to a son*

(1656), burned. The vice-chancellor refused to do this but did ban its sale, after which it sold all 'the better' (Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, described by himself*, Oxford, 1891–1900, vol. 1, p. 257). After his collected works appeared posthumously in 1673, a House of Lords committee considered a motion to declare it seditious. However, no action was taken. The 11th edition, published in 1722 in two volumes with the title *The miscellaneous works of that eminent statesman, Francis Osborne* contains some additional material, including letters to his brother-in-law (vol. 1 pp. 147–87). Walter Scott included several of Osborne's books in *Scarce and valuable tracts* (1811).

Osborne died in his brother-in-law's house at Nether Worton on 4 February 1659 and was buried in the parish church.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Political reflections upon the government
of the Tvrks*

DATE 1656

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Francis Osborne's *Political reflections upon the government of the Tvrks* was printed in London in 1656 for his Oxford-based publisher, Thomas Robinson. The work is the first of eight essays in the publication, which has 194 pages. *Political reflections* was republished in 1661, 1662, 1673 and 1683 as a single volume, and as pp. 255-350 of Osborne's *Works* (1673). In the 1682, 1689, 1700 and 1701 editions of *Works*, it ran from page 219 to 290. In the *Miscellaneous works* (1722), it is the second essay of Volume 2.

This description is based on the first edition. The text has 75 numbered sections. Although Osborne begins the treatise with an account of Muḥammad (Mahumet), he does not provide many specific details. Muḥammad's 'deportment' was 'prudent' (p. 1), although he 'pretended' that his 'horrible fits' were 'holy ecstasies' during which God communicated how he should 'lead his people' (p. 4). Muḥammad formulated his religion from Judaism and Christianity, adding some novelties of his own (p. 7). The 'schism' between Turks and Persians lay 'in the genealogie of their Prophet', rather than 'in the body of Beliefe he first founded' (pp. 7-8). Even though 'a Munke' had a 'finger in the Pie' when Muḥammad devised his religion (presumably a reference to Baḥīrā), Muḥammad fashioned his political teachings to support the authority and honour of the ruler (himself) (p. 10). He restricted the interpretation of his *Alcaron* to the mufti, who was appointed by the ruler (p. 13), thus encouraging obedience.

Section 14 describes 'the more charitable Turkish doctrines' as honouring God, obedience to the ruler, mutual love, resolution in war, and patience in 'bearing all terrestrial wants' (p. 15). The promise of heavenly reward leads men to disregard 'afflictions' in this world, which is but a 'troublesome and dark passage' (pp. 16-17). Thus, obeying their rulers and enduring the rigours of war, the Turks have greatly expanded their empire (p. 17). Even a 'false religion', Osborne asserts, contributes 'more to Safety than Atheism, or a stupid neglect of all Worship', when clergy keep to their 'proper Sphere', that is, when they do not interfere with civil matters (p. 19; see also 'To the Reader', p. 2 [unnumbered in text]).

Osborne describes the 'rites of Mahumet' as generally agreeable to 'the Nature of Man' (p. 22). Abstinence from wine helps maintain military discipline (pp. 24-6). The Turks' constancy in religion is especially commendable (p. 27). Turning to describe the office of mufti, he says that the ruler instituted this to add more lustre to the religion. As one whose sole purpose is 'the worship of God', the mufti enjoys greater reverence than a secular ruler attracts (p. 29). He wears green, which only Muḥammad's kin may wear, and even the emperor (the term he uses for the Ottoman sultan) honours him in public, placing him next to the throne. This 'Circumcised Pope' attracts an 'infallible obedience', all the more because he is 'rarely seen' (p. 30). As highly esteemed as he is, the mufti cannot act 'contrary to the true Dialect of State' without risking removal or death (p. 32). Yet on the subject of 'clandestine deaths', whereby rivals or those declared *persona non grata* are murdered, Turkish custom does not differ much from European. Even Queen Elizabeth I of England, 'in other things the best consulted Monarch that ever filled the English throne', had her sister Mary, Queen of Scotland, hanged (p. 36).

In Turkey, neither property nor position are hereditary. The emperor is administrator of all deceased subjects' estates (p. 46). Public buildings are magnificent. Baths and hospices are built for the use of the public, which is a better use of charity than constructing 'churches or other pious foundations' that benefit only a few (p. 49). As a political system, the Turkish one is designed better than any other for territorial expansion (p. 51). First, it instils obedience and solidarity. All that subjects are required to do is obey; the mufti tells them what to believe in matters of religion, while the ruler's word is law in the legal sphere (pp. 53-4). Osborne admired obedience, complaining in 'Note to readers' that Christians give their representatives 'less awful obedience than the Apostle Paul did award to infidels'. Since all offices are filled by the ruler's appointees, not through inheritance, there is equality throughout the empire.

Sections 42-53 (pp. 60-70) describe Turkish military strategy, which Osborne finds impressive. The Turks rarely 'grant quarter till all is subdued', which minimises the need to fight the same enemy twice. Changing foes keeps the army alert to new challenges, rather than becoming too accustomed to the tactics of a single opponent. Their campaigns are usually fought in the summer, thus avoiding the need to cope with extreme weather. If the army does suffer defeat, it withdraws quickly so that its soldiers do not become too disheartened. The army's main strength is offensive, not defensive, preferring the field over fortresses,

which can become 'nurseries of rebellion' (p. 66). Osborne suggests that Turks fight more passionately against Christians than against the Persians, whom they see as too near in religion (p. 69).

After a lengthy description of customs surrounding the Grand Seignior, Osborne turns to education, commenting that 'all Sciences..., resembling what we call Liberall' are confined to the Seraglio, which allows the emperor to vet any forms of learning that might prove contentious. Finding 'printing and learning the chief fomenters of Divisions in Christendome', the emperor kept them 'out of his territory' (p. 110). Osborne's admiration for religious unity is obvious throughout the text; in his 'Note to readers' he refers to the lack of Christian unity, commenting that the Turks are 'too well read in Policy, to break... so useful an engine' knowing well that religious unity serves the efficient running of empire.

Osborne discusses polygamy and the idea of annually renewable marriage contracts as worth considering in an age which saw 'an astonishing amount of uninhibited speculation' about 'the relation of the sexes among many other themes' (see Hill, *World turned upside down*, pp. 313-14). Polygamy, he thought, might be a 'better way to run government' (Witte, *Western case*, p. 372) because, by 'dividing his Love' among 'many wives', the emperor renders 'the Government less fractious' (p. 68).

SIGNIFICANCE

Although he was accused of atheism, it is unlikely that Osborne disbelieved in God. From remarks he made on the Socinians as the 'most rational' of the various 'divisions', he may have had Unitarian sympathies (Hill, *World turned upside down*, p. 290). He supported Luther's reformation, considering the Roman hierarchy corrupt, and he appears to have written *Political reflections* because he wanted Christians to learn lessons from the example of the Turks. This was not unique at the time; even Richard Knolles, who had little positive to say about them, thought the Ottoman system of meritocracy had advantages, because those of the lowest social status could 'aspire unto the greatest honours and preferments both of the Court and of the field' (*History of the Turkes*, London, 1603, sig A5). What is unusual in *Political reflections* is the degree of Osborne's admiration, arguably greater than any found elsewhere. In contrast, for example, George Sandys, in *A relation of a journey* (1615), also admires the Ottoman policy of religious toleration, but he sees the empire as a decadent autocracy, weakened by lack of hereditary gentry,

too reliant on non-Turkish slaves, with an army of soldiers overly fond of alcohol and women. Sandys had no praise for Turkish military skill, which Osborne appears to have thought quite formidable.

Perhaps because his relationship with the Christian establishment was tenuous, and because he had no obligation to defend it, Osborne was freer to see the Ottoman polity more favourably. On the one hand, his reference to Muḥammad passing off 'fits' as moments of divine revelation, and concocting his religion from Judaism and Christianity with some additional novelties, repeats standard Christian calumny. On the other hand, it is difficult to identify anything else in his text as especially critical of Islam. In fact, he sees merit where many find fault, for example in the alleged Ottoman hostility to learning and science. Absent from Osborne are any of the popular stereotypes of Turks that represent them as inalienably different from Christian Europeans, for example, as congenitally dishonest and irrational.

It is not known what stimulated Osborne's interest in Turkey, which, unlike Sandys, he did not visit. But neither, for that matter, did Knolles, whose *History* was seen by many as definitive. This shows how information available on Turkey in 17th-century England could be used differently, depending on a writer's agenda.

Osborne's main object was probably to reveal what he considered 'defects and corruptions in European monarchies by praising the virtues of the Ottoman way of government', a 'habit that would grow in the next century' (Çırakman, *From the 'terror'*, p. 78). Nonetheless, it is significant that Osborne thought Christians could benefit from an analysis of Turkish social, political and religious polity, which suggests that, unlike many of his peers, he thought Europeans and Turks occupied the same, not different, or opposed worlds.

PUBLICATIONS

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- C. Hill, *The world turned upside down. Radical ideas during the English Revolution*, New York, 1972, pp. 32, 177, 180, 269, 290, 313-14, 410

Clinton Bennett

Lodowick Carlell

DATE OF BIRTH 1601 OR 1602
PLACE OF BIRTH Brydekirk, Dumfriesshire
DATE OF DEATH 1675
PLACE OF DEATH St Martin-in-the-Fields, London

BIOGRAPHY

Born in about 1602 in Brydekirk, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, to Herbert Carlell and Margaret Cunningham, Lodowick Carlell entered the courtier's life in London as a young man during the reign of King James I, sometime between 1617 and 1621. While in London, he married Joan Palmer (who later became one of England's first female, professional painters) on 11 November 1621. By 1629, he had been appointed groom of the Privy Chamber and had published his first play, *The deserving favourite*, which was performed before the king and at Blackfriars. Lodowick's father was master huntsman to the king, a position that Lodowick himself assumed in 1631, under Charles I. In this same year, playwright Thomas Dekker dedicated his 1631 publication of *Match mee in London* to Carlell, acknowledging the latter's connections with the Stuarts, saying: 'You have a King to your Master, a Queene to your Mistresse, and the Muses your Play fellowes'. By 1634, another play of his, *The Spartan ladies*, was performed in influential circles (though it is not now extant).

During his lengthy career amongst royalty, Carlell also held positions as Master of the Bows, and, beginning in about 1636, Keeper of the Royal Deer Park in Richmond, near London. About this same year, a letter written by Charles, Prince Palatine, to the Queen of Bohemia makes it clear that Carlell's influence extended onto the continent. Charles says that he had been at Blackfriars, 'where the Quene saw Lodowick Carlile's second part of Arviragus and Felicia acted, which is hugely liked of every one', adding that he 'will not fail to send it to [her] majesty'. Both parts of *Arviragus and Felicia* were published just three years later in 1639, after which point, impeded in part by the closing of the theatres in 1642, no more publications appeared for some time.

Despite the troubles of the Civil War, Carlell remained in post until the fall of Charles I in 1649. His payment of £1,500 to the king's exchequer during the fighting clearly establishes him as a royalist, though he did

not join the army. He appears to have remained in England throughout the Interregnum, and family tradition holds that he even remained in a rented space in Richmond during this period. In 1655, Carlell published both parts of his play, *The passionate lovers*, with the help of noted pro-royalist printer Humphrey Moseley. The title page boasted openly of Carlell's Stuart connections, stating that the plays had been '[t]wice presented before the King and Queens Majesties at Somerset-House'. Carlell's 1657 dual publication of *The fool would be a favourite* and *Osmond, the great Turk* likewise advertised the plays' performance by the 'Queen's Majesty's Servants'. Additionally, the 1659 re-printing (again with the help of Moseley) of *The deserving favourite* proclaimed that the play had been 'presented before the King and Queenes Majesties at White-Hall'.

Carlell's royalist background served him well after the coronation of Charles II. By January of 1660, he was granted a pension of £200 per annum. In September of that same year, he was put in charge of the Lodge at Petersham at the Great Park near Richmond, a duty for which he was paid £50 per annum, and one that he likely received by the aid of his former queen, Henrietta Maria, who was well noted for recommending her former servants to her son. By 1663, Carlell was no longer in office at the Lodge, and in 1664 he offered up his final play to the public in print: *Heraclius, Emperor of the East*. This last play was a translation of Corneille's *Héraclius*, and was dedicated to Henrietta Maria, referring to her as 'my most gracious Mistress whom I have so long serv'd, and in former Playes not displeas'd'.

Carlell passed away in 1675 in London and was buried in Petersham, having written at least nine plays, eight of which are extant. He lived long enough to see his *Arviragus and Philicia* come back to the London stage in 1672 at the hands of playwright John Dryden. He was survived by his wife and by his daughter, Penelope (one of his six known children).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Lodowick Carlell, *The famous tragedy of Osmond the great Turk, otherwise called the noble servant*, London, 1657

Lodowick Carlell, *Two new playes*, London, 1657

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Osmond the great Turk

DATE Between 1622 and 1642

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

There is considerable debate surrounding the date of this play (whose full title is *The famous tragedy of Osmond the great Turk, otherwise called the noble servant*). Allardyce Nicoll and E.E. Duncan Jones argue for a date between 1637 and 1642, based for the most part on the fact that the 1657 title page for the play states that it was acted 'by the Queen's Majesty's Servants', and that these were the years in which Carlell's play production was at its height. G.E. Bentley and Friederike Hahn argue for a 1622 dating, with Bentley in particular stating that the title page connecting it to the Queen's Men is possibly an error. Their main evidence is the licensure of a play entitled *Osmond, the great Turk* to the King's Men in September 1622, very early in Carlell's career as a courtier. Jones, however, suggests that the 1622 licensure must be for a different play of the same name. The matter remains unresolved.

In its first 1657 octavo printing, *Osmond* consists of 59 pages divided into five acts. The play begins just as the armies of Melcoshus, 'Emperour of Tartary', take an unnamed Christian city. Osmond, Melcoshus' servant from his childhood, observes two soldiers fighting over Despina, a young Christian maiden. Seeing her beauty, he claims her for his master and presents her to him. Melcoshus unveils her and, stunned at her beauty, orders her to be kept with his eunuchs and entertained until he can 'enjoy her'. While she is in the emperor's quarters, Melcoshus first attempts to woo her but then resorts to force. Despina saves herself by persuading him to wait one day in exchange for a kiss and to give her more time to be wooed. Meanwhile, Despina has been making advances to Osmond, the only non-eunuch male whom Melcoshus trusts enough to allow in his private chambers with her. She begs him to bear her away with him and become a Christian. Osmond, however, views this as treason to his lord and his faith, and rejects her pleas.

Under Despina's influence, Melcoshus becomes more and more 'Christian', to his own astonishment. Seeing the influence she exerts, Despina asks Melcoshus to order Osmond to obey her aforementioned request (the specifics of which he does not know). Melcoshus complies, but Osmond still refuses to leave with her.

Halycon, a disgruntled officer, observes Melcoshus giving in to Despina's will and persuades his soldiers to turn against him, as he is forgetting his conquests and ambition for war. He tricks Odmer, an officer loyal to the emperor, into approaching Melcoshus about Despina, anticipating that the king will become enraged and kill him.

Meanwhile, Orcanes, Melcoshus' son and heir, meets Ozaca, wife of Callibeus, a pasha, and is immediately smitten by her beauty. Callibeus notices their mutual attraction and sets Ozaca up in order to prove her unfaithful. He forges a letter to Orcanes from Ozaca, confessing her love for him. Emboldened by the letter, Orcanes sets fire to Callibeus' house in order to sneak in and make love to Ozaca. Callibeus catches them together, and Orcanes pretends that he has forced Ozaca unwillingly, in order to preserve her honour.

At court, the rebellious soldiers plot to overthrow Melcoshus, and Halycon as well if he should stray from their designs. Callibeus begs Melcoshus for justice against Orcanes and is denied. The soldiers, seeing his discontent, inform him of their plot.

Odmer warns Melcoshus that his love for Despina and his neglect of conquest has caused many of his soldiers to turn against him. Melcoshus

resolves to amend things by denying himself Despina and enacting justice on his son for his rape of Ozaca. As his eyes are gouged out, Orcanes confesses that Ozaca was compliant in his deed. Thinking he lies, Melcoshus becomes incensed and condemns him to death. Melcoshus then calls together his soldiers and officers, Halycon, Odmer, and others (though not Osmond). He sets Despina before them and asks whether they could deny themselves such a beauty. They say that it would take more than a human will to do such a thing, whereupon Melcoshus stabs Despina and dares anyone to question his ability to conquer his passions ever again. The soldiers are stunned at his deed.

Later, Osmond arrives to see Despina dead. The soldiers tell him Melcoshus killed her, and he swears to avenge her. Callibeus tells Ozaca that Orcanes has been put to death. On hearing this, she stabs both him and herself in grief.

At night, Melcoshus privately laments his deed as two groups – Halycon and his men, and Osmond – approach to slay him. Osmond, however, overhears Halycon's plot and kills him and his men for their treason. He then turns on Melcoshus, but relents when he sees his king's deep sorrow for his act. Osmond does not attack his lord, but Melcoshus dies nevertheless, either from a wound received in the skirmish with Halycon or from grief. Osmond then kills himself for his own intended treason. Odmer takes over the empire until such time as Melcoshus' younger son can rule, and orders a monument be erected to Osmond.

In *Osmond*, Muslims are portrayed both as polytheistic and as worshipping Muḥammad (for instance, they frequently swear 'by the Gods' or 'by Mahomet'). Both Melcoshus and Orcanes refer to Muḥammad as a condoner of lustful acts and deeds. However, the most complicated portrayals of Islam and Christianity in the text centre on the relationship between Melcoshus and Despina, as the emperor becomes more and more Christian during his exposure to her. For example, after Despina talks him out of raping her, Melcoshus states that his love for her leads him to 'hold our Prophet Mahomet unjust, / That made no lawes against a Princes lust'. At another point, he orders Osmond to obey Despina's requests with more fervour than he would observe a rite at 'Mecha'. He declares to her at one point: 'Mahomet himselfe shall cease to be adored, if he be not assistant to your wishes', and even says that she would be forgiven by him if she had 'revild our Prophet'.

What is more, as Melcoshus transforms, he begins to take on what he sees as Christian attributes, such as 'Faith and Temperance'. After

Odmer chides him and he resolves to turn away from his dalliance with Despina, he acknowledges Muḥammad's role in it, saying: 'by the goodnesse of our blessed Prophet my eyes are open'd'. Thus, as he kills his son and Despina, he re-adopts his Islamic persona. Afterwards, however, he returns to his former self, resolving to build an altar and offer sacrifice in secret to Despina, his 'dear saint'. Shortly before his death, he muses that Muḥammad would be very pleased at Despina's death since she, 'being a Christian, so far out-went all those that honour'd him, that some in time might justly doubt our God to be lesse powerfull than theirs, and so the reverence we now pay, grow cold'. The play, then, becomes one in which a Muslim is effectively convinced of the error of his traditions, and the rightness of Christianity's ways, through a lowly female slave.

SIGNIFICANCE

Particularly in its portrayal of rebellious soldiers intent on deposing their emperor, and also in the prominent use of the name 'Osmond', this play makes direct reference to the assassination of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II at the hands of his own janissaries on 20 May 1622. The play's purported licensure in 1622 adds to the likelihood that audiences may have drawn connections between contemporary events in the Ottoman Empire and the plot of the play.

The text often mentions a supposed difference in the degree to which Christians and Muslims honour and respect their lords. Thus, Despina at one point says, 'You Tartars beare a greater reverence to your earthly Lords then Christians, though you neglect him that should bee most honor'd [i.e. Christ].' Even Melcoshus, after hearing Odmer's warning that he should not spend so much time with Despina, states, 'Odmer, thou hast presum'd above that freedome that even dull Christians doe allow their servants.' The implication is that Christian lords are kinder and gentler to their subjects than Muslims and Tatars.

The Orcanes-Ozaca subplot also follows this theme in its portrayal of Melcoshus' initial refusal to carry out justice in response to Ozaca's husband's pleas, then his imposition of harsh, physical punishment on Orcanes not long after. This sequence owes its origins to Richard Knolles's 1603 *Generall historie of the Turkes*, an influential work from which Carlell also derives the names 'Melcoshus', 'Despina', 'Orcanes', and others (p. 411). In Knolles's text, Mahomet II denies one of his Bashaws justice after his son has raped the Bashaw's wife. After reminding the Bashaw of his place and the necessity of submitting to his sultan's decrees, however, Mahomet II changes his initial judgment and has his son killed, just as Melcoshus

does. Variations on this story were told and retold throughout the European continent at this time, establishing Ottoman sultans as fickle, tyrannical, and ruthless – not to be disobeyed or contradicted.

The treasonous soldiers in the play take this view of power further. They are resolved: 'We shall rule the world, we that are soldiers'. Rather than regarding the Tatar Empire as one ruled by an unassailable, heaven-approved leader, they view their land as a meritocracy, and they justify their acts with the argument that, among the Tatars, 'each man pursues his owne desires, there's no such thing as faith left in the world'. Even the sincerity of the Mufti, who appears to be deeply religious, is held suspect by the soldiers, as the religious leader does no more than study 'bookes' and occasionally preach. Thus, the political crisis of the play is also one of faith, and the text critically examines the supposed hypocrisy and weakness of an imagined Islamic system of governance.

The play also draws upon contemporary and historical images of the Ottoman conquests in eastern Europe through the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuries. Although Melcoshus is a 'Tartar', the play's title, *Osmond, the great Turk*, focuses on 'Turk'-ishness. The opening scene of Melcoshus' armies taking a Christian city has historical parallels in the realities faced by Christians throughout Europe of the invading, Ottoman crescent. The city itself, in being unnamed, only broadens its potential as a metaphor. What is more, both the Muslims and the Christians in the play acknowledge that the Christians of the city are responsible for their own fall, as their nobles were full of 'avarice' and did not contribute funds towards defences. This echoes a common lament among Europeans at the time: that if the rulers of Christendom would simply unite and devote their resources to the cause, they would be able to overcome the Islamic enemy.

The main plot of *Osmond* derives from a story told and retold in various adaptations throughout Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is known as the 'story of Irene', the 'Irene myth', the 'Irene narrative', or the 'story of the Sultan and the Fair Greek'. Its basic plot is that Irene, a Greek woman, is taken by Turks during the capture of Constantinople. She is delivered to the emperor, Mahomet, who quickly falls in love with her. Eventually, he spends so much time with her that one of his servants tells him he will be overthrown by his soldiers if he does not separate himself from her. Mahomet then orders his officers to gather around him, sets Irene by his side, and asks the men whether they think that they could ever part with something so lovely. The nobles admit

that it would take unbelievable willpower to do such a thing, whereupon Mahomet seizes Irene by the hair and cuts off her head in one stroke. This story originates from the Italian Giovanni-Maria Angiolello (a former captive and servant in the Porte) and Donado da Lezze's *Historia Turchesca*, a manuscript that contains a brief description of Mehmed II's execution of an unnamed woman in his seraglio. Matteo Bandello later took the anecdote and developed it into one of his *Novelle*, published in 1554. By 1559, Pierre Boaistuau had translated (and added to) the story as a part of his French *Histoires tragiques*, and in 1566 William Painter published an English translation of Boaistuau's tale in his *Palace of pleasure*. Though Carlell makes a number of changes of names and places, the main thrust of the story remains very much intact in *Osmond*, giving the play roots in Christian portrayals of the 1453 fall of Constantinople and of its conqueror, Mehmed II.

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David C. Moberly

The early 17th-century English 'Turk Play'

DATE 1600-about 1650

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Any attempt to encompass the convolutions and expanding horizons of the early 17th-century English 'Turk play' should begin with a consideration of its precursors. The 'Turk play' phenomenon (although a relatively recent critical coinage) began with Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587), the immediate popularity of which generated the rapid production of a sequel. References to *Tamburlaine* in the writings of Marlowe's contemporaries are legion, a clear indication of the play's impact, but its influence is most apparent in the plethora of dramatic imitations that followed. Each is conspicuous in its attempt to emulate Marlowe's wide-ranging Asian geographies, his grandiloquent language, the riot of colourful costumes and martial encounters he places on the stage, and the extraordinary, convention-defying trajectory of his protagonist. Within a few years, each of London's professional playing companies had its own 'Turk play', although this term should be applied loosely: not all necessarily featured Turks, and by no means were they all as successful as Marlowe's original.

Herein lies the difficulty in attempting to define the 'Turk play'. Although Marlowe's first *Tamburlaine* play did include a prominent 'Grand Turk' (the term used for the Ottoman sultan) in Bajazeth or Bayezid I, the play is hardly defined by him but rather by the rise of the Scythian shepherd Tamburlaine. The figure of the Turk instead comes to dominate the plays that followed, perhaps exemplified in the contested Ottoman succession that preoccupies Robert Greene's *Selimus* (c. 1590). Others followed suit, making the stalking, malevolent and unpredictable 'Grand Turk' the central character, tormented in love and war, as in plays such as George Peele's now lost *Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the fair Greek* (1588) or Thomas Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (c. 1589). However, some plays followed *Tamburlaine*'s example in making this figure a secondary antagonist, in the apparently popular (but also now lost) two parts of *Tamar Cham* (c. 1592), a play based on Tatar dynastic history, which initiated a series of 'Tartar' plays and a move towards Persian subject matter, as is demonstrated in *The stately tragedy of the Grand Cham* (c. 1592) and

later *The travels of the three English brothers* (1607). This would seem to turn the 'Turk play' full circle, in its return to the subject matter of such pre-*Tamburlaine* plays as Thomas Preston's pre-Muslim Persian tragedy *Cambises* (printed in 1569), which had a clear influence on Marlowe. The loose category of 'Turk play' might also include the numerous plays concerned with North Africa and the figure of the 'Moor' that were produced in this period, the most complete example being George Peele's *The battle of Alcazar* (c. 1591).

The category of 'Turk play' is thus necessarily capacious, including the original *Tamburlaine* and any subsequent play that looked eastward for its geographical and/or dynastic focus – particularly to Islamic cultures – and many (but not all) were concerned with Christian-Ottoman conflict. Such plays gained their currency from the rapid expansion into these geographical regions by English merchants and diplomats as conflict with Roman Catholic Spain intensified. The merchants sought to circumvent a Spanish trade embargo and establish direct access to far Asian goods and markets. The diplomats worked as agents of the crown and attempted to create alliances in opposition to Spain: prominent successes were the contacts developed in the late 1570s and 80s with Mulay al-Mansur, King of Morocco, and Murad III, the Ottoman sultan. The 'Turk play' began to prosper as the material benefits of these connections began to appear 'on every London street' – apparently including 'Turkish' trinkets and trifles, Ottoman and 'Barbarian' clothing, carpets, sugar and pepper. Coffee would follow in the early 17th century, a further 'Turkish' innovation. Commenting directly on potentially controversial Anglo-Muslim relations was beyond the remit of a carefully regulated theatre (it only occurs in Robert Wilson's *Three ladies of London*, c. 1581, and possibly in *Lust's dominion, or The lascivious queen*, 1600-1, also known as *The Spanish Moor's tragedy*, which was probably written by Thomas Dekker (1572-1632); see Brotton, *This orient isle*, pp. 277-9), but these plays certainly flourished against the backdrop of new mercantile horizons and newly direct contact with Muslims and Muslim cultures.

Any dramatic trend has a shelf-life, however, and the initial flowering of the 'Turk play' seems to have been relatively brief, perhaps from 1587/8 to 1595 (curiously, it is only after this brief decade that explicitly Islamic references are made within a drama, in William Percy's (1570-1648) 1601 play *Mahomet and his heaven*, which was almost certainly never performed, the first English play to use the Qur'an and to include Muḥammad as a character; Brotton, *This orient isle*, pp. 279-81). Evidence

of its waning comes from two playwrights whose careers thrived in the aftermath. Ben Jonson castigated such plays as little more than 'scenical strutting' and 'furious vociferation'. William Shakespeare (whose *Henry VI* plays owe something to the 'Turk play' phenomenon) went further, ridiculing the empty bombast of these plays by parodying them in the figure of Pistol in *Henry IV, Part 2* (c. 1596), a character whose self-aggrandising absurdity is manifest in his repeated quotation from popular 'Turk plays': from *Tamburlaine*, the *Turkish Mahomet* and *Hiren the fair Greek* and from *The Battle of Alcazar*. Shakespeare's turn away from the 'Turk play' is most conspicuous in *Othello* (1602/3), which toys with the conventions of those plays – in particular the structuring conceit of the Ottoman siege of Cyprus – to produce something more claustrophobic than martially expansive, more psychologically complex than bombastic.

Othello was first staged in the starkly changed circumstances of the early 17th century. Elizabeth I's conciliatory approach to Muslim powers in the Mediterranean was abandoned with her death in 1603 and replaced by the more aggressively universalist Christian focus of James I, a monarch reluctant even to sign letters to Muslim princes. This oppositional policy was signalled in James's own poetic output – an epic poem on *Lepanto* (first published in 1591) celebrated this famous victory of the 'baptized race' over the 'circumcised turband Turks' – and was mirrored in the dedication of one of the first English chronicle histories of the Ottomans, Richard Knolles's *General historie of the Turks* (1603), which celebrated James as a crusading hero. This dynamic was further reflected in the new generation of 'Turk plays' that began to appear, such as the two plays written by Thomas Goffe, *The raging Turk* (c. 1614) and *The courageous Turk* (c. 1618), initially written for performance at Christ Church, Oxford, and based on Knolles's work. These dynastic plays, the first of which focuses on the troubled reign of Bayezid II, the second on Murad I, were a throwback to earlier caricatures, but those that followed added new layers of complexity to the 'Turk play' tradition, including most obviously a move away from the dominance of the martial, male 'Grand Turk' figure. New directions abound: the innovative emphasis on conversion and a multi-religious cast of characters in Robert Daborne's *A Christian turn'd Turk* (1612) and in Philip Massinger's *The renegado* (c. 1623); the mythical and bloody reimagining of Christian-Muslim interaction in John Mason's tragedy *The Turke* (1607) and Fulke Greville's closet dramas *Mustapha* (printed in 1609) and *Alaham* (printed in 1633); and even

the new dynamics of Thomas Heywood's two *The fair maid of the West* plays (first part c. 1600, second part 1630) or the Malaccan geographies of John Fletcher's *The island princess* (c. 1619). There are many others of which only the titles survive. These plays challenged the boundaries and conventions of the form – as Shakespeare had done with *Othello* – to the extent that they begin to question the usefulness of the designation 'Turk play' itself. Some critics have instead rather vaguely sought to classify such plays as 'adventure drama' or 'voyage drama'.

One early 17th-century event that might have been expected to generate a 'Turk play' in the traditional mould was the violent deposition of the Ottoman ruler Osman I in 1622. The events of his overthrow were widely reported in news media across Europe, and in Caroline England parallels were inevitably drawn between Ottoman and English domestic troubles (as they would be again in relation to the deposition of Sultan Mehmed IV in 1687). Osman had ruled for four years following the deposition of his uncle Mustafa I and was himself deposed by the Ottoman janissaries in favour of the reinstatement of his uncle following a disastrous military campaign in Poland. There is a tantalising reference by the censor in 1622 to a new play titled *Osmond the Great Turk* which would appear to refer to these events, and it seems to have been licensed only grudgingly. There is some controversy over the identification of this play: many have assumed that it refers to a play of the same name by Lodowick Carlell, printed in 1657 (another play largely based on Richard Knolles's chronicle history). Others have argued that an audience would have assumed any play with such a title would refer to the momentous Ottoman events of the same year, whereas Carlell's play dramatises momentous events in the 'Tartar' court of the Emperor Melcoshus, and his Osmond is not a 'Great Turk' at all, but a Tatar courtier. Thus, they argue, there must have been two different plays of the same name. Regardless of the specific solution, the potential for Ottoman material to reflect on the tumultuous political circumstances in England as the country edged towards civil war (a conflict that began in 1642) would dominate the 'Turk play' examples of the mid-century.

Two of the plays from this civil war period once again concern Persia: the last play to be performed before the long closure of the public theatres in 1642, John Denham's *The Sophy* (1641), and a closet drama by Robert Baron, *Mirza* (1655). Both plays are based on Sir Thomas Herbert's *A relation of some years travaile, begunne anno 1626* (1634), an account of Sir Dodmore Cotton's visit to the court of Shah Abbas of Persia in

1626. The appearance of two plays on the subject in this period indicates the increasing prominence of Persia in the English imagination in the wake of the Sherley embassies of the beginning of the century, as dramatised earlier in *The travels of the three English brothers*. Each play is concerned with the same events: the attempt by an ambitious courtier to overthrow the Persian monarchy – a subject with obvious contemporary resonance – but each offers singular versions of this narrative with quite distinct political implications, as Matthew Birchwood has recently suggested. The final example is something quite different. Returning to the same subject matter as Thomas Kyd's late 16th-century 'Turk play' *Soliman and Perseda*, in the mid-1650s William Davenant produced a drama titled *The siege of Rhodes*. Davenant, later the self-styled poet laureate, was the only dramatist with official endorsement to write for public performance in the Protectorate period and this composition was the product of constrained circumstances. It was initially staged at Davenant's home, Rutland House in London (although open to the paying public), and draws heavily on the earlier 'Turk play' tradition as well as on continental models. As an innovative spectacle it must have been extraordinary: *The siege of Rhodes* is identified as the first English opera; it features the first use of moveable scenery on the English stage, and it included the first actress on the professional stage in England. Later reworking and the addition of a subsequent part carried this new breed of 'Turk play' on to public performances in the Restoration of 1660, when Charles II returned to take up his father's throne.

SIGNIFICANCE

The 'Turk play' is something of an enigma. A recent critical coinage, it overlaps with other attempts to define the new preoccupations and expansive geographies of the late 16th- and early 17th-century English theatre in terms of 'voyage', 'adventure' or even 'tyrant' drama. Nonetheless, it is a useful tool for understanding this varied output and its origins, because although the term 'Turk' can never cover the full range of types and ethnicities represented in such plays, it does (in the terminology of the time) give a sense of the insistent return of English dramatists to Islamic themes, characters and locations over a 70-year period. This obsession with such topics is significant, for it reflects the new mercantile and diplomatic horizons opening up for the English at the time, beginning with Elizabeth I's geo-political Realpolitik and ending with the rapid expansion of the East India Company, English diplomats at the Mughal court, and English military action in the Mediterranean.

The 'Turk play' is also significant for the part it plays in the careers of a series of major English dramatists in this period, who either embraced, rejected or experimented with it – perhaps the most prominent amongst them being William Shakespeare, who in *Othello* did all three. The continual mutations of the 'Turk play' also made it a potent vehicle for political commentary as well as theatrical innovation; it performed an important role in the tumultuous period of the English Civil War and introduced new theatrical forms and staging through to the Restoration of 1660.

PUBLICATIONS

There are surprisingly few modern critical editions of 17th-century 'Turk plays' ('Turk plays' from the late 16th century are not included here). The two prominent collections are:

- D. Vitkus (ed.), *Three Turk plays from early modern England. Selimus, A Christian turned Turk, and The renegado*, New York, 2000
- A. Parr (ed.), *Three Renaissance travel plays. The travels of the three English brothers, The sea voyage, The antipodes*, Manchester, 1995

Recent single play editions are listed alongside first editions below, in chronological order:

- Thomas Dekker, *Lust's dominion, or, The lascivious queen a tragedie*, London, 1657, (attributed to Christopher Marlowe); F. Bowers (ed.), *The dramatic works of Thomas Dekker*, Cambridge, 1961, vol. 4, includes *Lust's dominion*; STC L3504AB (digitalised version available through EEBO)
- William Percy, *William Percy's Mahomet and his heaven. A critical edition*, ed. M. Dimmock, Aldershot, 2006
- John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins, *The travels of the three English brothers*, London, 1607 (appears in Parr [ed.], *Three Renaissance travel plays*); STC 6417 (digitalised version available through EEBO)
- Fulke Greville, *The tragedy of Mustapha*, London, 1609; STC 12362 (digitalised version available through EEBO)
- John Mason, *The Turke, a worthie tragedie*, London, 1610 (later edition, F. Lagarde [ed.], Salzburg, 1979); STC 17617 (digitalised version available through EEBO)
- Robert Daborne, *A Christian turn'd Turk*, London, 1612 (appears in Vitkus [ed.], *Three Turk plays*); STC 6184 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

- William Shakespeare, *Othello, the Moore of Venice*, London, 1622 (the 'first Quarto'; numerous subsequent and contemporary editions); STC 22305 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Philip Massinger, *The renegado, or The gentleman of Venice*, London, 1630 (appears in Vitkus [ed.], *Three Turk plays; The Renegado*, M. Neill [ed.], London, 2014); STC 17461 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Thomas Goffe, *The raging Turk or Bajazeth the Second*, London, 1631; STC 11980 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Thomas Heywood, *The fair maid of the West, or A girl worth gold* (pts 1 and 2), London, 1631 (critical edition by B. Salomon, *The fair maid of the West, Part 1, a critical edition*, Salzburg, 1975); STC 13320 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Thomas Goffe, *The courageous Turk, or Amurath the First*, London, 1632; STC 11980 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Fulke Greville, *Alaham*, in *Certaine learned and elegant workes*, London, 1633 (together with *Mustapha*); STC 12361 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- John Denham, *The Sophy*, London, 1642 (critical edit. P. Loloï [ed.], *Two seventeenth century plays. vol. 1*, Salzburg, 1998); STC D1009 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- John Fletcher, *The island princess*, first printed in *Comedies and tragedies written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, gentlemen*, London, 1647 (critical edition by C. McManus, *John Fletcher, The island princess*, London, 2013); STC B1581 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Robert Baron, *Mirza. A tragedy really acted in Persia in the last age*, London, 1655, (critical edit. P. Loloï [ed.], *Two seventeenth century plays. vol. 2*, Salzburg, 1998); Wing B892 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- William Davenant, *The siege of Rhodes made a representation by the art of prospective in scenes, and the story sung by recitative musicke*, London, 1656 (critical edition by A.-M. Hedbäck, *The siege of Rhodes*, Uppsala, 1973); Wing D342 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
- Lodowick Carlell, *The famous tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk*, London, 1657; Wing C570 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

There has been a considerable increase in scholarship concerning Anglo-Islamic exchanges in the early modern period in recent years, although much of it has focused on literary production of the 16th rather than the 17th century, which is still only sparsely covered:

- S. Chew, *The crescent and the rose. Islam and England during the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1937 (the foundational work on drama in this period)
- L. Wann, 'The Oriental in Elizabethan drama', *Modern Philology*, 12 (1915) 163-87

Studies influential on the place of the 'Turk play' in English culture:

- J. Brotton, *This orient isle. Elizabethan England and the Islamic world*, London, 2016, pp. 110-14, 158-81, 192-7, 264, 277-81, 303
- M. Hutchings, 'The "Turk phenomenon" and the repertory of the late Elizabethan playhouse', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 16 (2007) 1-39 (focuses on early part of the period)
- J. Burton, *Traffic and turning. Islam and English drama, 1579-1624*, Newark DE, 2005
- N. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998
- M. Butler, *Theatre and crisis 1632-1642*, Cambridge, 1984 (most important work on the English stage in the mid-part of the century)

Recent critical works:

- M. Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in early modern English literature and culture*, Cambridge, 2013 (discusses in detail several of the works in this entry)
- M. Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England. Drama and culture, 1640-1685*, Woodbridge, 2007 (the most important for the mid-17th-century 'Turk play')

Matthew Dimmock

Gilbert Swinhoe

DATE OF BIRTH Before 1646
PLACE OF BIRTH Chatton, England
DATE OF DEATH After 1671
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known for certain about the life of Gilbert Swinhoe aside from what is said in the three prefatory sonnets that accompany his only known published work, *The unhappy fair Irene* (1658). One sonnet, 'To his dear Brother, the Author', authored by a 'Ja. Swinhoe', suggests a family connection. Another, authored by Eldred Revett, refers to Gilbert as a 'much honoured Kinsman', and the last suggests his possible geographical origins in the lines '[...] give me leave to tell / *Northumberland* can boast a Miracle / Of Wit and Worth.' These clues have led scholars to infer that Gilbert was the son of Gilbert Swinhoe and Dorothy Clavering of Chatton, County Durham. Gilbert the elder was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1642 and is known to have had a son named James. The Swinhoes were Royalists, and James served as a lieutenant colonel in the English Civil War. In 1645, Gilbert Sr was arrested by Parliament and committed to the Tower, where he died in 1646. Sometime after the war, in 1671, James was killed in a fight with a certain Andrew Carr, after Carr drunkenly insulted Gilbert Jr. Andrew Carr was possibly a relative of Captain Robert Carr, who had taken Gilbert Sr to London as his prisoner at the request of Parliament some 26 years earlier. The Swinhoe family's Royalist blood apparently ran thick, and was not easily diluted.

Beyond familial clues, the prefatory sonnets of Swinhoe's only publication contain frequent references to his youth. Says one: 'I Gratulate, Sir, that we see so soon, / While we but for a Morning look'd, your Noon.' Another refers to him as '*Poesy's* so early Son' and as an 'auspicious Youth'. Unfortunately, it remains unknown whether these references to Swinhoe's youth are in relation to the time of the play's publication (1658), or to some earlier date, such as the time of its first writing or performance. Thus, only very basic information regarding the playwright's birth date, marriage and death is known.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- G. Swinhoe, *The tragedy of the unhappy fair Irene*, London, 1658
Depositions from the Castle of York, relating to offenses committed in the northern counties in the seventeenth century (The publications of the Surtees Society 40), London, 1861, pp. 187-90

Secondary

- J. Pritchard, art. 'Swinhoe, Gilbert', *ODNB*
 P.R. Newman, *The Old Service. Royalist regimental colonels and the Civil War, 1642-46*, New York, 1993, pp. 237-8
 G.E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline stage. Plays and playwrights*, vol. 5, London, 1956, pp. 1214-15
 M.H. Dodds, 'Gilbert Swinhoe: Northumbrian dramatist', *The proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne* 10 (1944) 195-202
 H. Askew, 'Eldred: Revett: Swinhoe', *Notes & Queries* 166 (1934) pp. 160, 322-3 (responses to Dodds' query)
 M.H. Dodds, 'Eldred: Revett: Swinhoe', *Notes & Queries* 166 (1934) pp. 81 (query about family), 261-2 (response to information received)
 J.W. Fawcett, 'Eldred: Revett: Swinhoe', *Notes & Queries* 166 (1934) p. 160 (brief note on Eldred family)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The tragedy of the unhappy fair Irene; Unhappy fair Irene

DATE 1658

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Unhappy fair Irene's precise date of composition remains unknown. Three prefatory sonnets accompany it in its 1658 printing, describing its author, Gilbert Swinhoe, as markedly young for a playwright. Since Swinhoe's birth date is unknown, however, this information is of little help. Some scholars speculate that the play must have been written prior to the closing of the theatres in 1642. Others, such as G.E. Bentley, point out that this is hardly certain, as the awkward nature of its stage directions suggests the play was never actually performed and was written as a closet drama. Thus, the only thing known for certain regarding the date of the play's creation is that it must be prior to its publication date of

1658. In this year, *Unhappy fair Irene* was printed as an octavo consisting of 36 pages. Act and scene divisions appear in only the first four scenes of the first act of this first edition.

The play opens in the city of Hadrianople as soldiers arrive fresh from the sacking of Constantinople, one of them bearing as his prize a woman, the Lady Irene. As he threatens to 'lord it but a while / In spoyl of [her] Virginitie', a captain arrives and, seeing her beauty, resolves to take her to the Emperor Mahomet as a gift. Elsewhere, near Hadrianople, Lord Paeologus despairs at the sacking of his city, and resolves to seek out Lady Irene, his 'espoused love', and rescue her from the 'contaminous Bed of this grim Tyrant'.

Irene persuades the captain to delay presenting her to the emperor for three days, in hope that she can preserve herself for her lord, if he is still alive. Meanwhile, Paeologus' servant, Demosthenes, discovers where Irene is being held. He and Paeologus visit the place, with the latter disguised as Irene's brother. Together, the three resolve upon a plan for her escape. Paeologus and Demosthenes will go to Hungary and enlist help. Irene will present herself 'cheerfully' to the emperor and 'prolong his enjoyment / Of her, so long as she possibly can'. Paeologus and Demosthenes will eventually return with soldiers dressed in 'Turkish habit' and carry her away.

After Paeologus and Demosthenes depart in order to enact their plan, a messenger presents Irene to the Emperor Mahomet, and the effect is immediate. Says he, 'Me-thinks my unbridled Nature, / Is so sweetly calm'd. / That I could cringe, and bow before a beauty.' He is called to his military council to make plans, but puts them off in order to spend more time with Irene, who desperately tries to parry his advances. Mahomet's council grows increasingly discontented, especially after a military loss in Hungary. Irene confides her secret plan to one of her eunuchs and uses him to send a message to Paeologus.

Mahomet at last grows tired of waiting and calls a 'Mufty' to marry him to Irene, but she persuades him to wait one week to allow her to pray and prepare herself. The military council, meanwhile, stands at the very edge of rebellion and mutiny, and receives notice that Peloponnesian troops are threatening the borders. One member of the council, the Bashaw of Natolia, begs the other bashaws to put aside thoughts of rebellion. While he is away, however, three other members of the council incite the emperor's janissaries against Irene, but order them to wait and see how Mahomet reacts to the news about the Greeks' attack before making a move.

When Mahomet hears of the Greek armies on his borders, Irene begs him not to harm her countrymen, and he relents. In doing this, Irene hopes that his inaction will lead to rebellion in his own ranks. By this time, she has but one day till her marriage to Mahomet, before which, if she is not rescued, she is resolved to commit suicide.

While Mahomet and Irene converse, the Bashaw of Natolia enters and, risking his own life, tells the emperor that he must stop dallying with her or his people will rebel against him. Mahomet angrily banishes him for his impudence. The other bashaws resolve that they have no choice but to force the emperor to give Irene up as a sacrifice or kill her themselves. The janissaries gather at the palace gates to deliver their ultimatum. Mahomet attempts to reason with them, but they will not be persuaded. Mahomet calls Irene to him and tries one last time to assuage the crowd, but the soldiers break down the gates and charge her, forcing his hand. He kills her by cutting off her head with his own sword.

Just outside the city walls, as Paeologus awaits news from Irene, a messenger arrives and announces her death. Hearing the news, Paeologus stabs himself in despair, and Demosthenes follows, laying himself on his master's corpse and killing himself with the same dagger. The play ends as the lookers-on opine: 'This is a Spectacle of like Woe / To that of Juliet, and her Romeo'.

Unhappy fair Irene features scattered references to Islam and Christianity. It contains one passing reference to the Qur'an, when the captain who takes Irene to Mahomet states that to keep her from the emperor would be 'greater loss / Then our received Alcaron, / The which I'll never do'. Also, on two different occasions, Turks swear by 'the mighty Prophet Mahomet' or 'the great Mahomet' to perform certain actions. In the first instance, Irene's eunuch swears by 'Mahomet' to deliver her message to Paeologus. In the other, Emperor Mahomet's janissaries swear to have Irene sacrificed. Both the eunuch and the janissaries compound their promises by additionally swearing 'By the hairy scalp of [their] great Fathers'. This unusual oath comes from a diplomatic letter published in Richard Knolles' 1621 edition of *Generall historie of the Turkes*. In this letter, written by Sultan Osman II to Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, on 5 January 1619, Osman II swears 'by the Brains and all the hairy Scalp of [his] Mother' to support Bethlen as a military ally (at least, this is the wording used in Knolles' published translation of Osman II's words).

Lastly, a significant moment of Muslim-Christian agreement arises when the emperor brings his 'Mufty' to officiate in the marriage between Irene and himself. Irene, thinking quickly, makes the argument that

she needs one week 'To beg from our great Deity concurrence to your [Emperour Mahomet's] Yoak: / From under which, till Death, there's no redemption'. The Mufty states that Irene's request for time to seek God's consent to her marriage 'cannot be deny'd'. Irene, then, in this instance, is successful in manoeuvring within what is, to her, a foreign and unknown religion, at least within the world of the play.

SIGNIFICANCE

The main plot of *Unhappy fair Irene* derives from a story told and retold in various adaptations throughout Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, often called the 'story of Irene', the 'Irene myth', the 'Irene narrative', or the 'story of the Sultan and the Fair Greek'. The basic plot of the story is this (though names and details change as the story evolves): a Greek woman, Irene, is captured by Turks during the taking of Constantinople. She is delivered to the Emperor Mahomet, who quickly falls in love with her. Eventually, he spends so much time with her that one of his servants tells him he will be overthrown by his soldiers if he does not separate himself from her. Mahomet then orders his officers to gather around him, sets Irene by his side, and asks the men whether they think that they could ever part with something so lovely. The nobles admit that it would take unbelievable willpower to do such a thing, that it has not been and cannot be done, whereupon Mahomet seizes Irene by the hair and cuts off her head in one stroke.

This story originates from the Italian Giovanni-Maria Angiolello (a former captive and servant in the Porte) and Donado da Lezze's *Historia Turchesca*, a manuscript that contains a brief description of Mehmed II's execution of an unnamed woman in his seraglio. Matteo Bandello later took the anecdote and developed it into one of his *Novelle*, published in 1554. By 1559, Pierre Boaistuau had translated (and added to) the story as a part of his French *Histoires tragiques*, and in 1566 William Painter published an English translation of Boaistuau's tale in his *Palace of pleasure*. Other works that dealt with the story prior to *Unhappy fair Irene*, and may have influenced Swinhoe's play, include George Peele's early-1590s play *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the fair Greek*, Richard Knolles's 1603 *Generall historie of the Turkes*, William Barksted's 1611 *Hiren: or The fair Greek*, Thomas Goffe's 1632 *The courageous Turk*, and Lodowick Carlell's 1657 *Osmond the great Turk*. Though Swinhoe implements a few name changes and alters a few plot points, the main thrust of the story remains very much intact in *Unhappy fair Irene*, giving the

play roots in Christian portrayals of the 1453 fall of Constantinople and of its conqueror, Mehmed II.

In his creation of the character Paeologus, Swinhoe also recalls the Palaeologos family who ruled Greece at the time of Mehmed II's conquest, and continued their resistance after the fall of Constantinople. *Unhappy fair Irene* contains frequent references to Christian-Muslim conflict throughout, as Greeks rise up against Turkish rule on the fringes of the main action on stage. At one point, as Mahomet sits in council, debating whether to stay in Constantinople or invade the rest of Europe, he decides to solidify his control over the city, saying, '[O]ur Conquest made more absolute, / From her sweet seated Turrets we may pry / Into the Affairs of Europe, and the bordering Asia, / And sit an Eye-sore to the Christian Foe.' This is clearly an allusion to fears of the Ottoman threat held by many European Christians in the 17th century.

In contrast to other portrayals of the Irene myth, such as those of George Peele, William Barksted and Thomas Goffe, Swinhoe's Irene is shown as being successful in resisting the sexual advances of the ruler of the Turks. Prior adaptations of the tale often portrayed her as fully and even willingly succumbing to the temptation of wealth and power offered by the emperor, making her fall a kind of moral lesson against greed, lust and unfaithfulness. Whereas in Barksted, for example, Hiren's fall is shown to be the just result of her abandonment of Christian morals, here Irene's is the tragic fall of an innocent. By the end of the play, she has become a kind of Christian martyr paralleling Christ's own sacrifice, with Mahomet standing in for Pilate and the janissaries taking the place of the crowds in Jerusalem shouting for Christ's death. As he kills her, for example, Mahomet passes judgment on the charging janissaries, saying, 'This my own hand shall give enlargement to her Soul, / To tower the Heavens to invoke revenge upon / your murd'rous heads', in effect washing his hands of the deed and blaming the mob. As she dies, Irene acknowledges her role as martyr, exclaiming, 'I am prepar'd a Sacrifice of Reconciliation / Betwixt you, and your imperious Camp.'

Notably, while earlier versions of this story rendered Irene's name variously as 'Hiren', 'Hirene', or 'Hyrenée', this play adopted the spelling that eventually stuck. The story of 'Irene' continued to be told in works such as the anonymous 1664 *Irena, a tragedy*, Charles Goring's 1708 *Irene, or The fair Greek*, and Samuel Johnson's 1749 *Irene: a tragedy*. The story also appears to have been conflated somewhat with the legend of Bluebeard in English tradition, as in George Colman's 1798 version of the tale the name 'Irene' is given to the sister of Bluebeard's wife, Fatima.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

B.H. Bronson, *Johnson Agonistes and other essays*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 101-4

J.H. Degenhardt, *Islamic conversion and Christian resistance on the early modern stage*, Edinburgh, 2010, pp. 215-16

C. Hermansson, *Bluebeard. A reader's guide to the English tradition*, Jackson MS, 2009, p. 54

M. Hutchings, 'The stage historicizes the Turk. Convention and contradiction in the Turkish history play', in T. Grant and B. Ravelhofer (eds), *English historical drama, 1500-1660. Forms outside the canon*, Basingstoke, 2008, 158-78

Pritchard, 'Swinhoe, Gilbert'

B. Orr, *Empire on the English stage, 1660-1714*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 81

D.B.J. Randall, *Winter fruit. English drama, 1642-1660*, Lexington KY, 1995, pp. 79-83

S. Chew, *The crescent and the rose. Islam and England during the Renaissance*, New York, 1965, pp. 478-90

Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline stage*, vol. 5, pp. 1214-15

Dodds, 'Gilbert Swinhoe. Northumbrian dramatist'

A. Harbage, *Cavalier drama*, Menasha WI: George Banta, 1936, p. 219

R. Knolles, *Generall historie of the Turkes*, London, 1621, p. 1383

David C. Moberly

Mary Fisher

(married names Bayly, Cross)

DATE OF BIRTH About 1623
PLACE OF BIRTH Near York, England
DATE OF DEATH Between 28 August and 19 November 1698
PLACE OF DEATH Charleston, Carolina (now South Carolina)

BIOGRAPHY

Mary Fisher was born in the early 1620s in Yorkshire and, before joining the Quaker movement at the age of about 30, was employed as a servant in Selby. Soon after becoming a Quaker, she gained a reputation as one of its most determined and widely travelled ministers, suffering numerous punishments and imprisonments for her faith, but she is best known for her audience with the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV in 1658, an encounter that disrupts a number of assumptions about gender and Christian-Muslim relations in the early-modern period and which has had a significant legacy.

Mary Fisher first appears in our records in 1652, when she was imprisoned in York Castle for denouncing a priest in Selby with the words 'Come downe, come downe, thou painted beast, come downe. Thou art but a hireling, and deluder of the people with thy lyes' (Raine, *Depositions*, p. 54), an action that was typical of the deliberately confrontational behaviour of Quakers in the early years of the sect. In prison, she put her name to a tract issued by other Quaker prisoners entitled *False prophets and false teachers described*, which expounded the movement's distinctive understanding of prophecy, an issue that would later form the crux of the encounter between Fisher and the sultan. Amongst other things, the tract railed against the idea that ministers should be educated at Oxford or Cambridge (*False prophets*, p. 3), and on her release, after 16 months' incarceration, Fisher, with another Quaker woman, Elizabeth Williams, went to Cambridge and began berating the ordinands at Sidney Sussex College. The two women were immediately apprehended, stripped and severely flogged, before being expelled from the town (Anonymous, *The first new persecution*). Fisher then denounced a priest in Pontefract and consequently suffered two further imprisonments in York Castle, before

being incarcerated yet again in Buckinghamshire in 1655 for similar behaviour (Besse, *Collection of the sufferings*, vol. 1, p. 75).

In late 1655, she began her overseas travels, journeying to Barbados with another Quaker woman companion, Ann Austin, before making her way to Boston in July 1656. Here, the Puritan authorities immediately seized the pair, stripped them to see if their bodies showed any signs that they were witches and, after a few weeks' imprisonment, banished them from the colony, having publically burnt the large quantity of Quaker books that they had brought with them (Norton, *New-England's ensigne*, pp. 5-7; Bishop, *New England judged*, pp. 5-12). Although their treatment was once again brutal and humiliating, the two women were fortunate, as not many years later the authorities in New England passed a law making Quakerism punishable by hanging, and executed four Quakers for their faith including, most famously, Mary Dyer in 1660 (Bishop, *New England judged*, pp. 93-120, 177-98).

However, Fisher is best known for an incident that stands in contrast to these violent responses to her preaching and which occurred soon afterwards. Following a further trip to the West Indies, in 1657 Fisher joined five other Quakers travelling to the Ottoman Empire to proclaim the Quaker message to its inhabitants, a mission that was financially supported by a national collection held by the fledgling, persecuted movement. Although the party was hampered by the hostility of English officials wary of the potential damage the Quakers might cause Anglo-Ottoman relations (Birch, *State papers of John Thurloe*, p. 32), Fisher did manage, by mid-1658, to make it to Adrianople, where Mehmed IV was encamped with his army, and obtained a personal audience with the young sultan (who was 16 at the time).

Fisher lived for another four decades after the meeting with Mehmed IV, marrying William Bayly, a leading Quaker and shipmaster in 1662 and then, following his death at sea, another Quaker, John Cross, in 1678, before emigrating to America in 1682. The audience with the sultan remained, however, the defining event in her life, at least in the judgment of others, and soon became the stuff of legend. On her arrival in Newfoundland in 1659 on yet another missionary journey, it was already known to local officials (Rollmann, 'Anglicans, Puritans and Quakers') and in 1697, just a year before her death, a sick Quaker wrote home to England that he was being nursed in Charleston by the woman who 'spake to the great Turk' (Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America*, pp. 40-1). However, after Fisher's death, the meeting with the

sultan became of significance to a much wider audience and in repeated narrations she was transformed into a figure who epitomised Christian 'faith and fortitude' and female piety (Marr, *Cultural roots of American Islamicism*, p. 3), and the behaviour of Mehmed IV was seen by others as emblematic of Islamic religious tolerance ('Quakers, Puritans and Turks', *New York Times*, 10 June 1894).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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- Anonymous, *A declaration of the marks and fruits, of the false prophets [...] from them who in the world in scorn is called Quakers, which suffers for the righteous seed sake*, n.p., 1655
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Secondary

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- C. Pestana, 'The city upon a hill under siege. The Puritan perception of the Quaker threat to Massachusetts Bay, 1656-1661', *New England Quarterly* 56 (1983) 323-53
- W. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism*, Cambridge, 1955², pp. 421-4
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- J. Bowden, *The history of the Society of Friends in America*, London, 1850, vol. 1/1, pp. 38-41

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter describing the audience with Sultan
Mehmed IV

DATE 1659

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Some information about Mary Fisher's famous audience with the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV can be gleaned from a letter written by Fisher

to Thomas Killam and others on 13 March 1659, some months after the event. However, our knowledge comes primarily from an account written two years later by George Bishop (*New England judged*, pp. 19-20), which is clearly based on the contents of this letter, and, to a lesser extent, from versions written some decades afterwards by Gerardus Croese (*General history of the Quakers*, pp. 274-6), William Sewel (*History of the rise, increase and progress*, pp. 257-8) and Joseph Besse (*Collection of the sufferings*, vol. 2, p. 394), although these are clearly dependent upon Bishop. However, given that Bishop wrote for polemical reasons, namely to shame the New England authorities by contrasting the kindness that the sultan showed to Fisher with the cruelty evident in their execution of Dyer, it is helpful to have some evidence that the narrative does probably reflect Fisher's interpretation of the incident and was probably dependent upon her (as Croese would claim; see *General history of the Quakers*, p. 276). There are no Ottoman records of the meeting.

According to Bishop, the sultan was remarkably generous and receptive. He not only gave Fisher an audience, happy to hear what the Englishwoman had to declare from the 'Great God', but encouraged her to 'speak the Word of the Lord' and, with his court, listened to her 'with much soberness and gravity' (*New England judged*, p. 20). Having heard her out, he allegedly proclaimed that 'it was Truth', thanked her for undertaking such a dangerous journey to deliver her message, and offered her a military escort so that she would not come to any harm as she continued on her way through his realm, an offer she declined. However, before departing, Bishop informs us that the court was 'desirous of more words than she had freedom to speak' and asked her 'what she thought of their Prophet Mahomet?' Her answer, which met with approval by the hearers, is especially interesting from the perspective of Christian-Muslim relations: Fisher replied that she did not know him but 'they might judge of him to be true or false, according as the Words and Propheties he spake were either true or false; Saying, If the Word that the Prophet speaketh come to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that Prophet, but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him' (Bishop, *New England judged*, p. 20).

Although her claim to be ignorant about Muḥammad is somewhat disingenuous, as it is reasonable to assume that everyone from England would have had some knowledge of him, however limited, and Fisher had, by the time she appeared before the sultan, spent a number of months in Ottoman territory, her answer is striking as it does allow

for the possibility that Muḥammad's prophethood was legitimate; her response suggests that he might meet the biblical criterion for a prophet set out in Deuteronomy 18:22, which she quotes. Indeed, it is telling that she does not mention some other biblical criteria for determining the authenticity of a prophet, criteria that were well known to Quakers who regularly had to defend themselves against the accusation that they were false prophets (see, for example, Anonymous, *Declaration of the marks and fruits*). For example, elsewhere in Deuteronomy it is stated that even if the things prophesied come to pass but the prophet speaks in the name of other gods, then the prophet is false (Deuteronomy 13:2), and, additionally, in Jeremiah it is stipulated that a true prophet must be morally without blemish (e.g. Jeremiah 23:10-15). For most of Fisher's Christian contemporaries, Muḥammad would clearly have failed both these tests: it was common in the early-modern period to claim that Muḥammad was speaking not on behalf of God but of Satan (e.g. Ross, 'A needfull caveat', p. Ff3r; see the entry on Ross in this volume; – cf. John 8:14) and accusations about his licentiousness were rife (e.g. Anonymous, *The life and death of Mahomet*, p. 407, see the entry in this volume; see the entry on Ross in this volume). The fact that Fisher nowhere makes reference to these other criteria probably indicates that she did not share such prejudices about Muḥammad and did not consider them relevant; given that elsewhere she had no reservations in telling audiences what they did not want to hear, regardless of the consequences, it is doubtful that she did not mention these other criteria out of fear for her own safety.

Despite the implications of Fisher's words, it is, however, important to note that, whilst her answer certainly allows for the possibility that Muḥammad should be considered a prophet, she also considered *herself* a prophet. It was this self-understanding that led her to the Ottoman Empire in the first place. Indeed, the ability to prophesy was considered by early Quakers to be open to all women and men, as the movement was predicated upon belief in the universal dispensation of the Spirit found in Joel 2:28 ('I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy'), which was incompatible with the orthodox Muslim claim that Muḥammad was the 'seal of the prophets' (Q 33:40). Conceptions of prophethood in Islam and early Quakerism were clearly at sharp variance. So, although Andrea is right to note that Fisher's message 'allowed for the legitimacy of the Prophet Muhammad', the Quakers words cannot be said to 'embrace of cultural alterity' in a straightforward manner (*Women and Islam*, pp. 56, 61). Fisher's remarks

were predicated upon an understanding of prophethood incompatible with that of her audience.

The account by Bishop does not give any details about the contents of Fisher's initial message to the sultan, the one that she felt called to deliver to him, and Croese complains that he could never determine what that might have been (*General history of the Quakers*, p. 276). However, it is highly likely that it consisted of the generic Quaker message of this period, that the Light of Christ was present in all people and everyone should take heed of it in the face of impending judgement. This is touched upon in her reply to the question about the prophethood of Muhammad, a response that made use of familiar Quaker biblical proof texts used to justify their heterodox interpretation of Christianity (Bishop, *New England judged*, p. 20; see John 1:9, 8:12). Such a message is found in writings addressed to Muslims by John Perrot, one of the Quakers who accompanied Fisher on the first stage of her mission.

SIGNIFICANCE

In more recent years, especially amongst Quakers, Mary Fisher's encounter with Mehmed IV has been interpreted as a model of peaceful inter-faith encounter and, perhaps most strikingly, is memorialised in a popular panel in the Quaker Tapestry in Kendal, Cumbria, a piece of collective art illustrating the history of the movement (see Panel B2/12). The encounter has also functioned to disrupt common assumptions about both gender and Islam and the relationship between the two. Fisher's actions have been seen as 'over-turning the gendered boundaries of the household and women's place within it' (Brown, 'Radical travels of Mary Fisher', p. 22) – the non-Quaker historian Croese tellingly referred to Quaker women who undertook such journeys as 'transmuted from Women to Men' (*General history of the Quakers*, p. 273). And the sultan's response to Fisher has to many proved equally disruptive of expectations and prejudices, even though his respectful behaviour towards her was not, in fact, exceptional but typical of the treatment of many women in the Ottoman empire at the time, as Croese, who had himself lived for some years in Smyrna, acknowledged in his account (*General history of the Quakers*, pp. 275-6).

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, Friends House, Library of the Society of Friends – Caton MSS, vol. 320/1, f. 164 (Letter of Mary Fisher to Thomas Killam et al. 13 March 1659; this is an early copy of the lost original)

- Bishop, *New England judged, not by man's, but the spirit of the Lord*
 G. Croese, *The general history of the Quakers containing the lives, tenents, sufferings, tryals, speeches and letters of the most eminent Quakers, both men and women: from the first rise of that sect down to this present time*, London, 1696, pp. 274-6 (original Latin edition 1695); Wing C6965 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)
 Brailsford, *Quaker women*, p. 130 (incorrectly gives the date of the letter as 13 January 1658/9)

STUDIES

- Andrea, *Women and Islam*, pp. 54-61
 Villani, *Tremolanti e Papisti*, pp. 49-53
 Mack, *Visionary women*, pp. 168-70
 Brailsford, *Quaker women*, pp. 94-132

Justin Meggitt

John Perrot

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Ireland
DATE OF DEATH	Between 30 August and 7 September 1665
PLACE OF DEATH	Jamaica

BIOGRAPHY

John Perrot was an Irish Quaker from Waterford who became a leading figure in the sect in its early years. However, by the time of his death, he had lost the support of most of his co-religionists and was condemned as a schismatic. His brief prominence in the movement was, in part, a consequence of his travels in the Mediterranean and his attempt to declare the Quaker message to its inhabitants, including Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

Following his conversion to Quakerism in 1655, Perrot initially spent some months furthering the Quaker cause in Ireland and experienced a number of brief imprisonments as a consequence. However, in 1656 he had a vision by which he felt compelled to proclaim the Quaker gospel in Turkey, and by 1657 he had set sail for the Ottoman Empire, with five other Quakers and the material support of the movement.

This mission was, at least for Perrot, a failure (though one member of the group, Mary Fisher, did obtain an audience with Sultan Mehmed IV). After a brief period in Ottoman lands, he attempted to convert the pope, which led to his incarceration in a madhouse in Rome for three years, much of it in solitary confinement.

On his return to London in 1661, Perrot was soon embroiled in a dispute with other Quakers, which began with one of the letters he managed to send whilst imprisoned. The initial point of contention concerned differences of opinion over the matter of correct behaviour during public prayer in Quaker worship – Perrot maintained that men should not remove their hats when praying – but the dispute was symbolic of greater, fundamental tensions over authority and uniformity within the movement. The matter was still not resolved when, in 1662, Perrot chose to accept voluntary exile in Barbados rather than continue to remain with other Quakers in Newgate prison.

Perrot became increasingly isolated from most Quakers in the later years of his life and began to adopt practices that appeared to be in conflict with some of its most distinctive principles (for example, wearing a sword and overseeing the taking of oaths). He never joined any other sect, declaring that his fellowship was no longer with 'one bare denominated people', and expressing belief in his participation in a universal and invisible fellowship drawn from all peoples (*To all simple, honest-intending and innocent people*, p. 7).

Perrot wrote extensively. As well as tracts aimed at other Christians, he also produced works that assumed a universal audience (e.g. *To all people upon the face of the earth*) and some specifically aimed at non-Christians, both Jews (*Discoveries of the day dawning to the Jewes*, and *Immanuel, the salvation of Israel*) and Muslims (*A visitation of love and gentle greeting of the Turk* and *The blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turks*). Unusually for a Quaker, he also wrote poetry, most notably *A sea of the seed's sufferings*, which gives an insight into his idiosyncratic, mystical faith.

Neglected by most except denominational historians, Perrot has attracted some attention in recent years. Nigel Smith, for example, has noted the innovative character of Perrot's gendered self-presentation ('Exporting enthusiasm', pp. 259-60), and Nabil Matar has remarked on his distinctive and largely eirenic approach to Islam and Muslims (*Islam in Britain*, pp. 133-4).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

John Perrot, *A visitation of love and gentle greeting of the Turk and tender tryal of his thoughts for God*, London, 1658

John Perrot, *Immanuel, the salvation of Israel*, London, 1658

John Perrot, *Discoveries of the day dawning to the Jewes*, London, 1661

John Perrot, *To all people upon the face of the earth*, London, 1661

John Perrot, *Blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turks*, London, 1661

John Perrot, *A sea of the seed's sufferings through which runs a river of rich rejoicing . . . written in the year 1659 in Rome-prison of mad-men, by the extream suffering servant of the Lord, John*, London, 1661

John Perrot, *To all simple, honest-intending, and innocent people without respect to sects, opinions, or distinguishing names, who desire to walk with God*, London, 1664

R. Rich (ed.), *Hidden things brought to light*, London, 1678

J. Whiting, *Persecution expos'd, in some memoirs relating to the sufferings of John Whiting, and many others of the people called Quakers, for conscience*, London, 1715, pp. 173, 421-2, 426 (brief references to Perrot's disputes with other Quakers)

Secondary

C. Pestana, 'The conventionality of the notorious John Perrot', in S.W. Angell and P. Dandelion (eds), *Early Quakers and their theological thought*, Cambridge, 2015, 173-89

N. Smith, art. 'Perrot, John', *ODNB*

N. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 133-4

N. Smith, 'Exporting enthusiasm. John Perrot and the Quaker epic', in T. Healey and J. Sawday (eds), *Literature and the English Civil War*, Cambridge, 1990, 248-64

K.L. Carroll, *John Perrot. Early Quaker schismatic*, London, 1971

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A visitation of love and gentle greeting of the Turk

DATE 1658

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

A visitation of love (in full, *A visitation of love and gentle greeting of the Turk and tender tryal of his thoughts for God... to which is annexed a book entituled, Immanuel the salvation of Israel*) was almost certainly written in Livorno, Italy, in the summer of 1657. The tract was composed as Perrot waited, with five fellow Quakers, to enter the Ottoman Empire. It was produced in the expectation that Perrot would be able to deliver its contents personally to Mehmed IV, the 'Great Turk', to whom the tract is addressed; Perrot failed to achieve this although one of his party, Mary Fisher, famously did have an audience with the sultan in Adrianople in 1658.

The first printed edition of *A visitation of love* appeared in England in 1658, bound with another text entitled *Immanuel the salvation of Israel*, also written by Perrot and also probably composed in Livorno at the same time. This much shorter tract was specifically addressed to Jews rather than to Muslims.

Unlike some of his later works, in which Perrot identified himself solely by his first name, a practice that has led to uncertainty about who composed some tracts attributed to him, the title and final page of

A visitation of love clearly declare John Perrot to be the author. The tract is 26 pages long, which is relatively extensive for a Quaker text of this period.

Although the audience is unusual, the genre of *A visitation of love* is common in early Quaker writing and reflects the initial preaching of Friends: it is a tract proclaiming the arrival of the Day of Judgement and a call to repentance, of which there are many similar examples (H. Barbour and A.O. Roberts, *Early Quaker writings 1650-1700*, Grand Rapids MI, 1975, pp. 49-148). Its style is urgent, prophetic and incantatory, probably reflecting the form of preaching that predominated amongst early Quakers. The structure of *A visitation of love*, again like that of many early Quaker works, is often recursive. It begins with biblical quotations favoured by early Quakers because they were felt to demonstrate their core convictions: the presence of the light of Christ in all people, and the need for all to live lives guided by this (John 8:12, 9:5; Deuteronomy 18:18-19; *A visitation of love*, p. 3). These claims are given a specifically eschatological and universal character as the reader is informed that the 'mighty and terrible day is at hand' and God 'is bringing to pass to make many tongues and languages, and people, and the people of many Nations, of one heart, of one mind, of one soul' (p. 3). The sultan is then addressed directly and told that Perrot has arrived with a 'Message of everlasting Peace' that, should he accept it, will result in his power being increased yet further and his lands experiencing prosperity so great that 'not one begging bread shall be in thy Dominion from the one end thereof unto the other' (p. 4). However, if Perrot's message of peace is rejected, then the sultan is warned that the judgement of the 'dreadfull Lord God of Hosts' will follow (p. 4; cf. Matthew 10:7-16, Luke 10:1-16).

Subsequent pages consist of reiterations of these themes, with a recurrent concern that the sultan and other Muslims should respond to the presence of the light of Christ within, albeit expressed using the customary range of early Quaker synonyms. For example, 'And here is Wisdome for the Emperor, to know the birth of the Immortal Seed in him; to know something of God brought forth unto Majesty and Dominion in him, which shall rule the nation as with a Rod of Iron' (p. 9). Like David, the sultan is told to receive the message of a prophet – Perrot – with a humble heart (p. 7; cf. 2 Samuel 12). Although specific attacks on Muslim scripture, worship and ethics are not found in the text, again and again the reader is told about the failings of the religious practices of all people (e.g. p. 11).

As the text progresses, a universal audience is increasingly assumed rather than a specifically Muslim one, and Perrot shifts to addressing 'all mankinde upon the Face of the Earth' (p. 10); warnings about God's 'wrath and vengeance' and the need for repentance are repeated (pp. 16-17). Perrot does return to address the sultan directly in the penultimate section, in which he calls, 'in love', for the ruler to experience 'the operation of the substance in thee', to attend to the inward activity of God (p. 18). If he does, the sultan's reign will not only be blessed but he too may 'come to prophesie upon thy Throne, as David did upon his' (p. 18). With such promises comes a warning: the sultan is reminded of the example of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king who was punished with madness and the loss of his kingdom as a result of his hubris, the implication being that the same fate awaits him if God is not honoured in 'the humility of thy soul and spirit' (p. 20).

The final section of the tract is quite different in form and consists of 15 lengthy questions. They are primarily rhetorical and declamatory rather than genuinely interrogative, and are used as a means to articulate Perrot's Quaker beliefs and to present them to the audience as self-evident. They resemble the disputational and catechetical style characteristic of many early Quaker writings (for example, Anon, *Some quaeries [sic] to be answered*) and, like many examples of this genre of writing, they are not accompanied by answers.

None of the questions reflects any particular knowledge of Islam and virtually none of them appears specific to the sultan or Muslims in general. Even the apparent exceptions, in which the sultan and his court are addressed directly, on closer scrutiny, do not show any awareness of the assumed audience. The sultan is asked, on one occasion, to enquire of his own 'prophets' the meaning of a vision that Perrot has had (Question 9, p. 22) and elsewhere a question is posed directly to the 'wise men of thy Court' whether anything but the 'light in a mans conscience' is the ultimate ground for truth (Question 12, p. 24). In the final question, the sultan is informed that Perrot's sojourn in 'thy Dominion' is motivated by the desire to see whether its inhabitants only worship God with 'their lips and mouth' like the 'Jewes [sic] of old' (Question 15, p. 25).

The tract ends with a brief postscript in which Perrot calls the sultan 'Friend' and warns him that God will search his heart. However, perhaps rather surprisingly, Perrot concludes by stating that God has commissioned him to turn his face 'towards the Jews scattered in thy borders, and hanging upon they skirts, that they may be turn in spirit to Shiloh'

(p. 26; a reference to a common messianic reading of Genesis 49:10; see also p. 11).

A visitation of love is one of two tracts written by Perrot addressed specifically to Muslim recipients, the other being *Blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turks*, written about two years later, after a brief sojourn in the Ottoman Empire and during Perrot's incarceration in Rome. Despite the specifically Muslim readers assumed, *A visitation of love* is similar to a number of other early Quaker works that were aimed at a universal audience, such as George Fox's *To all the people on the earth*, published in the same year. However, unlike the later writings of George Fox, such as *To the Great Turk and his King, at Argiers* [sic], it does not show familiarity with the text of the Qur'an or the appreciation of Muslim piety and morality found, for example, in the work of Stephen Smith.

Unlike most texts in English about Islam written in the 17th century, *A visitation of love* does not attack the theology of Islam directly or vilify its sacred text, prophet or adherents. Instead, the author claims to be delivering a 'Message of everlasting Peace' (p. 3) to the sultan, and to be motivated by love, a love that he says is greater towards 'the Seed in the Turk then unto the flesh of Englands Inhabitants' (p. 24).

The tract assumes that both Muslims and Christians have the same capacity to experience God directly and that this experience is all that is needed to obtain salvation. If a man allows 'the light in his conscience to rule his mind and heart', it will lead to 'redemption and blessing' (p. 16). Experiential truth is assumed to be both universally accessible and soteriologically sufficient for all human beings (e.g. pp. 12-13, 19). Propositional knowledge of the Christian revelation, assent to its dogmas, or participation in its sacraments, is not expected of the recipients of *A visitation of love*.

The text is unusual but articulates a position that was common within early Quakerism rather than being unique to Perrot. From the outset of the movement, Quakers were known to argue that Turks and others possessed a light in their consciences that was sufficient for salvation (see, for example, George Fox, James Nayler and John Lawson, *Saul's errand to Damascus*, London, 1654, p. 21). This theological position is best described as conditional universalism: the saving presence of God is found within 'all peoples of the face of the Earth' (p. 12) but it is possible to reject it and experience the dire consequences. Indeed, it should not be forgotten that *A visitation of love* is a call for repentance in the face of the arrival of

'the mighty day of the Lord God of hosts' (p. 17). Like many early Quaker texts, the tract is a work of prophetic warning and condemnation as much as consolation.

The purpose behind *A visitation of love* is easy to misinterpret. As Matar has noted, Quakers such as Perrot were 'the only English men and women who were known to have gone overseas to evangelize the Muslims' in the early modern period (*Islam in Britain*, p. 132), and this was something that was important to early Quaker identity (see, for example, George Fox, *For all the bishops and priests in Christendom*, London, 1674, p. 56) but it would not be strictly accurate to say that *A visitation of love* was a work that sought to convert Muslims to Christianity. The tract was a call not to join a Christian church, but to engage in inner transformation and reap the subsequent blessings of God – which, in the case of the sultan, Perrot expected would take the form of the expansion and flourishing of his empire (p. 4), a surprising thing for an early modern Christian to desire, and evidence of the Quakers' estrangement from conventional personal, national and religious identities. Perrot does envisage the sultan adopting the Quaker practice of listening 'to the word of Lord God in silence' (p. 12), but he has no interest in making the sultan a Quaker. Indeed, Perrot's prophetic self-understanding, evident throughout the text (e.g. Question 11, p. 24), meant that he conceived of his mission as limited to delivering a message, not planting a Christian church. Perrot declares to the sultan that he will return home once 'my conscience to thee in the light of the Lord God I have cleared' (pp. 4, 19). For Perrot, his duty is to declare, not to persuade or convert.

SIGNIFICANCE

A visitation of love is an unusual and important text in the history of Christian-Muslim relations. It provides a striking example of how heterodox, sectarian Christianity can, in some circumstances, generate understandings of Islam and Muslims that depart from prevailing discourse. The interpretation of Islam found in *A visitation of love* is not adversarial, or characterised by fear or condescension, tropes common in writings of the early modern period. It also shows a sustained interest in the subjectivity of Muslims that is rarely found in other Christian texts of the time.

In one sense, the tract, like Perrot's mission to the Ottoman Empire, was a failure. *A visitation of love* has had little influence on the history of Christian-Muslim relations. It is likely that it was read by some non-Quakers during Perrot's lifetime, though these were not Muslims but rather other Christians who were hostile to its contents (Carroll,

John Perrot, p. 16). Perrot's increasing alienation from other Quakers after his return from a period of imprisonment in Rome in 1661 led to the neglect of his writings amongst his former co-religionists, and the text fell into obscurity even amongst that limited constituency.

Nonetheless, there has been some revival of interest in *A visitation of love* in recent years, particularly by those keen to find historical examples of eirenic and universalist Christian interpretations of Islam that might be of some utility in the modern world. However, some of these contemporary interpretations have been a little misleading. For example, on the evidence of the tract alone it would not be accurate to say that Perrot sought to speak to Muslims 'in their own terms . . . barely mentioning concepts from Christian theology' (Vlasblom, 'Islam in early modern experience', p. 9). *A visitation of love* is saturated in biblical quotations and allusions and its arguments are predicated on traditional Christian theological dogmas such as the Fall (pp. 6, 8, 15), the Incarnation (p. 21) and the atonement (p. 11). Indeed, although Jesus is not named, the finality of Christ (God's 'only begotten Son', p. 13) and his exclusive role in salvation (pp. 3, 16) are foundational concepts in the text. The extent of any attempt to adapt the Quaker message to specifically Muslim sensibilities is, at most, limited to the occasional use of the term 'Prophet' as a means of identifying Jesus (who is not directly named in the text). However, the prophetic office of Christ was something that early Quakers were especially keen to emphasise when addressing any audience, as it was central to their understanding of Christianity (p. 1; Deuteronomy 18:18-19) and, perhaps more importantly, Jesus alone is referred to in the tract as 'the true Prophet' (p. 3), not something that would sit easily with the implied Muslim reader.

Although *A visitation of love* is not necessarily as useful for those involved in the practice of Christian-Muslim relations today as some might assume from the mentions of it found in recent secondary literature, it is still a significant work and worthy of close scrutiny. The tract actively destabilises conventional assumptions about Christian soteriological privilege, and demonstrates the implications of this for the valuation of Muslims, even if, somewhat paradoxically, it does so precisely because of its specifically Christian, though heterodox and sectarian, convictions.

PUBLICATIONS

John Perrot, *A visitation of love and gentle greeting of the Turk and tender tryal of his thoughts for God... to which is annexed a book entitled, Immanuel the salvation of Israel*, London, 1658, 1660; Wing P1638 (1658); Wing P1639 (1660) (digitalised versions available through EEBO)

STUDIES

- J. Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam. Slavery, apocalyptic and Christian-Muslim encounters in the seventeenth century*, Uppsala, 2013, pp. 64-5
- D. Vlasblom, 'Islam in early modern Quaker experience and writing', *Quaker History*, 100 (2011) 1-21, pp. 9-10
- Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 133-4
- Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp. 15-16, 34-6

Blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turks

DATE 1661

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Blessed openings (in full, *Blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turks written to the heads, rulers, ancients, and elders of their land, and whomsoever else it may concern*), an eight-page tract, was first published in 1661 by Thomas Simmons of London, who published Quaker texts between 1656 and 1662. It was almost certainly written during Perrot's imprisonment in Rome, which lasted from June 1658 to June 1661. Unlike *A visitation of love*, Perrot's other work addressed to a Muslim audience, *Blessed openings* was composed *after* Perrot had actually encountered Muslims and Islam at first hand during a brief period of travel in the Ottoman Empire, undertaken as part of a larger Quaker mission. It was written with the expectation that he would eventually return, which he did not manage to do (Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp. 17-19).

Blessed openings does not give the full name of the author but rather states that it was written by a Quaker named 'John' (p. 8). Although we do hear of another Quaker known solely as 'John', who also had an interest in the 'Turks' and travelled in the Ottoman Empire at roughly the same time (North, *Life of Honourable Sir Dudley North*, p. 115),

John Perrot's authorship of *Blessed openings* seems certain. We know that Perrot began to sign his letters and other writings using just his first name during his imprisonment in Rome (Carroll, *John Perrot*, p. 41), and the style and vocabulary of the tract resemble that of other texts composed by him during this period.

Blessed openings begins by declaring that the main purpose of all humans in this earthly life is 'the true knowledge of the true and living God, Creator of all things' (p. 1), and that 'in the true knowledge he may be served and worshipped aright', which will result in 'endless and everlasting life' (p. 1). The text then goes on to explain the barriers to true worship and how these can be overcome.

Perrot begins his argument with some remarks about the nature God and the nature of human beings, and their necessary correspondence. The nature of God is described as 'pure and perfectly holy and wise' and human beings are made in God's likeness but also contain within them 'a holy and pure mind and soul' placed there by God (p. 2). It is this shared essence that allows 'true living worship and service' that is acceptable to God, as it is impossible for God to accept 'the words, works or thoughts of any mind or soul that is not of his own undefiled nature' (p. 2). However, such worship can only be given if one is redeemed from the 'degenerated, fallen and unredeemed state' (p. 2). The 'Rulers, Ancients and Elders' of the 'Turk's Nation' are then told that 'the true service and worship of God chiefly and principally consists in a pure mind and innocent soul, redeemed from every work, words and thought which is evil in itself, or hurtful to any other' (p. 2).

Perrot then develops an analogous argument for why outward forms of worship are of no value. As God 'is not a form or visible', 'true worship stands not in a visible conformity of shews, customs and outward gestures, acted by the mortal part of man which is the body of flesh' (p. 2) but 'wholly and purely in the invisible and immortal soul and mind, in none other state but in that holy, clean and pure state in which man was created from the beginning' (p. 2). The soteriological predicament of human beings is then detailed, and the need for humans to be restored 'into the state of innocency' in which they were initially created is further elaborated (p. 3).

The means of achieving redemption is then described. In answer to the question, 'What then is that which is able to cleanse a mans soul from sin, and redeem his mind from the nature of transgression?', the 'Turks' are told, 'The light of God which shineth in every mans Conscience'

(p. 4). This light is described as being 'of God your Creator and Maker' (p. 5), given to all 'at your coming into the world', and the presence of which is something that the 'Turks' are assumed to have already experienced whenever their deeds or words have been 'contrary to the nature of your most holy Creator' (p. 5). Those who subject their 'minds willingly to the work and operation of it in your inwards parts' will 'come to see the wonderful glorious mystery of God Almighty revealed unto you' (p. 5).

Perrot then returns to his criticism of the outward practices of religion, arguing that the purifying of the defiled soul is the only way that human beings can be reunited with their maker, 'which all the washing of the flesh, or whatever things done thereunto can never do' (p. 5). Such cleansing can only be achieved by the spiritual washing that comes from knowledge of the 'inward and invisible fountain' (p. 6) that is in all people and which he goes on to identify as the 'Light in all your Consciences', the Light that reveals sin and is able to purify and purge people of 'all evil and sinful words and works' (p. 7).

Those who experience this restored, divine state will manifest the same 'innocency, purity, holiness, peace, love and mercy which is in God the Author, Creator and Father of their life' (p. 8). The love of God is described as universal and indiscriminate, and it encompasses enemies. For Perrot, this need for people to demonstrate the nature of God in their actions then becomes a touchstone for judging earthly rulers and prophets, a theme that preoccupies him for the remainder of the tract: 'if any man therefore under the name of Priest, or Prophet of God have setted up such a Laws for killing, racking, martyring, and shedding the blood of men for their conscience sakes, that law is contrary to the holy nature of the love & mercy of God' (p. 8). Righteous kings, rulers, elders, priests and true prophets are identifiable because they regulate all things according to the 'invisible Law of Light in every man's conscience, which is one with the nature of God in all things' (p. 8); those that do not are of the Devil not God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Blessed openings is an exceptional document when compared with non-Quaker writings addressed to Muslims that are contemporary with it. It does not attack Islam directly or malign its sacred text, prophet or adherents, nor does it appear to base its arguments on specifically Christian revelation.

In comparison with *A visitation of love*, Perrot's other work addressed to Muslims, *Blessed openings* is far less overtly Christian, with only a handful of biblical quotations (for example, Matthew 5:45 quoted on p. 8) and a far less obvious emphasis on the person and work of Christ. It is also far less clearly shaped by an intense concern with the imminence of the eschaton. It might well be a sign of a change in Perrot's understanding of Islam and also his own Quakerism.

Blessed openings is unusual in presenting to its Muslim readers a message of salvation that the author claims to be both rational and universal, not substantiated by reference to Christian scripture or doctrine but by appeal to common human experience and their innate, God-given, capacity. The Muslim readers are told that the truth of what Perrot asserts is verifiable, if they give themselves over to 'the Light in your Consciences' (p. 7).

However, there are some aspects of *Blessed openings* that need clarification, as they are easily misunderstood and misrepresented.

First, it is not strictly true to say that the message of *Blessed openings* does not 'rely for legitimacy on the inerrancy of the Christian revelation' (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 134). It does not rely on the inerrancy of an orthodox understanding of the Christian revelation, but it is dependent upon implicit theological assumptions that reflect specific Christian doctrines, such as the Fall and the resulting 'curse' (pp. 2, 3, 4, 8), and salvation by grace (p. 4). Although Jesus is not directly named in the text – which is more concerned with articulating its ideas directly in relation to God – the 'Light' that is presumed to be present in the consciences of the readers is repeatedly spoken about in a way that presupposes John 1:9, a favourite Christological text for Quakers. The means of salvation, although universally available, is also exclusive: there is 'no other Salvation is under Heaven given of God whereby man comes to inherit eternal life' (p. 7; cf. Acts 4:12).

Second, the text does not try to approach Muslims 'in their own terms' as some have claimed (Vlasblom, 'Islam in early modern Quaker experience', p. 9). Despite Perrot's sojourn in Ottoman lands, the text shows no specific knowledge of Islam, with the exception, perhaps, of its regular ablutions, especially before prayer, possibly evidenced in the repeated criticism of the religious efficacy of washing and frequent metaphorical references to fountains found in this tract (pp. 5, 6, 7, 8) – given Ottoman mosque design, such ablutions may well have been one of the most striking aspects of Islam that Perrot encountered during his brief journey,

albeit refracted through his biblically informed gaze (e.g. Jeremiah 2:22; Mark 7:1-23). We should also not overlook the fact that Perrot's tract, for all his eirenic tone, is critical of the outward form and inward state of its presumed Muslim audience. He certainly avoids traditional areas of contention between Christian and Muslims, and, even more than *A visitation of love*, has shorn his message of its overtly Christian trappings, but it is still a clearly *Christian* work, albeit an unorthodox one.

Finally, it should be noted that, although the arrival of the 'day of the Lord' is not a major theme in *Blessed openings*, in contrast to *A visitation of love*, Perrot clearly believed that his proclamation of the Quaker gospel marked the arrival of a new moment in the history of the salvation of Muslims: the message of restoration to the prelapsarian state is available to the readers 'from this day forward' (p. 8). For all its originality, it is important to recognise that Perrot's message in *Blessed openings* is not an atemporal or perennialist one.

PUBLICATIONS

John Perrot, *Blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turks. Written to the heads, rulers, ancients, and elders of their land, and whomsoever else it may concern*, London, 1661; Wing P1614 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam*, pp. 64-5

Vlasblom, 'Islam in early modern Quaker experience', pp. 9-10

Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 133-4

Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp. 17-19, 41

Justin Meggitt

Anglican Book of Common Prayer

The Book of Common Prayer

DATE 1662

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The Book of Common Prayer of 1662 (in full *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England*) is a revised edition of a book that goes back to Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Edward VI (r. 1547-53), with his moderate version of 1549 and more explicitly evangelical version of 1552; the difference between the two editions seems to have been due mainly to a political sense of how much reform could be accepted at each step. Others made some contribution to these books, but how much is not known; Cranmer exercised close editorial control and the two earlier editions both reflect his personal theological views. The book contains all the regular services necessary for a parish church, including material for the Christian seasons and occasional services such as baptisms, marriages and funerals.

With the accession of Mary I (r. 1553-8), the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* was rejected in favour of the traditional Latin services, though it was reintroduced, with small but important alterations, in 1559 as part of the settlement of the Church of England under Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603). In the 17th century, after the English Civil War, use of the book was prohibited by Parliament but it was brought back under Charles II (r. 1660-85) in 1662. On this occasion, it was revised more extensively, and it is the 1662 version, sometimes referred to simply as 'The Prayer Book', that remains the authorised liturgy of the Church of England to this day (although other forms are authorised as 'alternatives' to the *Book of Common Prayer* and in practice are used in the vast majority of services). Anglican churches outside England have their own authorised Prayer Books, which relate in different ways to the 1662 edition. Editions of the Prayer Book exist in very many formats. A typical popular edition, bound with the psalms and some special services, would be about 600 pages.

From the Reformation, the Church of England was defined in terms of its national identity, with the monarch as the supreme governor. In consequence of this, in the Prayer Book even the Church outside the country is treated with little attention in its public liturgy, and other faiths are virtually ignored. The Litany has the most general prayers, including asking God 'to give to all nations unity, peace and concord'. In the Communion Service, the intercession is 'for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth', and so prayer for those in authority is for 'all Christian kings, princes and governors'. Otherwise, those outside the realm are effectively ignored. Prayers for use in time of war in the Litany and in Prayers for the Royal Navy do not specify or describe the enemy. Religious difference is internal to Christianity: the Litany asks for deliverance from 'all false doctrine, heresy and schism, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment' and, while the last vices could be taken as including other faiths, there is nothing requiring such an interpretation. However, at the time the book was published the assumption of many would have been that rejection of the Gospel would have been a sign of 'hardness of heart'.

The Prayer Book also follows the orthodox view of the time, that Christian belief is necessary for salvation. The baptism service begins by stating that all are 'conceived and born in sin', and have to be 'born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost'. This was the rationale for baptism and applied as much to the children of believers as to non-Christians. In the 1662 edition, a baptism service for adults was added, in response to the time of the Protectorate, when the Church of England had been dissolved by Parliament and many were influenced by Anabaptist attacks on infant baptism. The new service provided for the baptism of such, and (almost as an afterthought, as stated in the Preface) 'may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith'.

The only prayer for non-Christians is to be found among the prayers ('Collects') for Good Friday:

O merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live: Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

The prayer remained essentially unchanged through all the editions from 1549 to 1662. Along with the vast majority of the first edition, it is based on a translation and editing of the medieval Latin services; and the Good Friday liturgy had included a long sequence of prayers dating back to the late Roman Empire, in which there were three separate prayers: for heretics and schismatics, for the Jews and for pagans. The inclusion of 'Turks', clearly a synonym for Muslims, would have served to update the old list and to refer to the current threat to Christendom presented by the Ottoman Empire, and more broadly to other Muslims such as the Moors, who were widely known to the English, at least by repute. Beyond that, however, the mention of Muslims is subsumed in a well-established format and nothing more is attributed to Islam beyond that implied of the other non-Christian groups.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Book of Common Prayer* overall takes a position towards the 'outsider' that is generally non-judgemental and might even seem rather insular.

The cumulative rhetoric in the Good Friday prayer for 'Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks' sounds to modern ears as deeply prejudiced, especially when followed by 'hardness of heart' and 'contempt' of God's word. Twentieth-century revisions of the *Book of Common Prayer* have all included alterations to this prayer, usually focussed on Christian relationships with Jews, and the other groups have been omitted. Rewriting was common in the 1920s and even those revised prayers can seem unacceptably harsh in the light of the Holocaust. More recently, Good Friday services have included separate prayers for Jews and for other non-Christians, without specifying any particular group or religion. But, even in churches that pride themselves on use of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, the original prayer is extremely unlikely to be heard today.

PUBLICATIONS

The Book of Common Prayer, London: printed by Iohn Bill & Christopher Barker, [1662], pages unnumbered, third collect on Good Friday; Wing B3622A (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

The Book of Common Prayer from the original manuscript attached to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, London, 1892

For later editions and translations, see D.N. Griffiths, *The bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer*, London, 2002

STUDIES

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Gordon Jeanes

George Robinson

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1638
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly London
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

George Robinson was a Quaker who travelled to Jerusalem in 1657 to deliver a prophetic message to its Muslim inhabitants (*True account*, p. 292). He is significant for the study of Christian-Muslim relations because he wrote an account of his brief, eventful visit, which was published in London in 1663 (*True account*, pp. 277-92). His narrative provides an unparalleled insight into the perception of Muslims and experience of Ottoman rule in the Levant from the perspective of a young artisan and radical sectarian. Robinson was one of the first of a number of Quakers who felt called to journey to the Ottoman Empire in the mid-17th century, driven by the same apocalyptic, universal fervour that characterised the early years of the sect but, of those that were successful in reaching its territories, none except Robinson wrote a record that was published (see Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 418-33).

Aside from his own narrative of his travel to Jerusalem, and a hostile report of his visit penned by an anonymous friar who encountered the 'false prophet' (see Anon., 'Relatione'), we have few sources for reconstructing Robinson's biography, and know nothing for certain about the place or date of his birth or, indeed, his death. However, when he arrived in Palestine in late 1657, he appears to have been aged about 19 or 20, and was described as a cobbler from London (Villani, *Il calzolaio*, pp. 17, 51). Whilst in Palestine, he held to the distinctive forms of behaviour that distinguished early Quakers in the eyes of their Christian contemporaries, relying on the direct inspiration of God to the extent that he rejected all outward forms of worship, and trusting in God's providential care to the extent that he refused to resist when threatened with death by robbers and by those trying to convert him to Islam by force (*True account*, pp. 285-7). He was also adamant in rejecting the value of pilgrimage, considering it 'a sin against God' (*True account*, p. 290). His overriding sense of divine commission is evident in both of our two main sources. In his

own account, his specific interest in Muslims is also clear: it is only when he was able to deliver his message to a 'Turk in authority' that he felt he could return home (*True account*, p. 292).

Although Robinson's journey was widely celebrated by early Quakers, and it provides an important source for understanding the movement's unusual valuation of Muslims within its universal, eschatological vision, little is known about Robinson's subsequent life. Unlike Mary Fisher, the Quaker woman prophet who had an audience with Mehmed IV a few months later, he did not acquire a significant and lasting reputation within the movement. His name appears in the list of signatories to a petition to the English Parliament on behalf of fellow Quakers who were languishing in prison in 1659 (*Declaration*, p. f4v), and he may also have been the George Robinson who disputed with an Anglican priest in Boxford, Berkshire, in 1664 (Sansom, *Account of many remarkable passages*, pp. 17-20), but beyond these two references to him – which indicate that he was a typical adherent of the sect – nothing else is known about Robinson and there is no evidence that he continued to show an interest in Islam or Muslims after his return from his prophetic mission.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- Anonymous, 'Relatione del falso profeta o Tremolante', Archive Rome, Archive of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, Fondo Vienna, 1658 (?), vol. 12, fols 14r-17v (a hostile, anonymous account of Robinson's visit to Palestine written by a friar)
- E. Burrough, *A declaration of the present sufferings of above 140. persons of the people of God (who are now in prison,) called Quakers... delivered to Tho. Bampfield, then Speaker of the Parliament, on the sixth day of the second month, 1659... As also an accompt of some grounds and reasons, why for conscience sake we bear our testimony against divers customes and practices at this day in use amongst men. Also a cry of great judgement [sic] at hand upon the oppressors of the Lords heritage, as received from him on the 18. day of the first month called March... With an offer to the Parliament of our bodies, person for person to be imprisoned, for the redemption of our brethren, who are now in bonds for the testimony of Jesus*, London: Thomas Simmons, 1659, p. f4v

- G. Bishop, *New England judged, not by man's, but the spirit of the Lord: and the summe sealed up of New-England's persecutions being a brief relation of the sufferings of the people called Quakers in those parts of America from the beginning of the fifth moneth 1656 (the time of their first arrival at Boston from England) to the later end of the tenth moneth, 1660 . . .*, London: Robert Wilson, 1661, pp. 21-2
- D. Baker (ed.), *A true account of the great tryals and cruel sufferings undergone by those two faithful servants of God Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers . . . to which is added a short relation from George Robinson, of the sufferings which befel him in his journey to Jerusalem; and how God saved him from the hands of cruelty, when the sentence of death was passed against him*, London, 1663 (appendix, *An additional account of George Robinson's: shewing his call to go to Jerusalem; And how God in his journey thither was present with, and did preserve him from the hands of those who sought to take his life, &c.*, pp. 277-92)
- G. Croese, *The general history of the Quakers containing the lives, tenents, sufferings, tryals, speeches and letters of the most eminent Quakers, both men and women: from the first rise of that sect down to this present time*, London: John Dunton, pp. 272-3 (original Latin edition 1695)
- O. Sansom, *An account of many remarkable passages of the life of Oliver Sansom*, London: J. Sowle, 1710, pp. 17-20
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- J. Besse, *A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers, from the testimony of a good conscience, from the time of their being first distinguished by the name in the Year 1650 to the time of the Act, commonly called the Act of Toleration*, London: Luke Hinde, 1753, vol. 2, pp. 392-4

Secondary

- J. Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam. Slavery, apocalyptic and Christian-Muslim encounters in the seventeenth century*, Uppsala, 2013, pp. 62-4
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- D. Vitkus, 'Travelers in the Levant', in I. Kamps and J. Singh (eds), *Travel knowledge*, New York, 2001, 23-52, pp. 41-2
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- H. Cadbury (ed.), *Narrative papers of George Fox, unpublished or uncollected. Edited from manuscripts with introductions and notes*, Richmond IN, 1972, p. 20
- W.C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism*, ed. H.J. Cadbury, Cambridge, 1955², pp. 418-19
- N. Penney (ed.), *The journal of George Fox*, Cambridge, 1911, vol. 2, pp. 338, 481

W. Hodgson, *Select historical memoirs of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers*, Philadelphia PA, 1867, pp. 150-4

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*An additional account of George Robinson's:
shewing his call to go to Jerusalem; A short relation
from George Robinson*

DATE 1663

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

George Robinson's account of his visit to Jerusalem is found in an appendix to Daniel Baker (ed.) *A true account of the great tryals and cruel sufferings undergone by those two faithful servants of God, Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers*, 1663, a work that is concerned with detailing the sufferings of two English Quaker women prophets who had just been released from imprisonment by the Inquisition in Malta, having initially set out to preach to the inhabitants of Ottoman Alexandria. The appendix is entitled *An additional account of George Robinson's: shewing his call to go to Jerusalem; And how God in his journey thither was present with, and did preserve him from the hands of those who sought to take his life, &c* (*True account*, p. 277).

A true account is the second edition of a much shorter book published in the preceding year, while the two women were still incarcerated, entitled *This is a short relation of some of the cruel sufferings (for the truths sake) of Katharine Evans & Sarah Cheevers* [...]. This first edition lacks the additional Robinson narrative.

Robinson's narrative was written sometime between late 1657 (the date by which he is likely to have returned to England) and the publication of *A true account* in 1663. However, it seems most likely that a manuscript version was circulating soon after Robinson's return from Jerusalem: not only does a tract by George Fox published in 1658 appear to show some knowledge of Robinson's account (*Answer to a paper*, p. 17) but George Bishop's *New England judged* (pp. 21-2), a work published in 1661, is clearly dependent upon a written version of the narrative that closely resembles that printed in 1663.

Robinson's narrative is brief, amounting to only 15 pages (*True account*, pp. 277-92) or approximately 3,500 words, and especially so given that

the book to which it was appended runs to nearly 300 pages and over 60,000 words. The account is in the first person, and George Robinson is credited with being not just the source but also its author (*True account*, pp. 277, 292). Daniel Baker, the editor of *A true account*, does not appear to have had a hand in its composition and there is no evidence of an amanuensis.

Robinson's account was probably appended to the second edition of Baker's work because, like its chief protagonists, Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, Robinson was an English Quaker who felt called to travel to the Ottoman Empire in the late 1650s to deliver prophetic tidings to its inhabitants. In doing this, the three Quakers were far from exceptional, as a number of other members of the new sect made this journey for a similar reason in the late 1650s, but Robinson appears to have been amongst the first to do so (see Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 418-33). Like Evans and Cheevers, his narrative is also concerned with his mistreatment at the hands of Roman Catholics (e.g. *True account*, pp. 284, 288, cf. p. 11). However, unlike Robinson, they were uninterested in visiting Jerusalem (*True account*, p. 9) and failed to make any contact with Muslims despite their best efforts; not only were they initially prevented from reaching Alexandria by the Inquisition in Malta, but their attempt on their homeward journey to venture outside the walls of the English colony of Tangier to preach to the Moroccans besieging it, was likewise thwarted (*True account*, pp. 259-61).

Robinson's account takes the form of a relatively unadorned travel narrative describing his journey to the Ottoman Levant and his experiences there, with no mention of his return journey. He presents himself as driven by uncompromising desire to fulfil his divine commission to preach his Quaker message in Jerusalem and to remain faithful to his Christian, Quaker convictions, whatever its consequences. He is also equally concerned to identify God's providential support for his mission in the face of a number of dangers that he encountered (e.g. *True account*, p. 292).

Robinson begins his account by identifying himself with those who 'in many Ages and Generations past' have been called by God to travel to other countries to 'bear Testimony unto his glorious and ever blessed Name' (*True account*, p. 278), clearly equating his own call to preach in Jerusalem with that of the divine commissions given to prophets and evangelists in the Bible (indeed, the Bible clearly mediated his experience of travel; see *True account*, pp. 280, 286, 288). God's direct command, 'by the power of his Spirit' that he travel to Jerusalem, was accompanied

by reassurance that 'Thy sufferings shall be great, but I will bear thee over them all' (*True account*, p. 278). He dates the moment of his call to September 1657.

Initially, Robinson journeyed with four other Quakers to 'Legorn' (Livorno), where, after preaching to locals there, he took a French ship to Acre. However, because of adverse winds, he arrived in Tyre, where he first encountered 'Turks' (the term Robinson uses for all Muslims) and describes them as 'moderate towards me' (*True account*, p. 279). One of the Turks on board the ship intervened to save him from being beaten for refusing to pay a tax demanded by the Ottoman authorities from Christian travellers when the ship docked at Tourtons (?) (*True account*, p. 280), an action that he took as the providential protection of God. Robinson's bravery gained him the praise of an Armenian Christian (*True account*, p. 280).

Eventually landing at Joppa, and travelling to Ramlah, Robinson was taken into custody by friars there, who locked him up on the orders of their superiors in Jerusalem, although they did allow him to enjoy the hospitality offered by an elderly Turk (*True account*, p. 281). Robinson's first opportunity to discuss religious matters came a few days later, when an Irish friar arrived from Jerusalem, although the conversation was brief as the friar soon presented Robinson with a series of demands. He was told that, when he came to Jerusalem, he must behave as other pilgrims did: visit the holy sites, wear the appropriate clothing, and pay the customary sums of money. He was also told to promise not to criticise the Turks or discuss matters of religion (*True account*, p. 282). Robinson refused to agree to these terms and found himself escorted back to Joppa by armed guard and put on a ship to Acre, in order to remove him from the region. There he appears to have been abandoned, only to receive the support of a French merchant, who took him in and, recognising the validity of his prophetic call, helped him to gain permission to travel back to Joppa, despite the protestations of the friars, who said that if he made the journey he would 'turn Turk' (*True account*, p. 284).

On arrival at Joppa, Robinson managed to escape from the company of some friars, and set off on foot, only to be held up at gunpoint. Offering no resistance but standing 'in the fear of the Lord', Robinson did not come to any harm and, miraculously, one of the robbers returned the property that had been stolen from him (*True account*, p. 285). Having reached Ramlah once again, he found himself initially apprehended by some supporters of the friars but then taken by two Turks, who led him forcibly into a mosque and with others, including some 'priests of

Mahomet', demanded that he convert to Islam, which he refused to do (*True account*, p. 286). They then tried to bribe him to change his mind and, when this failed, threatened him with death, but Robinson remained intransigent. However, just as he prepared himself for what he believed would be his imminent martyrdom by immolation, an 'ancient tender man, a Turk, [...] of great reputation' intervened and said that he should not be killed, regardless of whether he converted or not, and had Robinson taken to his house, where he was given hospitality (*True account*, pp. 287-8).

Robinson was then escorted under armed guard to Gaza for an audience with the 'Bashaw' (Pasha), who, as a result of the machinations of the Jerusalem friars, intended to have him put to death (*True account*, p. 288). However, on arriving in Gaza, Robinson discovered that some Turks had informed the Bashaw of the unreasonable behaviour of the friars towards him, and instead of killing him the Bashaw ordered that he be taken back to Ramlah and that, from there, the friars should take him to Jerusalem unhindered; the friars were also fined 100 dollars for their actions (*True account*, p. 289). In Gaza, Robinson noted that he was 'in a friendly manner both visited and received by many both Turks, Greeks and Armenians' (*True account*, p. 289), and the latter two groups, being Christians, were especially loving towards him because he had chosen to die rather than abandon his Christianity. He also observed that the Turks were sufficiently impressed to ask him more about his distinctive form of Christianity, and the Jews in Gaza were also welcoming towards him (*True account*, p. 289).

In accordance with the Bashaw's order, Robinson was taken to Jerusalem by the friars. However, there he refused to visit the holy sites, saying that to do so would be 'a sin against God' (*True account*, p. 290). He was then told that if he did not visit the holy sites he would be liable to pay the 25 dollars required by the Turks from all pilgrims who went to Jerusalem. Robinson said that he would face the penalty rather than pay the pilgrim tax (*True account*, p. 292).

In a final scene, Robinson is presented by the friars to 'a Turk in Authority in that place' (Jerusalem), who asked him about his religion and the reason for his visit to the city. Robinson repeated the claim made at the opening of the narrative, that he had been commanded by God to make his journey. He also summarised the content of his prophetic message, one that was both eschatological and universal in nature and typical of Quaker preaching at the time: '... in the power of the Lord I declared the great and tender love of God in visiting them, and his great

and compassionate mercies that he would gather them in this the Day of his gathering. And this was that which lay upon me from the Lord to declare unto them, whether they would hear or forbear' (*True account*, p. 292).

Having made his declaration, Robinson judged that he had 'cleared his conscience' and 'found great peace with the Lord'. He concludes his account by reiterating that God had preserved him throughout his many trials, and breaks into a doxology (*True account*, p. 292). The reader is not told how Robinson returned home, but it is implied that he did so safely.

We have no other works by Robinson with which to compare his unusual narrative. Although other writings by Quakers, both published and unpublished, do recount encounters with Muslims, such as those by Edward Coxere, Thomas Lurting and Stephen Smith (see Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam*), the text shares much with Quaker writings more generally from this early period in the movement's history, many of which were also characterised by the same sense of divine commission, eschatological intensity, prophetic and sectarian self-identity, and the narration of events in terms of a providential drama.

SIGNIFICANCE

Robinson's account is significant for the study of Christian-Muslim relations in a number of ways.

It is illustrative of the special place that Muslims could have in the religious sensibilities of English sectarians in the early modern period, and, more specifically, within the intensely eschatological and universal vision that dominated Quaker thinking in the initial decades of the movement. Despite Jerusalem being Robinson's goal, it is his preaching before a 'Turk in authority' that constitutes the culmination of the narrative (*True account*, p. 292). It is this act that leads Robinson to determine that he has discharged his divine duty and can now return home. Indeed, when the Turk asks Robinson why he has come to Jerusalem, Robinson clearly states that addressing Muslims was his intention from the outset: 'The Lord God of Heaven and Earth had appeared unto me, and commanded me to come thither, and in obedience unto him I was come; and further, in the power of the Lord I declared the great and tender love of God in visiting them, and his great and compassionate mercies that he would gather them in this the Day of his gathering. And this was that which lay upon me from the Lord to declare unto them, whether they would hear or forbear' (*True account*, p. 292).

It is the Muslim, not Jerusalem, that is of particular concern to him. Indeed, in the narrative, he is adamant that he has no interest in the holy sites and is hostile to the whole notion of pilgrimage (*True account*, pp. 290-1) – although it is a misreading of the narrative to say that Robinson should be considered an anti-pilgrim as, unlike some other English Protestant travellers, he had no specific interest in seeing and denouncing such behaviour (contra Vitkus, ‘Travelers in the Levant’, p. 42).

Robinson’s representation of the Muslims he encounters on his travels is also a surprisingly variegated one. Despite his eschatological motivation in journeying to Jerusalem, the Turks are not presented as a homogenous, undifferentiated group that are passive recipients of his divine message, devoid of autonomy and destined to play a predetermined role in an end-time drama, but as active, heterogeneous, agents, able to decide their own fate (*True account*, p. 292).

Despite Robinson facing a beating (p. 280), an armed robbery (p. 285), and potential martyrdom at the hands of the Turks (pp. 286-8), the text is free of the negative generalisations about Turks and their religion that are common in Anglophone texts of the period. On a number of occasions, it is the virtuous actions of Turks that are the means by which God’s providential care and justice is made manifest (e.g. pp. 280, 287, 289). It is, with the one exception of the elderly French merchant, Turks who intervene to save Robinson from various perils, including the machinations of his Roman Catholic adversaries (e.g. p. 289).

The ‘gaze’ of Muslims is crucial in validating Robinson’s prophetic and sectarian identity in the narrative. This is evident not only in the scene that is the culmination of the account, where he addresses the ‘Turk in authority’ but also in other parts of the text. For example, following his near martyrdom in Ramlah, he makes a point of noting that the Turks recorded in a book in the mosque that he was a Christian but not a Roman Catholic (p. 288). The receptivity of Muslims to the Quaker prophet is a dominant and recurring theme of the narrative (see pp. 279, 281, 289) – although the judgement of others is also important to him (pp. 280, 284, 289). Such a concern for the opinion of Muslims and the desire to have them recognise the distinctive identity of Quakers is a recurrent theme in a number of Quaker writings in the 17th century, perhaps most notably those of George Fox.

Robinson’s narrative has had little direct influence upon the course of, or the study of, Christian-Muslim relations. Although his exploits were clearly a source of pride amongst many early Quakers and widely reported

in their publications, the heterodox, sectarian nature of Quakerism has meant that it has been of little interest amongst other Christians, Protestant or otherwise. The intensely eschatological character of the narrative has also meant that its contents have been easily misunderstood. It is clear, for example, that Robinson had no interest in converting Muslims to Quakerism or, indeed, to Christianity (contra Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 144, and Vitkus, 'Travelers in the Levant', p. 42) but rather in delivering his apocalyptic tidings of the arrival of 'this the Day of his gathering' (*True account*, p. 292; see, for example, Isaiah 60:4).

Finally, it should be noted that an alternative account of Robinson's time in the Levant, written by an anonymous friar who encountered the Quaker, has recently been discovered and published by Stefano Villani ('Relatione'). This report corroborates the gist of much of what Robinson wrote, albeit from the perspective of an exasperated friar keen to see the back of the English 'prophet', and provides us with additional details about such matters as Robinson's forcible deportation from Acre to Marseilles and his subsequent return home to England. However, it also provides an especially surprising detail: the final scene in which Robinson declared his message to the 'Turk in authority' in Jerusalem was not quite what it seemed to the Quaker. According to this account, the man Robinson addressed was indeed a Muslim but actually one of the servants of the friars, who had been dressed up, with an entourage of other servants, to mislead the young Quaker. Indeed, according to this alternative account, far from listening to Robinson's message 'soberly', the Turk became angry and threatened to have him put to death. It is clear from the conclusion of the report that the friars resorted to such a ruse out of fear of the potential damage this obstinate religious enthusiast might do to the delicate relationship between the Ottomans and their Christian subjects in Jerusalem.

PUBLICATIONS

- D. Baker (ed.), *A true account of the great tryals and cruel sufferings undergone by those two faithful servants of God, Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers . . . To which is added, a short relation from George Robinson, of the sufferings that befel him in his journey to Jerusalem; and how God saved him from the hands of cruelty when the sentence of death was passed against him*, London, 1663 (appendix, pp. 277-92, *An additional account of George Robinson's: shewing his call to go to Jerusalem; And how God in his Journey thither was present with, and did preserve him from the hands of those who sought to take his life, &c*); Wing T2369A (digitalised version available through EEBO)

STUDIES

Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam*, pp. 62-3

Villani, art. 'Robinson, George (b. c. 1638)'

Villani, *Il calzolaio* (the text by a friar of the anonymous report of Robinson's journey, 'Relatione del falso profeta o Tremolante', can be found at pp. 49-62)

Vitkus, 'Travelers into the Levant', pp. 41-3

Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 132-3

Cadbury, *Narrative papers of George Fox*, p. 20

Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 418-19

Besse, *Collection of the sufferings*, vol. 2, pp. 392-4

Sewel, *History of the rise, increase, and progress*, pp. 173-5

Croese, *General history of the Quakers*, pp. 272-3 (original Latin edition 1695)

Bishop, *New England judged* (Robinson's narrative is clearly the source for the account of his travels on pp. 21-2)

Fox, *Answer to a paper* (includes a likely reference to a manuscript version of Robinson's narrative, p. 17)

Anonymous, 'Relatione'

Justin Meggitt

John Bunyan

DATE OF BIRTH November 1628
PLACE OF BIRTH Elstow
DATE OF DEATH 31 August 1688
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

John Bunyan was born in November 1628 in Elstow, Bedfordshire, where his family had lived for centuries. There were many variant spellings of his surname. He was baptised in the parish church in November 1630. His father, Thomas, was a tinker. His mother was Margaret Bentley, Thomas' first wife. Although not prosperous, the Bunyans were not as impoverished as Bunyan later implied, calling them of 'the meanest...rank' (*Grace abounding*, p. 1). Bunyan may have attended a local school. In the main, however, he appears to have educated himself.

In the English Civil War, he served with the Parliamentary army between 1644 and 1647, then worked with his father. By 1650, he was married and attending John Gifford's Nonconformist Meeting House in Bedford. Before long, Bunyan was himself preaching regularly. In 1656, after moving to Bedford, his first book, *Some gospel truths opened*, was published, inspired by controversy with the Quakers. Between 1660 and 1670, he was imprisoned for his beliefs and for preaching without a licence in Bedford County Goal. Released following Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, Bunyan spent his remaining years as pastor of the Bedford Meeting House. He is claimed by Congregationalists and Baptists (see Ban, 'Was John Bunyan a Baptist?'). The congregation practised an open membership policy, accepting those baptised as infants and as adult believers.

His 1666 spiritual autobiography, described as a masterpiece of this genre, *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*, was completed during his imprisonment. During this time, he also started writing the book for which he is most famous, *The pilgrim's progress* (1678), a profoundly influential precursor of the English novel. Other works of fiction include *The life and death of Mr Badman* (1680), *The holy war* (1682) and *Pilgrim's progress, the second part* (1684). Bunyan also wrote over 60 works in a wide variety of genres including covenant theology, millenarianism,

sermons and poetry. During his time in gaol, he wrote and published a wide range of works, including sermons that engaged with millennialism and pastoral concerns germane to his fellow imprisoned Baptists, and a small but significant body of poetry that is beginning to attract more attention. Bunyan is a major figure in the history of English religious dissent.

Bunyan's most recent biographer maintains that the late publication of *Pilgrim's progress* in 1678 was a decision taken on the grounds that it was not safe to publish it in the early 1670s. Although Bunyan nowhere advocated rebellion against the state and was licensed after 1672 as a dissenting minister, he was engaged in religious controversy in his role as pastor to his Bedford congregation. As *Grace abounding* testifies, he was concerned throughout his life with divine election, to the extent that he was often seriously ill with anxiety and depression. But when he was not in the grip of illness he lived a life packed with activity, incident and engagement with the vexed religious issues that were emblematic of the 17th century. The 1640s and 1650s witnessed a growing toleration of Protestant sects within prescribed parameters. This proved impossible to contain in the Restoration decades, despite the persecution of dissent by both Church and State, which lasted continuously from 1660 until the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689. Tensions surrounding religious toleration were heightened considerably by the presence of extreme anti-Catholicism and fears that King Charles II was a secret Catholic.

Bunyan died in 1688 in London, and is buried in Bunhill Fields, the renowned nonconformist cemetery.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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John Bunyan, *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*, London, 1666

John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's progress*, London, 1678

John Bunyan, *The life and death of Mr Badman*, London, 1680

John Bunyan, *The holy war*, London, 1682

John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's progress, the second part*, 1684

Secondary

R.L. Greaves, art. 'Bunyan, John (bap. 1628, d. 1688)', *ODNB*

R.L. Greaves, *Glimpses of glory. John Bunyan and English dissent*, Stanford, 2002

C. Hill, *A turbulent seditious and factious people. John Bunyan and his church*, Oxford, 1988

- J.D. Ban, 'Was John Bunyan a Baptist? A test case in historiographical method', *The Baptist Quarterly* 30 (1984) 367-76
- M. Furlong (ed.), *Puritan's progress*, New York, 1975
- J. Brown, *John Bunyan*, Reading, 1885, repr. 1994

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A few sighs from Hell, or, The groans of a damned soul

DATE 2 September 1658

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

John Bunyan's *A few sighs from Hell* is an exposition of Luke 16:19-31, which describes the fate of Dives the rich man and Lazarus the poor man. Dives' wealth does not save him from the fires of Hell; Lazarus' poverty does not prevent him from being gathered into Abraham's bosom. The full title of this 1658 text of 152 pages is *A few sighs from Hell, or, the groans of a damned soul. Or, an exposition of those words in the sixteenth of Luke, concerning the rich man and the beggar, etc. [With an address to the reader, signed: I.G., i.e. John Gibbs.]*. The text is overtly didactic in its concern for the fate of souls and for living a life that leads to everlasting joy in Heaven. In terms of structure, it is explicitly indebted to sermon literature. The latest, most authoritative version is in the standard scholarly edition of *Miscellaneous works* edited by T.L. Underwood.

Bunyan's only reference to Muḥammad is brief to say the least, and entirely negative. Being far from assured about his own election at this point in his life, Bunyan is fulsome in lecturing those he sees as not only damned but also with a propensity to bring down damnation on others. In a discussion that begins with individuals corrupting small numbers of others, he extends the discussion to those who have ruined or destroyed whole nations. 'Mahomet' is guilty of this particular crime, along with Balaam, the Pharisees and Bishop Bonner (*Miscellaneous works*, vol. 1, p. 314).

SIGNIFICANCE

In works by Christopher Hill and Richard Greaves, among others, Bunyan's commentary on Luke 16 has been viewed as his critique of socio-economic inequality in the 17th century. Typically, *A few sighs from Hell* is considered by scholars alongside other works in the same vein by Gerard

Winstanley, William Walwyn and John Lilburne as part of a radical religious culture. Although its reference to Muḥammad is fleeting, it shows the persistence of a stock attitude that can be traced back as far as John of Damascus in the 8th century.

PUBLICATIONS

- A few sighs from Hell*, London, 1658 (six subsequent editions in Bunyan's lifetime); Wing B5516 (digitalised version available through EEBO)
- C. Doe (ed.), *The works of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr John Bunyan*, London, 1692
- J. Bunyan, *Si[ghs from Hell: or The] gr[oan]s of a damned soul*, London, 1700
- J. Bunyan, *Sighs from hell, or, The groans of a damned soul*, Edinburgh, 1704; ESTC T058582 (digital version available through ECCO)
- J. Bunyan, *Sighs from hell, or, The groans of a damned soul*, London, 1707; ESTC T058591 (digital version available through ECCO)
- J. Bunyan, *Het gezigt der helle, en 't gezugt der verdoemde ziele; betoogt in de gelykenis van de ryke man en Lazarus . . .*, Dordrecht, 1730 (Dutch trans.)
- J. Bunyan, *Sighs from hell, or, The groans of a damned soul*, London, 1759; ESTC T058597 (digital version available through ECCO)
- J. Bunyan, *Sighs from hell, or, The groans of a damned soul*, London, 1818
- G. Ofor (ed.), *The works of John Bunyan*, Glasgow, 1856, vol. 3 (repr. Edinburgh, 1991)
- J. Bunyan, *Sighs from hell: or, The groans of a lost soul*, Swengel PA, 1967, 1970
- T.L. Underwood (ed.), *Some Gospel truths opened; a vindication of some Gospel truths opened; a few sighs from hell (The miscellaneous works of John Bunyan, vol. 1)*, Oxford, 1980
- J. Bunyan, *Sighs from hell. Or, The groans of a lost soul*, Choteau MT, 1997
- J. Bunyan, *A few sighs from hell, or, Groans of a damned soul*, Liskeard, 2007

STUDIES

- B. Lynch, *John Bunyan and the language of conviction*, Cambridge, 2004
- Greaves, *Glimpses of glory*
- S. Sim and D. Walker, *Bunyan and authority. The rhetoric of dissent and the legitimation crisis in seventeenth-century England*, Bern, 2000

Grace abounding to the chief of sinners

DATE 1666

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

John Bunyan's *Grace abounding*, published in 1666, is arguably the most significant contribution to an important genre in early modern prose. The text's full title is *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners, or, A brief and faithful relation of the exceeding mercy of God in Christ, to his poor servant John Bunyan wherein is particularly shewed, the manner of his conversion, his fight and trouble for sin, his dreadful temptations, also how he despaired of Gods mercy, and how the Lord at length thorow Christ did deliver him from all the guilt and terrour that lay upon him: whereunto is added, a brief relation of his call to the work of the ministry, of his temptations therein, as also what he hath met with in prison: all which was written by his own hand there, and now published for the support of the weak and tempted people of God*. Six editions appeared during Bunyan's lifetime. The early modern period witnesses an outpouring of spiritual autobiography across much of the 16th and 17th centuries. Taken together, publications in the genre form a treasure trove of source material for the mental world of Christian belief in the post-Reformation Anglophone world.

Grace abounding begins with an account of Bunyan's life before his conversion, describes how this conversion happened, the ministry of John Gifford in Bedford and how Bunyan joined that meeting house, and ends with his imprisonment. It moves from guilt and despair, to a comforted heart. The main text has 94 pages, followed by a single-page conclusion. There is an eight-page unnumbered preface. Paragraphs are also numbered.

As with *A few sighs from Hell*, Bunyan makes little reference to the Islamic world in *Grace abounding*, other than a telling reference to Muḥammad in paragraph 78, where Bunyan laments bitterly his own susceptibility to temptation by Satan. In this passage, Bunyan relates that in the process of being assaulted by the 'Tempter' he is invited to consider the view 'that the Turks had as good Scriptures to prove their Mahomet the Saviour'. Dwelling upon this and similar temptations, he further informs us, 'did sink me into very deep despair' (para. 83).

SIGNIFICANCE

Dimmock argues that, although ultimately negative, Bunyan's reference to Muḥammad at least contemplates the possibility that Muḥammad's

religion might not be a lie and that Christianity may be the fabrication (*Mythologies*, p. 151). He suggests that Bunyan was faced with a dilemma when confronting Islam, that of knowing with certainty whether Christianity or this perceived rival religion was true. By allowing that the question of Muḥammad's legitimacy could be discussed without prejudice to the answer, Bunyan broke new ground (*Mythologies*, p. 153). Although Bunyan ascribed his doubt and questioning to the Great Tempter, Satan, Dimmock describes the 'very acknowledgement' of the possibility that Islam could be authentic as 'momentous', since it potentially reverses Islam's position vis-à-vis Christianity, with the latter also subject to 'prejudiced scrutiny' regarding its legitimacy and claims (*Mythologies*, p. 151). Dimmock sees this as anticipating later Enlightenment assessments of religion that could see human genius and other non-religious factors behind religions, which thus might meet social or political needs regardless of any origin in divine communication.

PUBLICATIONS

Grace abounding to the chief of sinners, London, 1666, 1680, 1688, 1692, 1697, 1698; Wing B5523 (1666), Wing B5525 (1680), Wing B5526 (1688), Wing B5527 (1692), Wing B5529 (1697), Wing B5529A (1698) (digitalised versions available through *EEBO*)

Further editions in English were published, including in 1771, 1814, 1817, 1863. There are many editions and translations of *Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*; only a representative selection is given here.

De tedere ingewanden van Christi liefde, aen den zondaer open gelegd en vertoont . . . in 't Nederduyts vertaalt, Amsterdam, 1689; Harderwyck, 1711; Groningen, 1745; Dordrecht, 1772 (Dutch trans.) (published together with *Come and welcome to Jesus Christ; Grace abounding . . .* pp. 317-538)

Die Gnade Gottes, welche sich erstrecket auff die grössesten Sünder . . ., Hamburg, 1713 (German trans.)

Helaethrwydd o ras: I'r Pennaf o bechaduriaid, Caerleon, 1767 (Welsh trans.); ESTC T185157 (digitalised version available through *ECCO*)

La grace de Dieu répandue abondamment sur les plus grands pécheurs, trans. J.-F. Nardin, Geneva, 1824 (French trans.)

Grás am pailteas do cheann-feadhna nam peacach, Edinburgh, 1873 (Gaelic trans.)

John Bunyans levnetsbeskrivelse. Eller Overvættes naade mod den største blandt syndere, Bergen, 1874, 1881² (Norwegian trans.)

- Taith y pererin; y Rhyfel ysprydol; a Helaethrwydd o ras*, Wrexham, [1876?] (Welsh trans.) (included in collected works)
- En Pilegrims Vandring fra Denne Berden til den tilfommende. Fremstillet under Lignelsen af en Drom*, Minneapolis MN, [1892?] (Norwegian trans.) (published together with *Pilgrim's progress*)
- Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*, Rahway NJ, 1900
- Gràs am pailteas do cheann feadhna nam peacach*, trans. J. Mackenzie, Edinburgh, 1902 (Gaelic trans.)
- Onchō afururu no ki*, trans. Matsumoto Unshū, Tokyo, 1912 (Japanese trans.)
- Onkei afuru*, trans. Azegami Kenzō, Tokyo, 1929 (Japanese trans.)
- Afururu megumi*, trans. Aoyoshi Katsuhisa, Tokyo, 1930 (Japanese trans.)
- Bűvölködő kegyelem a bűnösök közül elsőnek*, trans. C. Jenő, Budapest, 1934 (Hungarian trans.)
- Överflödande nåd mot den störste av syndare*, trans. Eric Wärenstam, Stockholm, 1946 (Swedish trans.)
- Meng en hui yi lu*, trans. Z.K. Zia and T. M. Chen, Shanghai, 1948 (Chinese trans.)
- Ometalig náði. Synd största syndara av øllum*, trans. V. Danielsen, Torshavn, Faroe Islands, 1949, repr. 1985 (Faroese trans.)
- Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*, ed. R. Sharrock, Oxford, 1962
- Überreiche Gnade für der Sünder Grössesten 1666-1672-1680*, ed. and trans. E. Hirsch, Berlin, 1966 (German trans.)
- Grazia che abbonda al maggior peccatore*, ed. and trans. A. Prandi and M. Castino, Fossano, 1970 (Italian trans.)
- Gracia que abunda en el mayor pecador*, trans. A. Oria León, Mexico, 1973 (Spanish trans.)
- Feng sheng de en dian*, trans. Zhao Zhonghui, Taipei, 1985 (Chinese trans.)
- Benren Yuehan de xing yang sheng huo?*, Taipei, 2000 (Chinese trans.)
- L'abondance de la grâce*, trans. R. Guillaume, Lausanne, 2001 (French trans.)
- Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*, New York, 2007
- Choein koesu ege nömch'inün ünhye*, trans. Yi Gil-sang, Seoul, 2009 (Korean trans.)
- Grace abounding to the chief of sinners*, ed. W.R. Owens, Cambridge, 2012

STUDIES

- D. Walker, art. 'John Bunyan', in J. Lynch and G. Day (eds), *The encyclopedia of British literature 1660-1789*, Oxford, 2015, vol. 1, pp. 165-72
- M. Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet in early modern English literature*, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 149-99
- H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840*, Baltimore MD, 2011
- Lynch, *Bunyan and the language of conviction*
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- Sim and Walker, *Bunyan and authority*
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David Walker

Paul Rycaut

DATE OF BIRTH 1628
PLACE OF BIRTH Aylesford, Kent
DATE OF DEATH 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Aylesford, Kent

BIOGRAPHY

Paul Rycaut was born in Aylesford, Kent, in November or December 1628 into a merchant family, the 11th child and 10th son of Peter and Mary Rycaut. Paul most probably received his primary education at a grammar school in Kent, where he learnt Greek and Latin. When he was 16 years old, he was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was supervised by Charles Rich, who introduced him to members of the English nobility. At Cambridge, he developed a friendship with Peter Wynch, son of the English ambassador to Constantinople, who probably first introduced him to the Ottoman world. He graduated from Cambridge in 1650 and was a member of Gray's Inn for two years from 1652.

Peter Rycaut was of Spanish origin, and served as an agent for the Spanish king (Philip IV) in London, lending him money during his war against Holland. Partly as a result of this, Peter Rycaut was exiled by Cromwell and his property was confiscated. When Paul Rycaut went to Spain with his brother to reclaim his father's loan from King Philip IV, he was warmly welcomed by the king, who admitted him, free of charge, to the University of Alcalá de Henares, where Rycaut was admired for his mastery of Latin. Paul Rycaut's mother was Mary van der Colge, a member of the Huguenot society of London. She was also originally of Spanish origin.

Rycaut admitted that Spain provided him with a great opportunity to learn about the Islamic heritage of the Andalusian civilisation as well as about Spanish authors such as Baltassar Gracian and Garsilasso de la Vega, whose works he translated into English. His fortunes changed after 1659, when he became private secretary to Heneage Finch, ambassador of the Levant Company to Constantinople. In 1660, Finch, Robert Bargrave (official secretary of the Company) and Rycaut (private secretary) left London for Constantinople. On their way, Robert Bargrave fell sick and died, after which Rycaut acted as both private and official secretary to

the ambassador until his return to England in 1665. During his five years of residence in Constantinople, Rycaut studied Turkish and developed intimate relations with Ottoman officials (*kadi*, *vizier* and *chaus*) at court and with members of the religious authorities (*ulema*). In addition, he started writing his most promising and popular book, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*. The sudden death of the Company agent threatened their business in Smyrna, but Rycaut, with competence in diverse languages including Turkish, Latin and French, and five years' experience in Constantinople, in addition to good relations with the administrators of the Levant Company in London, was well equipped to succeed to the position. Thus, he was appointed agent of the Levant Company to Smyrna in 1667. He was warmly welcomed by the English and European community of the city where he was to spend 11 years.

In 1678, Rycaut returned to England. He worked for two years as private secretary to King William III in Ireland. He was then appointed as ambassador to Hamburg. He was discharged from this position in 1700 and returned to London on 28 March 1700. He suffered a heart attack on 9 November that year and died on 16 November. In accordance with his will, he was buried near his parents in Aylesford cemetery.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS London, BL – Add 19514-15, 37663 (letters, books and papers, 1689-94)

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Paul Rycaut, *The history of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1667

Paul Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish Empire*, London, 1679

Paul Rycaut, *The present state of Greek and Armenian Churches*, London, 1679

Paul Rycaut, *The critick*, London, 1681

Paul Rycaut, *Royal Commentaries of Peru*, London, 1688

Secondary

H. Baktir, *Sör Paul Rycaut'un Halihazırdaki Şarkiyatçılığı. Sultan, Devşirmeler ve Harem*, Ankara, 2013

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- T. Seccombe, art. 'Rycaut, or Ricaut, Sir Paul', *DNB*, 1897, vol. 50, pp. 38-40

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The history of the present state of the Ottoman Empire

DATE 1666

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Sir Paul Rycaut wrote this work shortly after the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 (its full title is *The history of the present state of the Ottoman Empire. Containing the maxims of the Turkish polity, the most material points of the Mahometan religion, their sects and heresies, their convents and religious votaries. Their military discipline, with an exact computation of their forces both by sea and land*). The book was considered by Samuel Johnson to be one of the most important early modern descriptions of the Ottoman Empire. Linda Darling also states that the book attained a canonical status ('Ottoman politics'). The first edition, published in 1667, was 218 pages long, and the work was in constant reprint, sometimes more than once in the same year. Reprints were also expanded as Rycaut added new information. Only one copy of the original first edition is extant, discovered among the books donated to the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, by Samuel Pepys. The second edition was published in 1668, and it was then reprinted in 1670, 1675, 1679, 1682 and 1686 in England. It was translated into almost all European languages and was read and cited by John Locke, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, John Dryden, Samuel Johnson, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Montesquieu, Adam Smith and Lord Byron. It became a touchstone in English writing on the Ottoman Empire due to the belief that Rycaut was the first English writer to present a first-hand, detailed description of Ottoman government, history, religion and culture. In the Preface to the fourth edition, Rycaut explains that *The present state* was the fruit of his residence in Constantinople, where he carefully listened to and recorded what Ottoman officials and the Mufti told him about the Ottoman world.

The present state consists of three books in one volume. The first deals with 'The maxims of Turkish polity', the second with the 'Mahometan religion', and the third with 'Military discipline'. Rycaut's view of the Ottoman world was not significantly different from that of other European writers in the sense that he compares the Ottoman sultan with European kings, as Machiavelli did in *The prince*, even though he claims that European writers and travellers had an inaccurate idea about the Turks and Islam. In 'The maxims of Turkish polity', he reiterates the concept of oriental despotism, stating that in the 'Turkish government, the absoluteness of the Emperor is without reason and without virtue. The Sultan is "irresistible" and "corrupt[ed]"'. Subjects of the Ottoman Empire gain all their virtue and favour by 'chance' and the 'sole' power of the sultan. Such descriptions and statements as these are stereotypes and clichés used to delineate the tyranny and despotic rule of the sultan in contrast to European kings, who are considered to rule by law and justice.

However, Rycaut differs from earlier writers in his historiography of the Ottoman Empire. First, he praises the discipline and order of the Ottoman military. The 'stability' of the system and the 'increase of vast lands' depend on 'Maxims of State, Wisdoms of Governors'. Second, he refers to the quickness and severity of justice in the Ottoman Empire: 'Every crime' is punished at once without delay. These are the basic principles that keep the giant and 'mighty body' of the empire secured and safe (Preface).

After 'Maxims of Turkish polity', Rycaut turns his focus to the 'Turkish religion'. In the second book, he develops his 'true System... of the... Religion' as opposed to the manner 'certain ingenious Travelers have done, who have set down their Observations as true' though they are actually 'erroneous' and full of 'Mistakes'. He adopts the essentialist logic of European scholarship when he argues that Islam was coloured by the heresies of the Arians and the Nestorians, and he reiterates the early Christian argument about the origin of Islam: When Mahometanism was initially weak, its best policy was to make peace and 'truce' with Christians and to provide 'toleration' for 'all Religions' at a time when 'the World was illuminated with Christianity' (second edition, p. 98). He is, however, exceptional in dealing with the message of the Prophet and his followers because, like Henry Stubbe, he cites from both Qur'an and Hadith.

This second book consists of 25 chapters. Rycaut's account starts with the origin and development of Islam, then moves to topics such as principles, doctrines, manners, mission, official status, muftis, emirs, sects,

disagreements, heresies, reforms, spirituality, dervishes, convents, rituals, marriage, divorce, concubines, circumcision, obligations of believers, ceremonies, prohibitions against swine and wine, morality, good works and laws worthy of consideration. There are obvious mistakes: for instance, he believes that 'cleanness in the outward parts of body and garments' is the first 'Article' of the five 'Fundamentals' of Islam. However, unlike authors who presented Muḥammad as an anti-Christ, Rycaut refers to authentic qur'anic verses (p. 99) and Hadiths (p. 101-2) to contest what he identifies as the 'erroneous' and 'mistaken' view of Islam. Referring to the pact between Muḥammad and Christians, Rycaut quotes the verse from Q 109: 'if you do not adore what I adore, let your religion be to you, and mine to me' (p. 102). He then compares the Turks' idea of the 'Nature of Predestination' to the assertion of the 'Severest Calvinist': 'they are not afraid to say that God is the Author of evil, without distinction or evasions to acquit the Divine purity of the soulness of sin according to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. And all in general concur in this conclusion, that whatsoever prospers hath God for the Author' (p. 115).

Rycaut also writes vividly about the 'Order of Religious Turks', by which he means the Sufis, relying on an anonymous 'Learned' authority. In Chapter 11, he relates the history of the 'Nacsbende' order in Constantinople as follows, though with some confusion and inaccuracies: 'This Order of Ebubuharee was first instituted by their founder and institutor Ebubuhar from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his master Nacsbende, from whom in like manner the Order of Mevleve or Dervishes are derived' (p. 141).

Rycaut is also one of the few travellers and writers who believed that commerce and peaceful relations with the Turks were more advantageous than Muslim-Christian rivalry. *The present state* may be considered as part of a particular 17th-century genre that can be identified as 'Ottoman literature'. This includes a variety of works by English, Italian and French writers in the 17th and 18th centuries, including Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Samuel Johnson, John Dryden and Alexander Pope.

SIGNIFICANCE

Rycaut was the first English diplomat to present a detailed description of Ottoman government, history and religious culture. The uniqueness of his work lies in its being written by someone who lived in Smyrna and Istanbul for many years, and befriended a long-time resident of the court, who furnished him with first-hand, inside knowledge. *The present state* lies at the beginning of the long trajectory of English scholarship about the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world at large, and it



The Prime Vizier

Illustration 4. From *The history of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*

demonstrates how much Rycaut, as an English traveller and diplomat of the 17th century, indulged in the sort of Orientalist view that would reach its apogee in the 19th century.

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Hasan Baktir

Richard Baxter

DATE OF BIRTH 1615
PLACE OF BIRTH Rowton, Shropshire
DATE OF DEATH 1691
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Richard Baxter was a prominent and prolific Puritan divine in the 17th century. Although he was a self-professed champion of church unity, he was embroiled in controversy over his 'unorthodox' view of justification by faith. However, in spite of his conflict with those he called 'over-orthodox' divines, Baxter earned a strong reputation for his life of piety and popular devotional writings.

Born in Rowton, Shropshire, Baxter's early education was quite poor, but he was eventually able to study the classics under a Mr John Owen, who advanced what little education Baxter had by giving him many books. Though Baxter lacked a formal university education, he was ordained as a deacon in 1638 and, after brief employment in Dudley and Bridgnorth, he was called as curate to Kidderminster, Worcestershire, in 1641, shortly before the English Civil War. In 1645, Baxter served as chaplain in Oliver Cromwell's army, where he was exposed to rampant antinomianism, a doctrinal emphasis on the free grace of Christ over the demands of the law. Baxter fought against such doctrines, as he feared they led to loose morals, and he engaged in a tireless publishing campaign against them for the rest of his life.

Due to a protracted illness that he feared would prove fatal, Baxter returned to Kidderminster in 1647 and began work on a lengthy funeral sermon. The work eventually became *The saints' everlasting rest* (1652), a massive four-part treatise on heaven and the 'heavenly life'.

Though often in failing health, Baxter used the printing press to advance his theological views and engage in doctrinal controversies. He was committed to ecumenicism within Protestant Christianity, befriended ministers of various persuasions, and fought for church unity based on the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds.

Baxter had an impressive publishing career, writing 168 books, pamphlets, sermons and other works, and he was renowned as a devotional

writer. Though his ministry in Kidderminster came to an end with the Restoration, he continued to write and teach until his death in 1691, and became a leading Nonconformist divine. Many still consider his 1656 book, *The Reformed pastor*, to be the standard manual on the conduct of pastoral minister.

Of all his writings, Baxter's *Aphorisms of justification* (1649) seems to have caused the most controversy. In it, he argues for a system that was largely Calvinistic, but he departs from the tradition by arguing for some form of human contribution to salvation (a 'pepper corn'). Public reception of the work was volatile, but Baxter took every opportunity to defend it, spending vast amounts of time writing diatribes against his attackers.

Though controversial, Baxter was able to publish an impressive amount of devotional literature that enhanced his reputation. His most notable 'practical' works were *A treatise of conversion* (1657), *A call to the unconverted* (1658), *Directions and persuasions to a sound conversion* (1658) and *A Christian directory* (1673), all of which were written with meticulous care and stressed the importance of a genuine or 'sound' conversion to Christianity.

Scholars often differentiate between Baxter's doctrinal and devotional works, but this somewhat misrepresents him in that he fully believed his devotional work flowed out of the doctrinal. His legacy of intra-Protestant dialogue reflects his desire for church unity and anti-sectarianism. His engagement with other religions and his immense learning are impressive in that he was largely self-taught.

The numerous details of Baxter's life are largely drawn from his private diary, which was edited and published as *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696). However, recent scholarship has called into question the veracity of the edited autobiography, and consequently a new critical edition is being prepared.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The reasons of the Christian religion

DATE 1667

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The reasons of the Christian religion is a treatise that discusses the evidence for the Christian religion drawn from various lines of rational inquiry. Its full title is *The reasons of the Christian religion. The first part, of godliness: proving by natural evidence the being of God, the necessity of holiness, and a future life of retribution; the sinfulness of the world; the desert of Hell; and what hope of recovery mercies intimate. The second part, of Christianity: proving by evidence supernatural and natural, the certain truth of the Christian belief: and answering the objections of unbelievers. First meditated for the well-settling of his own belief; and now published for the benefit of others, by Richard Baxter. It openeth also the true resolution of the Christian faith. Also an appendix, defending the soul's immortality against the Somatists or Epicureans, and other pseudo-philosophers*, and it was originally printed, with marginal notes in Latin, by R. White for Fran. Titon in London. As with many of his other writings, Baxter began this work as a private manuscript to assess the foundations of his own religious belief, but expanded it for the benefit of others and especially to provide rational grounds for Christianity. There are two prefaces to the work, one addressed to the Christian reader and the other to the 'hypocrite reader'. Baxter's goal was to encourage the conversion of 'idolaters and infidels to God and the Christian faith', during a time when few Christian ministers were devoting much attention to other religions. In fact, Baxter lamented the 'doleful thought that five parts of the world were still heathens and Mahometans...'.

The 604-page quarto work is divided into two parts: the first deals with the 'natural evidence' for the existence of God and Christian duty, and the second with 'evidence supernatural and natural' concerning the truth of Christian belief. It can be classified generally as a work of natural theology. In the first part, Baxter argues from the 'light of nature' for the existence both of God and his relation to humanity as a Father, Benefactor and Chief End, and of the evil of sin. The second part elaborates on the uniqueness of Christianity among world religions, and the cause for so many divisions within Christendom.

Pertinent for Christian-Muslim relations is Baxter's three-page discussion of the Muslim faith (pp. 202-4). He wrote that he found 'much good' in the 'religion of the Mohametans', namely, a confession of only one God and moral duty, opposition to idolatry, positive views of Moses and Christ, and a general reception of Christian scriptures. Baxter writes, 'All this therefore where Christianity is approved, must be embraced'

(p. 202). In fact, Baxter goes further and believes that 'there is no doubt but God hath made great use of Mahumet as a great Scourge to the Idolaters of the world . . .' (p. 203).

But while Baxter praises Muḥammad for his stance against idolatry, he also criticises him and calls the Qur'an a 'rhapsody of nonsense and confusion' (p. 203). Baxter believed that the Qur'an did not evince divine attestation, but rather a 'barbarous education', which lacked organisation and 'any evidence of solid understanding'. In short, Baxter believed Muslims came close to the Christian faith with their rigid monotheism, but fell short of the truth. He further questions the veracity of any religion whose 'Kingdom is of this World, erected by the Sword' (p. 203), approves of polygamy or teaches a 'sensual kinde of heaven' (p. 204), which contradicts the 'light of nature'. Baxter criticises Muslims for their seeming unwillingness to engage in 'sober' dialogue over their truth claims. Thus, for him, in spite of the positive aspects of the Muslim faith, Muḥammad is a 'false Prophet . . . who rageth against Christians as a blood-thirsty Enemy' (p. 204).

Baxter's source material for the life and thought of Muḥammad was from Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a 9th-century monk and archivist of the Church of Rome, and Theodore Abū Qurra, a 9th-century Orthodox bishop and Arab theologian who lived in the early Islamic period.

SIGNIFICANCE

Short as it is, in this tract Baxter's attitude towards the Muslim faith offers insight into how Western European Christians of the 17th century saw Muḥammad and the Qur'an, and into the sources through which these hostile views were generally mediated. His description reflects the more typical Christian views of the 17th century. Given the popularity of his writings, many of them published in numerous editions, his attitude almost certainly influenced others. Calling for the conversion rather than the defeat of Muslims was unusual at this time. Indeed, Protestants had not yet started to prioritise missionary outreach and evangelism, even though some justified colonising the Americas on the grounds that true rather than false Christianity could then be preached to the indigenous peoples. Although Baxter's conclusion vis-à-vis Islam was negative, he yet saw much that was good in it. Later evangelical missionaries would similarly admit that certain aspects of Islam were positive, and attempt to use these to point towards Christian faith. It is possible, therefore, to see Baxter's writing on Islam as anticipating later developments in Christian thought. As with other Christians of his time, Baxter struggled with

Islam's very existence. If all that is necessary for salvation is found in Jesus Christ, how could competing claims to religious truth be genuine?

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Randall Pederson

‘Elias Wilson’

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably early 17 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably late 17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

‘Elias Wilson’ is the name used by the author of the anti-Quaker and anti-Ottoman tract entitled *Strange and wonderful news from Italy or A true and impartial relation of the travels, adventures, and martyrdoms of four eminent Quakers of York-shire*, published in 1673. The tract claims to be the work of someone who had received information about the eventful travels of four English Quakers in France and Italy from the Quaker prophets themselves, and who obtained details about the subsequent gruesome torture and execution of three of them in Constantinople from two acquaintances who were eyewitnesses. However, it is highly probable that ‘Elias Wilson’, like the contents of the tract itself, is fictitious.

A new edition of the text in 1674, and another published in 1681, identifies the author not as Elias Wilson but as John Elias, and this change in authorship, in addition to minor but significant differences over such details as the origins of the Quakers and the year in which the events are supposed to have occurred, when combined with the complete absence of any records of the mission or martyrdoms in otherwise comprehensive Quaker records of the time, cast doubt on both the authenticity of the alleged author and the events recorded in the tract. The real identity of ‘Elias Wilson’ is impossible to determine, although he is most likely one of the numerous pseudonymous writers who earned their living composing cheap, sensational newsbooks, which were a staple of English popular culture in the 17th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Strange and wonderful news from Italy

DATE 1673

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Strange and wonderful news (full title: *Strange and wonderful news from Italy, or, A true and impartial relation of the travels, adventures, and martyrdom of four eminent Quakers of York-shire who in the year 1672 travelled through France, Italy, and Turkey to propagate their religion*) is a short work of just seven pages, with only the final page concerned directly with Christian-Muslim relations. Most of the text describes the mission of four Quakers to France and Italy, during which they regularly disrupted Catholic worship (at Lyons, p. 2, Milan, p. 4, and Rome, p. 5) and attempted to convert a number of Catholic officials, including the pope (pp. 5-6), suffering various arduous imprisonments for their pains. However, the narrative culminates in a brief visit to Constantinople, where three of the Quakers are executed in a gruesome manner by Ottoman officials (the other being spared this fate by virtue of having already died in a madhouse in Milan, apparently starving himself to death, p. 4).

The Quakers' repeated attempts to enter the 'Mahometans Mosco's and Temples' is given as the reason for their demise. Initially they were severely bastinadoed (beaten on the soles of their feet), a punishment

that was 'executed with the extremity of rigour and cruelty, so that in few days the putrified flesh came off from the bones, which was a miserable spectacle to behold' (p. 7). However, using crutches and driven on by the 'spirit of fanaticism', they repeated their actions, which resulted in the 'Mufti' ordering that they should have 'their hands chopt off, their tongues cut out, their eyes bored out, and each man to have a sharp wooden stake run in at his fundament and quite through his body' (p. 7).

Although some have assumed this text gives an account of actual events (see, e.g. Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 136), there are a number of reasons for believing it to be a work of macabre anti-Quaker and anti-Ottoman fantasy.

The pamphlet was reissued on two further occasions, in 1674 and 1681, with the author's name given not as Elias Wilson but rather John Elias. Various other details are also altered in these later editions, such as the alleged county of origin of the Quakers, the year when the events were said to have occurred, and the extent to which the author was an eyewitness to what transpired. Nor is there any external corroboration, in Quaker or non-Quaker records, for a Quaker mission to Constantinople in 1672, or indeed in the alternative years of 1670, 1673 and 1680, given in editions of the text ascribed to John Elias. Given the plethora of references to the missions of other Quakers to Ottoman lands, such as those by George Robinson, John Perrot and Mary Fisher, it would be odd if such a substantial mission, which ended so dramatically, left no trace amongst the records of Friends or others. Indeed, none of the supposedly 'eminent' Quakers named in the narrative appear in any Quaker sources, despite the fact that one, John Watson, is described as 'a Gentleman of a pretty considerable estate, he had spent some years at the University' (p. 1).

There are elements within the narrative that are certainly plausible and appear to echo actual Quaker missions of a decade or so earlier. The protagonists display behaviour characteristic of early Quakers in persistently causing disturbances in places of worship, and it is believable that they would claim, in answer to the questioning of the Archbishop of Lyons, that 'the Law of God was written upon mens hearts, and that now the time was come that they should be taught of God' (p. 2); eschatological appeals to Jeremiah 31:33-4 were a staple of early Quaker preaching. The repeated judgement of their Christian adversaries that the Quakers were mad and needed to be incarcerated in a madhouse for their own good (pp. 2-3 [Lyons]; p. 4 [Milan]; p. 6 [Rome])

also has parallels with what we know about the experience of actual early Quakers who ventured into continental Europe. For example, John Perrot found himself imprisoned in a madhouse in Rome for three years from 1658 to 1661, and his companion, John Luffe, who shared his fate, was also thought to have starved himself to death (C. Baily, *A seasonable warning and word of advice to all papists, but most especially to those of the kingdome of France . . .*, London, 1663, p. 6), as one of the Quakers also does in *Strange and wonderful news* (p. 4). The idea that Quaker actions in Ottoman lands might be regarded as imperilling the interests of the other English in the region (p. 7) is also something that was indeed a common complaint at the time (Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam*, p. 59).

However, despite the level of verisimilitude evident in the narrative, the events described are clearly fictional and it seems most reasonable to agree with Villani and to conclude that the account is a work of imagination but includes details from known Quaker missions to the Mediterranean (albeit none of which involved the execution of Quakers in Constantinople; see Villani, 'I quaccheri contro il Papa', pp. 179-82).

SIGNIFICANCE

Strange and wonderful news is, in part, a sensational, bloody account of Christian-Muslim encounter, albeit one that is fictional, reflecting the cultural imagination of its pseudonymous author and not actual events. It is a text that, despite its author's protestations of impartiality (p. 7), is clearly anti-Quaker and anti-Ottoman in intent. Both subjects were familiar in popular publications at the time, with the fanaticism of the former and cruelty of the latter being common themes. However, given the genre of the work – a popular 'newsbook' – it should not be forgotten that both these tropes were subordinate to a larger concern on the part of the writer: to entertain. The fact that there were three editions of the text shows that its original author, whoever he might have been, was successful in producing a story that found a receptive audience.

The text can easily be misread by readers concerned with Christian-Muslim relations. Although the fate of the Quakers is certainly a gruesome one, in the context of 17th-century England, where being hanged, drawn and quartered was still a regular punishment, famously, for example, meted out against the regicides of Charles I and celebrated in popular print (see, e.g. W. S., *Rebels no saints*, London, 1661), the actions of the Ottomans in *Strange and wonderful news* is not quite as shocking as it might appear today. Indeed, given the characteristic intransigence of the Quakers in the narrative, most readers would have interpreted the

fictional actions of the Ottomans, like that of the Catholic authorities earlier in the narrative, as an understandable response to the anti-social and deluded behaviour of religious fanatics.

The author clearly knew little about the Islam of the Ottoman Empire (he writes, for example, of mosques and temples in Constantinople; p. 7), and was only concerned with presenting a narrative that reflected popular 'knowledge' of Islam in his day, not with challenging or expanding such knowledge. What is perhaps most interesting about this fictitious text is that, as Matar rightly says, it presents a story of Quaker-Muslim interactions that is exceptional when read in the light of other data about the encounter between Islam and early representatives of this Christian sect (*Islam in Britain*, p. 136): early Quaker encounters with Islam were, in fact, striking in being largely eirenic and constructive, symbolised perhaps most famously by the audience of Mary Fisher with Mehmed IV at Adrianople in 1658.

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Elias Wilson, *Strange and wonderful news from Italy, or, A true and impartial relation of the travels, adventures, and martyrdom of four eminent Quakers of York-shire who in the year 1672 travelled through France, Italy, and Turkey to propagate their religion*, London, 1673; Wing W2891A (digitalised version available through EEBO)

John Elias, *A true and strange relation of the travels, adventures, and great persecution of four eminent Quakers of Gloucestershire who in the year 1673 travelled through France, Italy and Turkey, to promote their religion*, London, 1674; Wing E499A (digitalised version available through EEBO)

John Elias, *A true and strange relation of the travels, adventures, and great persecution of four eminent Quakers who in the year 1680 travelled through France, Italy and Turkey, to promote their religion*, London, 1681; Wing E499B (digitalised version available through EEBO)

STUDIES

Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam*, p. 65

Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 136

Villani, 'I quaccheri contro il Papa', pp. 179-82

Villani, *Tremolanti e papisti*, pp. 157-9

Justin Meggitt

John Milton

DATE OF BIRTH 20 December 1608
PLACE OF BIRTH London
DATE OF DEATH 8 November 1674
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

John Milton was born at the family home in Bread Street, London, on 20 December 1608, the third child of John and Sara Milton. The senior John Milton, a member of the Company of Scriveners, was also a published composer. Growing up in the Bread Street house, the younger John Milton was surrounded by music and song, and developed an appreciation of both. He learned the organ, the bass viol, and part-singing. Initially educated at home by tutors, he started to write poetry at an early age. His principal tutor, Thomas Young, later became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He learned both classical (Latin, Hebrew, Greek) and modern (French, Italian) languages, which proved useful during a *Wanderjahr* phase in his life. After Young left to take up a church position in Germany, Milton enrolled at St Paul's School (founded in 1509), which was then next to St Paul's Cathedral. From there he matriculated as a minor pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1625. He read classics, also studying mathematics and music. By the time he graduated BA in 1629, he had written and recited a number of poems, some of which commemorated events in the life of the nation and the University. He signed the religious articles on graduation, presumably without reservation. He graduated MA in 1632 (J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, 1922, pt 1, vol. 2, p. 193). Later, Trinity College, Cambridge, acquired his poetry notebook, considered by its editor, Sir Edmond Gosse, to be 'the most precious manuscript of English literature in the world' ('Milton manuscripts', p. 589).

Milton's first published poem was 'An Epitaph on the Admirable Drammatick Poet, W. Shakespeare' in 1632, prefixed to the second edition of Shakespeare's plays and apparently written at the publisher's request, although it did not appear under Milton's name until his 1645 *Poems*. Leaving Cambridge, Milton moved to his parent's new home in Hammersmith, where he began to attend the recently built chapel-of-ease,

of which his father was warden. Five years of private theological study followed, preparing for the BD, probably for ordination, although Milton did not proceed with either. In 1634, he wrote a masque, *Comus*, for a major public occasion, the Earl of Bridgewater's inauguration as Lord President of Wales. As with his Shakespeare piece, this was not published under Milton's own name until 1645. In 1636, Milton's father retired to a cottage at Chalfont St Giles, a Quaker village in Buckinghamshire near Eton College, which actually owned the Bread Street house (Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, p. 2). Milton may have used Eton College library in his studies. His disillusionment with the Established Church first surfaced in a poem he wrote in 1637 in memory of Ben Jonson, following the playwright's death. In this poem, *Lycidas*, St Peter complains about clerical greed and criticises the English Church. At this time, though, he still saw episcopacy as legitimate and depicted Peter with a mitre. The poem was the last of 36 in a collection called *Justa Edouardo King naufrago* published in 1638 (J.M. Evans, 'Lycidas', in D. Danielson, *The Cambridge companion to Milton*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 39-53).

A desire to see Italy saw Milton leave England in May 1638, travelling to Florence via Paris (where he met Hugo Grotius), Nice, Genoa and Pisa. In Florence he attended literary meetings, befriending poets and scholars, including Galileo. By October, he was visiting Rome, where records at the English College (the Catholic seminary) show that he dined there. He became acquainted with several cardinals and literati. He also visited Venice, Verona and Milan, and crossed the Alps to Geneva, where he met the theologian Giovanni Diodati, uncle of his childhood friend from St Paul's, Charles Diodati. 'Sad tidings of civil war' at home altered his plans to continue on to Greece. Instead, he returned to England. In fact, the Civil War did not begin until 1642, so Milton's reference to this in 1639 is somewhat puzzling (Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, p. 115). Renting rooms near Fleet Street, he became a private tutor to two nephews, Edward and John Phillips. After moving to larger premises in Aldersgate Street, he took on more pupils. Over the next decade, he combined teaching with polemics, entering controversy over such matters as the correct form of church governance, the rejection of episcopacy, and the grounds for divorce. Milton shifted from supporting Presbyterianism towards independence, but he also began to argue in favour of limited religious tolerance. John Toland describes how his sympathies shifted from the Puritans to 'the Independents and Anabaptists' as 'coming nearer in his opinion to the primitive practice' of the first Christians (*Life*, p. 151).

By the end of his life, he had 'become an Arian or "neo-Arian"' (Dzelzainis, 'Milton and Antitrinitarianism', p. 173). On divorce, he saw canon law as too restrictive; a husband should be able to sue for divorce if his marriage irrevocably breaks down. His own marriage was in jeopardy at the time. He did not write about women's divorce rights. His polemical tracts were unlicensed, and by 1644 fell foul of the authorities when censorship was introduced for all publications. In response, Milton wrote *Areopagitica*, a plea for unrestricted press freedom, at least for Protestants. The text has been described as part of the English canon of writing on liberty (A. Wolfson, *Persecution or toleration*, Lanham MD, 2010, p. 1). His later *Of True Religion* (1673) advocated religious toleration among Protestants (but excluded Roman Catholics). Although he had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, his championing of republicanism became influential in the American colonies and in revolutionary France. His collection of Latin and English poems was published in 1645.

After his father's death in 1647, Milton moved to High Holborn. By March 1649, he was secretary for foreign tongues to the Commonwealth government's Council of State, beginning a public service phase of his life. Accommodation in Whitehall was included. By then, he had repudiated the liturgy of the Church of England as stifling, and episcopacy as extra-biblical. His duties included writing a report on the settlement of Ireland, and a tract defending King Charles I's execution. During 1652, Milton lost his sight. All his later works, including some of his most celebrated, were dictated. Scribes included John Phillips and another former student, Cyriack Skinner, who is now credited with writing the earliest life of Milton (see Parsons, 'Earliest life'). A major project during this period was working on a theological treatise in Latin, which remained unpublished when he died. An attempt to print it in Holland saw the manuscript impounded by the English government. Forgotten until it was discovered in a Whitehall locker in 1823, this work was finally published during 1825, translated by C.R. Sumner as *A treatise on Christian doctrine compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone*.

During 1652, Milton learned Dutch from Roger Williams, founder of the Rhode Island colony and champion of Church-State separation and of religious freedom, with whom he shared many convictions (Lewalksi, *Life*, p. 285). Milton's 1659 tract, *A Treatise of Civil Power*, rejected the legitimacy of religious establishment, arguing that the civil power cannot compel religious conformity. Another tract argued that it is unlawful for government to levy church taxes. After the dissolution of parliament in 1660, Milton defended republican government in *The Ready and Easy*

Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth. Milton, though, had a more limited notion of religious freedom than Williams. He was responsible for licensing publications, and he was overridden at least once when the Council proscribed a Socinian catechism he had already approved, though no action was taken against Milton; 'no one wanted to make trouble for the republic's most famous defender' (Lewalski, *Life*, p. 284).

Following the 1660 Restoration, Milton initially went into hiding. Copies of his books were burnt on the orders of the new regime. Milton was found and imprisoned in the Tower of London. By the year's end, however, he had been pardoned and released for the cost of his imprisonment, which caused financial hardship. He escaped the plague in 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666 by retreating to the cottage in Chalfont St Giles (now a Milton museum).

During the last decade of his life, the epic poems for which he is now best known, *Paradise Lost* (1667, begun as early as 1658), and *Paradise Regained* (with *Samson Agonistes*) (1671) were published. In 1671, he also published his incomplete *History of Britain*, a work that had taken many years to write. The section on the Long Parliament, expurgated with several others by the government censors, was included in the 1738 edition (Good, *Studies*, p. 251).

He died at home on 8 November 1674 and was buried next to his father in St Giles, Cripplegate, on 12 November. Toland observes that, in later life, Milton ceased to frequent any religious assembly, perhaps 'from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless Disputes... Love of Dominion, and Inclination to Persecution which he said was a piece of Popery inseparable from all Churches' (*Life*, p. 151). Nevertheless, he has a memorial in Westminster Abbey.

Milton's posthumous reputation transformed him into one of the most studied and critically acclaimed English poets, counted by some second only to Shakespeare (P. Rawlings, *Emerson, Melville, James, Berryman*, London, 2013, p. 12).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Paradise Lost: A poem in twelve books

DATE 1667, 1674

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

John Milton's epic poem, *Paradise Lost*, written in blank verse or 'English heroic', was first published in quarto in 1667. It was divided into ten books. The second edition in octavo followed in 1674, reorganised into 12 books (on the difference between the two editions, see R.G. Moyles, *The text of Paradise Lost*, Toronto, 1985). The poem has 10,565 lines. Many editions and works of commentary have followed (see Miner, Moeck and Jablonski, *Three centuries*). Several poets have produced rhyming versions. It has been translated into all major languages, including Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Milton was influenced by Virgil, whose *Aeneid* also has 12 books, as well as by Dante.

Although it has no direct references to Islam, *Paradise Lost* has attracted the interest of Arab and Muslim writers. Milton lived at a time when people were increasingly aware of the existence of the Islamic and Arab worlds, which may have had an exotic attraction as well as being feared. Something of the former is suggested by several references to Islamic space in the epic. Although only conjecture can identify what sources Milton may have consulted, including whether he was familiar with the 1649 English translation of the Qur'an, he does seem to have 'been reasonably well informed about the history and current state of the Ottoman empire' (MacLean, 'Milton, Islam', p. 291). Dahiyat speculates that because he 'always expressed an interest in knowing the wisdom and culture of other peoples', Milton may well have read Edward Pococke's *Specimen historiae* (1650) and other similar works (*Orient wave*, p. 59). Certainly, he would have had access to texts on Islam at Cambridge, and possibly also at Oxford. It is worth noting that the English word 'paradise' is derived from Persian.

The epic begins in hell. Satan and his companions, defeated by God in a rebellious war, build a palace, Pandemonium, where, in Book 2, they meet in council to decide whether to resume battle or not. Early references to Satan's throne are said to be reminiscent of the sultan's in Istanbul, and the 'dark Council' is later called a *Divan*, Turkish for a council or meeting (10:454-8). At 1:349 Milton may well have had in mind a despotic Eastern ruler, since he calls Satan a 'great sultan' (see Fowler, *Paradise Lost*, p. 56). A 1754 edition links the dark *Divan* (1:795), with its reference to the council's secrecy, to both the Turkish sultan and the pope, commenting that 'the Devil, the Turk and the Pope' were 'commonly thought to be nearly related' (Newton, *Paradise Lost*, vol. 2, p. 259). Book 2 opens with another Eastern reference: Satan's 'throne of royal estate outshines the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind'. The next line calls the East 'gorgeous'; it showers barbarian kings with gold and pearls. As Dahiyat comments, situated 'at the mouth of the Persian Gulf...Ormuz' had become 'a symbol of wealth and luxury' (*Orient wave*, p. 73). Milton's depiction of Satan's tyranny may also have been intended to denounce the Stuart monarchy: 'he never attacked the institution of monarchy as such' but its 'tyrannical abuse'. He believed that any government must be 'open to criticism and reform' (Reisner, *Milton's Paradise lost*, p. 16).

Aware of a prophecy that God planned to create a new world, the rebels decide that this might offer scope for their evil activities, thus avoiding renewing battle with God. Satan is dispatched alone to reconnoitre this

new world. He travels to the gate of hell, which is opened for him by his children Sin and Death (2:649-849). After encountering and talking with Chaos, he sees the gulf between hell and heaven, and he can glimpse the new world. In Book 3, God, having sighted Satan on his way to the new world, predicts that Man will fall, and how. God's Son then offers himself as a sacrifice to redeem humanity. Entering the new world, Satan, disguised as a cherub, tricks the archangel Uriel into revealing Adam's location. In Book 4, he enters the Garden of Eden, and in the shapes of various animals observes and becomes jealous of Adam and Eve. He learns that they are forbidden from eating from the Tree of Knowledge. The idea that Eden was located somewhere in the Arab world may have informed Milton's description here: Satan's 'sensations on his approach' to the Garden are compared to 'those of sailors' who, having rounded the Cape, smell 'the Spicy shore of Araby the blest' (4:145; Dahiyat, *Orient wave*, p. 63). Meanwhile, Uriel, now aware that Satan has tricked him, alerts the other angels, who capture him near the humans, who have just enjoyed sexual relations, and expel him from Eden.

In Book 5, Raphael warns Adam and Eve about Satan, who, although the most favoured of all angels, through pride and envy of God's son had led a rebellion against God. Book 6 narrates the great war that had taken place in heaven between Satan's supporters and the faithful angels. Michael and Satan had duelled, and battles had been waged. During a night-time retreat, Satan invented gunpowder before rejoining the battle with cannons. Then the Messiah (God's Son) vanquished and banished the rebels. Raphael ends by telling Adam and Eve that they had been created so that their progeny, a 'race of worshipers holy and just' (5:630-1), could replace the fallen angels in heaven. Book 7 covers the six days of creation and the seventh day of rest. Book 8 describes Adam's creation, how he named the animals and how Eve was made from his rib. In Book 9, Satan returns, enters a serpent and tempts Eve to eat the forbidden fruit, which she does. Although at first dismayed that Eve has sinned, Adam also eats. Out of love for her, he decides to share her fate.

Now aware of their nakedness, the man and woman experience lust and shame, and they begin to blame each other for their plight. In Book 10, God sends the Son to judge Adam and Eve. In mercy he postpones their death. The account of Sin and Death building the bridge to earth and a highway across Chaos, and of Satan holding his council in Pandemonium follow. Sin and Death are now able to infect the earth; God lets them remain free until the Judgment. The 'Turkish crescent' (10:434),

devastating everything before it, is part of a comparison between Satan's angelic soldiers and the Tartars (Song, *Dominion undeserved*, p. 32), which has been taken as another allusion to 'a connection between Satan, eastern despotism, and the Caroline monarchy' (Song, *Dominion undeserved*, p. 34). However, the fallen angels are all turned into serpents. Adam forgives Eve, and persuades her against suicide, which she has contemplated. In Book 11, Adam and Eve are expelled from Eden, and the Archangel Michael prophesies Cain's murder, the coming of disease, war, the Flood and the rainbow covenant, all revealed to Adam in a dream, which continues in Book 12. Adam learns about the tower of Babel, the coming of Abraham and of God's choice of Israel, about Moses and how the Son would be born as Jesus, die and rise again. He learns how Christians would be persecuted, how some would corrupt Christianity for their own advantage, and finally how Jesus will return and lead the righteous into a new heaven and earth. Led by Michael to the top of a mountain, Adam sees the rise and fall of empires, including 'The Kingdoms of Almansor, Fes and Sus, Morocco and Algiers...' (11:402-3) which has references to Muslim domains, among which that of 'Almansor' is most likely the Cordovan caliphate of which Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, who took the title al-Manṣūr (d. 1002), was *de facto* ruler in the 10th century.

The idea that Satan is a fallen angel is not explicitly found in the Bible, though it is implied by 2 Peter 2:4. That it was pride that caused Satan's rebellion is explicit in the Qur'an (see Q 2: 34), and Muslim literary critics have speculated that Milton's Satan was based on the Iblīs of the Qur'an. Although Milton's account differs from the Qur'an's, where Iblīs is a jinn and not an angel, there are enough 'points of contact' to make Milton 'attractive to Arab-Islamic readers and writers' (MacLean, 'Milton, Islam', p. 297). Some see Milton's Satan as 'an energetic and rebellious hero' rather than the epic's villain, a revolutionary against 'restrictive authority' (Dahiyat, *Orient wave*, referring to al-'Aqqād's *Iblīs*). Some suggest that Milton's Satan was really Milton himself, saying through him what he dared not speak in public (Khulūṣī, *Dirāsāt*, cited in Dahiyat, *Orient wave*, p. 112). Some Muslims have read Islamic influence into Milton's defence of religious toleration, pointing out that information on Christians and Jews enjoying freedom to practise their religions under Ottoman rule was becoming available in Europe at the time. While there are polemical references to the Turks in Milton's writings, he also speaks of 'a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man' existing 'all over the world' ('Tenure of kings and magistrates', in H. Morley

(ed.), *English prose writings*, London, 1889, p. 366). Thus, 'a variety of Muslim thinkers... recognize in Milton's literary works an attitude toward religious toleration remarkably in line with their own traditions' (MacLean, 'Milton, Islam', p. 284).

Paradise Lost is not *about* religious freedom, though it does reveal Milton's dislike of imposed ritual and theological conformity; see the reference to 'outward rites and specious forms' contrasted with those who 'in worship persevere in Spirit and Truth' (12:530-3). Tyrants who deprive people of liberty are denounced (12:100). The 1662 Act of Uniformity had made the *Book of Common Prayer* the sole legal form of worship, which for Milton was anathema. In the epic, the Spirit of God's consort is Liberty (12:526). It is, though, Satan who refuses to submit to what he calls the Son's 'yoke' (5:782) or to conform to a set ritual (12:543). At 6:156-9 Milton uses the term 'synod' for the dark council. This is probably a reference to a Presbyterian synod tasked with 'achieving religious and ideological uniformity', which Milton opposed (Loewenstein, *Treacherous faith*, p. 334). It is the 'lewd Hireling', observes Loewenstein, not the 'religious dissenter' in the epic 'who is the rapacious, cunning, malicious enemy' (*Treacherous faith*, p. 311). He explores the epic against the background of the religious and political conflicts through which Milton lived, in which 'malleable labels or epithets' were 'employed as anathematizing verbal weapons', which he disliked intensely (*Treacherous faith*, p. 307). Adam and Eve's worship at 5:144-52 is 'unmediated' and 'prompt' rather than scripted.

SIGNIFICANCE

Considered one of the most important literary works in any language, it is significant that a 17th-century poem has attracted Muslim interest even though any actual Islamic reference in it is tenuous at best. Dahiya lists 15 Arabic 'writings about Milton' (*Orient wave*, pp. 137-8) and seven Arab works that translate Milton, some in part. The 1914 Urdu translation, by Milton scholar and poet Isā Charan Sadā in *masnavi* form, attracted admirers in India (see Anand, *Magnificent quest*). Reddy comments that Milton 'knew much about India' and 'his view of the paradisaical harmonized with both its concepts and its typography' (K.V. Reddy, *M.V. Rama Sarma, his mind and art*, New Delhi, 1995, p. 14). The 1932 poem of the philosopher, poet and Muslim thinker, Muhammad Iqbal, *Jāvid-nāma*, was originally motivated by Milton, with whom Iqbal has been compared 'because of the quality of his work, the religious themes of his work, and his role in politics of the time' (Y.N. Mohiuddin, *Pakistan. A global studies*

handbook, Santa Barbara CA, 2007, p. 299). Some similarity has been suggested between Iqbal's and Milton's Satan (see Dar, 'Idea of Satan'). *Paradise Lost* on man, Satan and God has been compared to the thought of the Persian poet Rūmī (Mojarabian and Nasre, 'Man, Satan and God').

The first complete Arabic translation, by M. 'Anānī, was published in 2002 but portions of the text had appeared in 1930, 1937 and 1982 (see Issa, 'Fragmentation, censorship' on Arabic translation and Milton). 'Anānī, who worked on his translation for 20 years, chose to use Qur'anic terms for Milton's biblical references (Dahiyat, *Orient wave*, p. 130). Nabil Matar calls the work a masterful translation and 'the first Islamic epic in modern Arabic literature', commenting how Anānī used 'subtle alternative renderings' to elide 'doctrinal differences', and explains himself in 'extended endnotes' ('Paradise Lost', p. 6). Enough has been written on the relationship between Milton and Islam for the American University, Beirut, to host a major conference (May 2014), 'Reading Milton through Islam', which included the presentation of papers by such distinguished Milton scholars as Gordon Campbell and David Currell. With François-Xavier Gleyzon, Curroll edited the proceedings of the conference in *English Studies* 96 (2015), calling their editorial 'Milton and Islam. Bridging cultures' (pp. 1-5). One participant, I. Issa has a book in preparation on Milton and Islam.

On the one hand, as MacLean points out, the interest of Muslims in Milton represents an effort 'to make Milton their own'. On the other, he continues, however 'misguided or misinformed some of these efforts might seem', it is worth exploring why they want to claim 'common ground' with a celebrated Christian poet. In a climate in which many reject the existence of any common ground between Christianity and Islam, 'certainly . . . in understanding the nature of evil', it becomes more 'important to take' their 'enthusiasm seriously, regardless of its aims or purposes' ('Milton, Islam', p. 293). In conclusion, MacLean comments that, whether or not Milton was directly influenced by Islamic beliefs, he ended up coming close 'to reproducing key elements of the Qur'anic version of how evil entered the human world' (p. 298). He suggests that we should not dismiss too quickly the rather startling claim, by Lūwīs 'Awaḍ, formerly professor of English literature at Cairo University, that 'Milton was, in many respects, "a pious Muslim"' (p. 298). Dahiyat, whose book on Milton and Islam, first published in 1987, was revised in 2012, suggests that what appeals to Muslims is Milton's real or perceived 'revolutionary spirit', which 'championed . . . freedom and fought indefatigably all forms

of religious and political attempts to enslave' people (p. 133). In the face of oppressive regimes, they adopt Milton as their own champion of 'basic human rights and values' (p. 136). It is Milton's albeit posthumous and perhaps unintended ability to speak to Muslims about the evil of tyranny that represents a somewhat unusual contribution to Christian-Muslim relations. On a different note, Milton's drama *Samson Agonistes* has been characterised as serving to justify acts of religious violence such as 9/11 (see Campbell, "To the shore of Tripoli"; and Mohamed, 'Confronting religious violence').

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MS New York, Morgan Library – MA 307 (33 page scribal copy of Book One; the only surviving MS)

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Paradise Lost, a poem written in ten books, London, 1667 (first quarto edition); STC M2138 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Paradise Lost. A poem in twelve books, London, 1674 (first octavo edition); STC M2144 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Paradise Lost. A poem in twelve books, London, 1678 (considered the 3rd edition); STC M2145 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Paradise Lost. A poem in twelve books, The fourth edition, adorn'd with Sculpture, London, 1688 (first folio edition, first illustrated edition with 12 engravings and the 2nd or 3rd book published in England by subscription)

Paradise Lost, London, 1695 (the first annotated edition by PH, probably Patrick Hume)

R. Bentley (ed.), *Milton's Paradise Lost. A new edition*, London, 1732 (Bentley's corrections of supposed errors in the text attracted ridicule)

J. Addison, *Notes upon the twelve books of Paradise Lost. Collected from the Spectator. Written by Mr. Addison*, London, 1719

J. Rice (ed.), *Paradise Lost... With notes of various authors, by John Rice. J. & R. Tonson, etc.*, London, 1766

T. Newton (ed.), *Paradise Lost. A poem in twelve books*, London, 1754
Milton's Paradise Lost illustrated with Texts of Scripture, by John Gillies... Second edition, with additions. (The Life of Mr. John Milton [by Elijah Fenton].), London, 1793

The Paradise Lost of Milton. With illustrations, designed and engraved by John Martin, London, 1827 (known as the Imperial Quarto Edition, includes highly acclaimed mezzotints)

Milton's Paradise Lost, London, 1866 (first edition with Doré's widely reproduced illustrations)

Paradise Lost... Illustrations by William Blake. [With a preface by Sydney Hyle], Liverpool, 1906 (Blake's illustrations were probably produced for a putative 1808 edition)

A. Fowler (ed.), *Paradise Lost*, New York, 1998 (originally from J. Carey and A. Fowler, *The poems of John Milton*, London, 1968; regarded as one of the most authoritative annotated editions)

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Muḥammad 'Anānī, *Al-firdaws al-mafqūd*, Cairo, 2010 (new edition) (Arabic trans.)

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For part-translations into Arabic, see Issa, 'Fragmentation, censorship', p. 230

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Clinton Bennett

Edward Pococke

DATE OF BIRTH 8 November 1604
PLACE OF BIRTH Oxford
DATE OF DEATH 10 September 1691
PLACE OF DEATH Oxford

BIOGRAPHY

Edward Pococke, Laudian Professor of Arabic and Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford University, was the foremost Arabist in 17th-century England. Having matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, he was admitted as a scholar at Corpus Christi College in 1620, where he studied Greek and Hebrew, and in 1626 he started learning Arabic. After he was ordained in the Church of England, he went to Aleppo and from 1630 to 1636 served as a chaplain to the Levant Company, during which time he intensified his study of Arabic and improved his Syriac, Hebrew and Ethiopic. In 1636, Archbishop William Laud, who was also Chancellor of the University of Oxford, endowed a Chair of Arabic and offered it to Pococke. On his return to England that year, carrying coins and oriental manuscripts, which he had purchased and copied at Laud's behest, Pococke received his BD and became the first professor of Arabic at the University. A paragraph of his inaugural lecture was published at the end of his edition of *Lamiato' l' ajam, carmen Tograï* in 1661.

In 1637, Pococke travelled to Istanbul, where he spent three years as chaplain at the English embassy. He learned Judaeo-Arabic and befriended the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucaris. By 1641, he was back in England but the execution of Laud in 1645 heralded a 15-year period of professional and economic difficulty for him and his family. (Pococke married Mary Burdet in 1646.) Protected by friends with influence, such as John Greaves and John Selden, he was able to keep his university Chair and in 1650 published his first work on Arab-Islamic scholarship: *Specimen historiae Arabum*, a selection from the history of the Christian author, Abū l-Faraj (1226-86). Four years later, he published a translation of the history of another Christian historian, Ibn al-Baṭrīq (877-940), and in 1655, *Porta Mosis*, which consisted of translations from Maimonides (1135-1204) along with an appendix about eschatology in the

Qur'an and other Muslim writings. From 1654 to 1657, he contributed to the London Polyglot Bible under Brian Walton.

At the Restoration in 1660, Pococke composed a poem in Arabic to welcome King Charles II and, shortly after, an elegy on the death of Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester. In that year, he became Doctor of Divinity and published an Arabic translation-adaptation of Hugo Grotius's *De veritate religionis Christianae*. A year later, he published his translation of the 12th-century poem, *Lamiato'l ajam*, in which the 59 lines of verse were followed by 236 quarto pages of notes about Arabic poetry and prosody. In 1663, he published the full translation of Abū l-Faraj's history and, although interest in Arabic was declining in England, he cooperated with his son in publishing a Latin translation of Ibn Ṭufayl's allegory *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* (1671). Three years later, his abridgement of the *Book of common prayer* appeared in Arabic translation.

Pococke remained in Oxford for the rest of his life, translating Arabic correspondence from Moroccan rulers for the Secretary of State, but he published nothing more on the history or civilisation of Islam.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Specimen historiae Arabum; Luma' min akhbār al-'Arab, 'A study of the history of the Arabs'

DATE 1650

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac)

DESCRIPTION

By 1650, Pococke had regained the Chair of Arabic at Oxford, as he stoutly declared on the title page of *Specimen*, his first work in Islamic scholarship and the first publication in Oxford using Arabic script (which

may explain the long list of errata). Its full title is [*Luma' min akhbār al-'Arab*], *Specimen historiae Arabum, sive, Gregorii Abul Farajii Malatien-sis de origine & moribus Arabum succincta narratio in linguam Latinam conversa, notisque è probatissimis apud ipsos authoribus, fusius illustrata/operâ & studio Edvardi Pocockii* ('A study of the history of the Arabs, or, The brief account of Gregory Abū l-Faraj of Malatya, translated into the Latin language, on the origin and customs of the Arabs, from authors known and attested among themselves, rather extensively illustrated, the work and care of Edward Pococke'). Over a decade earlier, Pococke had translated proverbs from the 12th-century author Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maydānī, but did not publish them.

Specimen consists of 15 quarto Arabic pages with facing Latin translation from the universal history of Gregorius Abū l-Faraj/Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar tāriḫ al-duwal* ('Brief history of the nations'). The translation is followed by over 350 pages of annotations, after which Pococke adds short biographies of the Arabic authors he has consulted, concluding the book, in typical Arabic manner, with *tamma bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-'awnihi* ('completed with the praise of God and his help'). Pococke had been working on his notes for years, possibly using them in his Wednesday morning Arabic lectures, and he had prepared them for publication in 1648, as the frontispiece to the *Notae* shows. It is possible that he hastened to publish the work in 1650 as a demonstration to his detractors of his superlative philological and historical scholarship.

Abū l-Faraj, as his name appears in *Specimen*, was a Jacobite Christian historian, 'holy saint and pure spirit, scholar of scholars, and king of the learned', as Pococke quotes in his preface to the reader. He originally wrote his account in Syriac and then translated most of it into Arabic (the modern Arabic edition [1958] includes many of the omitted Syriac sections, while the 1932 English translation was made directly from the Syriac). By translating a selection from the Arabic version, Pococke introduced into European historiography a *doctorum rex* ('king of scholars') with a favourable view of the beginnings of Islam and the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Abū l-Faraj was the second Christian writer on Islam to be translated into Latin, having been preceded by al-Makīn, his contemporary, whom the Dutch Arabist, Thomas Erpenius, had translated a quarter of a century earlier (1626). By the end of the 17th century, these two authors, along with Ibn Baṭrīq, the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, were the only Arab historians of Islam available to Europeans in Latin translation and print.

In *Specimen*, Pococke translates a few pages from the history of the Arabs before Islam, the early life and message of Muḥammad, and some of the theological controversies that developed in the 8th and 9th centuries. But his breakthrough is his *Notae*, which feature a new methodology for the study of Islam that relies exclusively on Arabic sources. The Islam that emerges from the pages of *Specimen* is a religion with a stream of great authors such as ‘Al Gazali’, known as ‘Hojjatol Eslam’, ‘Al Tabarita’, the paragon of historians, Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and their encyclopaedic work, Abū l-Fidā’ and his treatise on world geography, the cartographer ‘Sharif al Edrisi’ and his *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, Ibn al-Kāthīr, the author most cited by Pococke, and ‘Ahmed Ebn Yusef’ and his work, finished in ‘Maharram an. H. 1008’ (1600 CE). The production of such a book was a feat that no other English orientalist had attempted, combining scholarly objectivity with knowledge of a vast number of past and contemporaneous original documents.

A year after the publication of *Specimen*, in 1651, Pococke’s continental contemporary and one-time visitor to England, Johann Heinrich Hottinger, published *Historia orientalis* (‘A history of the East’). Relying on Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac manuscripts, Hottinger wrote the first narrative history of Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam that was based on oriental sources, starting with the origins of the Prophet (in 204 pages), and continuing into his teachings, the conditions of Christians and Jews at the time, and later developments. However, scholarly as it was, *Historia* treated Muḥammad in the context of the anti-Christ and ‘Pseudopropheta’, a word that in Book 2 is repeated in the margins of every page. In 1660, *Historia* was published in a new edition, which may well have motivated Pococke to translate and publish the complete history of Abū l-Faraj in 1663: *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum* (‘A brief history of dynasties’).

This second book starts with the creation and moves to the Israelites, Chaldeans, Greeks (*Ifranj*) and then the ‘Muslim kings of the Arabs’. Abū l-Faraj’s 9th Dynasty covers the early history of Islam: from the beginnings (which had been published in *Specimen*) to the Umayyads, Abbasids and the Frankish invasion (the Crusades), and his 10th Dynasty covers the kings of the Mongols, of whose devastations he was a contemporary. It gives an account of intellectual, religious, military and dynastic changes that situated Islamic civilisation at the apex of human history, and not, as in European historiography, as a dangerous aberration. Importantly, Abū l-Faraj described the Qur’an as a work of *ijāz* (inimitability), a point

on which Pococke elaborates in his notes; he also retains the words Abū l-Faraj had used, that Muḥammad *aẓhara l-da‘wa* ('made victorious the call [of Islam]') (p. 102). While he himself could not concur with such views, he shows his readers what a Christian Arab author who had lived in the midst of the Muslim polity believed about Islam.

In 1672, Pococke re-published the *Historia compendiosa* with a new title, *Historia orientalis*. He had used these words in his 1648 frontispiece to *Specimen*, but where Hottinger had focused all the history of the Orient around the figure of the 'pseudo-prophet' and eastern anti-Christ (the pope was the western one), Pococke emphasised that Abū l-Faraj's work was far more a history of the Orient than Hottinger's because it had moved beyond the religious foundations of Islam to present the civilisation that had given shape to the medieval East. This leaves the question of whether the new edition with the new title was in fact intended as a corrective to Hottinger's work.

SIGNIFICANCE

According to P.M. Holt, *Specimen historiae Arabum* marked 'the emergence of the scholarly study of Islam' ('An Oxford Arabist', p. 16). It was the first presentation of Islam in England that was based not on European sources and legends, but on major texts in Arabic history, jurisprudence, geography and exegesis. In his focus on Arabic texts, Pococke showed for the first time that Arabic was a vibrant language with important literary and intellectual contributions to make (A2r). His work on Abū l-Faraj gained him esteem 'all over Europe', as Leonard Twells, his 1740 biographer, wrote ('Life', p. 62); it had great influence on the continent and in England, and was republished in Oxford in 1806.

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Edward Pococke, *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, Malatiensi medico, historiam complectens universalem, a mundo condito, usque ad tempora authoris, res orientalium accuratissime describens/ Arabica edita Latine versa ab Edvardo Pocockio/ A Brief history of the dynasties, by Gregory Abul-Pharaj, doctor of Malatya, comprising a universal history, from the beginning of the world up to the time of the author, (most) accurately describing the affairs of the people of the East, published in Arabic and translated into Latin by Edward Pococke, Oxford, 1663; Wing G2024 (digitalised version available through EEBO)*

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Twells, 'Life of Dr. Edward Pococke'

*Contextio gemmarum, sive, Eutychie patriarchae
Alexandrini annales illustriss Iohanne
Seldeno . . . chorago; interprete Edwardo Pocockio,
'A string of gems, or, the chronicles of Eutychius,
Patriarch of Alexandria'*

DATE 1654, 1656

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Between 1654 and 1656, Pococke published the complete translation of Ibn Baṭṭīq's (Eutychius's) history. Just over 20 years earlier, his friend John Selden had published a translation of a few pages from that history, adding extensive commentaries and notes from Greek, Arabic and Hebrew sources. *Eutychie Aegyptii, patriarchae orthodoxorum Alexandrini* (1642) was the first Arabic text printed in England, and Selden used it to discuss episcopacy, thereby bringing an Arabic book into an ongoing national controversy. Selden's interest in Arabic and Islamic material was subsidiary to his study of Christian history: in his *De jure naturali & gentium, juxta disciplinam ebraeorum* ('On the law of nature and nations, according to the doctrine of the Hebrews'), published two years earlier, he had used the Qur'an and other Arabic material to support his discussion of ancient Hebrew history and its role in defining the European polity and the laws of nations.

Pococke did not think that Ibn Baṭṭīq's history was as reliable as that of Abū l-Faraj, but in 1654 he published the part of *Kitāb al-tārīkh* ('The book of history') that started with the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE) and continued until the death of Ibn Baṭṭīq. There is no introduction or apparatus, and it is unclear how readers were to treat the annals. In 1656, with Selden having died in 1654, the whole work was published in two volumes (it was republished in 1658), with a title using the Arabic words *Nazm al-jawhar* ('A string of gems'). Volume 2, on Islamic history, is the same as that of 1654, while the preceding volume 1, which appeared in 1656, covers human history from the creation to Chalcedon. It has a formidable apparatus, with over 50 pages of indexes, and it is the longest work of translation from Arabic ever prepared by Pococke. It is also the longest Arabic text published in 17th-century England.

Volume 2 of Ibn Baṭṭīq's history presents the English and continental reader of Latin with an extended account of the rise of Islam. Like Abū

l-Faraj (and al-Makīn), the author was a Christian living in the Islamic empire who was not unsympathetic to Muslims. He includes the famous reference to the building of the Mosque of ‘Umar near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre because the caliph had respectfully refused to pray inside the church, and he refers critically to the Greeks (*Rūm*) who fought against the Arab armies in the 630s.

SIGNIFICANCE

Pococke transformed the text of Ibn Baṭrīq, which Selden had used in an exclusively Christian-English context, into one that showed Islam in the continuity of world and Christian history, rather than as an aberrant sect initiated by a charlatan (though in the index he does refer to Muḥammad as ‘Pseudopropheta’).

As the various editions attest, *Nazm al-jawhar* proved popular. That English readers were perusing the history of Christian and Islamic dynasties during the last and tumultuous years before the Restoration of Charles II, attests to Pococke’s firm status as the leading Arabist in the kingdom.

PUBLICATIONS

John Selden, *De jure naturali & gentium, juxta disciplinam ebraeorum, liber septem*, London, 1640; STC 22168 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

John Selden, *Eutychiei Aegyptii, patriarchae orthodoxorum Alexandrini... Ecclesiae suae origines*, London, 1642; Wing E3440A (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Edward Pococke, *Contextio gemmarum, sive, Eutychiei patriarchae Alexandrini annales illustriss. Iohanne Seldeno... chorago; interprete Edwardo Pocockio*, Oxford, vol. 2, 1654, vol. 1, 1656; Wing E3438 (v. 1); Wing E3437 (v. 2) (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Edward Pococke, *Nazm al-jawhar = Contextio gemmarum, sive, Eutychiei patriarchae Alexandrini annales. Illustriss: Johanne Seldeno tou makaritou chorago. Interprete Edwardo Pocockio / A string of gems, or, the chronicles of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria. Produced by the late John Selden, Edward Pococke translator, public Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the Academy of Oxford*, Oxford, 1658; Wing E3439 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

- E. Pococke, *Naẓm al-jawhar = Contextio gemmarum, sive, Eutychie patriarchae Alexandrini Annales. Illustriss: Johanne Seldeno, tou makaritou, chorago. Interprete Edwardo Pocockio linguarum Hebraicae & Arabicae in Academia Oxoniensi Professore publico/*, Oxford, 1659; Wing E3439 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Liturgiae ecclesiae Anglicanae – partes praecipuae: viz. preces matutinae & vespertinae, ‘Liturgies of the English Church – principal parts: namely morning and evening prayers’

DATE 1674

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

As a Doctor of (Anglican) Divinity and Dean of Christ Church, Pococke was deeply invested in preparing works in Arabic intended to convert the Eastern Christians and the Muslims of the Ottoman regions. During his stays in Aleppo and Istanbul, he had engaged with men from both religions, Shaykh Faṭḥallāh, who taught him Arabic, and Darwīsh Aḥmad, who purchased manuscripts for him, along with Mishāyl Thalaja, a Christian Arab who served as scribe. As much as Faṭḥallah wrote warmly to Pococke after the latter’s return to England, the Anglican Arabist still viewed him and the ‘barbarous People’ of Aleppo (Twells, ‘Life’, p. 7) as in need of conversion to *al-kanīsa al-ingilīziyya* (the English Church). On his journey back to England in 1640, he stopped in Paris, where he met the Dutch legal scholar, Hugo Grotius, and within a year had finished an Arabic translation of the latter’s *De veritate religionis Christianae*, which was published in Oxford in 1660, thanks to the generous patronage of Robert Boyle, to whom the book was dedicated, a man of great ‘Zeal . . . for the Propagation of Christianity’ (Twells, ‘Life’, p. 57). Earlier, Boyle had also supported the publication of William Seaman’s Turkish translation of the catechism and the New Testament (1666).

Pococke’s translation includes the Latin version of *De veritate* (217 pages) followed by an Arabic translation of the Lord’s Prayer, the Nicene Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and then a short summary in Turkish and the full Arabic version of the treatise. In Paris, Pococke had discussed with Grotius whether hostile expressions against Muḥammad

should be removed, knowing how dangerous the text could be if found in the possession of a Christian reader in Muslim regions. The sixth section in the treatise was about *ibtāl* (refutation) of the religion of Islam and it reiterates some of the often-repeated attacks on Muḥammad. Although he moderates Grotius's words (Twells, 'Life', p. 58), and changes completely the introductory chapter in Book 1 (Toomer, 'Edward Pococke's Arabic translation', p. 93), Pococke retains the text's description of Islam as a punishment for Christians, a religion that had been spread by the sword, and a faith based on a text that was not as accurate as 'our book'. Where Grotius contrasted Jesus with Muḥammad in rather crude language, Pococke skilfully tones it down while retaining the gist: that Muḥammad was a man of war and lustful after women, and, while Jesus had ascended to heaven, Muḥammad remained *maḥbūsan* (imprisoned) in his tomb. And, although in *Specimen* Pococke had challenged the derogatory story about Muḥammad and the splitting of the moon, and perhaps impressed it on his student and admirer Henry Stubbe, who ridiculed it in his own work on *The rise and progress of Mahometanism*, Pococke still keeps it in the translation. He also twists the one factor that many Europeans praised about Islam: its toleration of the People of the Book. Disingenuously, Pococke affirms that one of the proofs of the falseness of Islam is that when Muslims conquered a region they permitted those whom they conquered to keep their religion; they did not try to force them to convert, because they did not view their own religion as true, unlike the Spaniards who had forced Christianity on the inhabitants of al-Andalus. Interestingly, Stubbe, who repeatedly cited Pococke in his work, strongly contested such a view.

Numerous copies of the book were sent to Aleppo, where it was received with 'Applause', according to Robert Huntington, Pococke's pupil and chaplain to the English factory from 1670 onwards. But, added Huntington, he was 'obliged, for his own safety, to cut the last book, wherein Mahometism is confuted, out of some Copies, before he distributed them', and he suggested that, if the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge planned further printings, the last book should not be included (Twells, 'Life', p. 58). Still, a year later, Huntington asked for more copies, which were duly sent, along with Arabic copies of the catechism of the Anglican Church, which Pococke had translated in 1673. *Liturgiae ecclesiae Anglicanae – partes praecipuae: viz. preces matutinae & vespertinae* appeared in 1674, consisting of most of the *Book of common prayer*. This translation must have been a major challenge for Pococke as

he had to convey very English theological views in Arabic. Although he uses some transliterations ('prayers known as *litāniyā*', or '*iqlišiyya* or the church' or '*barliyyament*'), his knowledge of the Qur'an proved helpful in that he could use some of its Arabic to make the text accessible to his Muslim readers who could not have missed the qur'anic origin of '*lā ilāha illā huwa*' or '*rūḥ al-qudus*'.

Strangely, Pococke did not consider what kind of impact his translation might have on its readers or converts. The prayer that was to be offered in the morning and the evening asks God to look down from his throne on all the peoples of the world and to protect 'our dear lord, Sultan Qārlos' (King Charles) and to grant him the grace of his Holy Spirit. In the Ottoman Empire, Christians were expected to pray to God for the protection of the Muslim sultan; it is odd that Pococke did not realise that a prayer in Aleppo or Smyrna for the English 'sultan' could not but be treated as treasonous in the manner that a prayer in anti-Catholic Restoration England for God to protect the pope would be. Having spent years in the Ottoman Empire, he knew the restrictions under which non-Muslims lived, just as he knew how nonconformists and Catholics lived during England's 'great persecution' of the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s. Furthermore, Pococke adds a translation of the Thirty-Nine Articles without any explanation of theological terms (supererogation) or of historical content (Edward VI), or why the convert in Istanbul should view the Catholic Church as false or why the pope should have no authority in the 'Kingdom of England'. In following the 'English church', the convert, Pococke believed, had to adopt English history and to profess allegiance to the English 'sultan'.

SIGNIFICANCE

This translation reveals no compromises intended to make it comprehensible or palatable to its intended readers, either religiously or culturally. It shows that, like other clergy of his time, Pococke approached Arab-Islamic history, language and religion from an evangelising perspective, in so doing repeating views about Islam that he had masterfully challenged in his scholarly translation and annotation of Abū l-Faraj. His desire to convert the Muslim and Eastern Christian casts some shadow on the religious tolerance and reasonableness that have frequently been ascribed to him.

PUBLICATIONS

Liturgiae ecclesiae Anglicanae – partes praecipuae: viz. preces matutinae & vespertinae; ordo adminstrandı coenam Domini; ordo baptismi publici; una cum ejusdem Ecclesiae doctrina, triginta novem articulis comprehensa. Nec non homiliarnm [sic] argumentis: in linguam Arabicam traductae. Operâ Eduardi Pocock S. Th.D. lingg, Hebraic. & Arab. In Academiâ Oxon. Professoris, Oxford, 1674; Wing B3641A (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Liturgiae ecclesiae Anglicanae. partes praecipuae: sc. preces Matutinae et Vespertinae, ordo administrandi coenam domini, et ordo Baptismi publici; in linguam Arabicam traductae, London, 1826

Liturgia anglicana, seu, Liber precum cummunium et administrationis sacramentorum . . . Adjecto Davidis psalterio, Calcutta, 1837

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Twells, 'Life of Dr. Edward Pococke'

Nabil Matar

William Okeley

DATE OF BIRTH Before 1620
PLACE OF BIRTH England
DATE OF DEATH After 1675
PLACE OF DEATH England

BIOGRAPHY

The only known source of biographical information about William Okeley is his sole published work *Eben-ezer; or, A small monument of great mercy*, printed in London in 1675. The narrative describes Okeley's capture at the hands of Turkish corsairs in the summer of 1639, his enslavement in Algiers, and his escape by boat to Majorca in 1644. Although he does not mention his age, details of his narrative suggest that he was an adult at the time of his capture, placing his likely birthdate before 1620, probably in England, which he suggests is his 'native' land. Other clues from the text appear to indicate that he was alive when it was printed, which puts his death after 1675. He mentions no mother, father, wife or children in the narrative to aid the biographer.

As for Okeley's profession, the prefatory material of his narrative states that 'This author was never in print before / And (let this please or not) will never more.' In his dedicatory letter, he acknowledges getting help writing his narrative from 'a friend' who made it 'speak a little better English.' Okeley himself, as the work makes clear, was not a writer, but a businessman and a seaman.

The Protestantism abounding in Okeley's story expresses itself no more fully than in a line early in his narrative, which states, 'This book is Protestant, and hates a lie.' When he set out from Gravesend in Kent aboard the *Mary* of London on his fateful voyage, Okeley was originally bound for the Island of Providence in the West Indies (now Providencia Island, just off the coast of Nicaragua). Robert Rich, the second Earl of Warwick, a strong Protestant, anti-Laudian, and founder of the Providence Island Colony as a religious haven, had commissioned the ship and crew, Okeley among them. The reasons Okeley expresses for wanting to leave England make his Puritanism unquestionable, as he states, the 'divine [George] Herbert made great impression on me [...] in his "Church Militant".' He then quotes the following lines from the poem:

'Religion stands on tiptoe in our land, / Ready to pass to the American strand / When height of malice and prodigious lusts [...] shall fill our cup.' Okeley, then, was motivated in his emigration from London not only by business interests, but by Puritan, religious zeal.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

W. Okeley, *Eben-ezer; or, A small monument of great mercy*, London, 1675

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Eben-ezer

DATE 1675

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

William Okeley's *Eben-ezer; or, A small monument of great mercy, appearing in the miraculous deliverance of William Okeley* was published in 1675, 31 years after its writer's escape from captivity and return to England in 1644. In his dedicatory letter, Okeley gives a number of reasons for this delay: first, England was in the middle of the Civil War when he arrived home; second, it took him time to digest his own experience; third, he at first did not want to publish the story at all, but was persuaded by 'several ministers' and friends; and lastly, he was not a good writer, and needed to find someone to amend it after he had laid down the basic story. Adding to all these reasons, Daniel Vitkus suggests that the story may have been difficult to publish sooner due to its strong Puritan bent, but growing fears of a 'popish plot' (Titus Oates' scandalous accusations would arise only three years later) provided fertile ground for just such a narrative to be sold in London shops.

As for the authorship of the work, Okeley makes it clear in the text that he had help in his writing, that 'the stuff and matter [of the narrative] is [his] own, the trimming and form another's, for whom I must vouch that he has done the truth, myself, and the reader, justice'. Exactly who this editor was remains unknown, as does the author of the prefatory poem that begins the book, but Okeley's statement as to the accuracy of the work, despite the changes, suggests that he had a degree of control over the text.

The work itself is printed as an octavo, with 122 pages in total, the introductory material and title page taking up 31 pages and the actual narrative consisting of 85 pages. Facing the title page is an engraving of six events described in the narrative, one showing the fight between Okeley's vessel and a Turkish man-of-war, one showing the sale of slaves in the market in Algiers, and another showing the boat he made for his escape. The other three images depict cruel methods of torture and punishment of slaves and criminals in Algiers. The introductory material also includes a four-page poem, followed by a 24-page dedicatory letter written by Okeley. The narrative itself is divided into 13 sections, each devoted to a different part of his captivity and escape.

Okeley's narrative describes him leaving England in the summer of 1639 in a ship bound for the West Indies filled with linen and wool cloth. Six days after leaving the Isle of Wight, the crew spot three 'Turk's men-of-war' in the distance. By nightfall, they are overtaken, and by day-break, after a skirmish, the ship and crew are defeated and captured. After a six-week journey in the ship's hold, Okeley and his compatriots



Illustration 5. Frontispiece and title page of *Eben-ezer*, graphically illustrating Ottoman brutalities towards their non-Muslim captives

arrive in Algiers, where he is sold on the open market to a local Morisco, to whom he refers as his 'patron'. For a brief period he is pressured into joining a crew of corsairs on a refitted, captured English vessel. He presents himself as very much opposed to the expedition, fearing that he will be forced to aid in enslaving other Christians. Soon, however, to his relief, Okeley's patron sends him out into the market on his own to find work, paying him two dollars, or Spanish pieces of eight, each month. Over a period of three or four years, he develops a relatively successful business in the city, making contact with other English slaves in similar situations.

Eventually, Okeley's patron experiences financial difficulties, and Okeley is given to an old man to whom the Morisco owes money. The old man treats him like a son and sees his potential as a manager of business affairs. He takes him to visit one of his farms out in the country, and Okeley suspects the visit reflects his patron's intention to put him in charge of it in the future.

This triggers a concern in Okeley that his time is running short. He realises that any escape will be more difficult to execute from the farm than from the city. He resolves to put together a plan. Gathering seven of his English contacts, they conspire together to build a boat inside Okeley's business warehouse, hidden from sight. They then transport the boat in pieces to the shore outside the city over several days, stowing each piece in a separate location. Finally, on 30 June 1644 the men all sneak out of the city, assemble the boat, and push off.

The boat immediately begins to take water, and two of the men back out and return to shore. The remaining escapees set off for Majorca, without sails, anchor, helm or proper compass, but only four oars and a small pocket dial. Their meagre provisions of bread are soon soaked with seawater, and their drinking water quickly disappears. Luckily, a few days into the journey, they come across a sea turtle, which they kill and eat raw. On 6 August 1644, they land at Majorca. Weak, battered and starving, they pull themselves ashore and fearfully ask a man standing guard in a tower for food and water. He offers them aid and points them to the way into town. Once there, they are treated kindly by the viceroy, who cares for them at his own expense and sees to their safe travel homeward. After a long journey along the coasts of France and Spain by foot and sea, Okeley finally arrives home in England in September 1644.

The Christian-Muslim elements in Okeley's narrative are mixed in nature. The text rails against particular flaws in Muslim and Algerian

society. For example, its description of Algiers as it was upon Okeley's arrival paints the city as 'the retreat, the nest of those Turkish corsairs which have long tyrannized in and been a terror to the neighbouring seas'. The narrative characterises the city's wealth and pomp as having been 'built at cost and with other men's hands', and adds that the Muslims' fine 'temples' are 'much too good for their religion, whose practice and conversation speaks them to say, "There is no God"' (an acerbic jab at the wording of the *shahāda*). The city's baths, it says, are grossly inadequate compared to Christian churches, 'wherein they [the city's inhabitants] might by faith and repentance wash away their filthiness'. The text also contains anti-Muslim rhetoric, accusing Muḥammad of being a mere cobbler, inspired by the Nestorian monk Sergius to create his religion, and remarks on the sometimes violent cruelty of the Turks to the Moors, 'though both [are] Mahometans'.

The narrative's negative characterisation of Islam, however, is complicated by its portrayal of Roman Catholicism, often drawing comparisons between the two. For example, it criticises the festivities and traditions during the month of Ramadan as being hypocritical 'popish carnivals', with locals making themselves look pious and holy by day, only to indulge in extreme excess and debauchery by night. By contrast, English Protestantism is routinely praised and upheld as a veritable light in the wilderness. For example, it attributes to God the capture of Devereux Spratt, who, though a fellow slave, became pastor to Okeley and many other English captives, comparing Spratt to Joseph in Egypt, who 'endured a thirteen years' slavery that he might preserve the lives of his father's family'. Thus, English Christians in Okeley's narrative are portrayed as God's people, preserved in their sufferings for his own purposes.

This notwithstanding, Okeley's narrative is not entirely antagonistic towards Islam, nor towards papists, but reserves space for positive remarks about the behaviour of both Muslims and Catholics, as well as negative remarks about the behaviour of his fellow English Protestants. The text states, for example, that the thrice-weekly devotionals of Devereaux Spratt 'never had the least disturbance from the Turks or Moors', very much unlike the treatment of minority religious communities in England at the time. It also emphasises the kindness of Okeley's second master and the officials of Majorcan Spain, while criticising at several points the 'cold entertainment' with which he was received by his own countrymen at other stages on his journey home.

SIGNIFICANCE

Okeley's narrative occupies a unique place in early modern history, bridging not only pre- and post-Civil War England, but also the eastern and western shores of the Atlantic. The publication in 1675 of *Eben-ezer* reflected what was by then a near century-long trend in England of publishers taking advantage of the popularity of the captivity narrative. It bears strong resemblance to earlier narratives, such as Thomas Saunders' *True description and brief discourse* (1587), Edward Webbe's *Rare and most wonderful things* (1590), Richard Hasleton's *Strange and wonderfull things* (1595), and John Rawlins' *Famous and wonderfull recovery* (1622), to name but a few. Like them, it argues strongly in favour of loyalty to a native England in the face of terrible trials. At one point, Okeley argues for his right to escape from Algiers and return to England – though the act technically constituted theft in the land in which he then dwelt – by stating, 'Man is too noble a creature to be made subject to a deed of bargain and sale, and my consent was never asked to all their bargains, which is essential to create a right of dominion over a rational creature *where he was not born a subject*' (emphasis added). Thus, according to Okeley, regardless of the land in which he lived, he remained an Englishman.

Unlike earlier writers of narratives of captivity in North Africa, however, Okeley is less bombastic and less prone to veer into high, nationalistic tones. His praise is reserved mostly for his Puritan brand of English Protestantism, and his text is full of both veiled and unveiled criticism of many aspects of English society, particularly as regards religion and religious freedom. Nowhere, perhaps, is this made more evident than in his dedicatory preface and allusion to George Herbert's 'Church Militant'. That, on top of the fact that Okeley was captured while trying to *leave* Great Britain for a Puritan religious colony in the West Indies, is certainly a major factor in making this text unique.

Adding to the significance of this narrative is the degree to which other narratives and historical texts corroborate it. Devereux Spratt, Okeley's pastor and fellow captive while in Algiers, wrote his own narrative of his experience, which, though never published, is extant and provides a rare alternative perspective on captivity at the same time and in the same place. Edmund Cason's *A relation of the whole proceedings concerning the redemption of the captives in Argier and Tunis* (1647) contains a list of captives he redeemed from Algiers just after Okeley's escape, on commission from the English Parliament. Included in the list are John, Bridget

and Sydrack Randall, as well as Robert Lake, all of whom are mentioned in Okeley's narrative as close friends of his in captivity. Cason's expedition was prompted by a petition to Charles I by thousands of Englishwomen who begged their king to redeem their husbands held captive in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. When Charles failed, Parliament stepped in, sending Cason to Algiers with a large sum of money that would allow him to redeem captives, including Okeley's friends. This illustrates the Anglo-Islamic historical context in which Okeley's narrative is situated – a time in which English Parliamentarians and Royalists jostled for power at home in part by fighting for diplomatic and mercantile accomplishment and position abroad.

As far as Okeley's influence on later works is concerned, a number of scholars, including Paul Baepler and Richard Snader, have suggested that Mary Rowlandson's famous American captivity narrative, *The sovereignty and goodness of God*, bears remarkable similarity to Okeley's work. Rowlandson's narrative describes her capture at the hands of Narragansett Indians in 1675, and is often considered a foundational text in American literature and the most famous of the so-called 'Indian captivity narratives'. It is much like Okeley's narrative in its deep, Puritanical roots and message, its faith in the American colonial project, and its strong, evangelistic character. Even its title, with its heavy religious tone, carries a striking parallel to Okeley's publication. Thus, while no direct evidence proves that Rowlandson or her editor may have read Okeley, the similarities are striking, and, at the very least, suggest common forces in the production of both works.

Okeley's narrative has also been suggested as a possible influence on Daniel Defoe and his *Robinson Crusoe*, and as an early precursor to the English novel. Before Crusoe is shipwrecked on his island, he is, after all, a captive in North Africa, and Okeley, like Crusoe, has a natural, 'English' ability to thrive in lands far from his native home. Both figures carry with them an air of nascent colonialism in that regard. As Okeley states at one point, 'where-ever we are well is our Countrey, and all the World is Home to him that thrives all over the World.'

PUBLICATIONS

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William Okeley, *Eben-ezer; or, A small monument of great mercy*, London, 1676; STC O192 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

- William Okeley, *Eben-ezer; or, A small monument of great mercy*, London, 1684 (2nd edition, captivity narrative of James Deane appended); STC O193 (digitalised version available through EEBO)
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David C. Moberly

Henry Stubbe

DATE OF BIRTH 28 February 1632
PLACE OF BIRTH Partney, Lincolnshire
DATE OF DEATH 12 July 1676
PLACE OF DEATH Near Bath

BIOGRAPHY

Henry Stubbe (also Stubbs and Stubb), described by Wood, a contemporary and friend, as 'the most noted Person of his age' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1068), was the son of an Anglican clergyman. He was born on 28 February 1632 in Partney, Lincolnshire. His father's Separatist sympathies resulted in his ejection from his living, after which the family moved to Ireland. When the 1641 Irish uprising broke out, Henry's mother took him and another of her children to safety in London, where she supported herself by working as a seamstress. She earned enough to enrol Henry at the prestigious Westminster School. Excelling as a student, especially in languages, he helped finance his schooling by writing other students' essays for payment (Cooper, 'Stubbe, Henry', p. 116). Later, he attracted the patronage of the Puritan politician Sir Henry Vane and through him gained a scholarship to attend Christ Church, Oxford, graduating BA in 1653. He was a classmate of Humphrey Prideaux, who wrote *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet, &c.*, 1697. Although Stubbe did not master Arabic, he looked to Oxford's first Laudian Professor of Arabic, Edward Pococke, as his mentor, and they stayed in contact for the rest of his life.

Stubbe's prodigious memory and scholastic ability (he submitted many of his papers in Greek) and air of conceit annoyed some fellow students, who resorted to beating him up (Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1068). As an undergraduate, he published two works in Greek – a translation of poetry and a summary of biblical stories. After his graduation, he served for two years in Scotland with the Parliamentary army. Returning to Oxford in 1656, he accepted the post of sub-librarian of the Bodleian, a post he held for three years (Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1069). Becoming through correspondence a friend of Thomas Hobbes, he began to translate Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) from Latin. He produced a number of political pamphlets attacking

Presbyterians and the universities as stifling creativity, and defended Quakers, republicanism and the separation of religion and state. All this annoyed Edward Reynolds, Christ Church's new, then pro-Presbyterian dean, who evicted him from the college house where he lived and 'found means to remove him from the Library' (Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1069). Around this time, he corresponded with John Locke, whom he may have influenced toward widening his concept of toleration (see Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, p. 46).

All sources indicate that Stubbe studied medicine (physick) for some time. Although there is no evidence that he gained any formal qualification, he was later often described as 'Dr Stubbe', perhaps because King Charles II 'honoured him with that title' (Wood and Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1070), appointing him physician to Jamaica, where he spent two years, 1662-4. Ill health forced him to return to England, where, failing to secure a government post as a port physician, he entered private practice in Warwickshire, summering in Bath. Wood describes his practice as successful, due to his 'diligence and care' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 3, p. 1070). For some time around about 1666, he enjoyed the patronage of Robert Boyle, who saw him as an ally in promoting the new experimental learning of the Royal Society against the moribund universities (S. Mortimer and J. Robertson, *The intellectual consequences of religious heterodoxy 1600-1750*, Leiden, 2012, p. 128). Some texts refer to him as a fellow of the College of Physicians (for example, P.R. Anstey, 'John Locke and Helmontian medicine', in C.T. Wolfe and O. Gal (eds), *The body as object and instrument of knowledge. Embodied empiricism in early modern science*, Dordrecht, 2010, 93-120, p. 95) when he participated in debate between the College and the Society of Apothecaries, both of which licensed medical practitioners. However, his name does not appear in its membership records.

A penchant for polemic plagued Stubbe's career; in 1671 a warrant was issued for his arrest on a charge of sedition after he wrote in defence of divorce by proxy. He quickly secured his release by publishing a text that pleased the government, predicting victory in the current Anglo-Dutch war. Although non-Trinitarian, Stubbe had reversed his earlier opposition to an established church and, now supporting monarchy, he had taken the oath of allegiance and joined the Church of England before he left for Jamaica. This was probably a pragmatic move rather than one of conviction. His critics saw him as a maverick, first attacking then defending the universities against their Royal Society opponents. By

the early 1670s, he was arguing that the universities provided essential knowledge of the past and of other civilisations, including ‘the learning of the Saracens’ (Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, p. 6, citing Stubbe, *Campanella revived*, London, 1670, p. 62). He was accused of being paid by various sponsors (Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, p. 78). About a year later, increasingly interested in Islamic civilisation, Stubbe started to write his paradigm-changing work, *The rise and progress of Mahometanism*, which he had probably finished by 1673.

Stubbe died on 12 July 1676, when he drowned in the Avon near Bath after falling from his horse on his way to visit a patient.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Locke c 27, fol. 12 (1559; John Locke to Stubbe)

MS London, BL – 32533, fols 5-15 (letters to Hobbes)

MS London, BL – 35835, fols 269-76 (letters from Bath)

MS London, The National Archives, – State Papers 29/275/fols 276-84 ‘An enquiry into the Supremacy of the King of England, occasioned by a proviso in the late Act of Parliament against conventicles’

A. Wood and P. Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses*, London, 1813, vol. 3, pp. 1068-83

N. Matar (ed.), *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, New York, 2014, pp. 159-261 (‘Bibliography’: lists 31 publications between 1651 and 1679)

Secondary

N. Matar, ‘The life of Henry Stubbe’, in Matar (ed.), *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, 3-11

N. Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the Prophet Muhammad. Challenging misrepresentation*, Richmond, Surrey, 2013

M. Feingold, art. ‘Stubbe, Henry (1632-1676)’, *ODNB*

J.R. Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, radical Protestantism and the early Enlightenment*, Cambridge, 2002

M.K. Shairani, ‘Memoire of Dr. Henry Stubbe’, in Henry Stubbe, *An account of the rise and progress of Mahometanism with the life of Mahomet and a vindication of him and his religion from the calumnies of the Christians*, ed. M.K. Shairani, London, 1911, xvii-xx

T. Cooper, art. ‘Stubbe, Henry’, *DNB*, 1898, vol. 55, pp. 116-17

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*An account of the rise and progress of
Mahometanism; The originall & progress of
Mahometanism*

DATE 1671-6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Henry Stubbe's book on the rise and progress of Islam was not printed until 1911 (its full title is *An account of the rise and progress of Mahometanism, and a vindication of Mahomet and his religion from the calumnies of the Christians*), when H.M.K. Shairani edited a version based on one of three complete extant manuscripts (MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Eng. Misc. c. 309), which Charles Hornby (d. 1739) had copied from an earlier source in 1705. The Bodleian record describes it as an 'annotated copy'. Hornby revised and updated the text, although he did not alter the 'general tenor' of Stubbe's treatment of 'Muḥammad or Islam' (Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, p. 57; the references that follow are to this edition unless otherwise stated). Hornby had anti-clerical and freethinking sympathies (he wrote a 'flurry' of political tracts between 1712 and 1713), which might explain his interest in Stubbe's text (Champion, 'Mahometan story', p. 450). 'As a rule', he omitted Stubbe's careful references (*An account*, ed. Shairani, p. xii), though some were added by another hand 'in bolder ink' (Matar, p. 57). Shairani's version does not cite sources, though it is extensively annotated. He also re-orders the chapters and omits material 'of which he did not approve' (p. 59).

In addition to the three complete MSS, no two of which are identical (p. 62), a number of fragments have survived. These are known as 'the Sloane fragments' and are lodged in the British Library. The fact that Stubbe's book was copied by various hands suggests that, even though it was not widely known in the late 17th century, it did have some readers. Additional MSS existed, though these have not survived. Charles Blount included portions of them, without attribution, in letters to Thomas Hobbes and to the Earl of Rochester, which were published in 1693 and 1695. This made some content accessible to a wider audience, although Blount reproduced content from sections not related to Islam.

Matar's 2014 edition of Stubbe's book is a 'modernized version' of MS London, University of London 537, which he takes to be earlier than

Hornby's copy and closer to the presumably lost original, which Stubbe wrote between 1671 and 1676. MS 537, which Matar dates to about 1701, has 142 folios (Hornby's name on the inner leaf suggests that he owned it). Analysis of style and spelling identifies two different scribes, the second of whom added page numbers and chapter divisions (nine) 'as if preparing the manuscript for publication', and also 'indicated the sections that Charles Blount had copied' (p. 52; see Champion, 'A Mahometan story', p. 448, n. 13). With 142 pages divided into nine sections, MS 537 is shorter than the Hornby version, which has ten chapters and 258 folios. For convenience, the description below refers to Matar's pagination (there is an error in his chapter numbering, which omits Chapter 2).

Stubbe's interest in Islam may have started when he began to defend the universities against their critics, who saw the Royal Society as the place where real learning was located. Revising his earlier support for Thomas Hobbes's anti-university views, he argued that it was vital to study other civilisations and languages, which would help to defend England (p. 6). In his sources, which included works by Christians living in places where Muslims were a majority, Stubbe discovered that these Christians were not forcibly converted to Islam and could live in peace and often prosper among Muslims (p. 24). In fact, these Christians 'deeply respected Muḥammad' (p. 189) and, if they could do this, so might 17th-century Christians (p. 32).

Without knowing Arabic, Stubbe had to consult texts in Arabic. One source, by Gabriel Sionita (d. 1648), a Maronite priest, contained 'treaties between the early Muslim and Byzantine Christians' showing that Muslims and Christians could peacefully co-exist (p. 20). Thomas Erpinus's translation of *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* by al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd (d. after 1280) presented information from early Arabic sources on Muḥammad, and also stressed that Muḥammad had treated Christian delegations favourably. The translation by Edward Pococke, Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, of the Jacobite bishop Gregory Barhebraeus's *Mukhtaṣar tāriḫ al-duwal*, which also followed Muslim sources and gave 'a respectful view of Muḥammad' (p. 27), was especially important for Stubbe's developing ideas about Islam. It presented a dismal account of intra-Christian squabbles, and convinced Stubbe that any Christianity that Muḥammad encountered was 'corrupt' (p. 28). Another text translated by Pococke that Stubbe used was *Kitāb al-ta'riḫ* by the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria, Sa'īd ibn Baṭṭīq (d. 940). This also chronicled

the history of rivalry between various Christian groups, and described how Muslims protected Christian 'holy places, institutions and traditions' (p. 26). Stubbe also read a number of accounts of travel in Muslim lands, including *A voyage into the Levant* (1636) by Sir Henry Blount, who admired much of what he saw, diverging from the popular demonising of the Turk. Stubbe read what others did, but was motivated enough to be able to identify where anti-Muslim bias had led to misrepresentation and outright invention, which he dismissed as unjustified calumny.

Chapter 1 covers the divisions between early Judaism and Christianity, and religion in Arabia before Muḥammad's birth – Stubbe gives the date 580, though he mentions 570 as an alternative (p. 121); the Hornby version reverses this, giving 570 as Muḥammad's birth year and 580 as an alternative (*An account*, ed. Shairani, p. 73); accurately dating Muḥammad was rare at this time in European discourse. The chapter begins with a physical description of Muḥammad. 'Behold', Stubbe writes, 'behold the . . . man' whom half the world esteems and who 'filled the rest with astonishment' (p. 71). He then sets out to discover how Muḥammad achieved greatness, thus beginning with a positive premise that did not presume imposture, insincerity or immoral motives.

Chapter 3 (Matar's numbering omits Chapter 2) sketches 'a brief account of Arabia and the Saracens'. Stubbe traces traditions linking the Arabs with Hebrew religion, and describes the Ka'ba as home to many idols, the tradition of sacred months set aside for pilgrimage, and belief in Ishmaelite descent.

Chapter 4 covers the period from Muḥammad's birth to the *hijra*. Alluding to miracles associated with his birth, Stubbe says that it would be 'tedious to recite them' (p. 121). He erroneously calls Abū Bakr his uncle (p. 122), and refers to his early fighting experience; he describes Muḥammad's marriage to Khadija after visits to Syria had exposed him to 'the weakness, the secret animosities, factions of the Christians' (p. 123), and explains that Muḥammad's job as camel driver was no insult because wealth in Arabia consisted of camels (p. 124). Muḥammad lived modestly, wearing woollen garments associated with asceticism (p. 127).

Stubbe refers to the Christian tradition that Muḥammad suffered from epilepsy, which contributed to his sexual appetite, though he rejects this, saying that epilepsy and sexual indulgence do not mix. As evidence against the link he cites a saying that Muḥammad could satisfy 40 women in one night. There is no support for epilepsy, although Muḥammad may have fallen into 'ecstasies' similar to those of 'old prophets and Paul'

(p. 127; see also p. 191). It was a 'common tenet with the Arabians that some men might' experience 'raptures' and 'converse with angels' (p. 128). Thus Muḥammad began to 'divulge' his 'divine poems' (p. 127). Stubbe makes no reference to Muḥammad being assisted by heretical monks, or to Satanic influence. He says that he cannot find any 'tutor or companion of his called Sergius' (p. 190), and distances himself from those who attribute authorship of the Qur'an to Muḥammad and assistants, 'believing it "derived from God" and full of "heavenly wisdom"' (p. 34).

Stubbe's estimate of Muḥammad evolved. In the earlier Sloan fragments, he repeats some more pejorative Christian ideas such as that Muḥammad 'concocted' the Qur'an, frequently using the term 'pseudo prophet', but this is later dropped (p. 35). Stubbe now writes that everything Muḥammad did confirmed to his hearers that he was a prophet, summarising his monotheistic, anti-Trinitarian, iconoclastic message, and acknowledging that the Ka'ba was Abraham's shrine to one God (p. 128).

Chapter 5 follows Muḥammad to Medina, where he 'erected a prophetic monarchy' (p. 131). Jews and Christians welcomed his 'rise' because, being persecuted by the Quraysh, they saw in his message elements that were common to theirs. He promised them security without molestation (p. 132), honouring their prophets by saying 'peace be upon them' (pp. 130, 198); Muḥammad's respectful treatment of Christians is a recurring motif. The migration to Medina was neither a flight nor a 'desertion of Mecca' but a pilgrimage to where 'Ishmael had first settled' (p. 135).

Chapter 6 systematically summarises events for each year after the *hijra*. Muḥammad was 40 when his mission began, and preached for 13 years in Mecca before the ten years in Medina (p. 174). Incidentally, Stubbe points out that the correct form is 'Muhammad or Mohommed, which signifies much desired', giving possibly the first accurate transliteration of the name in English. Listing such spellings of as Machomet, Magmed and Maomethes, he ridicules this deliberate inability to use the correct name as folly.

Chapter 7 describes Muḥammad's last pilgrimage, death and burial. Stubbe repudiates as scandalous Christian legends about Muḥammad's tomb being suspended by lodestones: 'it is placed on the floor' (p. 174). He returns to this myth later, also debunking the legend that Muḥammad predicted he would rise after three days and that his followers kept his body until it grew 'noisome' (p. 194).

Chapter 8 (unnumbered) discusses the justness of Muslim warfare. Stubbe rejects the age-long Christian charge that Islam was spread by the sword as 'vulgar opinion'. There is no evidence for this; they propagated 'their empire, but not their religion, by force of arms' (p. 179). Again and again he argues that Muslims promised Christians security and religious freedom, emphasising that the Qur'an admits that Christians and Jews 'might be saved' (p. 180). He argues that whether it is moral or not to justify imperial expansion through war, at least Muslims do not contravene their creed when they do so, unlike Christians who condemn slavery but frequently practise it (pp. 182-3).

Then, in Chapter 9 (also unnumbered) Stubbe repudiates the many calumnies that Christians invent to belittle Islam. These include the ways in which Muḥammad allegedly pretended to receive divine messages via a trained pigeon (which probably could not be bred 'to such work') or a bull (pp. 191-2). He also discusses the question of Muḥammad's illiteracy. Arabs generally acknowledge that he was *nabian ommian*, illiterate (*al-nabī al-ummī*, Q 7:157, 158), though Stubbe did not think it impossible that Muḥammad could write, since 'Uthmān, 'Alī and others could (p. 194). Nor do Muslims worship Venus; the stone that some identify as Venus is 'no other than the Black Stone', which is kissed, not worshipped at all (p. 195).

The next chapter discusses several Islamic doctrines, elaborating on Islam's understanding of God as unitary. Polygamy has been misrepresented by Christians as a concession to sensuality and lust, yet Islamic sources do not support this, nor does Stubbe see why Muḥammad 'should be blamed for representing the joys of paradise by sexual delights' (p. 203). Are not men bound by duty to increase and multiply (p. 204)? Muḥammad was prudent to condemn usury, gaming, lotteries and consuming wine, because all can result in indolence, and neglect of charity. It is more honourable to make money through trade or industry than it is to charge interest, while drunkenness leads to neglect of family and work.

Next, Stubbe turns to calumny against the Qur'an. He explains that it was not written all at once but in parcels 'upon several occasions' (p. 207). Its 'language' and 'style' are 'exquisite' and 'inimitable', which Muḥammad often urged as evidence that his apostleship was authentic (p. 207). No one, says Stubbe, can 'controvert the elegancy of the Alcoran' (p. 208). It cannot be properly translated because of its poetic style. 'Our English,' says Stubbe, referring to the 1649 English translation of the

Qur'an from the French of André du Ryer, 'doth follow the French, and the French is very corrupt, altering and omitting many passages' (p. 209). Much of what Christians allege about the Qur'an 'may be argued with the same strength against our Bible' (p. 209).

Finally, Stubbe discusses miracles. Christians have often alleged inconsistency between the Qur'an's denial that Muḥammad performed miracles and the fact that Muḥammad performed none and thus could not have been a true prophet. Stubbe agrees that Muḥammad rejected the 'authority' of miracles, which can easily be 'derived from magic' or attributed to some astrological phenomenon. However, true miracles are God's work, not those of men. He says that Muḥammad did not 'insist on them' but recounts eight miracles recorded in his sources.

Matar notes that the final paragraph of the work is crossed out in MS 537 and is lacking in other MSS. Here, Stubbe affirms human incapacity to fully comprehend 'how one and the same God can be Father, Son and Holy Ghost in one sole essence'. He continues rather equivocally: God would not require belief in what cannot be understood, although we do not fully understand 'the future state' either, that is, 'the joys of heaven' and the 'pains of hell'.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not known why Stubbe failed to publish a text on which he had expended so much energy. Possibly, he could not find, or thought he would be unlikely to find, a publisher willing to fly in the face of popular hostility toward Islam. That Blount could cite the book, and that various MSS copies were made between Stubbe's death and at least 1718, shows that manuscripts were in circulation. The book may have influenced John Locke to broaden his opinion on religious toleration when he argued that Muslims and Jews should be allowed 'the same status that Stubbe had so admired about Muhammad's toleration of Christians and Jews' (p. 46). Champion refers to John Finch, Ambassador at Istanbul, citing lengthy passages from Stubbe in a letter to Lord Conway in February 1676, very soon after Stubbe would have finished writing ('Legislators', p. 349). A negative reaction to the book, defending a much more negative view of Muḥammad, was Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet* (London, 1697). A classmate of Stubbe at Oxford and a fellow student of Pococke, Prideaux recruited Muḥammad to attack Deists, as some other Protestants did to attack Catholics and some Catholics did to attack Protestants.

In fact, although it was unorthodox, Stubbe's theology was closer to Arianism. He was not a Deist, although Matar points out that he sometimes sounds like Lord Herbert of Cherbury when he describes Islam in terms resembling the type of rational religion that Unitarians and Socinians wanted (p. 14).

Champion calls the book 'unique' and 'original'. He situates it as pioneering a developing trend that countered the common association of Muḥammad as imposter with that of his legislative genius ('Legislators', pp. 343-4). Thus, a later writer such as Edward Gibbon could applaud Muḥammad as a gifted leader, preaching a rational message at the same time as he downplayed any religious aspects (see C. Bennett, *The Bloomsbury companion to Islamic studies*, London, 2013, p. 9). In his explanation of Islam's origins in political terms, Stubbe is again linked with Hobbes. Indeed, the two were so closely associated in the public mind as unorthodox thinkers that Robert Beale could rant against "Hobbians and Stubbians, atheists, scoffers and blasphemers" in the same breath' (Champion, 'Legislators', p. 343). According to Champion, John Toland's *Nazarenus, or Jewish Gentile and Mahometan Christian* (1718) was 'heavily indebted to' Stubbe ('Legislators', p. 351). A rationalist and free-thinker, Toland (d. 1722) saw all scriptures as humanly constructed works for specific purposes, and the point of a 'national religion' was to 'induce men to right reason' (Champion, 'Legislators', p. 354).

In terms of how Stubbe presented Muḥammad's life, two aspects are especially significant. First, he structured his account chronologically or historically rather than by imposing a Christian theological framework (p. 31). His dating was probably the most accurate in terms of what today is the generally accepted chronology. Second, and especially relevant for Christian-Muslim relations, Stubbe appears to have wanted to counter the view that Islam threatened Christianity. Shairani describes Stubbe's as 'the earliest known sympathetic composition in English literature' (*An account*, p. v). For this reason, funds to publish his 1911 text were raised by 'Muslims resident in England' on behalf of the Islamic Society, which sponsored publication. Humberto Garcia suggests that one of Sharaini's motives for publishing Stubbe was support for a pan-Islamism that resented British policy, seeing Stubbe as a hero who spoke out boldly, though alone in his views (*Islam and the English Enlightenment*, p. 229). Stubbe challenged 'Victorian stereotypes about backward Muslims by recovering romantic views of the Islamic republic to further the Indian anti-imperial struggle, and even the pan Islamic cause' (Garcia,

Islam and the English Enlightenment, p. 228). Shairani's comment that even in the 20th century some people thought Muslims worshipped an idol called Mahomet (*An account*, p. vi) underscores how innovative this 17th-century text was. As Matar points out, Stubbe saw Islam as *post-Christian* not as *anti-Christian* (p. 16), which represents a challenge to traditional views. Just how deeply ingrained negative thinking about Islam was at the time can be seen in how Prideaux, like others, repeated the epilepsy explanation of Muhammad's 'trances' (*True nature of imposture*, 1808 edition, p. 14).

Matar suggests that Stubbe's non-clerical status may have allowed him more licence to re-think ideas on Islam (p. 46). Given that Prideaux's and Stubbe's academic training was more or less identical, except for the former's theological credentials and the latter's medical training, their radically different views on Muḥammad, largely based on the same sources, can be attributed to *a priori* bias and intent. Stubbe's non-Trinitarian views may have taken him closer to a Muslim view of Jesus than Prideaux's Trinitarianism allowed. Stubbe may not explicitly have affirmed that Muḥammad was an authentic prophet, but he came very close to doing so, which few Christians have countenanced.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Sloane 1709 and Sloane 1786 (late 17th century; fragments)

MS London, University of London, Senate House Library – 537 (probably 1701)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Eng, Misc. c. 309 (1705)

MS London, BL – Harleian 1876 (early 18th century)

MS London, BL – Harleian 6189 (1781)

An account of the rise and progress of Mahometanism. With the life of Mahomet and a vindication of him and his religion from the calumnies of the Christians, ed. M.K. Shairani, London, 1911 (repr. Lahore, 1954, 1975, Whitefish MT, 2010)

Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*, New York, 2014

The following are partial editions which do not include the sections on Islam:

C. Blount, *The oracles of reason*, London, 1693, pp. 97-105 (reproduces MS 537 fols 38-41, on the Trinitarians and Chalcedon from Blount's letter to Thomas Hobbes), pp. 157-66 (reproduces fols 3-8 on Second Temple Judaism from Blount's letter to Lord Rochester)

- C. Blount, *Miscellaneous works*, London, 1695, pp. 158-68 (also reproduces fols 3-8)
- T. Treglown, *The letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 206-13 (reproduces Blount's letter to Rochester)
- N. Malcolm, *Thomas Hobbes, The correspondence*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1994, pp. 759-63 (reproduces Blount's letter to Hobbes)

STUDIES

- Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the beginnings of Islam*
- Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the Prophet Muhammad*
- H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840*, Baltimore MD, 2011 ('Epilogue', pp. 223-32 on Shairani's 1911 edition)
- J.A.I. Champion, "I remember a Mahometan story of Ahmed Ben Edris". Freethinking usages of Islam from Stubbe to Toland', *Al-Qantara* 31 (2010) 443-80
- J.A.I. Champion, 'Legislators, impostors, and political origins. English theories of imposture from Stubbe to Toland', in S. Berti, F. Charles-Daubert and R.H. Popkin (eds), *Heterodoxy, Spinoza and free thought in early-eighteenth-century Europe*, Dordrecht, 1996, 333-56
- M. Birchwood, 'Vindicating the Prophet. Universal monarchy and Henry Stubbe's biography of Muhammad', *Prose Studies* 29 (2007) 59-72
- J.R. Jacob, 'The authorship of "An account of the rise and progress of Mahometanism"', *Notes and Queries* (February 1979) 10-11
- Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, radical Protestantism*
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- C.E. Bosworth, 'The prophet vindicated. A Restoration treatise on Islam and Muhammad', *Religion* 6 (1976) 1-12

Clinton Bennett

Stephen Smith

DATE OF BIRTH 19 September 1623
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 22 September 1678
PLACE OF DEATH Pirbright, England

BIOGRAPHY

A convert to Quakerism in 1665, Stephen Smith was a prominent figure within the movement for just over a decade, regularly imprisoned and fined for his adherence to the new Christian sect and for writing a number of works in defence of its core doctrines against its detractors. He was a close associate of the leading Quaker, George Fox. Sometime prior to Smith's conversion, he was employed by the Levant Company in Alexandretta (present-day İskenderun /Scanderoon), at that time the port of Aleppo.

The nine tracts published by Smith during his life were reissued soon after his death in a collection entitled *The true light discovered to all who desire to walk in the day*. Many of these works argue for the primacy of the indwelling and universal light of Christ present in all people, a central feature of early Quaker religious thought and a doctrine that allowed for a more positive estimation of non-Christians, including Muslims, than was often the case in the 17th-century Anglophone world. Similarly, Smith's Quaker understanding of God's judgement of all people as being on the basis of the righteousness of their actions, albeit actions that reflected obedience to this inward presence of Christ, despite being avowedly Christian, did not differentiate between Christians and others, and allowed room for a positive appraisal of Muslims, which can be seen in *Wholsome advice*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Stephen Smith, *A testimony for the truth and against deceit and deceivers: with a reproof unto those who are not faithful to the truth which they are convinced of*, London, 1668

Stephen Smith, *The true light discovered to all who desire to walk in the day*, London, 1679

J. Whiting, *Persecution expos'd, in some memoirs relating to the sufferings of John Whiting, and many others of the people called Quakers, For Conscience*, London, 1715, pp. 12-13 (brief summary of Smith's life)

Secondary

C.L. Leachman, art. 'Smith, Stephen', *ODNB*

C.F. Smith, art. 'Smith, Stephen', *DNB*, vol. 53, p. 118

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Wholsome advice

DATE 1676

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The first edition of *Wholsome advice* was written and published in 1676 (pp. 1, 15), although a typographical error in the version included in Smith's collected works, *The true light discovered* (1679), mistakenly implies that it was issued two years earlier (p. 180). Its full title is *Wholsome Advice... Some Brief Instances Are Inserted Concerning the Turks Behaviours unto the Christians and Jews That Live among Them, and One unto Another, and the Fear & Awe of God That Is upon Many of Them. By One That Did Live Several Years among Them.*

The majority of the 15 pages of this tract are concerned with contrasting the behaviour of Christians to that of Muslims to the detriment of the former. It is an extended indictment of those 'apostate' Christians who were persecuting Smith and his fellow Quakers and, in the words of Smith, to 'provoke them to the Royal Law of love' (p. 1; see James 2:8, Leviticus 19:18). Muslims are praised for allowing liberty of conscience and freedom of worship to Christians and Jews (p. 5), for their propriety (p. 6), fear of God (p. 7), morality (p. 7), charity (p. 11), and visible love for one another (p. 11).

Smith makes his case by referring to his experience of Muslims and their religion in the Ottoman Empire, experience that he gained as an employee of the English Levant Company in the middle of the 17th century; indeed, he emphasises at the outset of his work and in its conclusion that he writes 'as one that did live several years amongst them' (pp. 1, 15). For example, he notes that Muslims do not seek converts to Islam by force or bribery for fear of creating converts in name only (p. 6), and that they regularly explain their moral probity with reference

to a proverb: 'The Lord is just, and therefore we must do justly' (p. 6). Perhaps most strikingly he includes an extended anecdote to illustrate the scrupulous honesty of Muslims, recounting how a farmer who came across money that had been lost by a Christian merchant ensured its safe return (p. 7). Indeed, he also records the farmer's religious justification for his behaviour: fear of the immediate providential judgement of God upon those who take what is not theirs (p. 8).

In the final few pages of *Wholsome advice*, Smith refers to Muslims in a different way to achieve his aim of criticising other Christians and their persecution of Quakers, arguing that, unless Christians exhibit the virtues that Muslims exhibit, and which he identifies as Christian virtues, they will be unable to persuade them to confess Christ (pp. 12, 14).

Smith's work has no direct precedents amongst early Quaker writings, although the high estimation of the morality and religion of Muslims is also found in the extant works of other early Quakers such as Mary Fisher, John Perrot, George Keith and George Fox. Indeed, given that Smith was closely associated with George Fox, his influence might explain the unusual estimation of Islam evident in Fox's later writings, most notably his *To the Great Turk and his king at Argiers* [sic] (London, 1680).

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Muslims are used for polemical purposes by Smith, to attack non-Quaker Christians responsible for the persecution of his sect, and are not of interest for their own sake, the work is unusual, though not exceptional amongst Anglophone writings of the period, in displaying first-hand knowledge of the everyday life and beliefs of Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, and in its positive appraisal of their morality and religion.

Even though the conclusion of the tract appears conversionist in its intent (p. 14), and Smith can ascribe the morality of the scrupulous Muslim farmer to the 'faithful and true Witness... so prevalent in him' (p. 7), a reference to the indwelling Christ (Revelation 3:14), Smith's position is distinctive: he clearly believes that Quakers or 'True Christianity' (p. 15) have more in common with Islam as experienced in the Ottoman Empire than with the 'apostate' Christianity of 17th-century England. It is important to note that, in saying this, he makes a clear distinction between the 'plain people', the everyday Muslims, whose morality he holds to be exemplary, and the Barbary corsairs and some amongst the 'high-minded' (p. 7), whose morality is not. (It should be noted that,

throughout the tract, following English conventions of the day, most Muslims are referred to by Smith as ‘Turks’.)

Although freedom of worship for different Christian denominations in the early modern Ottoman Empire was well known in England before the advent of Quakerism (see, for example, Anon., *Liberty of conscience confuted*, London, 1648), Smith’s work is a good example of its appeal to those Christian groups who suffered persecution because of their dissent from the established church.

Smith’s work had little influence amongst subsequent Quakers or other Christians, although his positive presentation of Muslims and Islam did find an audience amongst Friends in the 19th century, with excerpts from *Wholsome advice* reprinted approvingly in the American Quaker journal *The Friend or Advocate of Truth* in 1828.

The sectarian form of Christianity that shaped Smith’s interpretation of Muslims and Islam in the early modern period is not found today outside of a handful of traditional Quakers, largely resident in the United States. In that sense, the likely contemporary value of Smith’s work for Christian-Muslim relations is limited. Nonetheless, *Wholsome advice* does serve as an example of how the intersection of personal experience, persecution by fellow Christians, and heterodox convictions can generate interpretations and valuations of Islam by minority Christian groups that run counter to the prevailing cultural expectations of the time.

PUBLICATIONS

Stephen Smith, *Wholsome advice and information in true love to all called Christians; to provoke them to the royal law of love, as it is in Jesus, and to the blessed and effectual works therein. And in order thereunto, some brief. [sic] instances are inserted concerning the Turks behaviours unto the Christians and Jews that live among them, and one unto another, and the fear & awe of God that is upon many of them. By one that did live several years among them, S.S.*, London, 1676; Wing S4217 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

Stephen Smith, *The true light discovered to all who desire to walk in the day in several little treatises*, London, 1679, pp. 159-80; Wing S4211 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

Leachman, art. ‘Smith, Stephen’

Robert Barclay

DATE OF BIRTH 23 December 1648
PLACE OF BIRTH Gordonstown, Moray, Scotland
DATE OF DEATH 3 October 1690
PLACE OF DEATH Ury, Scotland

BIOGRAPHY

Robert Barclay was a key figure in the early Quaker movement, second in lasting influence only to its founder, George Fox. He is particularly notable in the history of Christian-Muslim relations because his systematic exposition of the Quaker faith, the *Apology for true Christian divinity* (Latin 1676, English 1678) made a number of claims about Muslims that were unprecedented in Christian theological writing; perhaps most famously, that 'Turks' should be considered part of the universal Church without converting to Christianity (1678 edition, p. 182). Barclay also made use of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, a 12th-century Muslim text, to support his argument for the presence of the universal saving light of Christ within all people, irrespective of their propositional knowledge of the Christian revelation (1678 edition, p. 126).

Born in Gordonstown, Moray (Scotland), on 23 December 1648, Barclay initially became a Quaker when aged around 18, following the conversion of his father a year or so earlier. Prior to this he had been a Calvinist, although for a few years, whilst a student at the Scots Theological College in Paris, he adopted Catholicism, the faith of his uncle and namesake, who was the principal.

Along with William Penn and Anne Conway, Barclay was amongst the most socially powerful of the early Quakers: he was a minor Scottish aristocrat, inheriting the barony of Urie, Kincardineshire, on the death of his father, and was also related, on his mother's side, to Charles II of England. Barclay's ability to exert substantial influence is evident in his appointment as governor of East Jersey from 1682 until his death, a position obtained largely as a result of his close contact with the future James II of England/James VII of Scotland (although Barclay exercised his authority in absentia, never travelling to the colony).

Barclay was one of the most intellectually accomplished members of the early Quaker movement, comparable to such figures as George

Keith, Samuel Fisher or Anne Conway, but far more influential than any of these.

He was active in his efforts to promote and defend Quakerism for all of his adult life, preaching and contributing to disputations held both in Scotland and further afield, and making two extensive journeys to the Netherlands and Germany in 1676 and 1677 (the latter in the company of leading Quakers such as George Fox and William Penn). Like many of his co-religionists in this period, he suffered for his convictions and was imprisoned on two occasions. His death, at the early age of 41, appears to have come about, in part, as a result of his unstinting exertions on behalf of his Quaker faith.

However, it is Barclay's writings rather than his activities during his life that have had the greatest impact on subsequent generations. These were published soon after his death in a collected edition entitled *Truth triumphant* (1692), but it is his *Apology* that has had an enduring influence. This text, alongside the Bible and George Fox's *Journal*, has been the most significant book amongst all branches of Quakerism for most of their history, though its impact has also been much wider, provoking favourable comments from the likes of George Eliot and Voltaire. It was used by John Wesley, despite his criticism of its key tenets, and may have had a direct influence on his championing of prevenient grace and perfectionism, ideas that have been of great influence in Anglophone forms of Protestantism, as well as providing tools for refuting the doctrine of unconditional predestination.

It should be noted that Barclay's distinctive estimation of Muslims in the *Apology* and elsewhere has had little discernible impact outside of Quaker circles, and his judgement on the religion of Islam and its prophet are indistinguishable from that of most of his Christian contemporaries. Muslims are included amongst those 'blinded in their understanding' and burdened by 'superstitions and formality' (1678 edition, p. 182) – though Barclay can say this of Christians too – and he calls Muḥammad an 'impostor' (1678 edition, p. 93), an accusation that was a perennial feature of Christian anti-Muslim polemic from the inception of Islam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Robert Barclay, *Theologiae verè Christianae apologia*, Amsterdam, 1676

Robert Barclay, *An apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called, in scorn, Quakers being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines* [...], Aberdeen [?], 1678

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Theologiae verè Christianae apologia; An apology for the true Christian divinity

DATE Latin edition 1676, English edition 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Theologiae verè Christianae apologia was first published in Latin in Amsterdam in 1676. An English edition, translated by Barclay himself, appeared in 1678, printed initially in Aberdeen and soon afterwards in London under the full title of *An apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called, in scorn, Quakers being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments, deduced from Scriptur [sic] and right reason*,

and the testimonys of famous authors, both ancient and modern, with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them: presented to the King / written and published in Latine for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay; and now put into our own language for the benefit of his countrey-men. At least 12 further editions of the English text appeared over the next couple of centuries, as well as translations into Dutch (1683), German (1684), French (1702), Spanish (1710), Danish (1738), Pennsylvania German (1776), Norwegian (1848) and Arabic (1891). The *Apology* was also included in the collected works of Barclay, *Truth triumphant*, which appeared in 1692, a couple of years after his death.

The *Apology* is a substantial work, running to over 400 pages in its initial English-language edition. It takes the form of an exposition and defence of 15 propositions that embody doctrines key to early Quaker faith, and upon which Quakers were in disagreement with other Christians of their day. Barclay justifies the propositions by recourse to biblical, Patristic and other theological sources, as well as by the frequent use of syllogisms common in theological argument at the time. These propositions include such things as the primacy of immediate revelation (2), the subordination of scripture to the Spirit (3), the universal redemption of humanity (5 and 6), and the rejection of the practice of baptism and communion (12 and 13). Barclay had already published these propositions, without supporting arguments, in an earlier work, *Theses theologicae*, which first appeared in 1675. Although at complete variance with its content in most matters, the *Apology* is consciously modelled on the *Westminster catechism*, the influential statement of Reformed Protestant faith issued by English and Scottish divines in 1647.

At first sight, there appears to be little of relevance for Christian-Muslim relations in the *Apology*. Islam is not directly addressed or named in any of the propositions, and it is not the direct subject of any section or subsection of the work. On the five occasions when Turks (the common term for Muslims in early modern English writing) are mentioned, the remarks are brief and they are almost invariably included with others, mostly non-Christians, such as Jews and 'Heathens', rather than treated separately (e.g. *Apology* (1678), pp. 83, 116, 182, 309; cf. p. 93). Three particular examples of this are of note:

1. Turks are included with others to express the idea that Christ's death potentially allowed all to be saved: 'God, who out of His infinite love, sent his Son the Lord Jesus Christ into the World, who tasted Death for every man, hath given to every man, whether Jew

or Gentile, Turk or Scythian, Indian, or Barbarian, of whatsoever Nation, Countrey, or Place, a certain day or time of visitation, during which day or time, it is possible for them to be saved, and to partake of the Fruit of Christs Death' (*Apology*, p. 83).

2. Some Turks are included amongst the 'Men and Women of integrity and simplicity of Heart' who are led by the 'Holy Light in their Souls' to free themselves from sin and become righteous, and therefore should be considered members of the universal Church (*Apology*, p. 182).
3. Turks, along with Jews and 'Heathens', are said to find the disputes between Christians over the practice and interpretation of communion something that makes 'the Christian Religion odious and hateful' to them (*Apology*, p. 309).

On only one occasion are Turks discussed alone (*Apology*, p. 93). In the context of positing a distinction between human conscience and the indwelling Light of Christ, Barclay employs the example of a male Turk who possesses concubines with a clear conscience because it is sanctioned by his religion (e.g. Q 4:3, 33:50), when the Light of Christ would reveal to him that he was, in fact, committing fornication. However, even in this case, Turks are not of especial interest to Barclay, as he reiterates the point that conscience is contingent and capable of being misled and mistaken, by using the analogous example of a Roman Catholic.

The *Apology* also includes one paragraph in which Barclay makes use of 'Hai Ebn Yokdan' (*Hayy ibn Yaqzān*), a 12th-century Muslim philosophical work, in which the protagonist, without knowledge of revealed religion or contact with other human beings, is able to arrive at true knowledge of God. For Barclay, this text provided support for his belief that the universal, saving Light of Christ indwelt all people (*Apology*, p. 126; cf. John 1:14).

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite the paucity of direct references to Islam and Muslims, the *Apology* is of great significance for its understanding of Christian-Muslim relations, and this was apparent to Barclay's contemporaries, and especially his critics.

Barclay's claim that Christ's death allowed the potential salvation of Turks was exceptional, not so much because such a possibility was not envisaged by other Christians but because of the means by which he believed such salvation was achieved. Unlike those who advocated

universal atonement at the time, such as the Arminians, the *Apology* argues that salvation was not predicated upon faith or even upon knowledge 'of the Death and Sufferings of Christ, and of Adam's Fall', but solely upon obedience to the inward Light that was able to reveal the inward condition of all people and allow all people to share in his resurrection (*Apology*, pp. 83-4).

The *Apology's* inclusion of Turks amongst current members of the universal Church was also striking as it did not presuppose that such membership was dependent upon their renouncing Islam and converting to Christianity. Rather, membership was gained 'by the secret touches of this Holy Light in their Souls' which led to them being 'secretly united to God' (*Apology*, p. 182).

Barclay's use of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* to support one of his propositions is also exceptional; 'nowhere else in English theological writings had a Muslim thinker attained such a Christian status' (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 100). Barclay's knowledge of this text came from the first English translation, made by fellow Quaker, Scot and friend, George Keith, and published anonymously in 1674. However, the significance of the use of this text in the *Apology* should not be exaggerated; it plays only a minor role in Barclay's argument and he is happy to include a range of other non-Christian authors, both classical (e.g. Cicero, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca) and Jewish (Maimonides, Philo) in establishing his theses. Although Barclay was certainly aware that *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* was an Arabic text, he was also probably unaware of the extent to which it was a specifically Islamic work, as Keith's edition followed the Latin translation of Edward Pococke the Younger (*Philosophus autodidactus*, 1671), which largely de-Islamicised the book (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 101). Indeed, Barclay's supportive quotation from *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* is not from the body of the work but from Keith's somewhat tendentious preface (1674 edition, p. iv).

Whilst the *Apology* is unusual in its evaluation of Muslims – albeit from an avowedly Christocentric position – it is hostile to the religion of Islam and its prophet, a position at variance with that of the leading Quaker, George Fox (see, for example, *To the Great Turk and his king at Argiers* [sic], 1680), at least in his later years. For example, Muslims may be considered part of the universal Church because of their 'simplicity of Heart', but they are judged to have achieved this status not because of Islam but despite it. Although they display the outward signs of virtue, indicating that they are 'secretly united to God', Barclay also says that

they are 'blinded in their understanding' and 'burthened with [...] Superstitions and formality' (*Apology*, p. 182).

Similarly, Barclay is clear that not only would a Muslim who attends to the 'Light of Christ' discover that concubinage was actually fornication, but it would also 'inform him that Mahomet is an Impostor' (*Apology*, p. 93), an accusation that was a perennial feature of Christian anti-Muslim polemic, and typical of the period (see, for example, Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet*, 1697). Elsewhere in the *Apology*, Muḥammad is held to be responsible for suppressing religious freedom, with Barclay referring to 'that cursed Policy of Mahomet, Who prohibited all Reason or Discourse about Religion, as occasioning Factions and Divisions' (*Apology*, p. 346); Catholics and Protestants who deny liberty of conscience – a matter especially important to a dissenting group like the Quakers – are denounced in the *Apology* as being 'more disciples of Mahomet, than of Christ' (*Apology*, p. 346).

From its first publication in Latin, the *Apology* had its critics, and despite saying little directly about Muslims, its detractors seem to have been especially shocked by its implications for understanding Islam, as Barclay himself noted (*Apology for the true Christian divinity vindicated*, p. 7). The notion that Muslims did not need to become Christians to attain salvation was especially disturbing (Brown, *Quakerisme*, pp. 102, 129, 234, 308, 361, 365, 466; Keith, *Standard of the Quakers*, pp. 396-8). The *Apology* was taken to imply that Quakerism was a version of Christianity that had abandoned that religion's traditional, exclusive claims: 'a Man may be a Jew, Turk or Papist and Quaker at once, and be no Dissembler' (Keith, *Standard of the Quakers*, p. 404). This last criticism came from George Keith, who later in life left Quakerism and became an Anglican priest (he not unfairly claimed that the *Apology* owed much to his own earlier thinking; *Standard of the Quakers*, p. vi). Some criticisms were of a more political nature: the *Apology's* pacifism (*Apology*, pp. 380-9), for example, was taken as tantamount to handing over Christendom to the Ottoman Empire (Brown, *Quakerisme*, p. 515; Barclay, *Apology for the true Christian divinity vindicated*, p. 181). Some complaints were rather more cultural in character: in defending the Quakers' practice of not removing their hats to their social superiors (*Apology*, pp. 361-4), Barclay was accused of acting like a Turk (Brown, *Quakerisme*, p. 535). The use of *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān* also drew considerable criticism, so much so that most editions printed after 1780 dropped all reference to it, in line with a decision of the main Quaker body responsible for the movement's

publications. However, this decision was not made because of its positive use of a Muslim text (contra Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 101), but because Barclay assumed that *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* was an account of the experience of a real person when the original was, in fact, a work of fiction. For critics of Barclay this mistake, which was understandable given the English translation that he used, at best invalidated his argument and, at worst, was indicative of the author's bad faith in trying to advance his heterodox doctrines. Nonetheless, the decision to excise the paragraph that made reference to *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* only served to make it an even greater subject of controversy (Trueblood, *Robert Barclay*, pp. 158-61; Wilkinson, *Quakerism examined*, p. 82; Amicus, *Quakerism unmasked*, pp. 23-60).

Although dissenters of various kinds were regularly accused of being 'Turks' or 'Mahometans' in religious disputes of the 17th century, in view of the distinctive value given to Muslims in the *Apology* it is unsurprising that the text and its author were attacked in such a way. Barclay was accused of being a renegade, a Turk and 'Mahomet's mufti' (Brown, *Quakerisme*, pp. v, 559), and the book itself was dismissed by one critic as a 'Naylorite Alcoran' (James Naylor was a Quaker leader tried before the English Parliament for blasphemy in 1656).

Given the *Apology's* authoritative status amongst Quakers as the definitive articulation of their faith for over two centuries, and the appreciative readership it found amongst non-Quakers over the centuries, including from figures as diverse as Voltaire and Wesley, the innovative understanding of Christian-Muslim relations that it contains is clearly of considerable historical importance.

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Justin Meggitt

Isaac Barrow

DATE OF BIRTH London
PLACE OF BIRTH October 1630
DATE OF DEATH 4 May 1677
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Isaac Barrow was born in London in October 1630. He was educated at Charterhouse and Felstead, and later at Trinity College, Cambridge. He graduated in 1649, and by the time he took his MA in 1652 he had built up a reputation as an accomplished scholar in mathematics and the natural sciences.

His royalist sympathies made it difficult to continue at Cambridge and he left for Paris in 1655. By February 1656, he was in Italy, and then travelled east to Smyrna, moving on to Constantinople that summer. In Turkey, he studied John Chrysostom and other Greek Fathers, and developed an interest in Islam. He returned to England in 1659.

Barrow was Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge from 1600 to 1663, when he was elected first Lucasian Professor of mathematics. He was briefly Professor of Geometry at Gresham College (1662-4), and was among the founding Fellows of the Royal Society in 1662, though he 'was never an active member' (Feingold, 'Isaac Barrow', p. 53). In 1669, he retired as Lucasian Professor so that Isaac Newton, one of his students, could succeed him. From 1772 until his death, he was Master of Trinity, where he commissioned Christopher Wren to build the new library. He died in London on 4 May 1677.

Barrow distinguished himself as both a mathematician and a theologian. After 1669, he wrote several theological works, mainly published posthumously, including treatises on the Creed, sacraments and the Decalogue. Three of his publications deal with Islam: a sermon, 'Of the impiety and imposture of paganism and Mahometanism' (probably preached in the 1670s; Tillotson and Hill, *Works*, vol. 2, 1686, pp. 179-85), a Latin treatise, *Epitome fidei et religiones Turcicae* (1658), and an unfinished Latin poem, *De religione Turcica* (1658). The two Latin texts were first published in *Opuscula* (Tillotson and Hill, *Works*, vol. 4, 1687), which also contains a list of Turkish officials. While *Epitome fidei et religiones*

Turcicae is factual and descriptive about Islam, the sermon is 'vituperative'. The reason may be that in the context of preaching Barrow felt more obliged to conform to popular animosity toward Islam than he did in his less public academic works.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epitome fidei et religiones Turcicae, 'Summary of the Turkish faith and religion'

DATE 1657

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The Latin treatise *Epitome fidei et religiones Turcicae*, a *Muhameto Kureis-chita Arabum propheta, prius in Arabia Deserta, postea a successoribus per totum penè Orientem diffusae* was written during 1657, when Barrow was at the British Embassy in Constantinople. He wrote it for Trinity College after receiving a reprimand for his failure to write while on travel leave, 'to appease his colleagues' and 'make up for his long silence' (Feingold, *Before Newton*, p. 52).

In *Opuscula*, it is the first of several items derived from his time in Turkey, most of which were omitted from subsequent editions as 'having no claim to appear among Barrow's works' (Napier, *Works*, 1859, vol. 1, p. xxviii). 'The superstition of the Turks' (pp. 186-9), a list of Turkish officials (p. 189-91), *Adagia quardam turcica* ('Turkish proverbs', pp. 192-5) and 'A true relation of the designs managed by the Old Queen... written by... Albert Bobovius' (pp. 196-210) were dropped. If not by Barrow, these may be material he collected while in Constantinople. Two other items, both poems, *Iter maritimum a portu Ligustigo ad Constantinopolim* (pp. 211-26), and the unfinished *De religione Turcica* (pp. 227-47), were retained in the later editions, but the other items were not republished until the 1830 edition.

Epitome has no marginalia or references, so it is not known what sources Barrow used. However, the almost total absence of anything pejorative in the text, and the degree to which it accurately reflects Muslim belief and practice, suggests that he used some type of primary material, and possibly personal observation as well.

The work begins with an account of Muḥammad the Qurayshite (Muhameto Kureischita), the Arab prophet who lived among the Meccans and Medinans. From his 40th year he received revelations from God via the angel Gabriel which, over a 23-year period, became the Qur'an (*Alcoran, id est, Legenda*, 'Qur'an, meaning "what is to be read"', p. 173). The Turks handle it with great respect, only touching it if 'forced by necessity' because the books, the paper, even 'exotic letters' are believed to contain 'the very name of God' (*ipsium nomen Dei in ipsis notatum inveniatur*, p. 174). They hang amulets containing verses from it around their necks, arms and also testicles to ward off danger (p. 174).

The next section summarises the six items of the Muslim creed with impressive accuracy: 1. Belief in God, who is self-subsistent, one not three, abiding nowhere yet existing everywhere, Creator of all things, unchanging, without beginning or end, colour or shape, and omniscient (p. 174); 2. Belief in angels, who are God's obedient servants, who neither sin nor eat, and have no gender, among them Gabriel who communicates to prophets, Esrail (Azrael) who receives dying souls, Israfil who will announce the Judgement Day, and Lucifer or Iblis, who was cast out of heaven for refusing to bow before Adam (Iblis is usually said to be a *jinn* created from fire; Q 7:12); 3. Belief in the four books, which are the Law of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Gospel of Jesus and the Qur'an of Muḥammad (p. 175), the first three having been falsified while

the Qur'an is uncorrupted; 4. Belief in the prophets who have been sent by God, beginning with Adam and ending with Muḥammad, who performed several miracles, including the splitting of the moon (see Q 54:1-2) to confirm that he was a true prophet of God (p. 175); 5. Belief in the Day of Judgement, which starts when 'Deggial' (Dajjāl) the Antichrist will appear and will be killed by Jesus Christ, after which Islam will triumph over the armies of unbelief (p. 175), and the final judgement will separate souls into Paradise and Hell; 6. Belief that all good and evil acts are performed by divine decree and providence (p. 177).

Barrow finally turns to the Five Pillars of Islam, which he describes as accurately as the Articles and with as much detail.

Epitome is noteworthy for its lack of vilification. Muḥammad is simply Muḥammad, or a prophet of God, without any accusation of imposture, satanic inspiration or use of tricks or magic, nor mention of Christian and Jewish collaborators. The description of the Six Articles of Belief, rather than the eight commandments that are found in a number of works from this time (e.g. A. Ross, *Pansebeia*, London, 1696⁶, p. 116), may be unique in 17th-century Christian literature on Islam (the unfinished poem *De religione* also refers to the Articles of Faith; see lines 167, 349). At no point does Barrow impose a Christian critique or categories upon his subject. Apart from one or two comments, such as about worshipping the black stone, he more or less presents Muslim belief and practice from what could be described as a Muslim perspective.

Barrow's use of 'Muhammed' and 'Islam' and his relatively accurate transliteration of other terms such as 'fard' (*fard*) and 'ihram' (*iḥrām*) were rare at this time for a Christian writer, suggesting that he was employing primary material. His translation of the term 'Qur'an' as '*legenda*, what is to be read' is very close to 'recitation', and also unusual; Samuel Purchas, for example, cites sources that state Qur'an meant 'redemption' or 'the law' (*Purchas his pilgrimage*, London, 1614, p. 249).

Given that Barrow was in Constantinople when he wrote *Epitome*, some type of direct Muslim source cannot be ruled out. Lack of an explanatory preface means that his aim in writing the essay can only be conjectured, though deciphering what this was and exactly how he viewed Islam is further complicated when *Epitome* is contrasted with Barrow's other writings on Islam, especially his sermon 'On the impiety and imposture of paganism and Mahometanism', and possibly with his poem *De religione Turcica*. N. Matar describes it as 'interestingly... less hostile' than the sermon (*Henry Stubbe*, New York, 2013, p. 217), while

Toomer contrasts it, as 'a sober and objective account of Muslim religious belief and practice', with *De Religione Turcica*, which is 'far more pejorative' (*Eastern wisdom*, p. 244).

SIGNIFICANCE

Was Barrow totally opposed to Islam or was his position more complex? Did he separate the task of objectively describing what he learnt about Muslim belief and practice from that of preaching to a Christian congregation, when he conformed much more closely to their expectations? The sermon, in fact, represents a more public statement on Islam than *Epitome*, which was unpublished at the time the sermon was preached. A reviewer of Napier's 1859 edition of Barrow's collected works describes *Epitome* as 'perhaps even to this day the best existing short account of the faith and practice of the Turkish Mohammedans' (*Quarterly Review* 127, July-Oct 1868, p. 191; cited in Osmond, *Isaac Barrow*, p. 66).

The conundrum of understanding Barrow's attitude toward Islam may remain unresolved. The very complexity, indeed ambiguity, of his legacy signals the difficulty Islam holds for Christians. On the one hand, they may develop a positive appreciation of Muḥammad or Muslim beliefs and practice, while on the other they are confronted with its rejection of basic Christian doctrines. Struggling with this may result in what appears to be inconsistent or contradictory writing about Islam, and Barrow appears to be guilty of it. He neither perpetuated traditional Christian hostility nor challenged it without qualification.

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Sermon 14. Of the impiety and imposture of paganism and Mahometanism

DATE Uncertain; probably 1670s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

It is not known precisely when Isaac Barrow preached this sermon, though it was probably in Trinity College chapel in the early 1670s as part of his series of sermons on the Creed. Similar content, at times word for word the same, is found in his 'Exposition of the Creed', written in 1669, and this is possibly the reason why this latter work was omitted from the first edition of Barrow's *Works* (I. Simon, *Three Restoration divines*, Paris, 1967, p. 306). The 'Exposition' was published separately in 1697, and was then included in the second edition of the *Works* in 1700 (vol. 1, pp. 443-607, see pp. 468-70).

The sermon 'Of the impiety and imposture of paganism and Mahometanism' was published as Sermon 14 in the *Works of the learned Isaac Barrow*, vol. 2 (1683). In the original pagination, it runs over seven pages, from page 179 to 185 (aa2r to bbr). In the second edition (1700), the pagination is also 179-85. Although the edition by Alexander Napier (1859) is generally regarded as the standard because he checked the original MSS and omitted Tillotson's 'improvements', here the 1683 edition is followed (Sermon 14 appears unchanged in Napier's edition).

This sermon is the first of three interrelated texts; it introduces the next sermon, 'Of the imperfection of the Jewish religion' (pp. 205-18), which leads into Sermon 16, 'Of the excellency of the Christian religion' (pp. 219-33). However, sermons on 'The doctrine of universal redemption asserted and explain'd' (Sermons 39-43, vol. 3, 1692, pp. 379-423) also contain content relevant to understanding what Barrow thought about non-Christian religions. Applying a reverse logic, his argument is that, since Christianity is true and proceeds from God, no other religion can 'with good probability pretend to have thus proceeded from God' or to be a 'a general, a perpetual, a complete instruction, and obligation of mankind' (p. 198). Paganism, Judaism and Islam, Barrow claims here and

in 'Exposition' (p. 468), are the three religions that present themselves as contenders for the status of revealed truth. Judaism (dealt with in Sermon 15) began with divine revelation but was never intended to be universal; it was 'concealed from the rest of mankind both on purpose, and in effect' (p. 206). Paganism represents the most ancient pretence, but 'Mahometanism', although younger than Christianity, demands attention because it 'hath continued a long time, and hath vastly overspread the earth' (p. 201).

Here and in 'Exposition', Barrow argues that, when the means by which Islam began and spread are examined, 'we shall not find stamped on it the genuine character of a divine original and authority' (p. 201). The religion's author had no 'honest and honourable qualities' but possessed 'all the marks of an Impostour, rebellious and perfidious, inhumane and cruel, lewd and lascivious, of a base education, of a fraudulent and turbulent disposition, of a vicious life, pretending to enthusiasms, and working of wonders' (p. 201). Mahomet used trickery ('juggling tricks') to recruit his associates, who were 'thieves and runnagates' (p. 201). Barbarous and void of learning, the Arabs found this religion 'agreeable to their . . . lusts'. It was spread by force, and it allows no examination, 'forbidding any dispute about its truth'. It consists of 'absurd opinions, old stories and uncouth ceremonies' concocted from 'Judaism, Paganism' and 'Christian Heresies' (p. 202). From Christian heresies it borrowed doctrines that oppose Christianity 'as, for instance, when allowing Christ much respect, it yet denies his being the Son of God, and that He really did Suffer, rejecting His true Story, it affixes false ones upon Him' (p. 202). There are some 'good and plausible' aspects, such as 'precepts of justice and charity although . . . confined among themselves', because these were adopted from Christianity. The Manichees contributed belief in predestination to Islam, and the Jews 'circumcision, polygamy, divorce, abstinence from swine-flesh' and 'frequent purgations by washing'. Muslim beliefs about the after-life in a 'paradise of corporeal delight, or rather brutish sensuality', that 'main and Principal part of Religion', are so ridiculous that intelligent people could never think they 'came from the God of wisdom and holiness' (p. 203).

Barrow goes on to say that Mahomet is supposed to have 'once touched' God's hand, and in consequence the religion teaches 'that God hath a body', although in the *Epitome* and in *De religione*, he had described Islam's belief in a formless deity. In 'Exposition', he said that Mahomet found that God's hand was 'very cold' (p. 469).

However, Barrow's critical ideas about Islam's origin expressed here in Sermon 14 need to be placed in the wider context of his theology of religions, found especially in his preaching on universal redemption, which he defended. In his sermons of redemption, Barrow articulates the belief that salvation is God's gift, and God's 'grace and favour' cannot be limited. Thus, even before Christian truth was revealed, God's Spirit guided and moved 'men to good', and away 'from evil' ('The doctrine of universal redemption', p. 400). God saved 'Melchizedek among the Canaanites . . . Jethro in Midian' and 'Job in Arabia'; thus, although we 'cannot be certain about the particular effects thereof', it must be affirmed that 'even Pagans' and others 'who have lived outside the Pale', by 'virtue of grace imparted to them, which they owe to our Lord . . . obtain some part of salvation, or an imperfect kind of salvation' ('Doctrine of universal redemption', p. 401). Before Jesus's coming, people were redeemed without 'explicit knowledge of Christ' and 'faith in him', so God continues to draw people to Himself, having 'vouchsafed general testimonies to his goodness', including 'a light of reason and law of nature written upon men's hearts . . . attended . . . with checks of conscience' ('Doctrine of universal redemption', p. 404). Islam might be a 'brude of most impudent lewd and cozenage' (p. 200) but Barrow's logic does not exempt Muslims from receiving 'by virtue of grace imparted to them . . . some part of salvation, which they owe to our Lord, who may be called in a sort their *Saviour*' ('Doctrine of universal redemption', p. 403). Here Barrow appears to have anticipated the 20th-century notion of inclusivist salvation which is most famously associated with Karl Rahner. 'God's grace,' he writes, 'is not like the sea, which if it overflows on one shore, must therefore retire from another' but is always ready and able to 'help . . . poor Creatures wherever it is needful or opportune' ('Doctrine of universal redemption', pp. 400-1).

SIGNIFICANCE

Comparison of the Latin *Epitome*, which presents Muslim belief objectively, and the hostile, pejorative depiction of Islam in Sermon 14 and the 'Exposition' is indeed perplexing. Of the two, the sermon was the more public, preached to students in the college as well as to other Fellows, while the essay was sent back to the college as part of Barrow's scholarly obligations while he was on his travel bursary. What is clear is that Barrow did not think Muslims were automatically excluded from enjoying God's grace. Exactly how he saw Islam may be more difficult to determine. One account could almost be described as a modern scientific

study of religions or empathetic approach that reproduces insider beliefs without evaluative commentary. Perhaps that was the task that Barrow set himself in his Latin essay, while the intent of the sermon was to offer a Christian or theological interpretation of Islam in the more explicitly Christian setting of a chapel service. Certainly, Christians can understand what Muslims believe about Islam's divine origin while personally regarding Islam as a construct that drew on existing scriptural and other sources. A Christian, too, can affirm Muḥammad's sincerity, even that he was divinely inspired, without also accepting the Muslim account of the Qur'an as revelation.

Sermon 14 and Barrow's treatment of Islam in his 'Exposition' are too hostile to allow the conclusion that he saw anything admirable in its origins. Yet he could also produce an account of Islam in the 17th century that resembles a modern, faith-neutral approach, which arguably makes his work pioneering. So does his anticipation of Karl Rahner's theology of religion, even using similar vocabulary about universal salvation, grace and, without using the actual term, implicit faith. Of significance for Christian-Muslims relations is the very complexity and ambiguity of Barrow's position.

A Christian theologian who is able to articulate exactly what Muslims believe faces the task of unravelling apparent contradictions, such as: is God one or three in one, did Jesus die on the cross, is the Bible corrupt, is Jesus the son of God? Barrow admitted a degree of perplexity when contemplating God's universal salvific will, advising his readers not to waste effort 'debating how that grace is imparted' ('Doctrine of universal redemption', p. 404). Pailin observes that Barrow's 'recognition of the universal scope of God's providence does not lead him as far as Lord Herbert of Cherbury (for whom "natural religion" might be wholly sufficient for "eternal salvation") but it does allow him to accept the good part of other religions' (*Attitudes*, p. 35; see p. 24 on Cherbury). Short of converting to Islam, a Christian who was well-informed on Islam and able, as Barrow was, to describe the Muslim Articles of Belief without negative comment, will still interpret Islam differently when engaged in Christian theological thinking.

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STUDIES

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Clinton Bennett

Edmund Waller

DATE OF BIRTH 3 March 1606
PLACE OF BIRTH Coleshill, Buckinghamshire (formerly
Hertfordshire)
DATE OF DEATH 21 October 1687
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

Edmund Waller, poet and politician, was born into a wealthy English family. On the death of his father in 1616, he found himself heir to vast estates in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Bedfordshire. He married the wealthy heiress, Anne Banks, in 1631 and, after her death in 1634, famously but unsuccessfully courted the daughter of the Earl of Leicester, Lady Dorothy Sidney, after whom 'Sacharissa', the subject of many of his most celebrated poems, is modelled.

Waller was first elected to Parliament at the age of 18, representing Ilchester, Chipping Wycombe and Amersham in the House of Commons until 1629, and was elected again to the Short Parliament in 1640. He played significant roles in both the Short and Long Parliaments and was known for his position as a constitutional moderate. Perhaps the most influential poet among those associated with the reign of Charles I, Waller was admired at court and was adept at ingratiating himself with a variety of figures across the political spectrum throughout the tumultuous Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration years. Although an active member of the opposition in his early years in Parliament, Waller fought for compromise between Parliament and the King. The outbreak of the Civil War prompted him to call for resistance by the citizens of London to urge Parliament to settle. 'Waller's Plot' called for the armed seizure of key points in the city in order to allow in the King's army. John Pym, leader of the Puritan opposition in Parliament, revealed the alleged plot and Waller's role in it to the House of Commons. Utilising both his wealth and his gift of speech, Waller confessed his own guilt and implicated many others in the affair upon his arrest in May 1643 and bribed members of the House prior to his trial in July 1643.

Waller was fined and exiled. Despite the £10,000 fine, he remained wealthy and lived well in France and travelled extensively in Switzerland and Italy with writer and diarist John Evelyn. The House of Commons

revoked his sentence in 1651, so Waller returned to England in January 1652 and was appointed a commissioner of trade by Oliver Cromwell (his second cousin by marriage) in 1655. Waller continued to play an active role in Parliament during the reign of Charles II, and opposed attempts by the Whigs to deny the Duke of York his right to succession. Ever a proponent of national unity and religious toleration, Waller served as arbiter between the opposing factions during the Popish Plot and cited the Ottoman Empire as an example of the dangers of religious persecution.

Considered by some of his peers to be a flatterer in both his politics and his poetry, changing allegiances as best suited him, Waller penned panegyrics for both King Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, as well as poems celebrating the return of Charles II upon his restoration in 1660 and the accession of James II in 1685. Enormously admired as a poet in his time, he championed classical poetic ideals and paved the way for the dominance of the heroic couplet form in 17th-century English poetry.

A number of Waller's poems feature the military strife between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. His congratulatory poem to Sir Thomas Higgons upon his publication of a translation of Giovanni Francesco Busenello's *The Venetian triumph* in 1658 lauds Higgons for having spread the story of the Venetian victory over Ottoman forces in a naval battle in 1656. The poem admonishes Christian nations that fight against each other over paltry differences, asserting that if only Christian nations could turn their animosity towards the Turk they might wrest Europe from pagan hands and celebrate the crusade with Tasso himself. Waller would continue to employ crusading rhetoric and draw heavily on classical allusions in his poem 'On the taking of Salle', first published in 1668, in which he celebrates the sacking of Salé, a major base for piracy, and the release of Christian captives in 1632 by the sultan of Morocco with aid from Charles I.

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Secondary

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- D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic. Poetry, rhetoric and politics, 1627-1660*, Cambridge, 1999
- J. Gilbert, *Edmund Waller*, Boston MA, 1979
- W. Chernaik, *The poetry of limitation. A study of Edmund Waller*, New Haven CT, 1968

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Of the invasion and defeat of the Turks, in the year 1683

DATE After December 1683

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

In most print editions, including the first 1690 edition, *Of the invasion and defeat of the Turks, in the year 1683* is 76 lines long, making 14 stanzas of varying lengths. It was probably written between December 1683 and February 1685, as it references the execution on 25 December 1683 of Kara Mustafa Pasha, Grand Vizier to Mehmed IV and Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman forces that marched against Vienna in September 1683, as well as King Charles II, who died on 6 February 1685.

Waller's focus is on the failed assault and the execution of Kara Mustafa, and it credits Charles II with having successfully united Christian Europe against the Ottomans. This is an almost identical argument to the one made about King James II in his later poem, *A presage of the ruin of the Turkish Empire*, which was presented to James for his birthday. It refers to the Ottoman sultan as a modern-day Nimrod, who has neglected heaven and provoked Europe, the grand vizier as both a tyrant and a slave, and the Ottoman soldiers as 'Barbarous Foes'.

The siege of Vienna by Ottoman forces in September 1683 was an enormously popular topic for poets, self-proclaimed prophets, balladeers and propagandists in England. Although King Charles II did not send troops to participate in the battle nor did any English monarch embark upon any significant operation against the Ottomans in the 17th century, Waller uses the defeat of the Ottomans as a means to praise Charles's leadership. He clearly utilised a number of printed texts that offered details of the attack. He references the 'treasure, tents, and cannon' that were left behind by the fleeing Turks in the wake of the battle, and provides details of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha's execution. He suggests that the vizier, who was executed by strangulation, should serve as a warning to great and proud global powers that fail to be just. The poem explains the invasion as the outcome of a decision made by a sultan who, having spent too much time shut up with eunuchs and women, is neglecting heaven itself.



Illustration 6. Jan Sobieski III defeats the Ottomans at the siege of Vienna in 1683, by Jan Matejko (1838-93), illustrating the subject of Waller's poem

SIGNIFICANCE

The depiction of Turks in this poem is quite in line with contemporary attitudes of the time. Although relatively specific in its details about the invasion itself, it presents no evidence of any particular knowledge of Islam. As a consequence, the grand vizier and sultan stand in metonymically for the faith as a whole, and their failures and weaknesses are intended to represent those of Islam overall, against which the shining examples of the Christian King Charles II and England can be contrasted.

Amidst Waller's praise of Charles for descending like an angel to reconcile the warring Christian states against the Turk (managing to do so without unsheathing his sword, taxing his subjects or disturbing their peace and trade), he appears to be calling for renewed military action by Christian Europe in the wake of the defeat of the Turks at Vienna. Their ruin should be completed, he states, before 'another *Solyman*' becomes sultan, referencing Süleyman I who was sultan of the empire during the apogee of Ottoman military expansion in Europe, and who '*Rhodes and Buda* from the Christians tore'. Unlike a number of news pamphlets and travel narratives around the time of the invasion that speak admiringly of the discipline of Ottoman forces, Waller offers no such approbation. The obvious implication is nevertheless that they must be a powerful army if their total destruction is of paramount importance.

PUBLICATIONS

The maid's tragedy altered with some other pieces. By Edmund Waller, Esq; not before printed in the several editions of his poems, London, 1690, pp. 60-4; Wing W502 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Poems &c. written upon several occasions, and to several persons, 1711 (referred to as 'the eighth edition', to which is added an account of the author's life, pp. 184-5)

M. Fenton (ed.), *The works of Edmund Waller, Esqr. in verse and prose*, London, 1729, pp. 213-16

M. Fenton (ed.), *The works of Edmund Waller, Esqr. in verse and prose*, Dublin, 1768, pp. 126-9

Poems on several occasions; by Edmund Waller, Esq;, Edinburgh, 1773, vol. 8, pp. 135-7

The poetical works of Edmund Waller, Edinburgh, 1777, vol. 1

S. Johnson (ed.), *The works of the English poets*, London, 1779, vol. 8, pp. 65-6

- S. Johnson (ed.), *The works of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1800, vol. 2, pp. 5 (G) – 5 (G) 1
- T. Park (ed.), *The poetical works of Edmund Waller*, London, 1806, vol. 1, pp. 91-3
- C. Whittingham (ed.), *The British poets. The poems of Edmund Waller*, London, 1822, vol. 2, pp. 140-2 (observation on the poem, pp. 45-6)
- R. Bell (ed.), *Poetical works of Edmund Waller*, London, 1871, pp. 211-13
- G. Gilfillan (ed.), *The poetical works of Edmund Waller and Sir John Denham*, Edinburgh, 1857, pp. 105-7
- G.T. Drury (ed.), *The poems of Edmund Waller*, London, 1893, 1901, pp. 228-30

STUDIES

- T.R. Langley, *Image government. Monarchical metamorphoses in English literature and art*, Pittsburgh PA, 2001, p. 59
- N. Oueijan, *The progress of an image. The East in English literature*, New York, 1996, pp. 22-3
- J.L. Metcalfe, “‘The muses’ empire”. Poetic authority in seventeenth-century panegyric’, Ann Arbor MI, 1992 (PhD Diss. University of Michigan) pp. 183-5
- J. Garrison, *Dryden and the tradition of panegyric*, Berkeley CA, 1975, pp. 119-20
- W. Chernaik, *The poetry of limitation*, p. 135

*A presage of the ruin of the Turkish Empire:
presented to his Majesty on his birth-day*

DATE After April 1685

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

In most printed editions, including the first 1686 printing, *A presage of the ruin of the Turkish Empire* is 58 lines long, in 11 stanzas of varying lengths, ending with two lines in Latin. Its focus is on King James II's role in helping defeat the common Muslim enemy. Waller describes the Muslim Turk as the 'Common Foe' of all mankind that is advancing on Europe, against whom only a united Christian front can successfully fight. He argues that Islamic unity under Ottoman rule is more successful in spreading Islam than the warring factions of Christian Europe are

in successfully eliminating it. Although it was printed before his thematically similar 'Of the invasion and defeat of the Turks, in the year 1683', it was probably written two years later, as it was penned after the coronation of James II.

SIGNIFICANCE

A presage of the ruin of the Turkish Empire follows a similar tradition to that of self-described prophets and astrologers who foresaw the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Pamphlet literature in this genre became popular after the attempted conquest of Vienna by Ottoman forces in September 1683, and often the prophets revealed a domestic political agenda by blaming English Whigs for supporting the Ottomans against Catholic Europe, while at the same time offering exaggerated claims that either Charles II or James II aided in the Ottomans' defeat. The timing of the invasion was extremely advantageous for political propagandists in England, who latched onto the event as evidence of the dangers of Whiggish anti-Catholic dissent, especially in the wake of the Popish Plot and in the midst of the Exclusion Crisis.

Although not itself an overtly prophetic work, Waller's poem does call itself 'a presage' of the ruin of the Ottoman Empire and directly credits James II with uniting European Christian nations that would have otherwise turned their swords on each other. Like many pamphlets and broadside ballads of its time, 'A presage' borrows broad Muslim tropes in the service of the larger goal of praising James on the occasion of his birthday. The Ottoman Empire was particularly useful for this purpose: the failed invasion two years earlier had already solidified itself in English propaganda literature as a momentous continuation of the Christian crusades against Islam, and tying the English crown directly to that success – however tenuous the connection may have been – offered an easy allegory for the heroism of the English monarch. Omitting any details about Islam, and instead presenting a vague call to all Christians for action against an enemy bent on their destruction, the poem clearly employs the Turkish Empire (and thus Islam) merely as a metaphorical scapegoat on which the ills of England's contentious political landscape could be laid. Ever the astute politician, Waller, although taking a pro-Royalist stance in the poem, carefully avoids stepping on any toes. Whereas many publications about the fall of the empire would have readily likened the Turks to the anti-Catholic Whigs, Waller clearly intends to do little more than remain in James's good graces by flattering him. In the same vein as many contemporaries, he activates the Turk as a

metaphor with such broad brush strokes that 'Turk' (and thus Muslim) means little more than 'enemy' in this poem.

The poem makes the kind of generalised calls for the destruction of the Turks that were common in late-17th-century England. It claims that the British monarch should be credited with having rescued Greece from Ottoman slavery, and declares that the Ottoman advance into Europe will not be hindered by some fault inherent in Islam, but only when all of Christian Europe 'Join[s] to the Turks destruction'. Waller employs the imagery of the crescent moon (which he calls by the French 'croissant'), and positions it symbolically and alliteratively against the Christian 'cross'. By stating that the cross should be exalted and the crescent lowered, he paints for his reader a picture not only of the faiths as incompatible but of Christianity as the clear superior to Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

Poems, &c. written upon several occasions, and to several persons, London: Printed for H. Herringman, 1686, pp. 262-6 (the fifth edition of this collection, and the first appearance of this poem; the Herringman edition was reprinted with minimal changes in 1693 and 1694); Wing W517; W518 (1693); W520 (1694) (digitalised versions available through *EEBO*)

Poems &c. written upon several occasions, and to several persons, 1711 (referred to as 'the eighth edition', to which is added an account of the author's life)

Fenton, *Works of Edmund Waller*, 1729

Fenton, *Works of Edmund Waller*, 1768

Poems on several occasions; by Edmund Waller, Esq;, Glasgow, 1770

Poetical works of Edmund Waller, 1777, vol. 1

Johnson, *Works of the English poets*, vol. 8

Johnson, *Works of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2

Park, *Poetical works of Edmund Waller*, vol. 1

Whittingham, *The British poets. The poems of Edmund Waller*, vol. 9, 1822

Bell, *Poetical works of Edmund Waller*

Gilfillan, *Poetical works of Edmund Waller and Sir John Denham*, pp. 107-9

Drury, *Poems of Edmund Waller*

STUDIES

Langley, *Image government*, p. 59

Oueijan, *Progress of an image*, pp. 22-3

Metcalfe, "The muses' empire", pp. 183-5

Garrison, *Dryden and the tradition of panegyric*, pp. 119-20

Chernaik, *Poetry of limitation*, p. 38, n. 63

Katie Sisneros

George Ashwell

DATE OF BIRTH 8 November 1612
PLACE OF BIRTH London
DATE OF DEATH 8 February 1694
PLACE OF DEATH Hanwell, Oxfordshire

BIOGRAPHY

George Ashwell attended Wadham College, Oxford, from the age of 16; he received a BA in 1632 and an MA in 1635. After graduating, he was elected a fellow of the College, where he became a respected tutor.

Ashwell's life was thrown into chaos by the rise of the Puritans and the English Civil War, as he remained a committed royalist and a Laudian Anglican throughout his life. He preached before King Charles I (r. 1625-49) and his Parliament when they were forced to convene at Oxford during the war, and was subsequently awarded a BD in 1646, just before Oxford fell to the rebels. Little is known about the next decade of Ashwell's life, but it is clear that it was chaotic and troubled, as Ashwell found it difficult to secure a position under a hostile government. He eventually submitted to the examination of a parliamentary commission and was appointed rector in the village of Hanwell, Oxfordshire, in 1658. After remaining in this position for 35 years, Ashwell died and was buried in his church.

Some sources describe Ashwell as an 'Anglo-Catholic' (Pastor, *Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, p. 222), and while he may have emphasised the catholic nature of the Anglican Church against reformers and separatists, he never ceased to be a loyal member of the Church of England. Some later authors have unfortunately interpreted 'Anglo-Catholic' to mean (Roman) 'Catholic', but this is incorrect.

The sources state unanimously that Ashwell died on 8 February. The oldest and most reputable sources claim that he died in 1693, which is adjusted to 1694 according to the Gregorian calendar; however, a few sources (Pastor, *Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, p. 217) claim that he died one year later.

The majority of Ashwell's writings concern issues of Christian theology, especially in relation to the various theological movements that were shaking English Christianity in the 17th century, such as Socinianism and

Quakerism. He makes little mention of Islam. Though he did not approve of nonconformist theologies, his attitude toward their proponents was primarily one of pity and conciliation, with little of the polemical tone so often found among his contemporaries: he writes that he has ‘an unfeigned pity towards the persons of the seduced’ (Dixon, ‘Ashwell, George’, p. 699). According to A.J. Arberry, Ashwell was ‘well known for his naturalist theology’ (*Oriental essays*, p. 22).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A.A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, London, 1813, vol. 4, pp. 396-7

Secondary

P. Dixon, art. ‘Ashwell, George’, *ODNB*

J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689*, New Haven CT, 1991, pp. 20, 25-6 (mentions Ashwell’s skilful preaching and conciliatory attitude toward nonconformist ministers)

J. Spurr, ‘“Latitudinarianism” and the Restoration church’, *The Historical Journal* 31 (1988) 61-82, p. 77 (discusses Ashwell’s eventual submission to Cromwell’s government)

A.J. Arberry, *Oriental essays. Portraits of seven scholars*, New York, 1960, pp. 21-2

A. Pastor, *The idea of Robinson Crusoe*, Watford, 1930, pp. 217, 222-3

A. Gordon, art. ‘Ashwell, George’, *DNB*, 1885, vol. 1

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The history of Hai eb’n Yockdan, an Indian Prince. Or, the self-taught philosopher

DATE 1686

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

In 1671, Edward Pococke Jr published an Arabic edition of Ibn Ṭufayl’s (d. 1185) *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaqzān fī asrār al-ḥikma l-mashriqiyya* with facing Latin translation, under the title *Philosophus autodidactus. Sive epistola Abi Jaafar ebn Tophail de Hai ebn Yokdhan*. This literalistic translation was assumed by many to be in truth the work of Edward Pococke Sr, probably the greatest Arabic scholar of the 17th century; in any case, the text had a major impact on European scholarship. It was translated into Dutch only a year later, and in 1674 George Keith published *An account*

of the Oriental philosophy. Shewing the wisdom of some renowned men of the East, the first English translation of the work. Keith, at that time a Quaker, saw the story of Ḥayy as evidence for his belief that ‘*what he speaks of a degree of knowledge attainable, that is not by premisses premised, and conclusions deduced, is a certain truth, the which is enjoyed in the conjunction of the mind of man with the supreme Intellect*’ (Keith, ‘An advertisement to the reader’, no page number; italics original), and that divine revelation can occur by means of an inner light, without the mediation of Scripture.

George Ashwell’s translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān* appeared in 1686; like Keith, he translated the work from Pococke’s Latin, as neither had any knowledge of Arabic. Ashwell’s *The history of Hai eb’n Yockdan, an Indian Prince. Or, the self-taught philosopher* was published in only one edition, and its length is 217 pages, of which the actual translation fills the first 191. The final section of the book is Ashwell’s own meditation on God and Nature, entitled ‘Theologia ruris, sive schola & scala Naturæ. Or, the book of Nature, leading us, by certain degrees, to the knowledge and worship of the God of Nature’. There is also an unnumbered preface of 19 pages composed by Ashwell.

The story itself is divided by Ashwell into 118 sections. It narrates the life of Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān, a man who grows up on an island with no human contact and gradually reaches higher and higher truths by reason and mystical experience, eventually achieving mystical communion with God. At 50 years of age, Ḥayy finally meets another human, Asāl (p. 155), who brings him to a populated island; however, their attempt to teach Ḥayy’s vision of truth to wider society fails, and they ultimately return to Ḥayy’s island in frustration.

The story has historically been interpreted in a wide variety of ways (Ekhtiar, ‘*Hayy ibn Yaqzan*’, pp. 220-36). In its original Arabic, *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān* responds directly to the various philosophical and theological positions that were current in Ibn Ṭufayl’s 12th-century Andalusian context, most explicitly in the prologue, which discusses the perspectives of several noteworthy Arab thinkers; Pococke’s edition and translation begins with an ‘Elenchus’ designed to help the reader through the names and other items mentioned. Ashwell, however, minimises this context by omitting the prologue from his translation, thinking it ‘little or nothing pertinent to the main Design of the History’ (‘The preface’, no page number). He similarly excises a philosophical discussion regarding the possibility that a human could spring forth from the ground without sexual intercourse, which Ibn Ṭufayl says is one potential method of Ḥayy’s

generation. In doing so, Ashwell makes the text far more accessible to his 17th-century English audience, as well as simply making it easier to read and comprehend; he states in his Preface that he has ‘not strictly tied my self to the letter of the Latin . . . hereby intending the greater profit, as well as pleasure of the Reader’ (no page number). This more ‘free’ approach to the text allows Ashwell to make the story a timeless one that will connect to and entertain his readers, showing them a romantic vision of humanity’s ability to learn higher truths from the natural world; the ‘Book of Nature’ appended to the translation drives this point home. However, it comes at the cost of minimising the explicitly Islamic context and nature of the work, which is ‘little or nothing pertinent’ to a story about every individual’s ability to discover truth; this process of ‘de-islamisation’ had begun already in Pococke’s translation, which subtly omitted some of the most Islamic-sounding portions of the text (Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 101-2).

On the other hand, Ashwell expresses no actual hostility towards Islam. He explains that Qur’anic citations in the text should not be confusing or off-putting to the reader, ‘when we consider the Author to have been a Mahometan’ (‘The preface’, no page number). He also notes, without comment, that Ḥayy criticises certain Qur’anic passages in the text and is not refuted, implying that Ibn Ṭufayl’s orthodoxy may not have been above suspicion. Most significantly, he calls for ‘the profane Jesters and Scoffers’ of his age to ‘learn to speak more reverently of God, and things Divine, from a meer natural Philosopher, who is the Subject of this History, and a Mahometan who is the Author of it’ (‘The preface’, no page number). This exhortation certainly does not imply that Islam is equal to Christianity, but the argument that Christians could learn profitably from a Muslim author should not go unnoticed.

This last quotation also expresses Ashwell’s intra-Christian polemical intention in publishing the *History*. He criticises his ‘Profane and Fanatical, as well as lewd and luxurious Age’ (‘The preface’, no page number), in which he sees a multitude of religious and ethical errors proliferating, including rationalism, atheism, selfishness and covetousness. Most notably, however, he criticises ‘the Enthusiasts also, who pretend so much to supernatural Revelations, and are dazzled with their fanciful lights, and sublime speculations, through the delusion of the Prince of Darkness, transforming himself into an Angel of Light’ (‘The preface’, no page number). The Enthusiasts, specifically the Quakers, were the source of the first English translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, and Ashwell is well aware that the work could be used in support of their doctrine of the inner

light in lieu of Scriptural revelation. However, he insists that revelation and reason are in perfect harmony and that even Ḥayy reaches a point in the story at which his reason can go no further and he needs revelation from God. Ashwell is concerned to defend the Anglican orthodoxy of the *History*, when properly translated, and to reject the views of the Enthusiasts; for him, the text shows both the vast potential and the real limitations of natural theology. Pococke had taken a similar approach in his introduction, much of which is paraphrased by Ashwell (Elmarsafy, 'Philosophy self-taught', pp. 140-50).

SIGNIFICANCE

George Ashwell uses his *History* as an opportunity to rescue *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* from the erroneous interpretations of George Keith and the Quakers and to make the text more accessible and relevant to a 17th-century popular audience. He agrees with the Quakers' basic emphasis on the ability of the individual to reach divine truth, but he thinks that they go too far in rejecting revelation. For Ashwell, the story displays the harmony of reason and revelation and the potential reach of individual human reason in properly directed reflection upon the natural world.

Ashwell's loose style of translation makes the text very readable and comprehensible; on the other hand, it is not the most accurate translation in all instances. As a result, Simon Ockley published a new English translation, based directly on the Arabic text, in 1708; it was entitled *The improvement of human reason, exhibited in the life of Hai ebn Yokdhan. Written in Arabick above 500 years ago, by Abu Jaafar ebn Tophail*. Ockley criticises the translations of both Ashwell and the Quakers: 'taking it for granted, that both these Translations were not made out of the Original Arabick, but out of the Latin; I did not question but they had mistaken the Sense of the Author in many places' (*Improvement*, 'The preface', no page number). This new translation superseded Ashwell's, which faded into relative obscurity.

Nevertheless, the story of Ḥayy continued to impact upon European thought in both scholarly and popular contexts. Ibn Ṭufayl's text was translated repeatedly, and numerous novels following a similar plot were published by European authors; many suggest that even Daniel Defoe was inspired by *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* in *Robinson Crusoe*, though this is difficult to prove (Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism*, pp. 16-17). It is almost certain that John Locke was influenced by the text in the development of his theory of knowledge (Russell, 'Impact of *The philosophus autodidactus*', pp. 230-53).

Ashwell's translation itself was not entirely forgotten, either. Ashwell was the first to remove the entire prologue from Ibn Ṭufayl's text, but this decision was emulated by several later translators – including the 1731 edition of Ockley's translation – to the detriment of the readers' full understanding of the work and its Islamic context (Conrad, 'Research resources on Ibn Ṭufayl', pp. 277-8). Moreover, Ashwell's 118 section divisions were reproduced in several later translations and in at least one Arabic edition, published in Cairo in 1904 (Conrad, 'Research resources on Ibn Ṭufayl', pp. 272-3, 277). Some writers claim that Ashwell's translation was the source used by Robert Barclay to support the Quaker doctrine of the inner light, but this was clearly Keith, not Ashwell (Russell, 'Impact of *The philosophus autodidactus*', p. 263).

As noted above, Ashwell minimises the Islamic context of the *History*, but never openly attacks Islam. His concerns are with Christian heretics, and if the best proof of the error of their ways is found in a Muslim text, Ashwell hopes that they will be willing to learn from it. This is not to say that Ashwell would approve of Islam, but merely that he is much more concerned about the dissenters within his own context; if anything, he wishes to ignore the Islamic context of the work as far as possible. Still, his exhortation to learn from a 'Mahometan' is commendable, and the fact that he celebrates the wisdom of a Muslim text without denying its Islamic origin altogether places Islam in a positive light, however briefly.

PUBLICATIONS

- G. Ashwell, *The history of Hai eb'n Yockdan, an Indian Prince. Or, the self-taught philosopher*, London, 1686; Wing A151 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

STUDIES

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- M. Baroud, *The shipwrecked sailor in Arabic and Western literature. Ibn Ṭufayl and his influence on European writers*, London, 2012, pp. 17-37 (reproduces passages from Arberry, Hassan, Russell and other works, with minimal alterations and insufficient citations)
- A. Ben-Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy ibn-Yaqzān. A cross-cultural history of autodidacticism*, Baltimore MD, 2011, p. 10
- Z. Elmarsafy, 'Philosophy self-taught. Reason, mysticism and the uses of Islam in the early Enlightenment', in B. Heyberger et al. (eds), *L'Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del seicento Europeo di fronte all'Islam*, Genoa, 2009, 135-55 (fullest discussion of Ashwell's translation and of the other early translations mentioned here)

- S. Attar, *The vital roots of European enlightenment. Ibn Tufayl's influence on modern Western thought*, Lanham MD, 2007, pp. xvii, 20, 37 (merely repeats Arberry's description of Ashwell three times)
- Dixon, art. 'Ashwell, George'
- N. Matar, *Islam in Britain. 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 98-102 (discusses the 'de-islamisation' of the text)
- L.I. Conrad, 'Research resources on Ibn Ṭufayl and Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān', in L.I. Conrad (ed.), *The world of Ibn Ṭufayl. Interdisciplinary perspectives on Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, Leiden, 1996, 267-93, pp. 272-3, 276-9 (full annotated list of all manuscripts, editions and translations of Ibn Ṭufayl's text)
- G.A. Russell, 'The impact of *The philosophus autodidactus*. Pocockes, John Locke, and the Society of Friends', in G.A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England*, Leiden, 1994, 224-65 (more information on Ashwell in endnotes than in text)
- S. Ekhtiar, 'Ḥayy ibn Yaqzan. The eighteenth-century reception of an Oriental self-taught philosopher', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 302 (1992) 217-45
- G.A. Russell, 'The role of Ibn Tufayl, a Moorish physician, in the discovery of childhood in seventeenth century England', in J. Cule and T. Turner (eds), *Child care through the centuries*, Cardiff, 1986, 166-77 (Ashwell mentioned in an endnote, p. 176)
- N.M. Hassan, *Ḥayy bin Yaqzan and Robinson Crusoe. A study of an early Arabic impact on English literature*, Baghdad, 1980, pp. 4-11 (compares the translation styles of Keith, Ashwell and Ockley)
- M. Ṣāliḥ, *Ibn Ṭufayl. Qadāyā wa-mawāqif*, Baghdad, 1980, pp. 145-78
- M. Ṣāliḥ, 'Ibn Ṭufayl. Min al-lāhūt ilā l-riwāya l-Inklīziyya', *Al-Aqlām* 9 (1973) 6-12
- Arberry, *Oriental essays*, pp. 21-3 (focused on Ockley, but also discusses Ashwell)
- Pastor, *Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, pp. 175-239 (detailed descriptions of the personalities of the translators)

Joshua Mugler

George Fox

DATE OF BIRTH July 1624
PLACE OF BIRTH Drayton-in-the-Clay
DATE OF DEATH 13 January 1691
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY

George Fox was born into a family of Puritan weavers in Drayton-in-the-Clay, in the English Midlands, in 1624. Initially apprenticed to a shoemaker, a religious crisis drove him from his home just after his nineteenth birthday (*A journal or historical account*, p. 3). However, his despair at the failings of the various kinds of Christianity of his day was dramatically resolved sometime in 1647 as a result of a direct revelation in which he was told that 'there is one, even Jesus Christ, that can speak to thy Condition' (*A journal or historical account*, p. 8). The belief that the unmediated presence of Christ was universally available, and that it was able to provide teaching and guidance to all people, became foundational to the faith that he subsequently began to preach. Such 'openings', as he termed them, occurred throughout his life and were characteristic of his spirituality, which could be described as fundamentally mystical (e.g. Royce, 'George Fox as a mystic'), although it was also significantly apocalyptic in orientation (e.g. Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the word*). These revelations led to a number of distinctive practices and convictions that identified the movement that soon began to coalesce around him and included such things as the rejection of all outward forms of worship, the belief that women as well as men should preach, the subordination of Bible to the direct inspiration of the Spirit, and the refusal to show deference, in any form, to anyone except God. The members of the group soon became known as Quakers, a name given to them in 1650 by Justice Bennet in response to Fox telling the magistrate that he should tremble before God (*A journal or historical account*, p. 38).

From the initial resolution of his religious crisis, Fox became an energetic advocate for his new faith, which he believed was a restoration of earliest Christianity, 'revealed again now, after this long Night of Apostacy [sic]' (*A journal or historical account*, p. 282). He preached widely and engaged in numerous debates with opponents, both in person and

also in print, his activities only limited by regular imprisonments (he endured eight incarcerations totalling approximately six years) and occasional debilitating illnesses, both spiritual and physical, including one experienced just prior to the Restoration (*A journal or historical account*, p. 298). His missionary and pastoral travels took him beyond Britain and Ireland, and included a lengthy period in the Caribbean and American colonies (1671-3), as well as two journeys to the Netherlands (1677, 1684) and one to Germany (1677).

Although Fox never held a formal position of leadership within the Quaker movement, as it eschewed hierarchy, he was unrivalled in the spiritual and institutional authority he exerted, especially after the downfall of James Nayler, an early leader who was convicted of blasphemy by Parliament in 1656 and died a few years later. Fox was largely responsible for the development of the structures that allowed Quakerism to flourish as a remarkably homogenous, transnational movement in the face of regular bouts of persecution (assiduously detailed in Besse, *A collection of the sufferings*). Fox was key to Quakerism successfully navigating the political turbulence experienced by England and her colonies during the latter half of the 17th century, surviving the Commonwealth, Restoration and the Revolution of 1688 as a coherent movement with a membership estimated by contemporaries to have reached about 100,000 by the end of the century (Bugg, *Some reasons humbly proposed*, p. 1). His marriage to Margaret Fell in 1669 proved vital to this role, as her home, Swarthmore Hall, became the de facto headquarters of the organisation. However, it should be emphasised that Fell was already, in her own right, a prominent figure within the movement; she was, amongst other things, responsible for *Womens speaking justified*, a seminal work of proto-feminist biblical exegesis published a few years before the marriage and written from prison.

Although possessing only limited education, Fox was a prolific author, dictating several hundred pamphlets as well as an even larger number of pastoral letters, and publishing one lengthy work of Quaker apologetics during his lifetime (*The great mystery [sic]*). His published style, like that of his preaching, could usefully be described as 'prophetic', incantatory and iterative in its character; 'an incredible repetition, a combining and recombining of a cluster of words and phrases drawn from Scripture' (Cope, 'Seventeenth-century Quaker style', p. 733). It was often 'uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears', as William Penn put it (*A brief account*, p. 87), but compelling to many, nonetheless. However, Fox is best known

for three works that appeared after his death: an autobiography entitled *A journal or historical account* (1694), the bulk of which was dictated by him in 1675; a compilation of his pastoral letters, *A collection of many select and Christian epistles* (1698); and a selection of doctrinal papers that had previously been published during his lifetime, entitled *Gospel-truth demonstrated* (1706). A book that detailed all the miracles that had been carried out by Fox, was not, despite his expressly requesting it, published after his death (Cadbury, *Annual catalogue*, p. 5), although its contents have subsequently been reconstructed by Henry Cadbury (see Cadbury, *George Fox's book of miracles*).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Islam and Christianity in the works of George Fox

DATE 1653-91

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

George Fox's understanding of Christian-Muslim relations is exceptional, but little known. Apart from Nabil Matar, few have noted its significance and it is almost entirely overlooked in historical surveys of the field. There are, however, a number of elements of Fox's treatment of Islam and Muslims (almost invariably referred to by him as 'Turks') that are worthy of note.

1. Fox believed that Muslims possessed the 'Light of Christ within' that was present in all people born into the world (e.g. *Turcae*, pp. 10, 11, 13; cf. John 1:9). They were therefore potentially able to achieve salvation if they responded to the guidance that this provided, irrespective of their propositional knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity and its scriptures, or their conversion to Christianity. In believing this, Fox held a position that was universal within Quakerism from its inception (see, for example, George Fox and James Nayler, *Saul's errand to Damascus*, p. 21). For Fox, God had made a covenant with all people, including the Turks (*The great mystery [sic]*, p. 71) and it was important that Quakers travelled to Ottoman lands to declare this message to the Turks, as they did in the 1650s and early 1660s (Fox, *For all the bishops and priests*, p. 56)

2. Fox treated the Qur'an as a bearer of divine revelation consonant with that of the Christian Bible. In *To the great Turk and his king at Argiers [sic]* (1680) and *An answer to the speech or decalration [sic] of the great turk, Sulton [sic] Mahomet* (1688), two texts specifically addressed to Muslims and written by Fox in last decade of his life, Fox displayed an extensive knowledge of the Qur'an and, unusually for a Christian of the time, a high estimation of its value. This is especially noteworthy, as the edition of the Qur'an that he used, *The Alcoran of Mahomet*, an English translation attributed to Alexander Ross that appeared in 1649, treated its contents with disdain. In *To the great Turk and his king at Argiers [sic]*, Fox deployed over 30 carefully chosen quotations taken from throughout the Qur'an and constructed his argument in a manner that showed knowledge of a number of its major themes, in order to argue for the better treatment of Quakers held as slaves in North Africa. In *An answer to the speech or decalration [sic] of the great turk, Sulton [sic] Mahomet*, which contained a prophetic response to an epistle allegedly written by Mehmed IV just prior to his disastrous attack on Vienna in 1683, Fox likewise quoted widely, if somewhat less extensively, from the Qur'an in order to criticise the sultan's bellicose hubris.

In both these texts, specific Muslims are criticised by Fox – the cruel slave owners and the aggressive sultan – but the sacred text of Islam and its prophet are not. For Fox the failings of Muslims were not a consequence of their religion. Indeed, their failure came from their deliberate decision to ignore its moral teaching, teaching that Fox saw as in continuity with the Christian Bible (albeit when read in the light of his distinctive and totalising Christian hermeneutic). For example, those abusing slaves are asked, 'What will you say in the day of Judgement, when the Prophets and your own Alcoran will be against you?' (*To the great Turk and his king at Argiers*, p. 8). Nor, importantly, did Fox generalise about the moral failings of Muslims: he did not assume that the behaviour of some Muslims was common to all.

Fox's failure to contest or criticise the text of the Qur'an is striking. Even English-speaking Unitarians, who could be fulsome in their praise of Islam and its adherents, maintained that the Qur'an contained material that could not have come from Muḥammad and had clearly been corrupted (see, Leslie, *The Socinian controversy discuss'd*, pp. i-xiii). Fox's exegesis is certainly hermeneutically naive and his tendency to introduce quotations from the Qur'an with the phrase 'Mahomet saith', combined with his assumption that Muḥammad wrote the Qur'an (*To the great Turk*

and his king at Argiers, p. 1) is hardly commensurate with Muslim convictions about the divine authorship of the text and the principles of *tafsīr*, but his approach is nevertheless exceptional for a Christian in this period in the Anglophone world. There are no quotations of the Qur'an by Fox outside of those found in *To the great Turk and his king at Argiers* and *An answer to the speech or decalration [sic] of the great turk, Sulton [sic] Mahomet*, nor can its influence be discerned in his religious thought, so it is important not to exaggerate its signifiacnce for Fox. However, Matar is quite right to note how innovative he was in approaching the Qur'an 'as the Muslims themselves viewed it' ('Notes on George Fox', p. 272).

3. In Fox's later writings, Muḥammad's words are assumed to be consonant with those of the biblical prophets and in accordance with the 'Law of the Great God' (e.g. *To the great Turk and his king at Argiers*, pp. 1, 3, 8, 9 etc). Muḥammad is never described using the negative tropes that were prevalent at the time and which were found in abundance in two appendices included in the 1649 edition of *The Alcoran of Mahomet* that Fox evidently read so closely. In the 1680s at least, Fox did not describe Muḥammad as cruel, blasphemous, debauched, venal, epileptic or an imposter. It is not unreasonable to say that in this last decade of his life, he judged Muḥammad to be a prophet – although he nowhere described him directly as such.

Nonetheless, Fox's understanding of Muḥammad's prophethood fell far short of that held by orthodox Muslims. For example, Fox clearly did not believe that Muḥammad was the Seal of the Prophets, the final bearer of divine revelation (Q 33:40). Rather, he considered prophecy something that was present in his own day and potentially exercised by all people: 'every one receiving the Light which comes from Christ, shall receive the spirit of prophesie, whether they be male or female' (*The woman learning in silence*, p. 6). Indeed, he believed that he and his fellow Quakers clearly possessed and exercised this same gift (e.g. *Concerning revelation, prophecy, measure*, pp. 24-6). As an early critic complained, according to the Quakers, 'men, women, boys and girls, may all turn into prophets' (Anonymous, *The querers and Quakers cause at the second hearing*, p. 49).

It is also the case that Fox's assessment of Muḥammad in the 1680s had changed significantly from the estimation he held for most of his life. Prior to 1680, he appears to have shared the common, early-modern misconception that Muḥammad was worshipped by Muslims (*Truths triumph*, p. 15; *Turcae*, p. 10), indeed, quite literally, in the form of an idol (*Turcae*, p. 11; *To the councill [sic] of officers of the armie [sic]*, pp. 2-3).

The enslavement of Quaker sailors and travellers in North Africa from the mid-1670s onwards provided the spur that led him to acquire a greater knowledge of Islam and to change his thinking about Muḥammad.

4. Fox encouraged Quakers to obtain knowledge of the languages used by Muslims. Some years before he began to examine the Qur'an, Fox had shown an interest in Arabic, as is evident from a work he co-authored in 1660 (*A battle-door*, pp. 77-88) – although the Arabic section of this text was not penned by Fox himself. Quakers translated some of their tracts into Arabic from the earliest years of the movement and tried to distribute them in Ottoman lands (Baker, *A clear voice of truth*, p. 28). Later in his life, Fox would tell Quakers enslaved in Algiers that they should 'get the Turks and Moors languages that you might be more inabled [sic] to direct them to the Spirit and Grace of God within them, which they have from God, in their hearts' (*Collection of many select and Christian epistles*, p. 493, epistle 388).

5. Fox was concerned about the reputation that Quakers had among Muslims. It was important to him that Muslims recognised that Quakers were different from other Christians both in their religious practices and also in the standard of their morality. Again, this is seen most clearly in his letters to Quaker slaves in Algiers and Morocco (*Collection of many select and Christian epistles*, pp. 455-6, epistle 366; 491-3, epistle 388; 502-4, epistle 391; 556-7, epistle 420; see also pp. 353-4, epistle 315). In these letters, Fox told Quaker slaves to make sure that their owners were aware that, unlike other Christians, they did not worship any 'Representation, Image or Likeness' (*Collection of many select and Christian epistles*, p. 557, epistle 420) and sent them a number of books to give to the Turks to explain the principles of the sect (*Collection of many select and Christian epistles*, p. 493, epistle 388). He also instructed them to make sure that by their 'lives and conversations and words' they preached 'righteousness, and holiness, and godliness' to the 'Turks and Moors' (*Collection of many select and Christian epistles*, p. 455, epistle 366).

This concern for the opinion of Muslims also appears elsewhere in Fox's writings. It is especially noticeable in his decision to append to *To the great Turk and his king at Argiers* an account of the successful resistance of an English crew, led by a Quaker captain and chief mate, when captured by Barbary slavers in the Mediterranean in 1663 (pp. 15-20; see also Lurting, *Fighting sailor turn'd peaceable Christian*). The sailors took back their ship without any bloodshed and, instead of killing their erstwhile captors or selling them as slaves at the nearest Christian port, as

would have been customary at the time, they made for the coast of North Africa and, at great personal risk, returned the slavers to their homes, before sailing back to England. For Fox, it was important that Muslims recognised the exemplary morality the Quakers displayed, and he used the incident to castigate the cruelty of the slavers in Algiers, cruelty that he believed fell far short of the moral teaching of the Qur'an (*To the great Turk and his king at Argiers*, p. 3).

6. Fox argued that Muslims should be given freedom to practise their religion and build their own places of worship in England, along with Jews, pagans and various Christian sects (*Truths triumph*, p. 14), an unusual position to hold in the 17th century. He believed that freedoms that should be granted to his own movement should also be extended to Muslims.

7. Fox was aware of the diversity of religions tolerated not just in the Ottoman Empire but also in the other Muslim empires of the Moghuls and Safavids, and he used this to attack the intolerance of Christian rulers and plead for religious freedom to be granted to Quakers (see, for example, *Concerning the Act*, pp. 305-6; *A journal or historical account*, p. 596). He was aware of the *millet* system and the *jizya* tax in Turkey and used them as an example of how religious diversity could be managed and need not lead to political instability (*Our covenant with God*, p. 1). Likewise, he made use of the reluctance of Muslims to force their religion on others to criticise those who tried to compel Quakers to abandon their faith (*Gospel-truth demonstrated*, p. 927). His appreciation of the policies towards religions in Muslim states was, however, certainly not naive; he was very much aware of religious conflicts between different Muslim sects (e.g. *Truths triumph*, p. 15).

SIGNIFICANCE

It is important not to exaggerate Fox's interest in Islam. Outside of the handful of texts written specifically to Muslims, it was rarely something that occupied his attention. Although we do know that some key materials have been lost, notably papers he addressed *To the great Cham of Tartary*, *To the great Moghul* and *To the King of Suratt* (Cadbury, *Annual catalogue*, p. 77), and the text he delivered to the Moroccan ambassador Mohammed bin Hadu in 1682 (Cadbury, *Annual catalogue*, p. 171 and Cadbury, 'Moslem diplomat'), they would not lead us to conclude otherwise. Nor should we forget that Fox's own religious vision was a totalising one in which all forms of religion, including Islam as well as other kinds of Christianity, were dismissed as deficient, standing in the way of 'true

religion', which had to be predicated upon the direct experience of the Spirit and was beyond outward forms (*Concerning such as shall enter into the Kingdom of God*, p. 1). For all his innovative remarks about Islam and Muslims, this underlying conviction should never be overlooked in making an assessment of his writings on the subject.

But even if Islam was never a central concern of Fox, and his sectarian and heterodox beliefs place him on the margins of Christian history and clear limits on the sort of contribution he can be thought to have made to Christian-Muslim relations, he should not be neglected as he had much that was fresh and distinctive to say, and which also continued to shape the thinking of his fellow Quakers in subsequent centuries. Indeed, it is telling that critics recognised affinities between Fox and Muḥammad (Leslie, *A short and easie method with the Deists*, p. 11; Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, book 7, p. 101; Anon. *Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans*, p. 29) and between his *Journal* and the Qur'an (Bugg, *New Rome arraigned*, p. 2), even if they did so in order to condemn both. These affinities well may go some way to explaining why Fox generated such striking material in this area.

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Justin Meggitt

Turk ballads

DATE 1600s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Throughout the 17th century, Muslims made frequent appearances in popular English broadside ballads. Of the ballads that are available digitally (inevitably, many more such ballads are either in undigitised collections or simply lost), about 120, not including reprints, make reference to Muslims. The 'Muslim' in these ballads appears as a 'Turk', with the rare exception of a handful of ballads that mention 'Mahometans' or use the obsolete 'Saracens'. The two terms were used synonymously, the ethnic 'Turk' standing in for the religious 'Muslim', and this entry will favour the term 'Turk' as this is what appears in the ballads.

Broadside ballads emerged in the late 16th century, an evolution of England's ancient oral tradition into printed text. Cheap to print and widely available, even to audiences in England with neither the disposable income to acquire a ballad nor the literacy to read it, broadside ballads were by far the most accessible form of literature available in England in the 17th century. Their distribution catered to a broad popular audience: they were sung or recited in public places such as streets and marketplaces where ballad-mongers sold their print copies. Ballads were typically printed on one side of a single sheet of paper, were about 80-120 lines long, and were often accompanied by a woodcut illustration. They were printed in black-letter type until the middle of the 17th century, when white-letter became the type style for a nascent body of political ballads, effectively dividing black-letter and white-letter type between popular entertainment and partisan propaganda.

The vast majority of references to the Turk in the ballads are cursory mentions, usually to represent an enemy or unethical behaviour. In these instances, 'Turk' functions as little more than a trigger word, with an established cultural context that, for the reader, invariably carried negative connotations. Consistent use of the term in this way meant that, although the crusades were a distant memory and the Ottomans never posed a significant military threat to England, Muslims still sat heavy in the English imagination as a force that continually threatened the safety of Christians in England. The specificity with which the Turk

would come to represent a variety of England's 'enemies' would change significantly over the century.

The political turmoil of the 1640s inspired an explosion of pamphlet literature, including white-letter broadside ballads that borrowed from the popular form of their black-letter predecessors. The purpose and audience of the ballad form, therefore, split between popular, moralistic black-letter ballads intended for a wide audience, and politicised white-letter propaganda ballads targeting audiences with the political clout to comprehend the specific references to persons and events that they contained. And while the Turk continued to live on as a general religious enemy in black-letter ballads, he took on a much more specific allegorical purpose in the political ballads that targeted particular parties or factions. The fear that dissenters and Nonconformists were actively endangering England in the mid-17th century was embodied by the ballads' frequent equations between political disagreement and outright apostasy or treason via the Turk.

Those ballads whose content was more directly about the Turk were sometimes accompanied by woodcuts, which presented a number of prescriptive images that would have been widely understood. Ships flying crescent moon flags often represented Muslim enemy ships mentioned in the ballads. Mustachioed Muslim men dressed in large turbans and flowing robes and wielding scimitars graced a handful of ballads, an image reinforced by the presence of a delegation of Moroccan soldiers who visited Queen Elizabeth I in 1600. A painting that commemorated the visit (see the front cover), depicting the Moorish Ambassador 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad al-Annurī, shows the ambassador wearing a turban, prominent facial hair and large robes, and with a scimitar at his hip. Al-Annurī was himself Andalusian by birth and, although he is light-skinned in his portrait, the designation 'Moor' was by and large a racial one, referring in English literature to dark-skinned inhabitants of North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula who were Muslim. English audiences in the 17th century would have generally understood that Moors were Turks (meaning Muslims) but that not all Turks were Moors. The presence of these men had an enormous impact on London at the time, and their likenesses found their way into ballad woodcuts. These woodcuts were only found on black-letter ballads, so this singular image of a Muslim reached a popular English audience via replication and eventually became the all-encompassing image of Muslims for English people who had never nor would ever meet a Muslim in person.

Six tropes emerge from the black-letter and white-letter ballads printed during the 17th century, and these will be explored in detail below: the allegorical grouping of Turk, pope and Jew; the infidel Turk; the confounded Turk; the Christian Turk at home; the cruel Turk; and the lustful/exotic Turk. Few if any ballads utilised the Turk in ways not covered by one of these six tropes.

'Turk, pope and Jew'

The most common theme referring to the Turk presents him in tandem with other stereotypical enemies, usually Catholics and Jews. This trope maintains its popularity throughout the 17th century, and is used in both popular black-letter and political white-letter ballads. The reference offers the audience no details or Turk stereotypes on which other ballads rely; it simply positions the Turk and the other listed enemies in opposition to the qualities that a good Christian English person should have. Early in the century, aside from the pope and the Jew, the 'Neager', 'Papist', 'Jesuit', 'Heathen', 'Infidel', 'Parasite', 'Scottish Nation', and 'Pagan' are also listed with the Turk. Although it is clear throughout these ballads that 'Turk' is used synonymously with 'Muslim', the fact that 'Turk' is often used alongside terms such as heathen, infidel and pagan is evidence that popular ballads differentiated between Muslims and general non-Christian enemies. Black-letter ballads continued to use this trope throughout the century with religious and moralistic implications, the Turk representing not any real immediate threat to England or Christianity but rather a much broader enemy of Christendom at large, born of the image of Saracen opponents of the crusaders.

With the introduction of politically specific ballads in the 1640s, however, the enemy implied by the Turk and his accompanying antagonists grew increasingly more precise. Although Royalists and Roundheads alike were represented in political ballads from the 1640s on, extant political ballads tend to skew this trope toward equating the Turk with Whigs, Roundheads, Parliament and Nonconformists. A number of satirical ballads equate Parliament and the Turks. For example, *Thankes to the Parliament* (1642) states: 'See how this wise Assembly they abuse / And fill our heads with tittle tattle Newes, / As if they were farre worse than Turkes and Jewes'. Most often the subject of the satire is even *worse than* the Turk, rather than simply *like* the Turk. The comparative in these political ballads plays off the ethos propagated in no small part

by its black-letter ballad predecessors, assuming its audience already understands the Turk to be bad and thus strengthening the allegation that Parliament is worse. By the middle of the 17th century, the circle of enemies around England that included the Turk had evolved, now including not only enemies of Crown and Church, but also enemies of Charles I's executive power, propagators of dissent, discord and chaos in the English political scene, and Nonconformists who would willingly go to extremes in order to forsake proper Englishness.

By the 1680s, the trope had acquired still more specific meanings, and the French and King Louis XIV were added to the list of enemies, especially after Louis supported Ottoman troops financially in their campaign to take Vienna in 1683. The Exclusion Crisis also complicated the bond between Catholic and Turk in the allegory: ballads that supported James II's succession and those that criticised the Popish Plot and Whiggish zealotry tended to position exclusionists as in league with Jews and Turks, avoiding the anti-Catholic attitude of Whigs, who would have opposed succession. For example, *The cavalier's litany* (1682), a mock-litany against Whigs in London, pokes fun at what had become a standard pope-Turk pairing, giving voice to a Whig who fearfully calls for liberation from 'a *Presbiter-Pope*, from *Turk*, and from *Tarter*'. The satirical tone of the ballad reinforces the accusation that the Whigs' extreme fear of Catholics was exaggerated, antiquated and unrealistic. But ballads such as *The contented subjects; Or, the citizens joy* (1682), printed after the election of Sir William Pritchard as Lord Mayor, lauds 'Our Flourishing *Monarch*' as defender of the faith, and asks that 'the *Turk* and the *Pope*, both of him stand in fear'. While white-letter ballads of the 1680s varied as to which enemies they coupled with the Turk depending on where their allegiances lay, black-letter ballads written for a popular audience continued to favour Turks, Catholics and Jews as the generic enemies of Christian England.

The infidel Turk

Another heavily utilised trope in these ballads is that of the infidel Turk, a character who is always set at odds with the safety and security of Christianity. It is similar to the trope in which the Turk is paired with enemies such as the pope and the Jew, except that here the Turk stands alone as the absolute antithesis of Christianity or, as the century

progresses, of true Protestantism. Black-letter ballads of the early 17th century pointed to this dichotomy by presenting Turks/Muslims as incorrigibly loyal to their false faith. A Turk who denies Muḥammad is either an impossibility or a terrible sign of the end times. The Turk's faith is his defining characteristic, as exemplified by *A merry ballad of a rich maid that had 18. severall suitors* (1620), wherein the maid spurns a number of lovers for various reasons – an Italian for being boastful, a Scot because she did not like his face, a Barbarian for his big belly – but the Turk's suit was 'quickly ended' because the maid 'scornd his believe'.

Ballads whose topic was more directly concerned with Turks, as opposed to simply inserting them as a useful metaphor, focused on certain devices, such as the Islamic image of the crescent moon, often displayed on the flags of Turkish ships in accompanying woodcuts. The fabled pigeon that spoke the sacred text into Muḥammad's ear also makes appearances in a number of ballads as an allegory for useless religious prattle. Although many ballads differentiate between Turk and pagan, those that favour the image of the infidel Turk as a stand-alone adversary often do so by equating the two, conflating enemy religions to present a character against whom God and the English must buttress their faith.

The white-letter ballads of the 1640s saw the infidel Turk adopt ever more specific roles. Satirical anti-Parliament ballads mock Roundheads for enthusiastically fighting the king and Catholics, an endeavour so misguided that they may as well try to overthrow and convert the Turk. Non-conformism is equated with Mahometanism, and the seraglio is their base of operations. The foolish zealotry of the Turk played on in the black-letter ballads of the early part of the century evolved into the foolish zealotry of the Rump Parliament, the Presbyter, the Quaker and the Whig. On the other side of that coin sits the turncoat, often derided in ballads for choosing his allegiances in line with the way the political winds were blowing. Satires against recanters, either generally or in reference to specific individuals, argue that their lack of political loyalty also reflects a lack of religious commitment, as the subject of the satire would as easily convert and 'turn Turk' if the opportunity presented itself.

Even more ominous was a concept that ballads began to present as early as the 1660s and which found a firm foothold after the Battle of Vienna in 1683: that Parliamentarians and Whigs might go so far as to invite the Turk into England in order to fulfil their political and religious ambitions. But both sides of the political divide used the Turk as a point of comparison to the dangerous lengths to which the opposition would

go. A ballad simply titled *The ballad* (1681) denounces Protestant bishops who supported James Duke of York, the 'Popish heir'. The bishops, the ballad argues, would blindly support a king to rule over the English people even if he were a Turk. Throughout the century, black-letter ballads presented an infidel Turk who was, by very definition, the singular enemy of Christianity and against whose beliefs and behaviours those of a good English Christian could be contrasted. White-letter ballads from the Civil Wars to the end of the Exclusion Crisis, adapting this popularised model, present an infidel Turk who stands religiously – and by extension politically and ideologically – at odds with what, to the ballad's author and its sympathetic readers, represents God's true intent for England.

Although only explicitly found in two ballads in the 17th century, specific references to Turks and alcohol are worth noting if only because they diametrically oppose each other. *I tell you, John Jarret, you'l breake* (1630) follows the standard moralistic black-letter genre, with John's wife chiding him for his laziness, whoring and gambling. One stanza has John's wife bemoaning his days spent in the alehouse getting drunk, 'More like than a Christian to some Jew or Turke'. It is likely that the ballad's author was simply not aware of the Islamic prohibition of alcohol, and so ascribes drunkenness to the enemy Turk. In contrast, *A carrouse to the Emperor, the royal Pole, And the much-wrong'd Duke of Lorraine* (1683), also a black-letter ballad, presents Muslim sobriety as a negative characteristic. It refers to Muḥammad as a 'senseless Dog' who denied wine drinking to his followers. This, the ballad suggests, is precisely why the Ottomans failed to take Vienna earlier that year: 'Had he allow'd the fruits of the Vine, / And gave them leave to carrouse in Wine, / They had freely past the Rhine, / and conquer'd all before them'.

The contradiction between these two examples can perhaps be traced to the publication of the first translation of the Qur'an into English by Alexander Ross in 1649, marking the first time the Islamic holy text was made accessible to the population of England. The malleability of the Turk as a metaphor in English ballads is well illustrated by these two examples, because even though two opposing facts, drunkenness and sobriety, are presented over the course of 50 years, both are seen as bad qualities that Muslims stereotypically possessed.

The confounded Turk

In response to the Catholic victory over Ottoman forces at Vienna in 1683, an old trope re-emerged in popular black-letter and political white-letter broadside ballads alike, where the battle was an enormously popular topic in the year after the attempted siege, in large part because the defeat of the Ottomans offered Tory balladeers ample metaphorical material with which to rebuke anti-Catholic Whigs. The product of this timely marriage between the Whig and the now sufficiently defeated Turk was the image of the confounded Turk, whose bumbling, frightened nature spelled certain defeat by Christian (as they were referred to, not 'Catholic') forces in Europe. It was a useful comparison for use in Tory ballads that aimed to paint the Whigs as so ardently anti-Catholic that they would throw their support behind even the bewildered and defeated Ottomans, often represented in these ballads as Muhammad, a 'sencless Dog', a 'drousse rogue', or 'fast asleep', in whom the Turks had vainly placed their trust. The Muslim Turks of the post-Vienna ballads met with such resistance that they were frightened into retreat, the 'Turkish Bashaw' running at the sight of Christian guns and scarcely defending the Danube. *The honour of a London prentice* (1686-8) presents a sultan who, in attempting to appear frightening and powerful, is so thoroughly impressed by a brave apprentice to a London trader that he ends up offering his daughter to the Englishman. Although the sultan tried to have the apprentice killed by his son, the apprentice managed to murder the 'prince', ripped the hearts from both the lions the sultan set upon him, and took the sultan's daughter back to England to convert to Christianity.

The Christian Turk at home

White-letter political ballads from the 1640s onwards by and large promote a vision of the Turk, or rather of Turk-like behaviour, infiltrating English society and wreaking havoc on its political stability. This representation would continue throughout the rest of the 17th century, especially after the 1680s, when political ballad printing increased dramatically in the years during and after the Popish and Rye House Plots. The concept of the 'Christian Turk' appears more generally early in the decade, in *Judge Barkely his penitentiall complaint* (1641). The ballad describes avarice as 'that Turke amongst Christians' that leads the

English to sin. This image of a Turk, an enemy hidden amongst the populace who is the embodiment of sin itself, became politicised and used against a chosen enemy. Those compared to the Turk include the Rump Parliament, Quakers, Titus Oates and the Popish plotters, Louis XIV, and especially Whigs. *A ballad upon the popish plot* (1679) attributes Oates's incitement of rebellion to his working 'with the Devil and Turk'.

The trope of the 'English Turk' is used a handful of times through the 1670s, but its use explodes after the 1683 Battle of Vienna, when the Turk is firmly assigned to Whigs. The battle offered Tory propagandists a strong Catholic army that defeated Ottoman forces, making the Ottoman Muslims an easy stand-in for anti-Catholic Whigs. Many ballads suggest that the Whigs, beyond simply acting like treacherous Turks, were actively disappointed at the outcome of the battle, having prayed 'that the *Turks* may do wonders, and cut all the *Christians* down'. *Vienna's triumph, with the Whigg's lamentation for the overthrow of the Turks* (1683) presents the Whigs as ready to do anything to get rid of Catholicism in England, including supporting the Turk against Catholic Europe. Tory ballads went on using the comparison as Ottoman campaigns in Hungary continued; *A song upon the randizvous on Hounsley-Heath* (1685) is subtitled 'With a paralel of the destruction of our *English Turks* in the *West*, and the *Mahomitans* in *Hungary*'. It marks 1685 as the year that 'hath crusht the Serpents head, / The *Turks* cut off, the *Whigs* are dead'. The two events, the ballad argues, are connected: some Whigs were 'Jayl'd, some hang'd, the rest run mad; / Because the *Turks* are routed'. The end of the century saw the introduction of Louis XIV as yet another 'Christian-Turk', who was 'with *Mahomet*... *Brother* sworn, / 'Gainst *Christendom* and *Popery*'.

The cruel Turk

Not all ballads presented the Muslim Turk solely in a religious light; an equally popular trope was that of the cruel Turk, feared and at times respected as a foe the English often encountered through war, slavery or piracy. Just as often, however, a weak and easily defeated Turk was set against the military prowess of the English, depending on which image better suited the ballad's tale. Some early black-letter ballads used a terrible Turk with whom 'lusty soldiers' had to endure the pain of slavery and battles on the high seas. Still others offered a Turk against whom English sailors could make 'great slaughter', who stood in awe of England's

'gallants in their bravery'. Those ballads whose story more directly involved Turks varied their representations: an enemy Turk either powerful or weak, depending simply on what might best capture an audience's attention. The black-letter ballad *Newes from Argeir* (1621) tells the tale of a true event 'upon Christmas day last' in which Admiral Robert Mansell led a fleet of English ships against North African pirates, but failed to take a fleet of Algerian ships they had been pursuing. The ballad, however, has an entirely different outcome, one in which the English successfully frightened away the pirate ships, which were manned by a superstitious and barbaric crew frightened by a lunar eclipse and stunned by the gallant English seamen. In the wake of an embarrassing and ultimately unsuccessful campaign against North African pirates, this ballad changed the events presented to the English public in order to promote nationalistic ideals. Sometimes, however, those ideals and an England united against a common enemy are best promoted by instilling fear and anger, which is why the terrible and brutal Turk makes frequent



Illustration 7. Title and illustration for the ballad *Newes from Argier*

appearances. *The great Turks terrible challenge*, a 1640 black-letter ballad based on a ballad printed by Nathaniel Butter the same year entitled *A true and fearfull pronouncing of warre against the Roman Imperial Majesty, and withall against the king of Poland, by the late emperour of Turkey, Soloma Hometh*, has a Turkish enemy who is entirely at odds with the weak Turks of *Newes from Argier*. These Turks plan to 'rob to murder and destroy / With burning all they do enjoy'. A Polish general has tried to defeat them, but 'most part of his men are slaine', leaving Poland in 'great terror and much dread'. The sultan's promise to move into and conquer Europe called for a terrifying and challenging image of the Turk, twice referred to as 'Pagans' in the ballad, to recall the crusades, old memories of which still favoured presenting an ill-defined Saracen-like bloodthirsty Turk.

By and large, however, the 1640s were almost completely devoid of this image of the Turk, which was heavily dominated by that of the Turk as infidel Muslim – a more useful allegory during the religious tension of the Civil Wars. But the feared military Turk re-emerges in ballads the 1660s, often in connection with Charles II's success at protecting the English nation. Thanks to Charles, English seamen no longer fear 'French or Turkish Pirates', and political turncoats who backed Cromwell after Charles I's execution are quoted as having 'triumphed like the Turk', a satirical nod to the supposed military triumphs of the Ottoman Empire after the monarchy had already been reinstated. Ballads of the mid-century use the cruel Muslim as a character at once worthy of scorn, fear and emulation. *The loyal subject (as it is reason) drinks good sack and is free from treason*, probably printed in the 1650s or 1660s, suggests the English should drink liquor to make them 'braver fellows / Than the bold Venetian Fleet, / When the Turk and they do meet, / within the Dardonellows'. *A new ballad of a famous German prince and renowned English duke* (1666) also uses the Turk as the point of comparison for strength and skill, stating that Sir Edward Spragge, an accomplished Irish admiral, 'pray'd like a *Christian* and fought like a *Turk*'. The fearful Turk, who is a 'Potent Lord' for having fought many battles, disappears for nearly two decades to be eclipsed in white-letter ballads by the perpetually confounded Turk discussed above. Some black-letter outliers still that presented a Turk worthy to be feared, but almost exclusively in the context of slavery. *Algier slaves releasment* (1671), *The she-mariners misfortune* (1682-1700), *An admirable new northern story* (1684-95), and *A comfortable & friendly advice for all the true-hearted subjects of England*

(1688) all tell stories involving the horrors of captivity under the Turks. Slavery was sufficiently present in common knowledge to function as a permanent fixture, whose basic components could be compared to issues the average English audience dealt with at home: the pain and isolation of slavery to the pain of isolation from a loved one, the gruelling work on a galley ship to chores in a household, or the cruelty of Turks to the cruelty of women.

The lustful or exotic Turk

Although the Turk was most commonly used as the embodiment of a religious or military enemy, he also served as a convenient catch-all for the foreign and exotic, which sometimes also encompassed sensuality or lustfulness. *The seamans song of Captain Ward the famous pyrate* (1609) paints the infamous John Ward as a man on the brink of turning Turk himself (although the ballad was printed a year prior to his conversion in Tunis). While his piracy most closely ties him to the enemy Turk, the ballad also mentions his 'drunkenesse and letchery, / filthy sins of Sodomy'. Although these are accusations levelled against Ward and not specifically his Turk pirate compatriots, lustfulness and sodomy were commonly presented as characteristic of the Turk – and titillating to English audiences. *An invective against the pride of women* (1657) similarly defines the Turk by his lustfulness, stating that he wished he had control over prideful women: 'I wish I were the Turk, / And they my Concubins'. A scandalous 1670 white-letter ballad entitled *The saint turn'd sinner; Or the dissenting parson's text under the Quaker's petticoats* demonstrates a nonconformist clergyman's attempt to seduce a Quaker, describing him as 'still more eager / Than lustful Turk or Neger'. The most colourful ballad involving the Turks as sexualised characters was *A new miracle or Dr. Nomans safe return from the Grand Turks court at Constantinople* (1684), in which a nameless character representing Titus Oates, himself already firmly established in ballad literature as a terrible turncoat Turk, gleefully visits the sultan and 'fall[s] foul on the Turks Boys', 'Bums on the Turks Whores', and 'Buggers all Bums in his Nation'. The sensationalist ludicrousness of the ballad's claims serves to accuse Oates of a series of acts ill-fitting a decent Englishman, and it does so by covering him with Turk stereotypes well recognised by common English readers.

More often within this trope, the Turk merely operated as a favourite point of reference for the distant other. *A whetstone for lyers* (1630) illustrates the absurdity of the first-person narrator's tall travel tales. 'Ile goe on a Message / Unto the great Turke, / Ith' morne; and at night / Ile be here hard at worke'. Turks are among those that come from far and wide to visit London's famous whorehouse, Holland's Leaguer, and to praise the great city of London in two 1632 ballads. As with all previous tropes before it, the foreign Turk also makes appearances in politicised white-letter ballads from the mid-century on. In the satirical *News from the coffe-house; In which is shewn their severall sorts of passions, containing newes from all our neighbour nations* (1667), the libellous and untrustworthy exchanges of news in coffee houses in London are lampooned, and their exaggerated nature is exemplified by the statement that 'they there can tell ye what the *Turk* / Last Sunday had to Dinner'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Owing to their frequent appearances in ballad literature in the 17th century, Muslims could be encountered through hearsay without having been experienced in person by England's lower classes. On the whole, direct contact was extremely limited: ambassadors, factors, pirates, merchants and travellers were among the few English people who could feasibly have had neutral contact with Muslims either on the seas or in Ottoman territory, and countless works of literature embody this complex relationship. The seamen manning merchant ships, who came exclusively from England's lower classes, were limited to experiencing the Muslim Turk by way of kidnap, captivity and slavery, and were usually without the financial means to buy their freedom. Black-letter ballads distilled the broad spectrum of literature about Muslims into a consistent image of an enemy Turk that was more widely comprehensible. That Turk in turn became allegorically useful in the latter half of the 17th century as an already established trope, applicable to the varied political messages of white-letter broadside ballads. Broadside ballads allowed for an ongoing dialogue throughout the 17th century between a largely imagined Islam and an English populace who knew very little about the faith.

These 120 ballads, then, provided what passed for information on Muslims to many ordinary people who had never met any. Their negative tropes reassured people that Islam offered nothing wholesome except to those attracted by vice and sin. Yet there was also concern in 17th-century England about the number of English captives who turned Moor or Turk, that is, converted to Islam. Some of these so-called renegades returned

to England. Between 1670 and 1734 about 2,200 'captives were shipped home' whose release was secured by negotiation and payment (L. Colley, *Captives. Britain, empire and the world 1600-1850*, London, 2002, pp. 52-3). The expression 'putting on the turban' was widely used to describe this, and required no explanation, since 'to the average Englishman, the turban was a sign of Islam' (N. Matar, *Islam in Britain*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 116). Many, of course, were known to have converted under duress or to gain favour, and often converted back to Christianity. But it was also known – and this alarmed people – that some renegades had converted freely. As Joseph Pitts wrote, 'Many there are that do so turn, out of choice, without any terror or severity shown them' (*A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans*, 4th ed, London, 1732, p. 197). Perhaps, then, the remarkably frequent negative representation of Muslims in plays, ballads and other literature, referencing their lust, violence and worse, was meant to counter any potential attraction. It was also becoming known that even Christians could prosper in Muslim space; 'of the forty-eight grand viziers who held power' in Istanbul from 1453 to 1623, 'at least thirty-three were of Christian origin' (J. Gilham, *Loyal enemies*, Oxford, 2014, p. 6) as was Şâfiya Sultân, Murad III's powerful mother, who famously corresponded with Elizabeth I. It may be significant for Muslim-Christian relations that, behind the literary profusion of pejorative references to Islam represented by the 120 Turk ballads, lay awareness that Islam was not as unattractive as all this literature suggested. Was this all a matter of protesting too loudly?

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Katie Sisneros

The Netherlands and Scandinavia

Josephus Justus Scaliger

DATE OF BIRTH 5 August 1540
PLACE OF BIRTH Agen, France
DATE OF DEATH 21 January 1609
PLACE OF DEATH Leiden, the Netherlands

BIOGRAPHY

Josephus Justus Scaliger was born on 5 August 1540 in Agen, near Bordeaux in western France, the third son of Julio Cesare della Scala and Andiette de Roques-Lobejac. At the age of 12, he went to the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, where he was taught by the humanist Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85). After the death of his father in 1558, he turned his attention to the study of Greek, believing that scholars 'who know not Greek, know nothing'. Scaliger went to the University of Paris in 1559 and attended some lessons by the Greek scholar Adrianus Turnebus (1512-65), but soon came to the conclusion that his own knowledge of the language was not sufficient. After two years of learning Greek, 'an internal impulse' drew him to the study of Hebrew. Although he did not know a single letter of the Hebrew alphabet (as he himself wrote), he mastered the language without the help of any teacher. The exact nature of this internal impulse is not known, but the seed was sown out of which Scaliger's study of oriental languages was to grow. The method that he had used for learning Greek Scaliger now applied to learning Hebrew, making extensive use of the Hebrew Bible and the Vulgate.

Scaliger's first encounter with Arabic was some rudimentary lessons from the founder of Arabic studies in Europe, Guillaume Postel (1510-81), when they were sharing a room in Paris during 1562. Although Scaliger realised that Postel's knowledge of the language was not as good as was commonly assumed, the lessons would turn out to be decisive in Scaliger's development as an Orientalist, although he was reluctant to admit this.

In 1562, Scaliger converted to Protestantism and a year later he met the aristocrat Louis de Chasteigner de la Roche-Posay, who became his patron. They both travelled in Europe and visited Rome, where Scaliger encountered several travellers from the Orient and was able to inspect some libraries. In 1576, and the following years Scaliger began acquiring

books and manuscripts in Arabic (and other Oriental languages such as Ethiopic), and translations of the Qur'an and other Arabic books, including a copy of the Italian translation of the Qur'an (*Alcorano di Macometto* [...] [Venice], 1547). He probably tried to extend his knowledge of Arabic by comparing original texts with translations. By 1585, Scaliger had already gained some renown as a specialist in Arabic, and he occasionally received Arabic books as gifts from friends.

In 1593, Scaliger arrived in Leiden to take up a position at the university as honorary professor of Latin language, antiquities and history. In Leiden, he (re)published his major scholarly works, such as the second edition of the *De emendatione temporum* (1598), the second edition of the *Astronomicon* (1600) by the 1st-century author Marcus Manilius, and his major publication, the *Thesaurus temporum* (1606). He incorporated a vast quantity of oriental material, including Arabic sources, into these publications. *De emendatione temporum* (first edition 1583) is a book about calendars in which Scaliger combined the chronological computations of all known peoples in the East and West into a single system. This is the work that earned him his place in Oriental studies. One of the major reasons why Scaliger was drawn to Leiden was the presence of the Plantin press run by Franciscus Raphelengius, which was able to print a range of Oriental languages that Scaliger was using in his new scholarly editions.

In Leiden, Scaliger extended his library to some 2000 works, including over 300 Oriental books and manuscripts. On 18 November 1608, he drew up a final version of his will, bequeathing to Leiden University '[...] tous mes livres de langues estrangeres, hebraics, Syriens, Arabics, Aethiopiens, lesquels livres sont contenus dans le Catalogue que i'ay adiousté a la copie latine de ce mien testament [...]'. It can be regarded as a great achievement that he was able to collect such a vast library of Oriental books because he never travelled to the Middle East, as other Orientalists had done. Instead, the world came to him through letters, books and travelling scholars and students.

Scaliger's collection became the starting point for the Oriental collections in Leiden and marked the beginning of Leiden University as a major centre for Oriental scholarship and learning. During the last years of his life, he persuaded the board of the university to establish a chair in Arabic, which eventually came to pass in 1613, with the appointment of his former pupil Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624).

Scaliger was a pioneer of Oriental studies in Europe and was the first to break with the tradition of putting Arabic studies at the service of mission and theology. He stipulated, however, that no scholar would be able to master Arabic if he was not able to read the Qur'an, thus stressing the importance of the Qur'an as a philological source, rather than as a theological book. As a historian, Scaliger 'used all the means of historical research – texts, inscriptions, numismatics, chronology – to arrive at the historical facts' (K. Ferdinand, *Islam. State and society*, London, 1988, p. 15). Some even credit him with being the first real Arabic scholar of the 16th century.

Scaliger did not publish anything substantial in the field of Arabic language during his lifetime, but the manuscript of his Latin-Arabic dictionary, *Thesaurus linguae Arabicae*, became the basis for Raphelengius' posthumously published Arabic lexicon of 1613. Another important achievement was his involvement in the translation of the Arabic proverbs of Abū 'Ubayd.



Illustration 8. Portrait of Scaliger with an Arabic text, attributed to Johannes Cornelisz van't Woudt, c. 1608

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-amthāl, seu Proverbiorum Arabicorum centuriae duae; Proverbiorvm arabicorvm centuriæ duæ, 'The book of proverbs, Arabic proverbs of two centuries'

DATE 1614

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Kitāb al-amthāl (its full title is *Kitāb al-amthāl, seu Proverbiorum Arabicorum centuriae duae / ab anonymo quodam Arabe collectae & explicatae; cum interpretatione Latina & scholiis Iosephi Scaligeri I. Caes. F. et Thomae Erpenii. Leidae: in officina Raphelengiana*) is a collection of 200 Arabic proverbs by the Islamic scholar Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām from Herat (c. 768/70-838), based on an Arabic manuscript lent by the French aristocrat David Rivault, sieur de Fleurance (1571-1616) to Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), librarian to King Henry IV of France. Rivault had acquired this manuscript of the proverbs, together with an Arabic dictionary, during his stay in Rome. Casaubon made a copy of the original manuscript accompanied by a Latin translation of the proverbs made by a Maronite monk from Mount Lebanon who was staying in Rome at that time.

In a letter of 13 February 1602, Casaubon wrote to Scaliger that he had obtained ‘a most elegant book of Arabic proverbs’ and agreed to send him a copy. Casaubon sent Scaliger what was a rather deficient and incomplete copy, containing only 176 of the 200 of the Arabic proverbs, with a number of questions on difficult passages. Scaliger sent it back with profuse marginal annotations and emendations, accompanied by a Latin translation of his own. After receiving the amended and annotated Arabic text, Casaubon felt deeply apologetic for providing such an incomplete and inaccurate copy and decided to assign the task of producing a complete transcript of the manuscript to his Dutch pupil Adriaen Willemsz from Vlissingen/Flushing (c. 1577-1604).

Casaubon omitted to tell Scaliger about the translation by the Maronite monk, but did send the complete Arabic text to Scaliger in Leiden, and Scaliger again set about producing a translation and edition of the text. Unfortunately, Scaliger died before he could finish his work. Casaubon, therefore, urged Thomas Erpenius to finish the task when he was staying as a student in France, handing him all the materials in 1609. Erpenius recognised that the text was in dialect, and made his own translation, using the earlier translations by the Maronite monk and Scaliger. He finished it in 1611.

In the arrangement of the book, Erpenius followed the example of Fagius’ Hebrew *Sententiae vere elegantes* (Isny, 1541). Each entry contains the Arabic text of a proverb, followed by the translation and separate explanatory notes in Latin. In order properly to credit Scaliger’s contribution, Erpenius consistently added ‘S’ to indicate Scaliger’s work and ‘E’ to indicate his own.

Casaubon initially intended the proverbs to be published by the Paris printer Guillaume II Le Bé, but Le Bé refused to print any books by heretical Protestant authors. The *Kitāb al-amthāl* was ultimately printed at the Leiden branch office of Plantin by Franciscus II and Justus Raphelengius in 1614.

In the preface to the book, Erpenius gives a brief account of the process by which the edition had come to be, and commemorates Rivault, the discoverer of the proverbs, as well as paying homage to the work undertaken by Scaliger. The book was dedicated to Isaac Casaubon. In 1623, a second edition, containing some minor additions, was printed by Erpenius himself on his Oriental press and distributed by Johannes Maire. This edition was dedicated to Isaac Casaubon's son Mericus.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kitāb al-amthāl may be considered, along with Scaliger's *Thesaurus linguae Arabicae* ('The treasure-house of the Arabic language'), a substantial contribution by Scaliger to the field of Arabic studies. 'The book allowed European scholars and students of Arabic a fascinating glimpse into an aspect of Arabic intellectual life which was free from religious bias. It showed them that the Arabs, too, had their share of human wisdom' (Vrolijk, 'Prince of Arabists').

After the publication of the *Collectanea adagiorum* (Paris, 1500), an annotated collection of about 800 Greek and Latin proverbs collected by the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) and the equivalent of the Hebrew proverbs of the Rabbis collected by Paulus Fagius and published as *Pirkei Avot* (1541), 'scholars were convinced of the value of proverbs as a mirror of the manners, customs and character of a nation, and especially an exotic and unknown people like the Arabs' (Vrolijk, 'Prince of Arabists') and scholars in the Western world who had not mastered Arabic themselves were able to learn about and understand the Arab world and its people through the Latin translation.

Erpenius re-edited the post-classical proverbs in line with the purest classical norm, complete with vowel points and other grammatical marks, making the book the first critical Arabic text edition ever printed. Erpenius regarded the proverbs as a companion to his *Grammatica Arabica* of 1613 and used both publications for teaching purposes.

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- MS Leiden, University Library – Or. 26.644 (2) (1602-14; second, complete transcription of 200 Arabic proverbs by Willemsz, 25 pages)
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Kasper van Ommen

Justus Heurnius

DATE OF BIRTH	17 November 1587
PLACE OF BIRTH	Leiden
DATE OF DEATH	Before September 1652
PLACE OF DEATH	Wijk bij Duurstede, Province of Utrecht

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a family of high distinction, Justus Heurnius studied at Leiden University from 1602. He took his doctor's degree in medicine on 18 April 1611, and afterwards travelled through England and France. After theological study in Groningen between 1615 and 1620, he served as a pastor at Kalslagen (north Holland) until November 1623. In 1618, he wrote *De legatione evangelica ad Indos capessenda admonitio* (Leiden: Elzevier), and in 1619 asked the East India Company to send him to the East Indies. His request was not granted (possibly because he had annoyed them with his publication, though their official reason was that he had not submitted his request through the Amsterdam Church Council), but in 1623 he again approached the governors of the company via the council and with the support of Sebastiaen Danckaerts, a pioneer of Dutch missions in the East Indies, he was sent overseas, arriving in Batavia in July 1624. Heurnius focused his efforts on outreach to the Chinese population, preparing a Dutch-Latin-Chinese dictionary, and translating parts of the Heidelberg Catechism into Chinese.

He opposed the governor-general's meddling in ecclesiastical matters, and as a result he was suspended in Batavia for some months in 1632. That year, he extended his work to remote islands such as Ceram near Amboina, where he encountered Islam in mountainous villages. He settled in Ullath (Saparua) in July 1633 so as to live among the Uliasians (Lease Islands), where he encountered opposition from Muslim village leaders and was almost poisoned. He witnessed the conversion of Christians to Islam and Muslims to Christianity. Although he always emphasised the use of native languages, he reverted to the use of Malay when the people indicated to him that Muslim leaders disliked the use of the indigenous language. In his estimation, the liberty allowed in Muslim practice hampered the acceptance of biblical teaching – that and his emphasis on doctrine and regular prayers. In his view, the church should

teach the children of indigenous rulers so that they would spread Christianity. He shared his views about heathenism and 'moorsdom' with the Leiden professor, Antonius Walaeus, and many others.

Heurnius remained on the island of Hoamoal (Seram) until 1638, making visits throughout the region. He proposed that a theological college should be established for indigenous students in the Indies, instead of having them sent to the Netherlands. By then, the Seminarium Indicum in Leiden (1621-33) had been closed following Walaeus's death.

Heurnius returned to the Netherlands in 1638 and took responsibility for a church at Wijk bij Duurstede, in the province of Utrecht, in August 1640. There, he continued the work of translating parts of the Bible into Malay that he had begun earlier. He died sometime before 1652.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De legatione evangelica ad Indos capessenda admonitio, 'Admonition to be considered about the evangelical mission to the Indies'

DATE 1618

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Heurnius dedicated *De legatione evangelica ad Indos capessenda admonitio* (304 pages, including introduction and index) to Prince Maurits and the governors of the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC). From the very beginning and throughout the eight chapters of the work, he systematically focuses on the kingdom of Christ: the reign of Christ as supreme Shepherd and Lord of Jews and heathen nations. Though his work has been widely used, it has never been reprinted or translated.

In Chapter 1, Heurnius explains the need for his admonition in following the example of the Apostles, who worked to extend the rule of Christ. The motive lies in the Lord's prayer: 'Your kingdom come.' He stresses with emphasis and emotion the importance of his era being the right time to spread the light of Christ's kingdom, and the appropriate time for the nations in the Indies to have Christianity spread among them, so that Islam diminishes. He judges that 'Mahomedanism' has changed the holy mysteries into 'blasphemies', and dressed the heavenly doctrine in absurdities. This is also stated by Walaeus in his summary on Islam (*Opera omnia*, vol. 1, pp. 380-1). Like Walaeus, Heurnius links the conversion of the Jews with the conversion of Muslims and heathen nations, though, while Walaeus had tried to understand the essence and origin of Islam, Heurnius restricts himself to stating the existence of Islam

and its obvious characteristics. He argues that the time has come for an endeavour under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to renew Christianity and rekindle the light of the Gospel, which 'Mahomed' was taking away.

In Chapter 2, he enumerates the qualities needed for Christians, and especially pastors, if they are to be instrumental in spreading the reign of Christ, then, in Chapter 3, he discusses the approach and attitude of pastors working among heathen peoples, pointing to the necessity of explaining Scripture in a simple manner and having prayers regularly recited and understood. In Chapter 4, he outlines the misery of heathen nations caused by the pope on the one hand and 'Mohammedanism' on the other, referring to the two snakes of Isaiah 27:1-2, and the obligation of the Church to make Christ truly known. He expands upon this in Chapter 5, commenting on the lack of knowledge about 'the living God'. The human predicament should be overcome through the prevention of worshipping materials such as stone and gold that cannot respond. In Chapters 6 and 7, he details the various heresies, and insists that preachers should not be allowed to shy away from battle with the supporters of 'Mahomed', because engagement with adversaries could help them to sharpen the weapons for the spiritual battle. In the last chapter, he explains that all Christians, and particularly those with responsibility as governors, have the duty to expunge the spiritual slavery to Satan in the East, just as the crusades liberated the tomb of Christ.

In his reports from the Indies, Heurnius sets out the same attitude towards Muḥammad and 'Mahomedanism', explaining that the spread of Islam in the East Indies compels a strategy of teaching the children of rulers and village leaders, and of teaching people to recite the articles of the Christian faith, say prayers daily in the native language, and grasp the implications of the Ten Commandments. Islam appeals to people because of its liberality, so the authorities should alter the political conditions in villages in order to give Christianity the advantage. In his *Account* (1639), he clarifies what he means: people in villages who practised Islam lived in peace with Dutch Christians, though remained attached to Islam because of the laxity of its teachings about marriage.

SIGNIFICANCE

Heurnius's *Admonitio* was one of the first missionary teachings to appear within the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands in the early years of the 17th century. Callenbach (*Heurnius*, pp. 85-7) has called him a forerunner of William Carey (1761-1834), promoter of modern missions, and compares parts of the *Admonitio* with the work of Carey, although he

overlooks Heurnius's conception of the structured nature of Christ's rule, which led him to emphasise the ecclesiastical calling of mission. According to H.A. van Andel (*Gisbertus Voetius*, p. 174), Heurnius was only a friend of mission rather than a scholar of mission, since he advocated no more than 'simple preaching'. His emotional approach led J.M. van der Linde (*Wereldhuis*, pp. 170-4) and S. van der Linde (*Opgang der Reformatie*, pp. 206-8) to call him a forerunner of Pietism. J. Verkuyl (*Introduction*, pp. 37-9) believes he probably influenced Carey, and stimulated the Danes in their missions to Africa.

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Callenbach, *Justus Heurnius*
Walaeus, *Opera omnia*

Leendert Jan Joosse

Thomas Erpenius

DATE OF BIRTH 9 or 11 September 1584
PLACE OF BIRTH Gorinchem (Gorkum), The Low Countries
DATE OF DEATH 13 November 1624
PLACE OF DEATH Leiden

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Erpenius was born in Gorinchem on 9 or 11 September 1584. His Protestant parents had moved from 's-Hertogenbosch and settled in Gorinchem in 1583, later moving to Middelburg. In the early 17th century, he studied theology at Leiden University, and in 1608 received the degree of *magister artium liberalium* (master of liberal arts). He initially considered becoming a Protestant minister but then turned to Oriental Studies. Encouraged by Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), he started to study Arabic with the English Arabist William Bedwell (1563-1632), met the Egyptian traveller Yūsuf ibn Abī Daqān, the French classicist Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), the Arabist Étienne Hubert (1567-1614) and the Castilian Morisco, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, known as Diego Bejarano (c. 1570-after 1640), with whom he cooperated in France and the Netherlands between 1611 and the summer of 1613.

Between 1609 and 1612, Erpenius visited major centres of Oriental learning in northern Europe and went to Venice in order to travel on to Istanbul, but he did not make it to the Muslim world and never would. In 1613, he was appointed to the first (extraordinary) chair of Oriental languages at Leiden University, teaching Arabic without Hebrew and Aramaic. In 1620, his chair became an ordinary one, and from that year his teaching task was extended to the two 'sacred languages' of Hebrew and Aramaic.

In addition to his contributions to teaching and printing Arabic (he had types cut which were inspired by the typefaces of the Medici press), he developed an educational and didactic programme in Arabic and Islamic scholarship, and edited texts in three fields of Arabic studies: grammar (for which he would become famous), religious texts and historical texts. In 1616, he published the *editio princeps* of the entire New Testament in Arabic, based on a manuscript in the Scaliger collection (Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies in the Netherlands*, p. 39; B. Metzger, *The early*

versions of the New Testament, Oxford, 1977, pp. 265-6). These activities were partly in agreement with those of some other Protestant Orientalists in providing a Protestant alternative to Catholic Orientalist learning. In 1623, he was requested by Archbishop Pedro de Castro Vaca y Quiñones (1534-1623) of Granada to travel to Spain to decipher the so-called Lead Books of Sacromonte, though nothing came of this.

Erpenius held generally negative views on Islam and Muslims, though these changed as a result of his meetings with the Morisco Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī. Through al-Ḥajarī, Erpenius became aware of the importance of Prophetic tradition and of Muslim exegesis.

Like other professors of Arabic, Erpenius was also active as translator of official diplomatic documents in the service of the States General. He had the intention of editing and translating the Qur'an accompanied by a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, the translation of three Muslim Creeds and a letter sent by the Sultan of Morocco to the Dutch Stadholder Maurice, but his early death from the plague prevented this. Erpenius died in Leiden on 13 November 1624.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oratio II de lingua Arabica, 'Second oration on the Arabic language'

DATE 1620

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Erpenius delivered the second oration in Leiden on 5 November 1620. It is devoted to the study of Arabic and how it should be taught, though Erpenius also touches on Islam and Muslim-Christian relations.

Erpenius starts with a description of Arabia and 'its most distinguished Ishmaelite state, that of Quraysh, which has its capital at Mecca', 'a market town the size of our Amsterdam'. He describes Islam as a religion or sect that Muḥammad had 'newly fashioned from Christianity, Judaism and Arianism' in order to gain recognition for himself. He then briefly describes the *hijra* and Muḥammad's 'honourable reception by the Medinese, whose leaders he had already attracted to his factions and beliefs at Mecca', how he waged war against the Meccans, not 'with words and miracles, but with swords and spears', and eventually captured the city 'without bloodshed and subdued it, not in an oppressive way, but rather – which was cunning – by making all his enemies indebted to him, by

showing unexpected kindness, but also great favours, and by repaying them with goodwill, so that he utterly convinced those who had feared before to become his most faithful helpers'. Erpenius corrects some common Western misunderstandings about Muḥammad, such as that his iron coffin was supported in the air at Mecca by magnetism, though despite the 'wisdom' he ascribes to Muḥammad, Erpenius also pictures him as an 'unholy and polygamous prophet'. Erpenius next recounts the rapid expansion of Muḥammad's 'devilish kingdom' to the detriment of the Christians, and the ensuing weakening of the empire and its fragmentation.

In the next part of the oration, Erpenius turns to the Arabic language, its development, beauty and spread through the expanding Islamic Empire and flourishing cultural life. All the works of the ancient authors were translated into Arabic and further enriched, philosophical, geographical, mathematical, historical, literary (poetic), philological and linguistic works: in short, it was 'involved in every function of men of letters and of the learned, both in refining their own language and in embellishing the disciplines'. He explains that libraries abound in the Arab world, remarking that the Moroccan ambassador had told him that his library consisted of 7800 volumes which had recently been transferred to Spain (a reference to the manuscripts of the Escorial library).

In the final part, Erpenius turns to the value of the Arabic language. It is useful for a better understanding of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Rabbinical Hebrew and Ethiopic as languages close to Arabic, and to a lesser extent for Turkish and Persian. He again points to the geographical spread of the language and reminds his hearers that it is through Arabic that the 'pseudo-prophet – the most dangerous enemy of the divinity and cross of Christ, that is to say our salvation, doctrines with which alas! he wretchedly seduced and blinded by far the greatest part of the Christian world – can be understood, effectively refuted and exploded'. This, however, he considers to be one of the less important advantages of Arabic, and he concludes by arguing that it is useful for a wide range of disciplines and that its study will be assisted by the grammars and other works that he has produced.

SIGNIFICANCE

The oration sheds light on Erpenius's views about the origins of Islam and the character of Muḥammad, and thereby reveals that attitudes current in his time were still deeply dependent on medieval approaches toward Islam. It also describes the value of the study of Arabic, which

Erpenius understandably promotes as an important element in exploring the various scientific disciplines, though also as an aid in arguing against Muslims and Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

Vrolijk and van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies in the Netherlands*

Grafton and Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue*'

Hamilton, 'Study of Islam in early modern Europe'

Jones, 'Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe'

Brugman, 'Arabic scholarship'

Gerard Wiegers

Johannes Coccejus

DATE OF BIRTH 9 August 1603
PLACE OF BIRTH Bremen
DATE OF DEATH 5 November 1669
PLACE OF DEATH Leiden

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Coccejus was born in Bremen as Johann Coch. He studied languages, philosophy and theology in Bremen, and after 1626 in Franeker. In 1630, he became a professor at the Gymnasium Illustre in Bremen, where he taught 'sacred philology', concentrating on Greek and Hebrew. In 1650, he moved to Leiden.

As a Calvinist theologian, he attempted to stay in touch with humanist trends in church and society, often showing more interest in biblical studies than in strict Calvinist orthodoxy. He is best known for his divergent opinion on the observation of the Sabbath. According to his views, resting on the Sabbath was a strict command for adherents of Judaism, but according to the new covenant of Jesus Christ, observation of the Sabbath was no longer so important for Christians. His interpretation of scripture is sometimes characterised as 'baroque, inconsistent', although, alongside the Puritan Gisbertus Voetius at Utrecht University, he was recognised as the most outstanding Dutch theologian of the 17th century.

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W.J. van Asselt, *The federal theology of Johannes Coccejus (1603-1669)*, Leiden, 2001
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oratio de religione Turcarum, 'Lecture on the religion of the Turks'

DATE About 1625

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

As a 22 year-old student in Bremen, Coccejus delivered a lecture in Greek on the religion of the Turks, partly as a linguistic exercise. This formed the basis for *Oratio de religione Turcarum* (constituting 11 pages in print), written as an admonition for the reformation of church and state in his time. The origin of Islam and its immense progress at the time presented a great challenge for Christians.

Using secondary sources, Coccejus summarises the life of Muḥammad and describes the contents of the Qur'an. He considers Islam a *mutatio religionis*, a radical transformation of the true religion. Muḥammad knew the real truth of God's revelation but he was seduced by Satan, 'the clear enemy of the whole human race as he is rightly called in the Qur'an', so that he and his followers became apostates (*apostatae*), while Muslims, like Jews, the followers of Paul of Samosata, the Arians and the Sabellians, must be counted among the heretics because of their views about Jesus Christ. Coccejus considers Islam the great external enemy of Christianity, while the Roman Catholic Church is the great internal enemy.

In his later theology, Coccejus developed an interpretation of the history of Christianity in seven periods. The last is that of the conversion of the Turks to Christianity (already predicted in scripture), and the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church, an instrument of the Antichrist, with their help. As a sign of the imminent return of Christ, Jews and Muslims would together celebrate the feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem. In this way Coccejus gave Islam a clear place in his eschatological vision, though in the earlier *Oratio* he is not so outspoken.

In particular, in later exegetical treatises Coccejus applies texts of the Hebrew Bible to contemporary Islam. He refers Isaiah 45:14 – 'the tall Sabeans... will bow down before you' – to the great power of the Ottoman Empire and its coming conversion. The four wings of the beast of Daniel 7:6 refer to the four realms of the Roman Empire that were conquered by Muslims: Syria, Africa, Asia and Greece. The 'kings from the East' of Revelation 16:12 are a preparation for the end of time, when

the ‘Turks will come to the west again and all efforts will be made to preach the Gospel to them, so that they may convert’. He understood the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to mark a beginning of this process, and the end of the world was expected in 1667 with the final triumph of the Reformed Church in common service to God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Coccejus is an eminent example of 17th-century Calvinist awareness of the power of the Ottoman Empire in a religiously and politically divided Europe. At this time, knowledge of Arabic and some study of Islamic sources were seen as an integral part of a good education in religion and the humanities. A graduate student could earn honour and respect through an erudite exposition of the basic doctrines of Islam, while at the same time attacking and rejecting them.

Coccejus’s original Greek text was translated into Latin by the otherwise unknown John Creyghton for the 1706-7 edition of Coccejus’ shorter works. The Greek and Latin texts were then printed together, though no title was given to the publication. Although Coccejus remained a well-known name in Dutch Calvinist thinking, his work on Islam was left unnoticed until it was translated into Dutch in 1997, together with works by Gisbertus Voetius and Adrianus Relandus, as a response to the renewed interest for Islam in Western Europe.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

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Karel Steenbrink

Cornelis Pijnacker

DATE OF BIRTH 6 July 1570
PLACE OF BIRTH Pijnacker, Netherlands
DATE OF DEATH 12 January 1645
PLACE OF DEATH Franeker, Netherlands

BIOGRAPHY

As a young man, Cornelis Pijnacker studied theology and law in Leiden and Heidelberg. In 1598, he began an academic career in Leiden, and in 1614 he moved to Groningen University, where he became rector two years later. Between 1622 and 1627, he was Dutch ambassador to Algiers with instructions to seek a peace treaty preventing further piracy and the release of Dutch citizens held as slaves or taken captive for ransom. He made two trips to the central towns of the Mediterranean corsairs, leaving for the first trip in July 1622. In October, he reached an agreement in Algiers, which included the release of a group of Algerian citizens who had been taken into custody by a Dutch ship in Malta, and the promise that Dutch ships could come to Algiers for trade, and would pay enough in customs and other services to compensate for the loss of profit from piracy. In November 1622, he reached a similar agreement in Tunis.

He returned to The Hague in March 1623. New problems arose when Dutch trade proved in fact not to be profitable. Pijnacker therefore travelled again to Algiers in September 1625 with two war ships. He returned in March 1626 with 38 liberated slaves, including 25 French fishermen. He also had to redeem the Dutch consul, Wynant de Keyser, who had entered into a complicated conflict with the rulers in Algiers. Pijnacker proposed a plan to build a Dutch trading factory on the coast, east of Algiers, and promised the Algerians a substantial amount of money to facilitate this, but the plan could not be implemented. The treaty he signed with Algiers was not accepted by the Dutch government because it did not contain a clause that fully guaranteed free trade, and a state of semi-war continued to exist between the two countries (Algiers not acting as a province of Ottoman Turkey, but rather as an independent political entity). Pijnacker had problems financing the costly mission, and he was never again tasked with any diplomatic duties. He moved to the University of Franeker, where he remained as rector until his death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Historisch verhael van den steden Thunes, Algiers
ende andere steden in Barbarien gelegen, 'History of
Tunis, Algiers and other towns of Barbary'*

DATE 1626 or 1627

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

After his second mission to Algiers in 1626, Pijnacker composed his monograph *Historisch verhael van den steden Thunes* in the same year or the year after. It is not the story of his travels (which was published in print in 1650 as the anonymous booklet *Reyse naer Africa*) but rather of his diplomatic mission and the general culture of the two cities of Tunis and Algiers. It consists of 54 unnumbered chapters, of which chapters 46-54 discuss Tunis. The first section is about Algiers (written as Argieri) with much attention given to its army (Janissaries, the private armies of the corsairs) and its rulers (the Ottoman governor, the local *dey*, the leaders of the pirate fleet). Chapters 21-32 deal with religious matters, first some observations of practices, and also, towards the end, some doctrinal issues. Chapter 21 is about the 'almanac' or calendar of holidays, chapters 24 and 25 deal with the burial practices of 'Christians, Jews and Arabs', and chapter 26 with the generosity of the Muslims and their giving of alms. Chapter 27 deals with the 'Āshūrā' ceremonies, chapter 28 with circumcision, chapter 29 with religious dignitaries, and chapter 30

with prayers in the mosque and their 'Paternoster', rosary or *tasbiḥ*. Chapter 31 gives examples of 'ridiculous superstitions', especially the great honour they give to the 'marabout' (*marbūt*, West African Muslim religious leader).

Chapter 32 provides some points of doctrine. Pijnacker pays much attention to the great honour given to Jesus Christ and mentions that the Muslims say he was 'an honest man and a prophet of the Christians who now sits on the right side of God, while Muhammad sits on his left side' (*Historysch*, p. 149). God is almighty, and this means that he is not bound by specific rules. He may permit people from all religions to enter paradise so there is no compulsion in matters of religion (*Historysch*, pp. 151-2).

SIGNIFICANCE

Pijnacker is a good example of the approach of a diplomat to Islam. He is a keen observer of Algerian society, its delicate relationship to the Ottoman Empire and its need to keep piracy intact. He tries to understand a powerful distant nation in order to make the best of the situation he encounters, and he describes the situation as he sees it without dreaming about how to change the society he observes. He also describes the many converts to Islam (or 'renegades' as he calls them) through their physical appearance: in addition to circumcision, wearing a turban and Turkish mantle is for him the real expression of conversion.

His work was not published and remained in the archives until 1975, so it may not have had much influence on other authors.

PUBLICATIONS

MS The Hague, National Archive – Staten-Generaal no 8342, *Historysch verhael van den steden Thunes, Algiers ende andere steden in Barbarien geleden* (1626 or 1627)

C. Pijnacker, *Historysch verhael van den steden Thunes, Algiers ende andere steden in Barbarien geleden*, The Hague, 1975 (edition and commentary by G.S. van Krieken)

STUDIES

L. van den Broek and M. Jacobs (eds), *Christenslaven. De slavernij-ervaringen van Cornelis Stout in Algiers (1678-1680) en Maria Ter Meetelen in Marokko (1731-1743)*, Zutphen, 2006

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Karel Steenbrink

Hugo Grotius

Hugo de Groot

DATE OF BIRTH: 10 April 1583

PLACE OF BIRTH: Delft

DATE OF DEATH: 28 August 1645

PLACE OF DEATH: Rostock

BIOGRAPHY

Hugo Grotius was born in Delft during the Dutch War of Independence against the Spanish Crown (1568-1648) as the first son of an intellectual Protestant family. His father, Jan Grotius, was a close friend of the famous philologist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). At the age of 11, Hugo entered the University of Leiden, defending his thesis on philosophy at the age of 14, and then went to the Université d'Orléans to study law. After graduating, he returned to the Dutch Republic and established a law practice in The Hague. Soon, well-known politicians such as Johan van Oldebarnevelt and Prince Maurice of Orange become his clients.

In 1609, the Dutch Republic agreed on a truce with Spain, which resulted in great social unrest. Prince Maurice of Orange seized power amid the turmoil and, authorised by the States General, arrested Johan van Oldebarnevelt, his former advisor, and two of van Oldebarnevelt's accomplices, Rombout Hogerbeets and Hugo Grotius. They were accused of treason for secretly negotiating with Spain and (as a result) weakening the Dutch trading organisation, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC). Another accusation, however, was that van Oldebarnevelt and his accomplices were sympathisers of the Remonstrant movement, a current connected to Jacobus Arminius and accused of being sympathetic to the Socinian anti-Trinitarian theology. In Holland, the Remonstrants were strong advocates of more government control of the church. Maurice, on the other hand, supported the contra-Remonstrant current in the church, arguing for a more independent church and pleading for a national Protestant Council. This controversy intensified after the truce with Spain, becoming one of the main points of dispute between Prince Maurice and van Oldebarnevelt. After the latter's arrest, the National Protestant Council was established on 13 November 1618. A few months later, on 12 May 1619, van Oldebarnevelt, Hogerbeets and Grotius were found

guilty. Van Oldebarnevelt was executed the day after, while Hogerbeets and Grotius were given life sentences and had their possessions confiscated. Grotius was sent to Loevestein castle, where he worked on *Bewys van den waren godsdienst*. In 1621, he escaped Loevestein with the help of his wife, Maria. He fled to Paris, where he started to work on *De iure belli ac pacis* (published in 1625), his most famous book, which would become a landmark work on international relations.

In 1631, Grotius moved to Amsterdam but, despite his hope that he might settle and work for the VOC, he had to flee the country again. He moved to Hamburg, where his juridical talent was soon recognised by the Swedes. A few years later, in 1634, he became Swedish ambassador to France and returned to Paris. There, he worked on the treaty that would end the Thirty Years War (1616-48) and also concerned himself with the issue of Christian unity between Catholics and Protestants. After Queen Christina ascended to the Swedish throne in 1644, she recalled Grotius from his function as ambassador. While returning from France, he survived a shipwreck on the Baltic Sea, reaching Sweden after considerable effort. A later attempt to travel from Sweden to Germany was his last. Although he survived another harsh journey, he died on 28 August 1645 in Rostock.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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R.B. Roosevelt (ed.), *Catalogue of the works of Grotius and of books relating to him*, New York, 2013 (repr. of 1890 edition)

For a complete list of Grotius' works, see:

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Secondary

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- H. Wehberg, *Hugo Grotius*, Wiesbaden, 1956
- W.J.M. van Eysinga, *Huigh de Groot, een schets*, Haarlem, 1945
- J. Huizinga, *Nederland's beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw. Een schets en Hugo de Groot en zijn eeuw*, Groningen, 1941

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Bewys van den waren godsdienst met overige
Nederduitsche gedichten*, 'Proof of the true religion
with other Low German poems'

DATE 1622, 1627

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Grotius' *Bewys van den waren godsdienst* was partly written during his captivity at Loevestein castle. When he was suffering from depression, his close friend Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649) tried to cheer him up by encouraging him to study and write. In December 1619, Grotius wrote to Vossius to say that he was considering working on a booklet against 'unbelievers and Jews'. A few months later, in March 1620, he had already finished the first three parts of the book.

The purpose of his book was to present a defence of the true faith in straightforward Dutch to educate laypeople, especially those who were going overseas, such as mariners or merchants, to occupy them while travelling and to help them to defend their religion against pagans, Jews and Muslims (*Muhametanen*). For this reason, Grotius wrote the entire book in the form of didactic poetry.

Bewys was preceded by an earlier, unpublished version entitled *Geloofs voorberecht* ('Introduction to faith'). It was first published in 1622, one year after Grotius escaped Loevestein in April 1621, under the title *Bewys van den waren godsdienst. In ses Boecken gestelt by Hugo de Groot*. It became very popular in his own circles, but was criticised by Dutch Calvinists such as Voetius and Heinsius. Grotius himself translated the book into Latin and published it in 1627 simultaneously in Paris and Leiden as *Sensus librorum sex quos pro veritate religionis Christianae Batavice scripsit Hugo Grotius*. In this, he did not follow the Dutch original but rephrased his Latin text into prose. In order to correct many misprints, the book was republished in 1629 as *De veritate religionis Christianae*, and again, for the same reason, in 1633. In 1640, Grotius published an *editia nova* and added notes. The Dutch version was republished in 1622. Other editions appeared throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, including a Dutch translation of Grotius' Latin paraphrase. A 1683 version was annotated and complemented with a foreword by the historian Gerard Brandt (and again republished in 1720 and 1728). In 1844, Jeronimo de

Vries wrote a further introduction and added footnotes. An English translation appeared in 1686 and 1743, based on the Latin text. Grotius' book was also translated into French, German, Greek and other languages, and saw many reprints and spurious editions in many languages.

One of these translations is of particular interest for Christian-Muslim relations. Since the work was considered to be important as the first systematic Protestant polemical work, Edward Pococke (1604-91), first Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, translated the Latin translation into Arabic in 1660 for use in missionary endeavours in the East. The Arabic translation (*De veritate religionis Christianae. Editio nova cum annotationibus, cui accessit versio Arabica. Al-maqāla fī ibtāl dīn al-Islām*) lacks some of the original phrases from the last section of the book in which Muḥammad is confuted. Pococke explains in a foreword that he has left out some phrases that wrongly ascribe certain views to Muslims (Toomer, 'Edward Pococke's Arabic translation').

With his *De veritate*, Grotius situated himself in the 17th-century debate on the essence of the Christian faith. By writing a lucid and concise defence of Christianity devoid of heavy dogmatic considerations, he identified himself as a late Renaissance humanist against the compelling dogmas of the Dutch Calvinists (the Canons of Dort appeared in 1619).

The account below is based on the English edition of the work by John Clarke (1743), which is a translation of the Latin text. Where this translation deviates from the original Latin text, this is indicated.

Grotius' *De veritate* consists of six books. Although he avoids great disputes about doctrine, his work reveals a classic doctrinal structure in Books 1-3 about God, Jesus and the Bible, respectively. In Book 4, he deals with paganism, in Book 5 with the Jews, and in Book 6 he writes about 'Mahometanism'. Islam is also addressed occasionally in Books 1-4, for example as 'the Mahometan Religion' that is 'bred in Arms' and breathes nothing else (p. 113). In Book 2, Section 18, Grotius wants to emphasise the excellence of the Christian religion by referring to the 'excellency of its teacher' (p. 126). The 'deliverance' and 'propagation' of the true religion is connected to the author of its doctrine, he claims. In this, Muḥammad 'abandoned himself to Lust all his Life long' (pp. 127-8). Grotius argues that this is not denied by Muḥammad's 'Friends' and continues to say that, although Muḥammad promised rewards 'which consisted in Feasts and Women', he never confirmed that promise, while – unlike Jesus – he lies now buried in a tomb.

Book 6 (pp. 236-56) deals at length with Islam, and starts with 'a Confutation of Mahometanism' (Section 1), parallel to Grotius' earlier

confutations against the pagans in Book 4 and the Jews in Book 5. Grotius places Islam in the context of the judgements of God. He draws, in broad strokes, a history of how the Christians, after first being tormented and afflicted, began to decline (p. 262). 'After Constantine', the Christian princes started to wage war 'without measure', while the bishops 'quarrelled with each other most bitterly about the highest Places' (p. 263). Grotius' critique is focused mainly on the ritualisation (with a focus on bodily exercise) and partisanship (with violent loyalties as a result) of Christianity, which developed contrary to the 'purity of mind'.

The appearance of Muḥammad is situated in a context in which God punishes the Christian world by 'vast Armies' and 'great Slaughter': by God's permission (*justo Dei permissu*, p. 240), Muḥammad planted a 'new Religion, directly opposite to the Christian Religion' (p. 266). Grotius pays special attention to the Turks, 'a very war-like People' who easily 'embraced a Religion agreeable to their Manners' (p. 267) and who expanded to the borders of Hungary and Germany.

In Section 2, Grotius addresses Muḥammad's new religion as a religion that delights in ceremonies. There is no liberty to enquire, nor are common people (whom Grotius is addressing in their own language and vocabulary!) allowed to read 'those Books which they account sacred', even though God has planted in the minds of men the power to judge.

In Section 3, Grotius underlines that, although Muḥammad acknowledges the missions of both Moses and Jesus, the *Alcoran* contains many things that are 'the Law of Mahomet, directly contrary to what is delivered by Moses, and the Disciples of Jesus' (p. 268). The accusation that the books of Moses and of Jesus' disciples were corrupted is 'fiction' according to Grotius. The *Alcoran*, on the other hand, contains many things contrary to Christian belief. If 'the Doctrine of *Mahomet* had nothing in it contrary to the doctrine of Jesus', the Christians would have easily accepted his books.

In Section 4, Grotius compares Muḥammad with Christ, arguing that Muḥammad himself confessed Jesus as Messiah, the Word, Mind and Wisdom of God. In this section, he clearly tries to empower his readers with arguments to de-legitimise Muḥammad as a religious leader ('who was a long time a Robber and always effeminate'), leading to the phrase: 'And now can anyone doubt which to follow' (the Latin version reads: *uter potius frequendus fit, quis non videat?*).

In Section 5, Grotius distinguishes between the works of Jesus and Muḥammad, the former performing miracles to heal the sick while the

latter was sent with arms, performing no miracles at all, although some miracles are ascribed to him, such as camels speaking to him at night.

In Section 6, this line continues, emphasising that the followers of Christ were innocent God-fearing men, while Muḥammad's followers were robbers 'and Men devoid of Humanity and Piety' (p. 272).

Section 7 portrays the methods by which the law of Christ was propagated (by miracles, instruction and persuasion) as contrary to how the 'Teachers of *Mahometanism*' spread their message: 'that Religion follows where Arms lead the Way; it is the Companion of Arms' (p. 273). The success of this religion is a consequence of success in war. However, this success is only temporary, as is shown by the fact that 'they were driven out of all *Spain*'. Interestingly, Grotius argues that the distrust shown towards arguments in Muḥammad's religion results in an attitude that he assesses as a destruction of its religious claims, because non-Muslims are allowed to be 'reduced to their Obedience, to be of what Religion they please; nay, and sometimes they openly acknowledge that Christians may be saved by their own Law' (p. 274).

Section 8 compares the precepts of the two religions, distinguishing between a 'here' and a 'there': 'here' (in Christianity) patience and kindness are commanded, and perpetual bonds of matrimony and the moderate consumption of wine and meat are enjoined; 'there' (in Islam) revenge is commanded, polygamy is allowed ('women upon women [...] as being always new Incitements to Lust') and swine flesh and wine are forbidden, although these are great gifts of God.

In Section 9, Grotius is concerned with the 'Mahometans Objection' that Jesus cannot be the son of God, fully aware that this is taken as an offence among Muslims. He objects, however, that Muḥammad himself ascribes to God a wife and says he has 'a cold Hand' (p. 276), and explains 'Son of God' as 'Word of God' that in a peculiar manner is produced from the mind. In Grotius' explanation of the nature of Christ, the mind precedes the more physical aspects of Jesus, such as his virgin birth.

Section 10 addresses the 'absurd Things' in the books of Islam. Here, Grotius argues against miracle-narratives that run contrary to 'the Truth of History' and are senseless in the light of the Gospels (p. 277), using predominantly the 12th-century Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus as a source (*Saracenia, siue Moamethica*).

Section 11 summarises Grotius' arguments against pagans, Jews and Muslims. Islam was already foretold by Jesus when he warned his disciples that after his time would come people who would falsely claim

that they were sent by God (p. 281). Again, he raises the image of violence in connection with Muḥammad. Having stated earlier that Islam is a religion 'calculated for Bloodshed' (p. 267) and that Muḥammad was not sent with miracles but with arms (p. 271), he finishes his assessment by stating that, unlike the 'Soldiers of Christ', Muḥammad depended on physical weapons instead of the weapons of the spirit, 'fitted for the pulling down of strong Holds erected against the Knowledge of God' (p. 282).

Although the beginning of Book 6 promises to develop a fierce critique against a Christianity that had become much like his perception of Islam in violence and corruption, in the end Grotius has construed a rational, humanist version of Christianity that is not opposed to real, historical Christianity (which Grotius intended to unite), but that perceives its own critique of Christianity in a constructed version of 'Mahometism'.

According to the notes Grotius added in 1640 to the Latin paraphrase, his information about Islam was based on such sources as Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's (1243-1320) *Confutatio Alcorani*, the Byzantine Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus' (1295-1383) *Contra Mahometicam Christiana & orthodoxa assertio*, the Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus' (12th century) *Saracenicæ, sive Moamethicæ*, and – most of all – the Spanish humanist Joannes Ludovicus Vives' (1492-1540) *De veritate fidei Christianæ* (whose work was based on Riccoldo's *Confutatio Alcorani*). Grotius refers to Theodore Bibliander's collection of predominantly medieval literature (including the Qur'an) of and about Islam that was published in 1543 as *Machumetis Saracenorū principis*. This means that, although he had a basic knowledge of the Arabic language (Heering, *Hugo de Groot*, p. 155), his ideas about Islam were 'classic' and could be inscribed into Western stereotypes of Islam that had not changed much thematically since the Middle Ages, but had become more topical since the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529.

The apologetic argumentation in Grotius' work is strongly influenced by earlier humanist apologists such as Joannes Ludovicus Vives, Fausto Sozzini (1534-1604) and Philippe Duplessis Mornay (1579-1623) (Heering, *Hugo de Groot*, pp. 95-161).

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Grotius' *Bewys* of 1622 was written for lay people, using common language and developing the arguments as a poem in order to educate and create the possibility of memorising, the 1627 *De veritate* (and notably the 1640 edition) is in prose and addresses a more educated and

intellectual audience. In this way, the work became popular at different levels of European societies.

The impact of Grotius' work is evidenced by the large number of translations and editions that were made. It was considered to represent a Protestant-humanist polemics of Christian faith at a time when Europe was being torn apart by political and religious quarrels and while Holland was at the same time becoming stronger as a sea-faring nation.

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Sensus librorum sex quos pro veritate religionis Christianae Batavice scripsit Hugo Grotius, Leiden, 1627 (BG no. 944)

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Von der Warheit der Christlichen Religion auss Holländischer Sprache Hochdeutsch gegeben. Durch Martin Opitzen, trans. M. Opitz, Breslau, 1631 (BG no. 152) (German trans.)

True religion explained, and defended against the archenemies thereof in these times, trans. Franciscus a Sancta Clara, London, 1632 (BG no. 1024) (English trans.); STC 12400 (digitalised version available through *EEBO*)

De veritate religionis Christianae. Editio tertia, prioribus auctior, et emendatior, Leiden, 1633 (BG no. 947)

De veritate religionis Christianae. Editio nova, additis annotationibus in quibus testimonia, Paris, 1640 (BG no. 950)

Von der Gewisheit der Christlichen Religion, sechs Bücher: mit den Anmerkungen: darin die Heil. Schrift und die Christliche Lehre aus der Jüden und Mahumetisten eignem Gezeugnis behauptet, und die Gottlosen aus ihrer Vernunft, und die Heyden, Jüden und Mahumetisten, aus ihren eignen Schriften, mit unwidersprechlichen Gründen, ihres grossen Irrthums überwiesen werden, einem jeden einfältigen Christen, so der Lateinischen Sprach nicht kündig ist, zu Nutz, Hugo Grotius; aus dem Lateinischen Exemplar ins Teutsche gebracht, und mit kurzen Summarken über jedes Buch, sammt einen nötigen Zusatz, der reinen Evangelischen Lehre halben, vermehret durch Valentinum Musculum, trans. V. von Loienfels, Stockholm, 1656 (German trans.)

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Lucien van Liere

Adriaen Matham

DATE OF BIRTH About 1600
PLACE OF BIRTH Haarlem
DATE OF DEATH 1660
PLACE OF DEATH The Hague

BIOGRAPHY

Adriaen Matham was a son of the engraver and painter from Haarlem, Jacob Matham. A close friend of the painter Frans Hals, he followed his father's profession.

From September 1640 to November 1641, Matham accompanied the Dutch ambassador Anthonie van Liederkerke on his mission to the sultan of Morocco. The reason for this is unknown, though the ambassador may have wanted an illustrated account of the mission he was undertaking. During this journey, Matham kept a journal and made many drawings and paintings, though he was apparently not the only artist in the group, because he mentions another painter from Antwerp.

The mission arrived at al-Safi in western Morocco on 24 December 1640. They made the short journey to Mogador and were back on their ship by 27 January 1641. After nearly six weeks, they were invited to the court of the sultan in Marrakech, where they stayed from 12 March to 8 May. Matham made many paintings and drawings of Marrakech, and wrote down his observations. It appears that the sultan invited them to stay at his court, but Matham wrote, 'we would rather die than live our life among these godless barbarians'.

On 22 May, the embassy sailed from Safi to Agadir in order to free some Dutch sailors. They were partially successful, and they finally left Morocco on 4 September. During their stop in Madeira, Matham noted: 'We were very happy that we had again come into a Christian land to hear the bells ringing, which for such a long time in Barbary we did not hear.' The mission finally returned to the Netherlands on 12 November 1641.

After his return, Matham established himself in The Hague as a painter and art dealer. He sold some of his Moroccan paintings to the cartographer Johannes Blaeu, who used them in his *Atlas maior*. Matham died in The Hague in 1660.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Journael vande Ambassade vanden Heer Anthonis de Liedekerke, 'Journal of the mission of ambassador Anthonis de Liederkerke'

DATE 1640-41

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Matham's journal (in full, *Journael vande Ambassade vanden Heer Anthonis de Liedekerke wegens haer Ho. Mo. De Heeren staeten Generael vande verenichde Nederlanden gesonden naer de coninck Van Marocco, welk iournael gehouden is op het schip "Gelderlandt" door Adriaen Matham constrijk schilder*, 'Journal of the mission of ambassador Anthonis de Liederkerke, sent by the High Commissioners of the United Netherlands to the King of Morocco, written by Adriaen Matham, an able painter') starts as a log with day-to-day observations about the distances covered and the weather conditions. But once in Morocco, Matham shows himself a good observer of the manners and customs of the people. On his return to Holland, he assembled many of his drawings of Marrakech in a large engraving of the town, and accompanied it with an extensive explanatory Notice. His journal, as well as this Notice, contains a number of remarks about Islamic practices in 17th-century Morocco.

On the celebration of 'Īd Kabīr, Matham writes: 'On Moorish Easter Day the king rides, escorted by many great Lords and many thousands on horses and on foot, accompanied by flutes, drums, trumpets, copper cymbals and other exotic instruments, to a certain place one hour outside town. Once there, the king dismounts from his horse and two rams are brought to him, the throats of which the king himself slits and lets them bleed to death. If these rams bleed to death immediately it means a bad omen for this empire, but if they bleed for a quarter of an hour

while still alive it means a good omen, good luck, blessing and prosperity for the country. As it appeared, luck was on the king's side, because the rams remained alive for a long time, there was great cheerfulness, and the king was welcomed at his court with singing, playing and dancing by more than two thousand women, those he had married as well as his concubines, and the whole day was spent in pleasure by the nobles and common people' (*Journal*, pp. 63-4).

The Notice contains the following remarks on the practice of circumcision: 'These people have some very strange and ridiculous ceremonies which they practise with more ardour than most of the Christians. Every male is circumcised according to the laws they received from their prophet. The female sex has its own circumcision of another kind of which we will not speak for personal reasons. Concerning circumcision, they proceed in the same way as the subjects of the Great Turk according to the law of the Qur'an of Mohamet, though there are differences between them with the result that they hate each other, as we have seen ourselves. Turks taken prisoner are treated in the same very harsh way as our Christian slaves.'

Further on, Matham describes the call to prayer: 'Bells are forbidden, but in the evening, during the night and early in the morning everywhere guardians call from the top of the tower: "Halla, Halla, Halla, Machomet Roshalla", and so we can approximately judge what is the time. We are not allowed to enter their temples, but from the outside we can see that there is nothing interesting except some burning lamps. Before entering for prayer they wash their feet and take off their shoes. Women who can still give birth are not allowed to enter. Half an hour before the service starts a white flag is hoisted, which is lowered after the beginning of the sermon.'

The purpose of Van Liederkerke's mission was not only to conclude a treaty with the sultan but also to free the crew of two Dutch vessels that had been stranded. They were held as slaves by the 'Santon' (ruler) of Illich near Agadir. Negotiations proved to be laborious, and finally De Liederkerke only managed to free 45 of the men. Matham noted: 'These godless people take little care in maintaining the contracts, promises and oaths they have made, because in the contract that the Lord Ambassador had made with the brother of the Santon the slaves of the second ship were expressly included.' He concludes with the following note: 'The Santon is a cruel and unmerciful man: when the slaves first arrived there, he said to them: "God has sent you all here so that you could all together



Illustration 9. Detail of a view of Marrakesh, showing Antonius de Liedekerke, the Dutch ambassador, in procession, engraving by Adriaen Matham

work for me, for I have not brought you all myself, and if it is God's will you may leave again". And now departing he said: "Go away, and come again in one or two years with a loaded ship to visit me. And help me to do my work again."

SIGNIFICANCE

Matham's comments about the practices of Moroccan Muslims do not form any systematic analysis of them or their beliefs. Their casual character is therefore all the more revealing about his attitude towards what he saw. He leaves little doubt that he regards the people as superstitious and blinkered in their beliefs, and their rulers as capricious and tyrannical. He also insinuates that Islam is a debased form of faith, and certainly inferior to his own Christianity.

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Herman Obdeijn

Anna Maria van Schurman

DATE OF BIRTH 5 November 1607
PLACE OF BIRTH Cologne, Germany
DATE OF DEATH About 5 May 1678
PLACE OF DEATH Wiewerd, The Netherlands

BIOGRAPHY

Anna Maria van Schurman was the first female university student in Europe. She was born in Cologne in 1607, into a family with Calvinist sympathies who had been forced to leave Antwerp in 1568. When Anna Maria was three years old, the tolerant religious climate in Cologne began to change and the family was once again compelled to move, finally settling in Utrecht in about 1615.

When Utrecht University opened in 1636, thanks to her close connection with one of Utrecht's founding professors, Gisbertus Voetius, van Schurman was allowed to attend lectures (behind a screen), thus becoming its first female student. She developed into a scholar well versed in theology, philosophy and philology. Her dissertation on women's rights to academic study was first published in Paris (1638), then in Leiden (1641) at the famous Elzeviers publishing house, and incorporated in her much-reprinted book *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica* (1648 onwards). The book confirmed her as a humanist polyglot, conversant in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French, with references in Arabic and Syriac. Apart from these languages, she also knew Dutch, German, Italian, English, Aramaic, Samaritan, Persian and Ethiopic. She actually wrote an unpublished Ethiopic grammar, though the manuscript seems no longer extant.

Van Schurman was well known internationally and became a key figure within the European network of the *Res publica litteraria* (Republic of letters), an extended network of humanist male (and some female) scholars.

The Early Modern period saw a great interest in learning Arabic on the part not only of philosophers fascinated by the medical and scientific knowledge contained in Arabic texts, but also of theologians such as Voetius. Semitic languages were seen as 'daughters' of 'mother' Hebrew and therefore crucial for understanding the Bible. Furthermore, people such

as Voetius believed it was necessary to learn the languages of religious 'opponents' such as Jews and Muslims and to study their holy books, in order to be able to convert them. At the same time, their studies also testify to their curiosity for the wider 'exotic' world, which included the world of Islam.

With the exception of the Spaniard Luisa Sigea, who knew some Arabic, and Anna Maria van Schurman, very few women in Early Modern western Europe had sufficient command of Arabic to write it. Van Schurman learnt Arabic from Voetius while he was a professor in Utrecht, and she put handbooks by Petrus Kirstenius, the grammar handbook of Erpenius, the *Thesaurus* of Gigeus and the *Lexicon* of Jacobus Golius to good use. In addition, she read books from her own library, the university library and Voetius' private collection: the Latin history of Islam, *Historia Arabica* by Rodericus Ximenez, the Arabic translations of the *Tabula cebetis* and of the *Aurea carmina* of Pythagoras, the *Compendium historicum* of Levinus Warnerus, the fables and proverbs of Luqmān, and a number of other works in Arabic. For practice, she read the various books of the Bible that had been translated into Arabic, such as Erpenius' edition of the Pentateuch, the New Testament, the Psalms and the Acts of the Apostles. Sometimes, she approached the Leiden physician Elichman for assistance, and after his death, the professor Jacobus Golius helped her.

In 1669, Anna Maria van Schurman joined the Labadists, a radical Protestant group. She explained the reasons for what she called her 'martyrdom' in her Latin autobiography, the *Eukleria*. After wandering from Amsterdam to Herford (Germany) and Altona (Denmark), the Labadists eventually settled in Wiewerd, Friesland, The Netherlands. In 1673, just before she left Altona, the last part of her library was sold; it included a *psalterium* in Arabic, an Arabic Qur'an and a French Qur'an translation, the Arabic lexicon by Raphelengius and a book of Arabic proverbs edited by Erpenius.

Anne Maria van Schurman died in Wiewerd in 1678, aged 69.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Opuscula and other works

DATE 1648

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica is a collection of poems, letters and treatises in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and French, written by Anna Maria van Schurman and edited by her friend and contemporary Friedrich Spanheim, theologian and rector of the university in Leiden. Spanheim supervised the first publication of the book in 1648. The *Opuscula*, 374 pages in length, proved a success and was republished several times between 1650 and 1749. The book evidences van Schurman’s scholarly and linguistic capabilities and includes her dissertation *Num foeminae Christianae conveniat studium litterarum*.

Arabic citations in the *Opuscula* demonstrate van Schurman’s versatility in Arabic and her knowledge of Islam. For example, in the letter *De vitae termino* that she wrote to Van Beverwijck and incorporated in the *Opuscula*, she quotes in Arabic from the story of Joseph in the Qur’an, adding that it contained an excellent proverb: ‘God triumphs in his cause, even if the people do not understand it’ (Q 12:22, van Schurman, *Opuscula* [1648], p. 10). She uses this same quotation several times in *alba amicorum*, and on the beautiful multilingual pages where she combines her calligraphic skills and her knowledge of oriental languages to express her piety. Another Arabic quotation she often uses is the proverb



Illustration 10. Page of the *alba amicorum* dedicated to Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, professor in Deventer and Leiden, written by Anna Maria van Schurman in Arabic, Latin and Greek

‘One day in the life of a wise person is worth more than a whole life of a fool’ from the *Proverbia* or *Adagia* (no. 95). She also quotes from the Arabic translation of Psalms 19 and 89.

She is known to have written various essays in Arabic, with exegetical content, but these have not (yet) been found; the same is true of her letters in Arabic.

Van Schurman’s method of bringing together multiple sources (Christian, Jewish, Muslim, classical philosophy, etc.) to argue a point is reminiscent of one of her key teachers, Gisbertus Voetius. In his treatise *Politica ecclesiastica*, Ch. 1:4 (‘Concerning women’), Voetius explores ‘Whether the superiority of a man over his wife extends to beatings’ (Question 3). In his answer, he quotes from the Qur’an among many other works, as follows: ‘Agreeing with these opinions, is the law of Mohammed, chapter 9 of the Koran, where he decrees that if wives do not obey the precepts of the husband, “they should be detained at home or in bed, or beaten” (Voetius, *Whether a Christian woman should be educated*, p. 120, quoting Q 4:34).

Like her contemporaries, van Schurman read the Qur'an in Arabic in order to help her understand corresponding texts in Hebrew. As she wrote in her autobiography:

After all, in these exercises my intention was not to adorn myself: but because I had my eye on the Greek and Hebrew languages and valued them as the original languages of the Bible, and because I regarded the other Oriental languages as daughter languages of Hebrew, or as branches thereof, and therefore as precious and worthy of the praise of learned men. I came to realise that I had to acquire these languages by untiring effort, in particular Syrian, Arabic and the Moorish language, because these have more word roots of which the derivatives are found only in the Bible, and therefore these would enable me to fathom their deepest meaning. (van Schurman, *Eukleria*, p. 31)

Van Schurman owned a handwritten Qur'an which became part of the collection of the Reformed minister Abraham Hinckelmann of Hamburg, and which he made use of in a full-text edition that he published in 1694.

Van Schurman's love of Arabic equalled her love of Greek, as can be seen in two works of calligraphy she made. Each bears an arch shape at the centre with the Lord's Prayer in Greek in one and *Sūrat al-fātiḥa* in Arabic in the other. She kept these with her till the end of her life. (They are now in the Museum Martena, Franeker, Friesland.)

SIGNIFICANCE

Van Schurman's works and correspondence demonstrate how in the 17th century acquaintance with the Qur'an and Arabic had become part of the study of theology in Reformed circles. However, Arabic and Islamic texts were not primarily studied for their own sake, but in order to better understand Hebrew and the Bible linguistically and contextually. In addition, the study served missionary purposes, and was aimed at the conversion of Jews and Muslims.

Uniquely for a 17th-century woman, Anna Maria van Schurman not only moved in scholarly circles, but actively contributed to debates and attracted the respect of her male peers for her exceptional linguistic skills and knowledge.

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Pieta van Beek

Gisbertus Voetius

DATE OF BIRTH 3 March 1589
PLACE OF BIRTH Heusden, Holland
DATE OF DEATH 1 November 1676
PLACE OF DEATH Utrecht

BIOGRAPHY

Born into an impoverished patrician family, Gisbertus Voetius became a student of Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus at the University of Leiden in 1604. After ordination, he first ministered in the villages of Vlijmen and Engelen from 1611, and then in his home town of Heusden, where he began to study Arabic so as to be able to read the Qur'an. He was sent to the synod of Dordt in 1618-19. In 1634, he became professor and delivered his inaugural lecture on *De pietate cum scientia conjugenda* at the Latin School of Utrecht. Two years later, he obtained university status for this school.

He gained influence through his systematic, scholastic approach to theology and in opposing his colleague in Leyden, Johannes Coccejus, who promoted a new understanding of scripture and developed a covenant theology from a critical position on biblical texts. Voetius also fiercely opposed the philosophy of Descartes. During this period, he became a church pastor in Utrecht and mentored a group of students of whom Johannes Hoornbeeck later became his colleague.

In 1646, he republished J. Lauterbach's Latin translation of *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética* by the Spaniard Juan Andrés, a former Muslim scholar. In his lectures entitled *De scientia Dei*, Voetius reflected on Muslim philosophers such as Avicenna (980-1037), al-Ghazālī (1059-1111) and Averroes (1126-98). He considered that they maintained the views of Aristotle on the knowledge of God with respect to the world and its history. At the request of his students, he organised a disputation entitled *De Muhammedismo* in 1648, which he later published as a treatise.

He was outspoken about the ethical problems in government that were apparent in the city of Utrecht. His colleagues Johannes Teellinck and Abraham van de Velde were banned from the city in 1660 because of their outspokenness on these issues. Voetius had a wide circle of friends

and supported the 'Nadere Reformatie' (the Dutch Further Reformation) movement. He also faced bitter opposition from some very public adversaries. He lived in the city near the Dom Tower for many years, and two days after his death on 1 November 1676 was buried in the Church of St Catherine.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Disputatio de Mohammedanismo, 'A disputation about Muhammadanism'

DATE 1655

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Disputatio de Mohammedanismo was initially presented in 1648 as a rough outline of Voetius' ideas about Islam. It was re-edited in 1653, and subsequently published in the second volume of his *Selectae disputationes* in 1655 (pp. 659-83). It was intended for two different audiences: first, it was directed at pastors, commercial agents and embassy personnel who were to address the upsurge of Islam in Hungary and the influence

of Ottoman dominion in countries such as Syria. Second, he aimed to equip his students, who would encounter Muslims in the East Indies. Voetius emphasised the need to teach oriental languages. He made use of the Arabic text of the Qur'an and other Muslim sources, as well as a great variety of early Christian, medieval and contemporary literature on Islam, a faith that he thought evil. In his work, he considers *Muhammedismus* (Islam) closer to Christianity than to Judaism or heathen faiths because he believes it shares more knowledge from scripture and natural religion than the religion of Jews and gentiles. He classifies Muslims as *infideles minus crassi* ('unbelievers of a less gross degree'). Hence, he treats them as a separate group in a way that was considered progressive, according to Jongeneel ('Voetius' zendingstheologie', pp. 129-32). At the same time, Voetius refers to Islam as total apostasy and a full denial of the true (Christian) God and the call of the Gospel.

Voetius' scholastic treatise was composed in two parts: first, a historical description recounting the appearance of 'this evil' (pp. 659-73); second, a theological judgment focusing on how to cure it (pp. 674-83). He concludes with eight 'historical-theological', or rather, political problems with Islam. He disapproved from a political point of view of military action against Muslims, preferring verbal contests, following the seamen's slogan that it was preferable to live under Turkish rule than under the supervision of the pope.

In the historical part of the *Disputatio*, Voetius elaborates extensively on three subjects: what this religion stands for, what quality it represents and how it came into being. He explicitly deals with the terms 'muzilman, Saracen, Turk, Moor and Ismaelite', their historical meanings and occurrences. He then presents his definition of Islam and gives both a negative and a positive perspective on the Qur'an's understanding of the Old and the New Testaments with respect to what Muslims should believe and perform. He frequently points out contradictory elements in Muslim beliefs and morals. At the end of this first part, he ascribes the speed of the expansion of Islam to its violence, and underlines its aversion to images and its appearance of unity despite the multiplicity of Islamic sects. He argues that the rise of Islam from the year 622 was fostered by growing immorality among Christians and their lack of knowledge of the Bible.

In the second part of the *Disputatio*, he explains which hindrances should be removed, what means avoided and what effective means used to cure this evil. He divides the effective means into two elements. The general means involve philosophy, logic and the use of Arabic. Specific

means involve establishing a college of propaganda and a library. He then enumerates a long list of books, and develops the method of Philippus Mornaeus (p. 678) in stating that the challenge of religions must be overcome by common sense, natural light (*ratio luminis*) and philosophy, and also the establishment of common ground with the teachers of Islam. Thus, building upon similarities with Muslim belief, controversies could be dealt with from a rational and scriptural perspective, allowing the possibility of indicating the contradictions in Islam. For this purpose, Voetius categorises the general and specific divergences between biblical doctrine and the teachings of Muḥammad.

SIGNIFICANCE

Voetius' *Disputatio* was used by the Dutch reformist theologian, Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617-66), although the latter objectively identified the person of Muḥammad and his religion and specified the biblical books recognised by Muslims. According to J.W. Hofmeyr, Voetius promoted a more doctrinal survey of Islam, but later on he relied on Hoornbeeck. According to Bijleveld and Van Asselt, the significance of the *Disputatio* is limited to its historical contribution and polemical role because of its level of antagonism towards Islam. Steenbrink highlights the excellence of Voetius' introduction compared with 17th-century studies, but also indicates that Voetius was hampered by his theological perspective. According to him, Voetius also displays a lack of practical experience, such as on the question of Muslim rituals and customs. Jooisse argues that the *Disputatio* provides an example of a salvation historical approach because of its goal of sharing some degree of divine revelation with Muslims, aiming for a unilateral conversion of Muslims to Christianity.

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Leendert Jan Joosse

Johann Georg Nissel

DATE OF BIRTH 1623
PLACE OF BIRTH Hasslock, Palatinate, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 1662
PLACE OF DEATH Leiden

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1623 in Hasslock, Germany, Johann Georg Nissel enrolled at the University of Leiden in 1646, devoting himself to the study of Oriental languages under the direction of Jacobus Golius (1596-1667). On account of his poverty, he was exempted from paying tuition fees. In 1654, after unsuccessfully applying for a teaching position at a grammar school, which had been rendered difficult by the fact that he had not completed the college course, he decided to become a publisher. Although he was trained as an orientalist rather than as a professional printer, he purchased printing types from Elsevier and self-funded his scholarship, ruining himself financially in the process.

Nissel published a number of books. In 1659, he printed his *Sacra Biblia Hebraica*, an edition of the Hebrew Bible. The work was well-received by academics for its beauty and accuracy, and was praised by Abraham Heidan (1597-1678), Johannes Cocceius (1603-69), Johannes Hoornbeek (1617-66) and Allart Uchtmann (c. 1612-80). Besides his work in Hebrew, Nissel also engaged in the study, editing and printing of the scriptures in Ethiopic. Prior to establishing his own publishing imprint, Nissel had edited several Arabic-Ethiopic texts along with his friend Theodorus Petraeus (c. 1630-72), a Danish orientalist from Flensburg, who operated first in Leiden and then in Amsterdam. In 1654, he published a series of apostolic epistles in Ethiopic and Latin, followed in 1655 by the *Historia de Abrahamo, et de Gomorro-Sodomitica eversione ex Alcorano*, which featured an Arabic edition and Latin translation of suras 14 and 15 of the Qur'an. This work is important in representing one of the earliest partial translations of the Qur'an into Latin. Although the work contains an Arabic edition of the text, the translation was not made from the Arabic original, but rather from André du Ryer's French translation of these suras (Hamilton, 'Lutheran translator', p. 197). In 1656, he edited *The song of songs* in Ethiopic and Arabic, along with a Latin translation. This was

followed in 1660 by an Ethiopian account of the Nativity of Christ, *The Book of Ruth* in Ethiopic and Latin, and works on minor prophets such as Zephaniah. Although Nissel himself was admired for his enthusiasm and ground-breaking academic activities, his editions were nonetheless criticised by some of his contemporaries for typographical and semantic shortcomings.

One of Nissel's most important contributions to scholarship was his 1655 translation and publication of the *Testamentum inter Muhamedem Legatum Dei et Christianae religionis populos olim ininitum*, a work that featured the Arabic original and Latin translation of *al-‘ahd wa-l-shurūt allatī sharaṭahā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh li-ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*, namely, the *Covenant of the Prophet Muḥammad with the Christians*, as well as suras 14 and 15 of the Qur’an.

Nissel died in 1662. His printing press passed into the hands of his friend, Theodorus Petraeus.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Testamentum inter Muhamedem legatum dei et
Christianae religionis populos olim initum . . . :
ut et suratorum Alcorani decimal-quarte,
et decimal-quintae; textus originalis*

'The testament of Muḥammad, the Messenger of
God, with the Christians, featuring chapters 14 and
15 of the Qur'an: the original text'

*Al-‘ahd wa-l-shurūṭ allatī sharāṭahā Muḥammad
Rasūl Allāh li-ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*

DATE 1655

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

DESCRIPTION

The *Testamentum inter Muhammedem legatum Dei et Christianae religionis populos olim initum* (known in Arabic as *Al-‘ahd wa-l-shurūṭ allatī sharāṭahā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh li-ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*) is an Arabic and Latin booklet nearly 80 pages long that purports to reproduce a covenant Muḥammad concluded with the Christians of the world. It was printed by Nissel in 1655, having already been previously published in 1630 as the *Testamentum et pactiones initae inter Mohamedem et Christianae fidei cultores* by Gabriel Sionita (1577-1648), a Maronite priest born in Ehden, Lebanon. The original was reportedly brought back from the Middle East in 1629 by Pacifique de Provins (1588-1648). Born as René de l'Escale, de Provins was a French Capuchin father who argued for Christian rights in the Ottoman and Persian Empires before Sultan Murad (1612-40) and Shah Abbas (1571-1629).

Like a dozen similar documents that date back half a millennium, this covenant grants to Christians protections comparable to those found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the constitutions and bills of rights of modern secular nation-states. For example, the Prophet grants the Christian community freedom of belief and religious practice, protects churches and monasteries, forbids coerced conversions, exempts clerics from taxation, and provides lay people with a reasonable rate of taxation. Christians are not obliged to wage war on behalf of Muslims, and the Prophet grants them military protection.

Nissel's decision to print the *Testamentum* was apparently motivated by scholarly accuracy. However, it is also possible that he wanted to profit from the success of Sionita's earlier edition. In his preface to the work, he complains that Gabriel Sionita's Arabic script was sub-standard, probably because the text lacked proper vowel markings. By all standards, Nissel's edition was superior; however, apart from the improved Arabic script, the work is not entirely his own. In fact, with the exception of differences in capitalisation and a few tiny spelling differences, the Latin translation printed by Nissel is identical to the one completed by Sionita. Consequently, Nissel's work is not an original translation but merely a reprint. Moreover, Nissel did not directly translate chapters 14 and 15 of the Qur'an from Arabic into Latin, but translated them from André du Ryer's influential French translation of the Qur'an, which was printed in 1647.

This testament or covenant of the Prophet, edited by Sionita, Pacifique de Provins, Nissel and numerous other scholars, proved highly popular for centuries to come, appearing in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, as well as Latin, Greek, German, English, French, Italian and other languages, only to fall out of public consciousness with the spread of secularism and the collapse of Christian and Muslim empires during World War I.

While the covenant only became widely known in the Western world through its translation and publication by Sionita, Pacifique de Provins, Nissel, M.J. Fabricius, Jacobo Nagy de Harsany and other scholars, it did not appear in a vacuum. This covenant resembles the letters, treaties and promises of protection by Muḥammad that are found in classical Islamic works of biography, Prophetic traditions and jurisprudence. Mention of such covenants of protection is made in many early Muslim and Christian sources such as al-Wāqidī, Ibn Ishāq, Abū Yūsuf, Abū 'Ubayda, Ibn Sa'd, Abū Dāwūd, al-Balādhurī and al-Ya'qūbī, among many others.

In both style and substance, *Al-'ahd wa-l-shurūt*, known in Latin as the *Testamentum et pactiones* and *Testamentum inter Muhammedem legatum Dei et Christianae religionis* is highly similar and, at times, identical, to copies of Muḥammadan covenants found in ancient Christian patriarchates, churches and monasteries in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Persia and Greece, as well as the treasuries of the Fāṭimids, the Ottomans and the Safavids. The surviving copies of these documents, which were made between the 16th and early 20th centuries, were authenticated and notarised by caliphs, sultans and shahs, and granted to Christian communities under the protection of Islam. Originals are reported to exist in

various locations but have yet to be subjected to scholarly and scientific scrutiny.

Although some sceptics have suggested that Pacifique de Provins personally forged the Prophetic patent of protection, the copy he brought to France, which he had supposedly found in a monastery on Mount Carmel, was already centuries old. This document, which is currently in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, is almost identical to a reportedly original covenant of the Prophet kept, until the Syrian Civil War, at the Monastery of St George al-Homeyra. Due to threats of destruction by *takfirī* terrorists, this most prized possession of the monastery was relocated to an undisclosed location in 2015 for safe-keeping.

Moreover, Pacifique had no need to forge a charter of privileges and falsely attribute it to the Prophet, since Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian communities had been displaying such covenants of protection for centuries. In fact, since 1517, when Sultan Selim brought the *'Ahd nabawwī* (*ahdname* or *achtiname*), namely the *Covenant of the Prophet Muḥammad with the monks of Mount Sinai*, from St Catherine's Monastery to Istanbul and issued a certified copy in Arabic and Turkish, the Ottomans commenced a custom of providing Christian communities with Prophetic covenants of protection. Whether or not one believes this covenant was authentic, it was accepted as such by the Ottomans, while a variant was endorsed by the Safavids. Pacifique de Provins could have brought back one of the many covenants of the Prophet on display in churches and monasteries in the Turkish and Persian Empires, or he may have received a copy of the manuscript from Ottoman or Safavid authorities. He may even have uncovered a unique covenant in monastic archives.

SIGNIFICANCE

If the Muḥammadan covenants were accepted as the law of the land by the Sunnī and Shī'ī superpowers of the time, the debate over their authenticity took place primarily in Europe, where they challenged some of the prevailing stereotypes about the Prophet, Islam and Muslims. Many of the early scholars who accepted the authenticity of this covenant argued that it was a ruse authored during a period when the Prophet was weak and vulnerable, but that when he became more powerful the privileges were abrogated by later Qur'anic verses such as 9:5, 2:191 and 2:193, among others.

In later centuries, the question of the authenticity of the covenant was much disputed. In the 17th century, authorities such as Pacifique de Provins, Gabriel Sionita, André du Ryer, Antoine Vitré, King Louis XIII

of France, Johann Georg Nissel, Jacobo Nagy de Harsany, M.J. Fabricius, Claudius Salmasius, L. Addison, Pierre Briot, Paul Rycaut, Abraham Hinckelmann, Giovanni Paolo Marana and Henri Basnage de Beauval claimed that it was authentic, while Hugo Grotius, Gisbertus Voetius, Johannes Hoornbeek, Sieur Bespier, Humphrey Prideaux, Pierre Bayle and Henry Stubbe dismissed it as dubious. Some scholars, such as Johann Heinrich Hottinger, maintained a neutral stance. According to Abraham Hinckelmann, however, all of the scholars who had objected to the covenant eventually changed their mind and concluded that it was genuine.

In the 18th century, the authenticity of the covenant was maintained by Eusèbe Renaudot, A.C. Zeller, Abraham ben Dior, Claude-Pierre Goujet, the Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention Nationale, Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre de Villebrune and the Société d'Amis de la Religion et de la Patrie. It was disputed, however, by Johann Lorenz von Mosheim.

In the 19th century, advocates of authenticity included Georgios Pitzipios-Bey, Sir Travers Twiss, Pedro de Madrazo, Edward Rehatsek, M. Grassi (Alfio), Alexandre de Miltitz, Henri Layard and Edward Van Dyck. According to Alphonse de Lamartine, the document was considered authentic by the Ottoman sultans of the time. The covenant was, however, considered apocryphal by Thomas Christian Tyschen, Jean B. Ladvoat, Edmund Henry Barker, C.B. Houry, Johann Karl Ludwig Gieseler, Ignaz von Döllinger, and Baron William McGuckin de Slane.

In the 20th century, it was viewed as authentic by James Thayer Addison, Ibrahim Auwad, Nikēphoros Moschopoulos, Joseph Hajjar and José Balagna, and denounced as spurious by M.J. Guillaume, Alberto M. Candiotti, Maurice Barrès, Antoine Fattal and Edwin E. Jacques. Sir Harry Luke described it as apocryphal, while admitting that it was considered authentic by early Muslim scholars. The debate concerning its authenticity has continued into the early 21st century, with Gábor Kármán describing it as apocryphal.

The pattern in popularity of the covenant mirrors the rise and fall of the Muslim world. In the 17th century, when European Christian powers were vying for influence in the Near and Middle East, seeking lucrative trade deals along with potential military and political alliances, while attempting to protect Christian minorities in the process, the covenant inspired many negotiations and capitulations. However, as Christianity declined in Europe, and Catholic nations such as France became bastions of secularism, attitudes towards it changed.

Although academic interest in the covenant had long been decline and past scholarly opinion about it had been mixed, the publication of

The covenants of the Prophet Muḥammad with the Christians of the world by J.A. Morrow in 2013 renewed academic and popular interest in this and many other letters, treaties, charters and covenants attributed to Muḥammad. As a result of the Covenants Initiative, conceived by Charles Upton, an American Sufi author, hundreds of leading Muslim scholars, academics, and activists endorsed the Muḥammadan covenants on the understanding that they accurately represent the intent of the Prophet and likely derive from an original or originals dictated directly by him. It seems that this work will continue to elicit interest, debate, and discussion for the foreseeable future.

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Johannes Maurus

DATE OF BIRTH	Probably early 1620s
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Morocco
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

This Johannes Maurus should be distinguished from his better-known namesake, the Spanish convert from Islam to Christianity known as Juan Andrés or Johannes Andrea Maurus, author of the treatise *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515). This 'Dutch' Johannes is mentioned in archival sources as the 'Arab', the 'Turc' and sometimes as 'Jan Cornelisz'. He asked for baptism in Delft in 1643, where the sources give his age both as 23 and 19. He appears to have been a popular young man who received subsidies from various civil and ecclesiastical authorities for his studies in Delft (the 'Latin School') and, from 1648, at Leiden University. There is speculation that in 1641 he may have joined Ambassador Anthonis de Liedekerke's return journey to Holland, as the report by Adriaen Matham mentions one 'Pieter Moor' who wants to come to Holland with his son 'in order to convert to Christianity'. This 'Pieter Moor' may have been Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Belqāsīm, who was at the Liedekerke mission in Salé and Marrakesh, and saw his family's property confiscated and his brother killed. He therefore wanted to come to Holland.

For some time, Johannes Maurus's studies progressed well. He wrote seven papers for seminars or *disputationes* (averaging 30 pages in length) on general subjects such as the effect of good works, the celibacy of priests, the 1000-year reign of Christ, and ecclesiastical discipline. In 1654-6 he also wrote five *disputationes* on Islam. In mid-1656, however, the allowance he had received from the town of Haarlem came to an end, perhaps because he had been a student of theology for eight years and it was now time to take up a position as minister of a Protestant congregation. But this did not happen. He moved to Amsterdam and 'bad rumours' about him began to spread, while the Leiden Church Council was not willing to give him a good reference. The final information we have about him is that he received Holy Communion in Amsterdam without permission

and was warned in May 1657 by the Amsterdam Church Council that he should abstain from receiving pending further investigation. We may speculate as to whether this was due to problems typically associated with youthful excesses or might instead be related to a move away from Christian theology towards a more linguistic and historical approach to his specialty, the intimate knowledge of Islam. Without further facts, this cannot be decided.

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Disputatio theologica prima[-quinta] de Pseudislamismo seu Mohammedanismo (...) sub praesidio (...) Iacobi Revii, 'First [-fifth] theological disputation on Pseudo-Islam or Muḥammadanism ... under the supervision ... of Jacobus Revius'

DATE 1654-6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

These five *disputationes* on Islam were prepared between February 1654 and January 1656 for academic debates. The president of the series was Jacobus Revius, Regent of the Leiden Statencollege, the national college for students of theology. They were printed, as was usual, in about 100 copies.

Johannes Maurus based the format on the Five Pillars of Islam: the first two texts are on the confession of faith, the third on prayer or *ṣalāt*, the fourth on fasting and charity, and the fifth on the pilgrimage. In general, Maurus remains closer than contemporary Christian theologians to

Muslim structure and terminology. He does not characterise Islam as a creation of the devil, but underlines that Muḥammad was a descendant of Abraham. Muḥammad was a pseudo-prophet, and therefore Maurus coined for this religion the new term 'Pseudislamismus', because the real meaning of 'Islam' is trust, obedience and submission to God.

Not everything that Muḥammad did, he argues, was wrong: he introduced Islam in order to cure the Arabs of idolatry. Some remnants of polytheism have remained in the faith, but in reality Muslims practise superstition rather than idolatry, because they do not honour false gods but serve truth in the wrong way. In his way of writing, it is clear that Maurus draws not only from written sources but also from his own experience of being educated in a Muslim society. About the Qur'an, he states that the book has many shortcomings and its message is misleading, although it is presented in 'such a purity of language, a very accurate consistency and perfection of writing, that one could take it as a miracle'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Johannes Maurus is an exceptional example of a convert who had a good basic knowledge of Islam and Arabic, acquired in a learned family in Morocco, and a solid training in Latin and Reformed theology in a strict Calvinistic tradition. It would seem that he wanted to remain faithful to what he considered good and relevant from his former religion, but also wished to remain within Christian orthodoxy.

His writings have only recently been described and given a first analysis. They deserve closer examination, and could be used in a comparative study of writings by converts such as Juan Andrés and Leo Africanus. His works are less apologetic and much richer in information than a similar project at Utrecht University on 25 March 1648, involving a disputation by Gisbertus Voetius with additions by his student Joanne de Jonge. Voetius's text has also been published.

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Karel Steenbrink

Assueer Schimmelpenninck van der Oye

DATE OF BIRTH 1631
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Voorst or Zutphen
DATE OF DEATH 1673
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Voorst or Zutphen

BIOGRAPHY

Assueer (Sweder) Jacob Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Lord of Holthuisen, was born in 1631, the son of Jacob, Lord of Voorstonden, and Anna Catharina van Kecken, Lady of Holthuisen. He served as commissioner of recruitment for the Dutch navy, and from 1667 to 1673 he was Steward General of his native County of Zutphen. He was also a member of the chivalry of Zutphen. In 1668, he married Assuera (Swera) Kreyneck, daughter of Gerhard, Lord of de Beele, mayor of Zutphen and Counsel of the Admiralty of Holland, and Johanna van Oostrum. Sweder Schimmelpenninck died on 8 February 1673 at the age of 42, leaving his wife and two sons, Alexander and Gerrit Jurrien.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Journal gehouden bij mijn, 'Diary kept by me'

DATE 1658

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

The *Journal* (in full, *Journal gehouden bij mijn Assuer Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, tot Holthuse, in het jaer 1657*, 'Diary kept by me, Assuer Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, at Holthuse, in the year 1657') is only known in a single edition, published in 1870 by Alexander Baron Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, a descendant of the author, to which all page references in this entry refer. The *Journal's* principal frame of reference is the Bible, most locations in the Holy Land being presented explicitly in relation to it regardless of what they looked like in 1658. The narrative's often sceptical tone suggests that the author had an independent spirit. Earlier travellers are not cited at all. Although this is no guarantee that the account was entirely based on the author's personal observations, the text gives the impression that the diary was kept exclusively for personal reasons. There are, however, some indications to the contrary, such as the fact that some Latin inscriptions are provided with Dutch translations (e.g. p. 567) and that there are minor traces of editing in the manuscript (p. 577, n. 1).

The traditional itinerary from northern Europe to the Holy Land went overland to Venice, where most pilgrims boarded ships chartered specially for their transport, via Cyprus, to Ottoman Palestine. Schimmelpenninck was a close friend of Cornelis Tromp (d. 1691), who would later become a famous Dutch admiral. In December 1657 Tromp was in charge of the naval ships escorting a convoy of Dutch merchant ships to the eastern Mediterranean. According to the brief introduction to the published edition, it was on Tromp's recommendation that Schimmelpenninck and 'some acquaintances' joined him on board *de Vrijheyd*. Although there appear to have been other passengers on board, Schimmelpenninck's group consisted of Justus van Ewijck, a member of the city elite of Utrecht; Dr Nicolaes Opmeer (d. 1696), who would later become burgomaster of Amsterdam; and Petrus (or Pieter) de Nijs (or Denijs, d. 1660), of Frisian noble descent, who had been appointed legal counsel (*raadsheer*) at The Hague in 1649. At Livorno, where the convoy arrived on 15 February 1658, Schimmelpenninck was recovering from a leg wound he had received at sea, so he could not join his fellow

travellers on a trip to Florence. On 1 May, the convoy reached Cyprus, where Schimmelpenninck and his friends disembarked with the intention of crossing to the Syrian coast by a private arrangement. On 10 May, they arrived on the Lebanese coast, first stopping at Tripoli in Syria. Six days later they reached Sidon, where they 'had to go and kiss the Emir's hand, he being the Prince of Sidon and the surrounding mountains; he claims descent from the House De Guise'. On the Druzes, Schimmelpenninck states that 'they are the best soldiers in the whole of Syria, well-armed, living in the mountains, but so jealous that, if one even speaks about a woman, they will kill her; they have no religion' (p. 546). Via Nazareth and Jaffa, the group reached Jerusalem on 27 May 1658 and visited as many holy places as they could over the next three days. Concerning Jeremiah's Grotto, just outside the Damascus Gate, Schimmelpenninck reports that 'some poor Turks' lived in it to do penance and that it also housed a mosque. The house of Mary Magdalene was also inhabited by 'Turks' (p. 554). On 30 May, the company set out on a tour of Jerusalem's surroundings, also visiting Bethlehem.

In Syria and Palestine, Schimmelpenninck and company were accompanied by *dragomans* ('Turciman'), Ottoman interpreters, usually non-Muslims, who acted as tour guides. In Jerusalem, the employment of Christian friars as local guides appears to have been compulsory. On some routes armed Janissary guards were hired to ensure their safety. Like most other European visitors who did not make the pilgrimage as part of a group tour, they travelled from one Western (vice-) consul to another, being hosted by individual Dutch, French or English merchants in those locations where no consuls resided. The company also often lodged in convents (e.g. the Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem and the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Nazareth). In Ottoman Palestine the group tended to be accompanied by Franciscan friars ('Patres'), and in Damascus the Capuchin friars with whom they lodged showed them around town. Once or twice, they spent the night in the open field 'near some Turkish huts' (p. 574).

Accompanied by no fewer than three dragomans, the group also travelled to Damascus. Although the city was not part of most tours of the Holy Land, it seems that there was a standard list of sights to see there, too. For example, on the road to Damascus, about two hours from the city, the company was shown a little house on a 'mountain, built in memory of the Prophet Mahomet'. On that spot, Schimmelpenninck was told the Prophet Muḥammad had stood, struck by the city's beauty, but

turning away from it and not wanting to stay there lest he be tempted into sin. The Prophet Muḥammad therefore ‘jumped in one leap (so they say) from there to Mecca in Arabia, where he died’ (p. 576). The *Journael* offers a relatively extensive description of Damascus, ‘where the Turks maintain, although not true, that the first Man was born’ (p. 575). The city had ‘unequalled’ bazars, which were covered so that the inhabitants of Damascus were ‘generally much whiter than other Turks and Greeks, because they do not get out in the sun’ (p. 576). Schimmelpenninck seems to have been particularly impressed by the hospital founded by the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman, ‘for the benefit of strangers and poor visitors’, where meals were provided free of charge twice a week: ‘It is very magnificent, built in a square on marble pillars with lead-covered cupolas on top of them’ (p. 576).

In Lebanon, the company crossed mountains the likes of which were not found in Italy or Germany (p. 579), and they stayed for one night at the residence of the Maronite patriarch, who received the travellers ‘according to their customs’, at the Qannoubine monastery in the Holy Valley, and then by boat the group travelled north along the coast to the port of Alexandretta. There, Schimmelpenninck reports the ‘fable’ that in the mountains near Alexandretta ‘a kind of beast lives which stay in the forests by day, and, hearing humans speak, they walk around at night calling out as if they were human beings’ (p. 581). This is probably a reference to the striped hyenas which used to live in that area and which the local population believed could imitate the human voice. In Aleppo, the travellers saw carrier pigeons ‘who fly from Babylonia [to Aleppo] with letters in 48 hours, being a 30-day journey’ (p. 582) – a practice that appears to have been abandoned in Aleppo by the end of the 17th century. From Aleppo, the group returned to Alexandretta, where they rejoined Tromp’s convoy. The final leg of the trip home was made overland from Livorno through Switzerland and Germany.

Islam as a religion is not mentioned at all in the *Journael*, though there are numerous references to Muslims and mosques. Many references to the Muslim authorities are explicitly negative. For example, on Tripoli in Syria Schimmelpenninck reports that even though ‘two thirds of this city’s population are Christians; nonetheless, they are subjected to great slavery and they must endure all the injustices they suffer at the hands of the Turks [i.e. Muslims] with forbearance’ (p. 545). In Nazareth, the ‘Patres’ were reportedly harrassed by 16 soldiers, and the convent where the Dutch travel group had lodged was attacked and pillaged after

they left; 'the hardship the Fathers suffer at the hands of both Turks [i.e. Muslims] and Arabs [i.e. Bedouin] alike is beyond imagination' (p. 550). In the environs of Jerusalem, an unidentified cloister had been fortified with sheets of metal 'against the violence of the Arabs' (p. 558, cf. 547). In several places, the removal of marble plates (pp. 560, 566, 568) and bells from churches (pp. 566, 579) by 'the Turks' is mentioned. The dangers presented by Bedouin are mentioned in many pilgrimage accounts from all periods and should probably at least partly be considered a trope.

Schimmelpenninck also mentions mosques in several places, often dispassionately but occasionally with moderate enthusiasm. Like many other Western travellers, he reports that Europeans were not allowed to enter mosques. In Galilee, Schimmelpenninck and his friends visited a monastery which had once been converted into a mosque, but had later been recovered by the Christians 'for a certain sum of money, so that now everybody is allowed to enter'. On Mount Zion, the company saw (but probably did not enter) 'a Turkish mosque where David and Salomon were buried', today a complex which includes the Abbey of the Dormition and the Nabi Daud ('Prophet David') Mosque. On the Temple Mount, they also passed al-Aqsā Mosque, 'a nice building with two squares, but we did not dare come close to it, because it is forbidden for all Christians to enter Turkish churches' (p. 554). In other places, Schimmelpenninck mentions that Christian places of worship were 'guarded by the Turk' (p. 565, 566), which somewhat counterbalances the earlier negative reports.

Not all the information in the account is accurate and reliable. For example, Schimmelpenninck calls 'Alī the brother of Muḥammad' (p. 583) and he suggests that St Jean d'Acre was taken from the Knights of St John by the 'Egyptian Sultan' in 1517. Elsewhere, he remarks that 'between Gibel and Tripoli there are places where the women will refuse no man to sleep with them; but a tapestry must be placed between them' (p. 545). Unless this refers to the myth that Jewish sex occurs through a hole in a sheet, this mystifying remark might also refer to prostitution.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Journael* is a valuable addition to the corpus of Dutch travel literature to the eastern Mediterranean and in particular to the small corpus of surviving texts authored by Dutch noblemen.

Schimmelpenninck's travelogue includes information about two phenomena that few other travel accounts mention. The first is pilgrimage tattoos, the second prostitution. On 31 May 1657, the traveller

records that in Bethlehem ‘we had the crests of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth put on our arms’ (p. 562). It was particularly the dragomans of Bethlehem who had a reputation as tattoo artists, so it seems likely that Schimmelpenninck got his tattoos from them. (For illustrations of pilgrims’ tattoos, see M. Lewy and E. Kontarsky, ‘Jerusalem unter der Haut. Zur Geschichte der Jerusalemer Pilgertätowierung’, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 55 (2003) 1-39, p. 27, ill. 13.) For the 16th and 17th centuries, only about ten accounts are known that refer to pilgrimage tattoos, which appear to have been common only among elite travellers to the Holy Land. The Dutch nobleman later hired three dragomans for the trip to Damascus, where ‘we went to see the house of Juda, nowadays a whorehouse’ (p. 575). Explicit references to prostitution in the Ottoman Empire in the pre-modern period are rare, so this is a noteworthy observation.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Arnhem, Gelders Archief, Gelderland – Assueer Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Journael gehouden bij mijn Assuer Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, tot Holthuisse, in het jaer 1657* (formerly kept in Huis de Poll of Gietelo, the private estate of the Schimmelpenninck van der Oye family in the municipality of Voorst)

A. Baron Schimmelpenninck van der Oye (ed.), ‘Een reisjournaal uit de zeventiende eeuw naar het Heilige Land’, *Kroniek van het Historisch genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht* 26, (1870), 537-88, http://www.dbnl.org/arch/_kro004187001_01/pag/_kro004187001_01.pdf

STUDIES

There are no studies of this author or his work.

Maurits van den Boogert

Philippus Baldaeus

DATE OF BIRTH 24 October 1632
PLACE OF BIRTH The Netherlands
DATE OF DEATH Between 15 August and 27 September 1671
PLACE OF DEATH Geervliet, district of South-Holland

BIOGRAPHY

Philippus Baldaeus was born in 1632 (see de Jong, *Afgoderye*, Introduction), although the year 1629 is often cited. He studied at the University of Groningen from 1649 to 1650, then at Leiden, and afterwards applied for missionary work in the East Indies. He was required to take lessons in Malay, and in September 1654 he was ordained and assigned to Formosa, though when he arrived in Batavia he was sent to Ceylon. From February 1657, he served as a chaplain in the naval forces with responsibility for East India Company personnel.

In debates over the use of Dutch or Portuguese as a *lingua franca*, Baldaeus opposed the government and argued in favour of using native languages, as well as for research into Tamil and the Hindu religion. His books on Malabar grammar (Amsterdam, 1672, 7 pages) and Hinduism in Ceylon (Amsterdam, 1672, 132 pages) became well-known.

On his return to The Netherlands in 1667, Baldaeus went to work as a minister in Geervliet in South Holland, where he prepared his works for publication. He died in Geervliet in 1671.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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S. Neill, *A history of Christianity in India. The beginnings to AD 1707*, Cambridge, 2004
G.J. Schutte (ed.), *Het Indisch Sion. De gereformeerde kerk onder de verenigde oost-indische compagnie*, Hilversum, 2002, pp. 176-88
D.F. Lach and E.J. van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. 3, books 1-4: *A century of advance*, Chicago IL, 1993
S. Arasaratman, 'The first century of Protestant Christianity in Jaffna 1658-1750', *Indian Church History Review* 19 (1985) 39-54
S. Arasaratman, *François Valentijn's description of Ceylon*, London, 1978

- R.L. Brohier, *Links between Sri Lanka and the Netherlands. A book of Dutch Ceylon*, Colombo, 1978
- J. van Goor, *Jan Kompenie as schoolmaster. Dutch education in Ceylon 1690-1795*, Groningen 1978
- P. Brohier (trans.) and S.D. Saparamadu (intr.), 'A true and exact description of the great island of Ceylon: being the section relating to Ceylon of the "Beschrijving der Oost Indische kusten Malabar en Choromandel der zelve aangrenzende ryken en het machtige eyland Ceylon; Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen" by the Revd. Philippus Baldaeus, publ. in Dutch in Amsterdam, 1672', *The Ceylon Historical Journal* 8 (1958-9) 1-403, pp. ix-xxv
- S. Arasaratman, 'Reverend Philippus Baldaeus – his pastoral work in Ceylon, 1656-1665', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 14 (1959-60) 350-60
- A.J. de Jong (ed.), *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen door Philippus Baldaeus*, The Hague, 1917, pp. xxxix-lxxxv
- D. Ferguson, 'The Reverend Philippus Baldaeus and his book on Ceylon', *Monthly Literary Register* 3 (1895) 144-6
- C.L. van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *Biographisch woordenboek van Oost-Indische predikanten*, Nijmegen, 1893

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nauwkeurige en waarachtige ontdekking en wederlegginge van de Afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen, 'An accurate and truthful discovery and refutation of the Gentiles of the East Indies'

DATE 1672

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

In one volume Baldaeus includes four sections: a description of Malabar, a description of Ceylon, a dictionary and grammar of Malabar, and a refutation of non-Christian faiths. Each of these is numbered separately in the Dutch volume, while the German translation of 1672 numbers them consecutively as one work.

In the first section of *Nauwkeurige beschrijvinge van Malabar* (190 pages, including many maps and pictures) Baldaeus writes mainly about Hinduism, though he also touches on Islam. When he mentions Muslims along the various coasts of the Indian Ocean, he uses the terms

'Mooren', 'Turcken' and 'Mohammedanen' indiscriminately. In ch. 5, he refers to beliefs about Muḥammad, his life, marriage, revelations and the 'Alkoran', and goes on to set out what he sees as irrationalities in the teachings of Muḥammad and in Muslim beliefs and doctrines, mentioning the uncompromising competition between Turks and Persians in their interpretation of the Qur'an (pp. 26-8). In ch. 6, he expresses his opinions on the absurdity of the vision of heaven, feasts and religious rites in Islam, and the actions of its 'priests' (pp. 28-35). Later, he gives an account of the fighting between Turks, Portuguese and Dutch that resulted in the defeat of the Turks in India, with the result that Islam gave way to Christianity (pp. 63-73).

In the fourth section of the volume, *Afgoderye* (221 pages), Baldaeus takes the view that knowledge of God is common to all peoples, agreeing about the cause of 'false' religions with Simon Oomius (1630-1706) in *Het geopende en wederleyde Muhammedisdome of Turckdom* (Amsterdam, 1663). He sees Islam as a mixture of Judaism and Christianity, arising from the common human inclination to initiate wayward ways of worship and abandon 'true religion'. He goes on to criticise Islamic doctrine, morals and customs, although he acknowledges that Muslim reverence during worship is a lesson for Christians, referring again to Oomius on this point (pp. 167-8). (In de Jong's abridged edition, all Baldaeus' attacks on Islam are omitted.)

It can be seen that in his approach to Islam Baldaeus advocates the search for a basic unity between religions so that there should be a common understanding about God and the way to religious and moral enhancement. In his view, Islam has changed the acknowledgement of God's providence into fatalism, and its religious 'absurdities' could be overcome through sensible and intellectual encounters with Muslim leaders.

SIGNIFICANCE

Through his works, Baldaeus taught missionaries to approach Islam on the basis of its own sources and especially the Qur'an, stressing the need to speak directly with Muslims in order to prove from a common knowledge and understanding of God the incredibility and even absurdity of the doctrines and rituals of their faith. This polemical approach was followed by many missionaries. It is based on the premise that humans are equipped by reason and revelation to understand themselves as having perverted the knowledge of the true God because of their sinfulness.

Baldaeus became an example of a particular missionary method in the 17th-century contest to make known the true religion.

PUBLICATIONS

- Philippus Baldaeus, *Nauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelve aangrenzende rycken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon. Nevens een omstandige en grondighe onderzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de afgoderye der Oost Indische heydenen. Waar inne der zelve grootste geheymenissen, zoo uyt de eygene geschriften, als 't zaemenspraak, en bywooninge der voornaamste Bramines, en andere Indiaansche wet-geleerden, getrouwelyk werden aan 't licht gebracht. Zijnde hierby gevoeght een korte Malabaarsche letter-konst*, Amsterdam: J. Janssonius van Waesberge, 1672; Koninklijke Bibliotheek 189 A 6 (digitalised version available through *EEB*)
- Philippus Baldaeus, *Wahrhaftige ausführliche Beschreibung der berühmten Ost-Indischen Küsten Malabar und Coromandel, als auch der Insel Zeylon*, Amsterdam: J. Janssonius van Waesberge and J. von Someren, 1672 (German trans.); digitalised version available through *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum*: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10328580-1>
- Philippus Baldaeus, *A True and Exact Description of the most celebrated East-India coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as also of the Isle of Ceylon... Also a most circumstantial and compleat account of the idolatry of the pagans in the East Indies... Translated from the High Dutch*, in A. and J. Churchill, *A collection of voyages and travels*, etc., London, 1704, repr. 1732, 1745, 1752, vol. 3, pp. 557-901; ESTC T097848 (digitalised version available through *ECCO*)
- Philippus Baldaeus, *Nauwkeurige en waarachtige ontdekking en wederlegginge van de Afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen, Malabaren, Benjanen, Gentiven, Bramines, en meest alle andere Oost-Indianen, uyt hun eygen Devagal ofte wet-boek, uyt Indien overgebracht, nevens andere authentijke en originele hand-schriften, t'zaemenspraak en bywooninge met hun voornaamste priesters en wet-geleerden opgespeurt, getrouwelyk aan den dagh gebracht, en grondigh wederlegt*, abridged by A.J. de Jong, The Hague, 1917
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Philippus Baldaeus, *A true and exact description of the most celebrated East India coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, Colombo, 2009 (repr. of Churchill edition)

STUDIES

Phillipus Baldaeus, *A true and exact description of the most celebrated East India coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, pp. 1-4

C. Wessels, 'De verzwegen bronnen van Philippus Baldaeus' *Afgoderije der Oost-Indische heydenen*, *Studiën* 134 (1935) 483-5

C.W.E. Bigsby, 'Afgoderye der Oost-Indische heydenen', *The American Journal* 23 (1919) 2, 252

De Jong, *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen door Philippus Baldaeus*

Leendert Jan Joosse

Enevald Svenonius

DATE OF BIRTH 24 December 1617
PLACE OF BIRTH Annerstad, Sweden
DATE OF DEATH 17 April 1688
PLACE OF DEATH Turku

BIOGRAPHY

Enevald Svenonius was born in Småland, Sweden, in 1617. After attending school in Kalmar and Växjö, in 1640 he followed his teacher and future father-in-law, Michael Wexionius, to the recently founded University of Turku. He was awarded his MA in 1647 and started teaching. In 1648-50 he studied Semitic languages at Uppsala, and then theology at Wittenberg under Abraham Calovius in 1651-4. In 1654, he toured central Europe for six months, briefly visiting no fewer than 28 universities. His route led from Wittenberg to Prague and Vienna, with a trip to the Turkish border, then through Germany to Leiden and back to Turku, where he had been nominated for the chair of (Latin) rhetoric. However, his ambition was in theology, and he was appointed in 1660 to the third and in 1663 to the first, and foremost, chair of theology. He was four times rector of the university, and at his death he was the elected Bishop of Lund.

As a theologian, Svenonius represented Lutheran orthodoxy and strictly followed its German authorities. He was scrupulous and enthusiastic to uncover heretical doctrines, and was therefore involved in a number of disputes. In his literary work, he mainly collected, even plagiarised, the writings of the most famous German pillars of Lutheran orthodoxy in order to be sure of the correctness of his own religious opinions, but he was much read by students – future priests and civil servants – and so his writings had a certain influence in the second half of the 17th century.

Svenonius compiled a comprehensive refutation of all heresies, published as three separate books. They had three different titles, though he probably considered that they constituted one large work as paginated them consecutively: *Babylon magna ruens*, pp. 1-400, *Artificium Delilae*, which is devoted to the criticism of Calvinism, pp. 401-664, and *Index et judex*, pp. 665-848.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

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- S.J. Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius*, Helsinki, vol.1, 1978, vol. 2, 1985
- F. Cleve, *Reformation och filosofi i Enevald Svenonius' teologi*, Åbo 1971
- I.A. Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo Universitet*, Helsingfors, 1894, pp. 51-62

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

To noēma 'ēchmalōtismenon seu potius Gymnasium capiendae rationis humanae, 'Intelligence brought into captivity, or rather the College for bringing human intelligence into captivity'
Gymnasium, 'College'

DATE 1662

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

To noēma 'ēchmalōtismenon seu potius Gymnasium capiendae rationis humanae (the title is taken from 2 Corinthians 10:5) is a series of dissertations, comprising 343 pages, written by Svenonius in the manner customary at the time. These dissertations were defended by his students in 1658-62, and were published by the university, then known as the Royal Academy of Turku, between these dates. Svenonius wanted to teach all the humanities to future students of theology, emphasising

the usefulness to them of the various disciplines. Most of the compilation was taken from about 25 authors, mainly German. One of the most important subjects was classical and Oriental languages, and the very last part was dedicated to Arabic, of which Svenonius himself seems to have had some knowledge.

SIGNIFICANCE

This book continued to be read after it was compiled, and was admired for the wide learning shown in it, but it never became a textbook, as was intended. The work brought Svenonius fame among his contemporaries as a great Oriental scholar, which was probably somewhat exaggerated, although he was, according to Harviainen, ‘the most productive writer and the leading person in cultural, academic, and church life in Finland in the seventeenth century’ (‘Hebrew-Finnish affinity’, p. 289). Thus, his standing gave authority to what he wrote elsewhere about Islam. Regardless of whether his scholarly reputation in this field was merited, his reputation was such that, when he perpetuated hostility toward Islam, he would be taken as a safe guide. The significance of his legacy does not rest on his breaking new ground but on his being an example, in the in the 17th century Scandinavian context, of giving authoritative academic expression to older tropes and attitudes.

PUBLICATIONS

To noēma ’ēchmalōtismenon seu potius Gymnasium capiendae rationis humanae, Turku, 1662 (digitalised version available through Åbo Akademis Bibliotek, <http://bibbild.abo.fi/hereditas/index.htm>)

STUDIES

Karttunen, *Mooseksen kirjoista*, pp. 75-7

T. Harveainen, ‘The story of supposed Hebrew-Finnish affinity. A chapter in the history of comparative linguistics’, in A. Arppe et al. (eds), *Inquiries into words, constraints and contexts*, Stanford CA, 2005, 289-306 (explores Svenonius’ theory that Finnish is related to Hebrew)

Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius*, vol. 1, pp. 218-28, 235-69

Babylon magna ruens, ‘Babylon the great is fallen’

DATE 1669

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Babylon magna ruens is the first part in Enevald Svenonius' large theological work in which he attempts to refute all doctrines that deviate from orthodox Lutheran Christianity. It was printed by the University of Turku in 1669, with the title *Babylon magna ruens, Apoc. 18: 2.19, sue vox clamantis in aquilone adversus AntiChristum occidentalem* ('Babylon the Great is fallen, Rev. 18:2.19, or the voice of one crying in the north, against the western Antichrist').

Originally published as a series of essays in 1665-9, the work consists of 400 pages and is an attempt at a refutation of the theology of the Roman Catholic Church, here referred to as Babylon. The book is arranged as a series of (often imaginary) theses, which are refuted one by one. It is based on about 30, mainly German, sources, and draws especially on the work of Abraham Calovius. From him comes the idea of Muḥammad as the *Antichristus Orientalis* and the pope as the *Antichristus Occidentalis*. The criticism of Jacobus Masenius, mentioned in the title, is directed at his book *Meditata concordia Protestantium cum Catholicis* (Cologne, 1661).

SIGNIFICANCE

In 1669, Enevald Svenonius was the leading theologian at what later became the University of Helsinki, and its third professor of theology. Turku, where the University was located, might be remote from Ottoman territory, but as Svenonius defended Lutheranism against rival forms of Christianity, the question Martin Luther had contemplated, of whether Muḥammad (the 'Turk') or the pope was Christianity's worst enemy, became a topic of interest. Luther decided to grant the pope that distinction, although in the end he found it difficult to judge between the two: thus, 'But just as the *pope* is the Antichrist, so the *Turk* is the very devil incarnate' (Luther, *Works*, ed. R.C. Shultz, Philadelphia, 1967, vol. 46, p. 181). Calling Muḥammad the antichrist, or an antichrist or forerunner of the antichrist, dates back to early Christian-Muslim encounter. Here, identifying two antichrists, one in the East and one in the West, solves the problem of deciding whether the pope or Muḥammad is worse. By repeating this trope, Svenonius helped to perpetuate hostile attitudes toward Muslims and Islam, doing so in a context where few, if any, were likely to challenge his authority as professor of theology at the only university in the country, and future bishop.

PUBLICATIONS

Babylon magna ruens, Turku, 1669; 4 Mor. 497#Beibd.3 (digitalised version available through *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*)

STUDIES

Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius*, vol. 2. pp. 140-87

Index et judex syncretismorum religionis, 'Index and judgement of religious syncretists'

DATE 1675

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Index et judex syncretismorum religionis, the third part of Enevald Svenonius' comprehensive refutation of all heresies, paginated 665–848 and published by the Royal Academy of Turku, was dedicated to the refutation of syncretistic and heretical doctrines. It appeared as a series of essays in 1674-5 and was compiled mainly from 21 sources, but Svenonius' main authority was Dannhauer (Johannes Conradus Dannhawerus: *Mysterium syncretismi detecti, proscripti, et symphonismo compensati*, Argentorati, 1648). Svenonius devoted much space to condemning the Irenicist Lutheran theologians, not usually quoting their words, but giving his own exaggerated and distorted summary of their opinions, often using insulting language. The final section (pp. 793-848) discusses heretics, including Catholics and Calvinists. From p. 807 on, we find Svenonius' opinion of Islam, again faithfully paraphrased from Dannhauer (*Mysterium*, pp. 14 ff.):

Mahumed vel Muhamed Pseudopropheta fuit, qui suggerente diabolo, mendacii patre, & adjuvantibus quibusdam haereticis, Chartas quasdam scripsit, per modum legis, ad fallendum rudem plebeculam, blasphemias atque impudentissimis mendaciis refertas, interspersis quibusdam generalibus praeceptis de colendo uno Deo, de Eleemosyna, de Oratione & c. ('Mahumed or Muhamed was a pseudo-prophet, who, instigated by the devil, the father of lies, and with the help of some heretics, wrote certain texts, in the way of law, in order to make the crude common people fall, telling blasphemies and impudent lies, interspersed with some general advice about the necessity of worshipping one God, about charity, about prayer, etc.'). This is followed by a long quotation from the *Annales* of Henri Spondanus,

explaining all of Muḥammad's teachings as heretical borrowings from Judaism and Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

As with many Christians writing about Islam, Svenonius' intended readers were Christians, not Muslims. As an academic treatise written in Latin, with a limited circulation, his work was unlikely to fall into Muslim hands. Furthermore, given Finland's geographical distance from Ottoman territory, few people in Finland, or indeed Scandinavia, at the time would have regarded Islam as anything other than a remote phenomenon. Yet Islam was sufficiently interesting, and what passed for information about it available enough, for a Scandinavian theologian to recruit it as an intra-Christian polemical tool. In doing so, he was in line with writers such as Matthew Sutcliffe, whose *De Turcopapismo, hoc est De Turcarum et Papistarum* (1599) attacked Catholicism and Islam as a combined, hybrid heresy, responding to Catholic texts that accused Protestants of being Muslim in all but name.

Muḥammad as a false prophet, and Islam as a mix of Christian heresies and Jewish elements, as set out by Svenonius, added nothing new to Christian discourse. However, the work is representative of a certain tendency in very early Christian-Muslim encounters to deal with Islam as a type of Christian heresy. By perpetuating this approach in the Scandinavian context of the late 17th century, the text gave new life to this mode of thinking.

PUBLICATIONS

Index et judex syncretismorum religionis, Turku, 1675

Enevaldi Svenonii Theologi Aboënsis De syncretismo haeretico commentatio historico-theologica, Rostock, 1706 (new edition)

STUDIES

Salminen, *Enevaldus Svenonius*, vol. 2. pp. 216-38

Klaus Karttunen

Gerard Hinlopen

DATE OF BIRTH 1644
PLACE OF BIRTH Hoorn, the Netherlands
DATE OF DEATH 1691
PLACE OF DEATH Hoorn, the Netherlands

BIOGRAPHY

Gerard Hinlopen, born 30 September 1644, was a scion of a notable family which originated from the Frisian town of Hindelopen (hence the family name), but had moved to Hoorn, a port town in the province of Holland. No likeness of Gerard Hinlopen appears to have survived, but the painted portraits of his parents, Reynier Hinlopen and Trijntje Thijsd van Noy, in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, confirm that he was part of the local elite. Gerard Hinlopen registered as a student at the law faculty in Leiden in 1662, graduating almost five years later. In 1670 and 1671, he made a tour of the Mediterranean, travelling as far east as Constantinople. After his return to the Dutch Republic, he held various offices in the municipal government of Hoorn. Gerard Hinlopen died in 1691.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Journal, 'Diary'

DATE 1675/6
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

The *Journal* (in full, *Journal en Aantekeninge, gehouden op mijne zee- en landtreijsen, gedaan in de jaren 1670 en 1671 naar Hispagnien, Italia, Sicilia, Graecia etc.*, 'Diary and notes taken on my journey by sea and land, undertaken in the years 1670 and 1671, to Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece, etc.')

is a chronological diary of Hinlopen's journey from the seaport of Den Helder in Holland to Constantinople and back; a sizeable part of it deals with the Ottoman Empire and in particular its capital. The manuscript of the *Journal* forms part of a volume in which Hinlopen's descriptions of 11 journeys – many within the Dutch Republic – were bound together.

The complete volume consists of 536 pages, of which 25 are blank, and the *Journaal* is found on pages 51-432. In Oddens' edition, the text of the *Journaal* comes to 195 pages (pp. 59-253) including footnotes, but not counting the introduction and bibliography. The *Journaal* contains several drawings of Ottoman fortresses, which are not commonly found in other travelogues, as well as of the mosques of Constantinople.

The description of the city of Constantinople starts with a section on its political and architectural history up to the time of its conquest by the Turks. Then follow brief descriptions of the sultan's palace and the infamous prison of the Seven Towers, with references to earlier travelers, but also interspersed with personal observations, for example about how the author was often beaten, had his hair pulled, and was verbally insulted by groups of Muslim women who were veiled from head to toe. Hinlopen was allowed to enter the Blue Mosque of Sultan Ahmed, albeit in the company of a dragoman and a Janissary guard and upon payment of a modest fee. Although Hinlopen prefers to say 'as little as possible' about Islam, on which he refers the reader to earlier authors such as Pietro Della Valle and William Lithgow, he does describe Islam's basic tenets in a generally accurate and detached fashion.

Hinlopen's account, although intending to offer a systematic survey of the city, often strays into a series of loosely connected anecdotes. For example, when starting to describe the inhabitants of Constantinople, he soon mentions often having been called a dog, particularly by Muslim women; he then comments on the large number of dogs in the streets of the Ottoman capital and on how a Christian would be punished by Muslim judges if he were to kill a stray dog – which leads to more observations about punishments under Islamic law. Because 'these punishments are shocking for us', i.e. his intended readership, Hinlopen then adds a more lighthearted anecdote about how easily marriages are arranged in Turkey, but this derails into the claim that wives are also easily sold on in Turkey and that Constantinople counts no fewer than 40,000 brothels. Speaking of selling, Hinlopen then continues about trade . . .

SIGNIFICANCE

Hinlopen, who was a devout Christian himself, occasionally jokes about other religions, but he also does not mind when others make jokes about Christianity. He was also a staunch republican, weary of the growing power of the Stadtholder William III, many of whose followers were Calvinists who had little sympathy for other religions. In his *Journaal*, Hinlopen's remarks about Muslims and Islam are generally open-minded

and respectful. According to Oddens, these should be interpreted as a political message against the narrow-minded followers of William III. He therefore holds that Hinlopen's text could be considered a mirror for princes. Seventeenth-century subtexts aside, Hinlopen's travel diary is lively and humorous and remarkably respectful with regard to Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek – hs. VIII E15, pp. 51-432 (last entry dated 14 August 1671)

J. Oddens (ed.), *Een vorstelijk voorland. Gerard Hinlopen op reis naar Istanbul (1670-1671)*, Zutphen, 2009

STUDIES

F.R.E. Blom, 'Land in beeld! Representaties van Lesbos in wetenschap en toerisme', in M. van Dorst et al. (eds), *Over de grens. Reizen in de Klassieke Oudheid*, Leiden, 2008, 92-111

Art. 'Hinlopen, Gerard' in A.J. van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Haarlem, 1867, vol. 8/2, p. 825

Maurits van den Boogert

Carel Quina

DATE OF BIRTH 20 November 1622
PLACE OF BIRTH Amsterdam
DATE OF DEATH 1689
PLACE OF DEATH Amsterdam

BIOGRAPHY

Carel Quina (1622-89), Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, hailed from a Calvinist mercantile family from Antwerp. Around the turn of the 17th century, the family moved to Amsterdam. Both Quina's grandfather and father were called Carel, so they occasionally get mixed up in the identification of our traveller, who was born in Amsterdam in 1622. His mother was Janneke Mercier (or Merchier, also 'Cocquiel dit Mercier', 1595-1663), born in Wesel (Germany) to a couple who had migrated from Antwerp and would later settle in Amsterdam. The traveller's father, also called Carel Quina (1586-1649), was a merchant, but also an active member of one of Amsterdam's best-known rhetoricians' chambers. In 1610, his Dutch translation (from the French translation by Jacques Amyot) of the *Aethiopica* by Heliiodorus of Emesa was published in Amsterdam. Quina the elder was a friend of the Dutch poet and playwright Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (d. 1618). After marrying in 1619, Quina the elder focused increasingly on his mercantile activities, buying a house in one of Amsterdam's most expensive neighbourhoods. On 20 November 1622, the couple named their third son Carel. He had several other brothers and sisters, but few of them have left any traces in the sources. One exception is Abraham Quina, one of Carel's younger brothers who became a physician in Amsterdam.

Carel Quina was probably educated at one of the Dutch capital's two grammar schools (Latijnse School), where he would have been taught Latin and Greek. It is clear that he eventually became active in the turpentine trade, and that he owned real estate inside the city proper as well as land in its vicinity.

In 1666, Carel and Abraham Quina travelled to Rome together. This journey may have inspired Carel to make his pilgrimage to the Holy Land from 27 July 1668, returning to Amsterdam on 16 April 1671. The handwritten account of his journey to Jerusalem stops on Saturday, 6 April 1669, when Quina reached his destination.

On his journey home from Jerusalem, Quina once again visited Rome, where the Dutchman Jacob Toorenvliet painted his portrait, which is today kept in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. It depicts Quina seated at a table covered with a Smyrna carpet with an atlas on it, opened at a map of the eastern Mediterranean. The Rijksmuseum also holds a model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre made from palm wood and mother-of-pearl inlay, which Quina brought home as a souvenir. It includes a handwritten guide in Italian to each of the church's parts. In various sources, Quina's name is followed by the word *Ridder* (Knight), allowing us to identify him as our traveller. He also added the cross of the Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre to his coat of arms.

About Quina's later career we know relatively little. In 1677 and 1678, he was active as a legal counsel for the Dutch West India Company. Six years later, in 1684, we find his name among the Directors (*Regenten*) of Amsterdam's Zyde-Wind Huys, a workhouse for girls established as a charitable organisation two years earlier. Quina never married and had no children of his own, but he and four others, including his brothers Jacob and Abraham, were appointed 'guardians and closest kin' of Abraham Josua Brakonier, who had lost both his parents at the end of 1680. Brakonier later became a distinguished theologian and prolific author of theological and biblical publications.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- Adriaen Wor and the Heirs of Gerard Onder de Linden [publishers], *Maandelyke uittreksels, of Boekzaal der geleerde waerelt, Part 42 (April 1736)*, Amsterdam, 1736, pp. 499-503
- J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten . . .*, Amsterdam, vol. 8, 1765, p. 477

Secondary

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- M. Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmanî yahud tezkire-i meşâhir-i osmânîyye*, Istanbul, 1996, vol. 2, p. 150
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Beschrijvinge vande lantrijs, in Europa en Asia, gedaen door de heer Carel Quina, 'Description of the overland journey, in Europe and Asia, conducted by Mister Carel Quina'

DATE Possibly after 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

In this account, consisting of 153 manuscript pages and 179 pages in the printed edition, Quina describes the entire overland journey from leaving Amsterdam on 27 July 1668 and arriving in Jerusalem on 6 April 1669. The return journey is not described. The most relevant sections begin in Austria, where the author includes a brief account of the second siege of Vienna. In Pressburg (Bratislava), a Hungarian nobleman asked Quina to deliver a booklet in Latin and a letter to his brother, who was imprisoned in the infamous Seven Towers (Yedikule) prison in Istanbul. Quina eventually visited the prison to deliver these items. He met several noblemen held captive there, but who lived in relative luxury. Each prisoner had his own quarters and was free to communicate with the outside world through letters, so that money could be requested from home. Much could be purchased in the prison, and receiving visitors was not a problem; Quina was even able to stay there for two rather enjoyable nights.

Quina travelled overland from Istanbul to Damascus in the caravan of an Ottoman administrator called Hasan Pasha who had been appointed governor-general of 'the city of Ziden, situated in wild Arabia, on the Red Sea' – in other words, Jeddah. They left Istanbul around 15 February 1669. The account of the journey is remarkably detailed, providing details about even the smallest road stations (*menzilhanes*) and the equestrian exercises used by the soldiers to amuse themselves and the Pasha (particularly the game of *jarîd*). Quina also explicitly records cultural differences

between the Turks and himself. For example, he had grown a long beard like all the Turks in his company, but in the higher regions of Anatolia everyone's beard froze. Although this was very uncomfortable and made them all look silly, nobody shaved because the Turks 'do not hold anyone without a long beard in high regard'. In Konya he visited a coffeehouse 'for an hour' to witness various forms of entertainment there. Quina also mentions Turkish sweetmeats 'which looked like glue, and although they were sweet, were not to my taste'.

The Dutchman made contact with various Ottoman members of the Pasha's retinue and often exchanged presents with them. For example, one 'nobleman' had some fresh apples brought to Quina by a servant. When he went to thank him personally for his kindness, he noticed that the man was not wearing riding gloves despite the cold, so Quina gave him a pair of his. The Dutchman describes several such little exchanges, and although he was sometimes amused by the Turks, he generally speaks of them with respect.

The *Beschrijvinge* contains several references to the Bible, but only after Quina had reached Aleppo do we find the first example. Two Dutch merchants residing in the city insisted that the traveller should lodge at their house, where they gave him a purple waistcoat adorned with satin. In connection with this, Quina remarked that the custom of making gifts of sets of clothes, described in 2 Kings 5:5 and in Genesis 45:22, 'is apparently still in use in the old way'. Biblical references become more frequent in the chapter on Damascus, and subsequently in the description of the Holy Land, particularly when he visited locations mentioned in the Bible.

Inserted in the manuscript, which was probably written in its present form only after the author's return to Amsterdam, are several drawings of the Stations of the Cross, two of which are dated 1669. It seems likely that they were designs for pilgrimage tattoos, which were especially popular among upper-class pilgrims. In his account of Nazareth, Quina included a description of how tattoos were made there.

SIGNIFICANCE

Quina was one of the few European travellers who journeyed through parts of the Ottoman Empire in the caravan of a senior Ottoman official. The account of his travels therefore not only sheds light on how an affluent Dutchman travelled – with a private cook and other servants and having brought with him a travel apothecary of his own – but also on how the household of an Ottoman pasha moved within the empire.

The author's interactions with the pasha and one of his servants are of particular interest for Christian-Muslim relations.

Ottoman literature offers scant information about Hasan Pasha's career, so Quina's brief biographical notes are a useful supplement. The pasha, Quina relates, was originally from Italy. As a boy at the age of 12 he was travelling by sea with his mother when their ship was captured by Turks. The mother, who was reportedly very beautiful, was transferred to the sultan's harem in Istanbul, where her son was raised in the palace. The boy converted to Islam, taking (or being given) the name Hasan. According to Quina, Hasan's career had benefited from his 'great mind and the favour of the sultan'. Hasan Pasha had been appointed to Jeddah to restore the authority of the sultan and execute ('cut back at the shoulders', as Quina puts it) those responsible for a recent revolt. This included the existing governor-general of Jeddah, who had been summoned back to Istanbul for three consecutive years but had refused to obey; one successor sent by the Sublime Porte to oust the rebellious governor from Jeddah had reportedly been killed by poison, another by 'Arab robbers', so Hasan Pasha was the third to be sent on this dangerous mission. Carel Quina spoke Italian with the pasha, which 'he understands very well, but seldom speaks with strangers'. Despite the pasha's origins and his proficiency in Italian, Quina clearly accepted him as a Muslim and as a notable. The Dutchman made a point of greeting the pasha in Turkish and speaks of him respectfully. One of the governor-general's servants, a 'Turk', told Quina that his master had many friends who were Christians.

There were also around 16 'renegades' in the pasha's retinue, particularly among his private company of musicians, which included Spaniards, Italians and Germans. One German renegade, a trumpeter, became Quina's principal informant during the journey, for which, it seems, the musician expected to be rewarded with alcohol. Quina knew that Muslims were not supposed to drink alcohol and he did not want to get into trouble with the pasha, so the Dutchman was annoyed by the German's insistent requests. The fact that Quina consistently refers to him as 'the German' and emphasises his craving for alcohol suggests that the Dutchman did not take the musician's conversion as seriously as the pasha's.

In Damascus, Quina was introduced to the Ottoman *topçubaşı* (master of artillery) in 'Babylonia', a Christian called Mikhā'il Ağa who lived in Syria for most of the year. This favourite of the sultan spoke Italian and had in his house 'Spanish chairs which the Turks never use', as well as an *īwān* with cushions 'in the Turkish style'. When the Ağa mentioned

his need of binoculars, Quina immediately offered him his. Quina had been given these binoculars by the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Colijer, but he considered it a useful sacrifice if it procured the favour of such a powerful patron. This paid off a few days later, when the simmering tensions between the Dutchman and the Janissary guard who had accompanied him from Istanbul erupted in open conflict. The Janissary demanded a higher payment than had been agreed upon originally, which Quina refused to give. Accompanied by some Jesuit missionaries residing in Damascus, Quina requested the Ağa's intervention. Mikhā'il Ağa subsequently summoned the Janissary to his house and berated him for not honouring the original agreement, threatening to report him to his superiors in Istanbul. The Ottoman guardsman was reportedly very surprised that Quina had such powerful friends and meekly promised to mend his ways. The anecdote is impossible to verify, but it does portray Ottoman justice in a more positive light than many contemporary Western accounts.

In Damascus, Quina also met the French Jesuit missionary Michel Nau (1633-83), who would later become well-known as the author of *Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa et probata* (1680) and *État présent de la religion mahométane* (1685).

Quina's description of the *hajj* caravan from Damascus is noteworthy too. The Dutchman mentions that some pilgrims mutilated themselves out of devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad, for example by cutting out their own eyes after seeing the Prophet's grave. In general, Quina does not invoke the authority of many earlier travellers, but here he does, referring, interestingly, to the account by the Englishman John Sanderson, who was in the Levant from 1584 to 1602. (The Dutch translation of this work was not published until 1678, so this might be an indication of when the manuscript was completed.) Quina also mentions the social prestige acquired by those who had successfully performed the pilgrimage – 'who are called *hadges*, which means saints' – and also speaks about the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (the *ashrāf*) and their position in Ottoman society. Elsewhere, he also briefly refers to Sufis. It was the confrontation with so much Muslim devotion that led Quina to reflect on his own Christian faith and to profess it explicitly.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum – Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, 153 fols (late 17th century)

Carel Quina, *Beschrijvinge vande lantrijs, in Europa en Asia, gedaen door de heer Carel Quina. Ridder. Begonnen int jaar 1668 en volbraght int jaer 1671*, (s.l.), 1675

Van der Vlis, *Door het land van de Sultan*

STUDIES

Van der Vlis, *Door the land van de Sultan*

Maurits van den Boogert

Clas Rålamb

DATE OF BIRTH 8 May 1622
PLACE OF BIRTH Stockholm
DATE OF DEATH 14 March 1698
PLACE OF DEATH Stockholm

BIOGRAPHY

Claes Rålamb was educated at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, while also undertaking educational trips to Leiden, Paris and Saumur. His main academic training was in the field of law, and his publication *Observationes juris practicae* (the text was circulated some years before being printed in 1674) is a handbook dealing with legal matters concerning ownership, contracts, wills and inheritance. The focus is on Swedish law, but Rålamb was also inspired by Roman law.

Among his many political and diplomatic duties, Rålamb served as an observer and envoy to the peace negotiations at Brömsebro in 1645 that concluded the war between Sweden and Denmark-Norway, as well as taking part in several political debates in the *Riksdag* (Swedish Parliament) from 1654. From 1660, he served as governor (*landshövding*) of the county of Uppland and then, in 1673, he was appointed governor (*överståthållare*) of the city of Stockholm, but owing to political factions and internal battles within the Swedish administration, he lost this position and was instead appointed President of the Court of Appeal (*hovrättspresident*) in the city of Jönköping. This was a position of less importance, but Rålamb continued to work on how to improve the administration and its procedures. In the summer of 1680, he was sent, together with Henrik Falkenberg, on a political mission to Pommern and Bremen to resolve some administrative problems (especially within the judicial system).

Some minor works and personal notes have remained unpublished, but the *Observationes juris practicae* and the travel diary from his diplomatic mission to the Ottoman Empire between 1657 and 1658 are his most important works. Besides writing and publishing this travel diary, Rålamb also commissioned and bought a number of paintings (20 large oil paintings in all), which give a detailed first-hand portrayal of courtly life in the Ottoman Empire and the city of Istanbul. They are on display at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. In the Rålamb manuscript

collection, stored at the Royal Library in Stockholm, there is also an unpublished book ('Rålambska dräktboken', Cod.Rål. 8:o nr 10) containing 121 miniature paintings of Turkish and Oriental costumes. This book was most likely commissioned or bought during his stay in Istanbul.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- Claes Rålamb, *Observationes juris practicae. Thet är, åthskillige påminnelser vthi rätttegångs saker; grundade vthi Guds ordh, Sweriges lagh och recesser: förklarade af then andelige och fremmande werldzligh lagh: medh förnähme lärde mäns skriffter och öfwereens stämmande stadfästade: tienlige så wäl kärandom som swarandom til rättelse och vnderwijsning, sammandragne för een rum tijdh sedan aff nu warande kongl. mayst. högtbetrodde man, rådth och öfwer-ståthållare i Stockholm, then högwälborne herre herr Clas Rålamb, herre til Länna och Nystadh, etc.*, Stockholm 1674
- Claes Rålamb, *Kort beskriffning om thet som wid then Constantinopolitaniske resan är föreluppit*. Stockholm, 1679

Secondary

- S. Westerberg, *Clas Rålamb. Maktspelare i storhetstidens Sverige*, Stockholm, 2012
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- K. Ådahl, 'Clas Rålamb's turkiska målningar', in K. Ådahl, V. Wessel and S. Unge (eds), *Sverige och den islamiska världen*, Stockholm, 2002, 106-10
- G. Larsson, 'En svensk 1600-tals-beskrivning från den Stora Porten i Öster', *Folkets Historia* 27 (1999) 2-12
- B. Brendemoen, 'Some remarks on Claes Brodersson Rålamb and his contemporaries', in U. Ehrensward (ed.), *Turcica et orientalia. Studies in honour of Gunnar Jarrington on his eightieth birthday 12 October 1987*, Stockholm, 1988, 9-18

G. Jarring, 'Claes Brorsson Rålamb. 1600-talsresenär, diplomat och kulturpersonlighet', *Meddelanden, Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul*, 11 (1986), 29-44

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kort beskrifning om thet som wid then Constantinopolitaniske resan är föreluppit,
 'A relation of a journey to Constantinople:
 giving an account of divers occurrences',
Diarium under resa till Konstantinopel
 1657-1658, 'Travel diary'

DATE 1679

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Swedish

DESCRIPTION

Rålamb's travel diary, *Kort beskrifning om thet som wid then Constantinopolitaniske resan är föreluppit*, was first published in 1679. The text is more easily available in the edition produced by Christian Callmer in 1963 under the title *Diarium under resa till Konstantinopel 1657-1658*. This latter edition was included in a series of historical transactions (*Historiska handlingar* 37:3), where it covers 241 pages. Rålamb's travel diary appeared in an English translation by Nicholas Rolamb in 1732.

The background to the journey was the Swedish war in Poland, and the aim of the mission to the sultan in Istanbul was to persuade the Ottomans to take part in the war against Russia on the Swedish side. In the end the mission failed, since the Turks were upset by the fact that the vassal kingdom of Georg II Rákoczy of Siebenbürgen (present-day Transylvania) had sided with Sweden without asking permission from the Ottomans.

The travel diary includes personal descriptions and impressions, as well as information about diplomatic affairs. Even though the mission was disappointing for the Swedish delegation, it gave Rålamb the opportunity to acquire a first-hand impression of the Ottoman Empire and of Turkish and Islamic cultures. The book contains not only an interesting ethnographic description of the whirling dervishes and the rituals associated with prayers in mosques and churches in the greater Istanbul area, but also a description of what he calls the 'Religion of the Turks'.

According to the diary, Rålamb bought his own copy of the Qur'an on 7 January 1658.

Although the text can be read as a polemical work, it is clear that Rålamb had first-hand knowledge of Islamic doctrines (the Qur'an, angels, books, doomsday), rituals (especially the pilgrimage to Mecca, but also the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad and *bayram*, *Īd al-adḥā*) and practices (the Five Pillars of Islam). The description of Islam in the diary is coloured by the Ḥanafī legal interpretations that predominated in Istanbul, but it is a rare example of a first-hand description of Islam for Sweden and is generally objective. However, it is not clear whether Rålamb wrote the section about the Turkish religion himself, or whether this part of the diary was composed and translated for him by one of his Turkish translators and co-workers. His Polish translator, Wojciech Bobowski, also known as Bobovius, has been identified out as a possible source. It is also likely that Isaac Barrow's *Epitome fidei et religionis Turcicae* was a source.

SIGNIFICANCE

Rålamb's travel diary is written in objective, clear language and contains very few examples of condemnations of other religions. However, it is clear that Rålamb finds many Turkish customs strange, and sometimes appears to be perplexed by, for example, Turkish music, culture, food and drink. The travel diary describes a very early (if not the first) instance of a Swede drinking coffee, clearly seen as something very strange and alien to Swedish habits. Even though the language used to describe Islam is coloured by Rålamb's Protestant faith and his loyalty to the Swedish nation, it is still informative and relatively objective regarding Islamic dogmas, rituals and practices.

Some of the details provided by Rålamb can be compared with the travel reports by Conrad Jacob Hildebrandt and Johann Ulrich Wallich, two European diplomats whose travel diaries covered more or less the same period in Istanbul. For example, according to information provided by Wallich, it seems that Rålamb made some significant changes in his diary with respect to dates. According to Rålamb himself, he visited the Dervish order on 15 December 1657, while according to Wallich, the correct date should be Christmas Eve. According to Wallich, however, this date was changed because it would have upset the Swedish king to know that his diplomat was attending an Islamic sermon during the period celebrating the birth of Jesus Christ. It is not possible to verify this

discrepancy, which might have reflected diplomatic tensions between Rålamb and Wallich.

The diaries by Wallich and Hildebrandt were published as J.U. Wallich, *Religio Turcica: Mahometis vita et orientalis cum occidentalis antichristo compario*, Stockholm, 1659, and C.J. Hildebrandt, *Dreifache Schwedische Gesandtschaftsreise 1656-1658*, Stockholm, 1937.

All in all, Rålamb's travel diary and the paintings he collected in Turkey are significant sources for the study of Islam as it was perceived by northern Europeans. The travel diary contains descriptions that can be related to conflicts and tensions between the two political camps in Europe in the 17th century, while it also casts light on differences between Lutheran and Catholic Christianity.

PUBLICATIONS

Claes Rålamb, *Kort beskrifning om thet som wid then Constantinopolitanske resan är föreluppit*, Stockholm, 1679

Nicholas Rolamb, *A relation of a journey to Constantinople: giving an account of divers occurrences*, London, 1732, 1745 (English trans.)

Claes Rålamb, *Diarium under resa till Konstantinopel 1657-1658*, ed. C. Callmer, Stockholm, 1963

Claes Rålamb, *İstanbul'a bir yolculuk, 1657-1658*, trans. A. Arel, Istanbul, 2008 (Turkish trans. from 1732 English version, abridged)

STUDIES

Westerberg, *Clas Rålamb*

Gábor, 'Främlingskapets grader'

Bäärnhjelm, 'Rålamb collections'

Westerberg, 'Clas Rålamb. Statesman, scholar and ambassador'

Asker, 'Clas Rålamb'

Ådahl, 'Claes Rålamb's turkiska målningar'

Larsson, 'En svensk 1600-tals-beskrivning'

Brendemoen, 'Some remarks on Claes Brodersson Rålamb'

Jarring, 'Claes Brorsson Rålamb'

Göran Larsson

Thomas Hees

DATE OF BIRTH 1634
PLACE OF BIRTH Weesp, near Amsterdam
DATE OF DEATH Buried 3 September 1693
PLACE OF DEATH Nieuwer-Amstel, near Amsterdam

BIOGRAPHY

In 1612, the Dutch Republic was granted its first capitulations (*ahdname*) by the Ottoman sultan, according trade privileges to Dutch merchants residing in the Levant and the assurance that slaves would be freed without payment. The North African ('Barbary') principalities of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan, but were autonomous with regard to foreign policy. Privateering was one of their principal sources of income, so they did not honour the Ottomans' guarantees of safety at sea. Separate diplomatic agreements had therefore to be negotiated with these corsair states. The Dutch, aware of this, had already in 1611 sent an emissary, Wijnant de Keyser, who would remain in Algiers until 1627. He redeemed a number of slaves for a considerable sum of money, which was advanced by the Dutch government, and also managed to conclude a treaty in 1621. In early 1622, Cornelis Pijnacker had also been sent as official ambassador to Algiers and he was there again in 1625-6. However, the 1621 treaty was clearly no longer considered functional after 1630, since scores of Dutch ships were being taken by the Barbary corsairs every year.

After the war with Spain had ended in 1648, the Dutch admiral Michiel de Ruyter (himself a former corsair) was sent to the Mediterranean to protect Dutch shipping and to discuss new treaties with all three North African principalities. He managed to conclude a treaty with Salé and captured several corsair ships, but his actions had little effect on Dutch relations with Algiers. Between 1661 and 1663, de Ruyter was back on convoy duty in the Mediterranean. At Algiers, he managed this time to redeem 130 of the 750 people taken captive on Dutch ships and enslaved during earlier years.

In 1674, the States General received letters from Tripoli indicating that the Bey would welcome a renewal of peaceful relations with the Dutch Republic. This eventually led to the dispatch of Thomas Hees to

Algiers. Hees was born in the village of Weesp, near Amsterdam, in 1634. Although nothing is known about his youth, he must have come from a relatively wealthy family and have received a solid education. Only at the age of 20 did he register as a student of philosophy in Leiden, taking up his medical studies there four years later. Hees then settled in Amsterdam, where he set up a medical practice. When it was decided, in 1664, to send a temporary embassy to the court of Muscovy, Hees served as its physician. The learned merchant Nicolaes Witsen, who would later become mayor of Amsterdam, was also a member of this embassy, and it seems likely that Hees owed his later appointment to Algiers at least partly to the connections forged during this journey to Russia.

Hees shared his appointment to Algiers with the Jewish merchant Jacob de Paz, who was born in Livorno but later settled in the Dutch Republic. De Paz had conducted business with and in Algiers since 1671 and was part of a larger Jewish network that connected North Africa with the Low Countries. Another Jew, David Cohen, and a Dutch renegade called 'Ali de Kuiper', were important local mediators in Algiers.

Hees arrived on 12 October 1675 and remained until 8 May 1680, the desired treaty being concluded in 1679. His successors were less successful with the Algerians, so it was again Hees who travelled to Algiers in 1682 to redeem more Dutch slaves, using money from a national funding campaign, which secured the release of 197 captives. Nicolaes Witsen, by this time the mayor of Amsterdam, was a major sponsor of this 1682 fund. In late 1683, Hees returned to Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers for yet another round of slave redemption. In 1686, the new ruler in Algiers revoked the principality's treaty with the Dutch, but by this time Hees was no longer responsible. He died in 1693 in Nieuwer-Amstel, near Amsterdam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS The Hague, National Archives – 1.11.01.01, no. 1317 (*Journal ofte Dagh-register van de reijse naar Algier van Thomas Hees gedaen int jaar 1675*; in two volumes, the second starting in the year 1676)

Secondary

C. Coffrie, 'Gezant in Barbarije. Thomas Hees, commissaris van de Staten-Generaal in Algiers, 1675-1680', Amsterdam, 2010 (MA Diss. University of Amsterdam); available online: <http://dare.uva.nl/cgi/arno/show.cgi?fid=189664>

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Journael ofte Dagh-Register van de Reyse naar Algier
van Thomas Hees, gedaan int jaar 1675*‘Account or diary of the journey to Algiers of
Thomas Hees, undertaken in the year 1675’

DATE 1675-80

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch, with at least one fragment, vol. 1,
pp. 91-5, in French

DESCRIPTION

Thomas Hees kept a diary between mid-1675 and 27 February 1680. The diary is a mixed record of his way of life en route to Algiers and while residing there, and also of the efforts he made for the release of slaves and the discussions concerning the forthcoming treaty with the ruler of Algiers. These were probably notes written for personal use. The few official letters that are extant are very close to the wordings of this diary. The diary was written in two volumes, of 186 and 206 pages respectively, and it remained within his family until 1915, when it was donated to the National Archives of the Netherlands in The Hague.

In his diary, Hees switches quite abruptly from the wine-drinking, gambling and card-playing small circle of foreign diplomats in Algiers to observations about Ramadan and the problem of giving ‘Easter gifts’ (i.e. presents on the occasion of *Īd al-fitr*) at the end of the month of fasting to his servants and Muslim friends; from describing the sober Protestant service hospitality in his house to the warm welcome he received at the Catholic convent and their support for his actions; from a description of a reception hosted by the ruler of Algiers and the pleasantries they exchanged to his disgust and sadness at seeing the fate of those taken prisoner by the corsairs. Because the diary was written for personal use, it is not embellished or polished, unlike many published accounts.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is a rare account by a diplomat who worked in an area where Christians were routinely taken captive and sold as slaves or for ransom by Muslim privateers. Most of the sources that exist about this aspect of Christian-Muslim dynamics are accounts by captives or slaves themselves. The diplomat is by profession an outsider and observer. Some aspects receive special attention in Hees’s diary, such as the role of Jews as mediators between Christians and Muslims and the position of

Western converts to Islam (renegades), some of whom are mentioned as mediators, others as poor workers – but also as successful corsair captains, such as Ali Reis, also called Admiral Canary, probably because he came from the Canary Islands. The account by Hees suggests that there was a relatively high degree of freedom of religion in Algiers in this period. It is also clear that the rulers of the principality were well-informed about the differences between the Dutch, British, French and other European nations and the conflicts between them, and the way to benefit from these.

PUBLICATIONS

MS The Hague, National Archives – 1.11.01.01, no. 1317 (*Dagboek van de reis van Thomas Hees, resident en commissaris van de Staten-Generaal bij de regering van Algiers, Tunis en Tripoli, naar Algiers*)

Thomas Hees, 'Journael ofte Dagh-Register van de reyse naar Algier gedaan int jaar 1675', in H. Hardenberg (ed.), *Tussen Zeerovers en Christenslaven. Noordafrikaanse reisjournalen ingeleid en toegelicht*, Leiden, 1950, 13-72 (excerpt covering the period 27 July 1675 to 2 February 1676)

STUDIES

Coffrie, 'Gezant in Barbarije'

L. van den Broek and M. Jacobs, *Christenslaven. De slavernij-ervaringen van Cornelis Stout in Algiers (1678-1680) en Maria van Metelen in Marokko (1731-1743)*, Zutphen, 2006

J. Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten. De verborgen geschiedenis van het Ottomaanse Rijk*, Leuven, 2001

G. van Krieken, *Kapers en kooplieden. De betrekkingen tussen Algiers en Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1999

G. van Krieken, 'De missies van Thomas Hees naar Algiers, Tunis en Tripoli (1675-1685)', *Sharqīyyāt* 4 (1992) 21-39

J.B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast. Algiers under the Turks, 1500 to 1830*, New York, 1979

O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegen woordigers, residerende in het buitenland 1584-1810*, The Hague, 1976, pp. 364-5

C. Pijnacker, *Historysch verhael van den steden Thunes, Algiers ende andere steden in Barbarien gelegen*, Den Haag, 1975

K. Heeringa (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel. Tweede deel 1661-1726*, The Hague, 1917, pp. 485-530 (pp. 522-30 contain Hees' report (*verbael*) for November 1685)

- S. de Vries, *Handelingen en geschiedenissen, voorgevallen tusschen den Staet der Vereenighde Nederlanden en dien van de zee-roovers in Barbaryen, als der rijcken en steeden van Algiers, Tunis, Salee en Tripoli, van 't jaer Christi 1590 tot op 't jaer 1684 / met ondermengingh van verscheydene aenmercklijckheden, nevens de namen en prijzen der honderd en aght-en-tseventigh slaven, uyt ordre der Staten van Holland en West-Friesland gelost in 't jaer 1682*, 2 vols, Amsterdam: Jan ter Hoorn, 1684

Maurits van den Boogert and Karel Steenbrink

Cornelis Stout

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1645
PLACE OF BIRTH	Schiedam, The Netherlands
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Cornelis Stout is only known through his account of a trip he planned to Surinam to start a life as a planter, with his wife and two children. The family left Rotterdam on 28 October 1678. On 9 November, their boat was captured by Algerian pirates, and on 22 December they were taken to Tunis to be sold as slaves. Nobody wanted to buy the family and they were taken to Algiers, where they were brought to the royal court. The ruler said they should be kept together and they were bought by a member of the family of a certain Captain Monstafaris.

From February 1679, they were under the orders of a Greek renegade, whom Stout called Grande, the overseer of the household. Even though he had himself been captured as a slave, he was very harsh, although other members of the captain's family were often very kind. Stout's wife became pregnant, and after much trouble she gave birth to a son on 3 March 1680. Stout himself worked between a villa in the countryside and the city of Algiers, where he had to do all kinds of household duties, from caring for a child to manual work. He describes in detail a marriage festival, the ceremonies and traditions, and how guests amused themselves by packing a slave in straw and setting it on fire. The slave was able to be rescued and he received a small amount of money in recompense.

Among many others, Stout was a victim of the pestilence in the town, but he survived. He made contact with the English and Dutch ambassador Thomas Hees, and the French priest Jean le Vacher, Apostolic Vicar in Algiers. In May 1680, the new Dutch diplomat Jacobus Tollius brought money (probably collected from family and friends in the Netherlands) and weapons, and paid them as a ransom for Stout and his family. They left Algiers on 8 May 1680 for Livorno, from where they travelled back by land to their home country.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek – 131 C5 (*Reijsbeschrijvinge Cornelis Stout*)

Thomas Hees, 'Journael ofte Dagh-Register van de reyse naar Algier gedaan int jaar 1675', in H. Hardenberg (ed.), *Tussen Zeerovers en Christenslaven. Noordafrikaanse reisjournalen ingeleid en toegelicht*, Leiden, 1950, 13-72

Secondary

C. Coffrie, 'Gezant in Barbarije. Thomas Hees, commissaris van de Staten-Generaal in Algiers, 1675-1680', Amsterdam, 2010 (MA Diss. University of Amsterdam)

G. van Krieken, 'De missies van Thomas Hees naar Algiers, Tunis en Tripoli (1675-1685)', *Sharqiyyât* 4 (1992) 21-39

G. van Krieken, *Kapers en kooplieden. De betrekkingen tussen Algiers en Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1999

J.B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast. Algiers under the Turks, 1500 to 1830*, New York, 1979

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Reijsbeschrijvinge, 'Description of the journey of Cornelis Stout'

DATE About 1680

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

The work, 51 double folio pages long in the surviving manuscript, which is probably an autograph, is the diary of the sad history of Stout's failed voyage to the Dutch colony in Surinam, where the young family planned to start a new life. Shortly after they left their homeland, their ship was seized by Algerian pirates and all their belongings were taken. The pork and wine on board were also thrown into the sea, 'because the Turcs and Mahometans follow their law that bans wine and speck' (fol. 3r). They ended up in Algiers.

Many pages of the *Reijsbeschrijvinge* are devoted to accounts of renegades, the Turkish pasha, and the local elite, and also of a marriage ceremony. In mid-1679, Stout's daughter was separated from her parents and taught Arabic. She was persuaded to become a Muslim, and although she was only ten years old a French renegade wanted to marry her (19r-v). When Stout's wife became pregnant, she in turn was told that she would

be treated much better if she converted. When she gave birth to her son, she was asked to breastfeed a baby in her owner's family and was able to help it (25r).

In addition to these domestic details, some quite pleasant but others gruesome, Stout also recounts the complicated story of the negotiations to free the family and pay a ransom.

SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike other contemporary descriptions of Christian slaves in North Africa, such as that of Fr Pierre Dan, the best known among them, this account does not mention the dramatic aspects of the captives' fate. It dwells on the more domestic details of their experience, while the actions taken on their behalf by the ambassador Thomas Hees are known through his own published writings. The two complementary accounts reveal the two sides of the life of foreigners in Algiers: respectfully treated free people on the one hand, and slaves awaiting death or the arrival of their ransom on the other.

The *Reijsbeschrijvinge* was only published in 2006. It is not known why it did not appear in Stout's lifetime, unlike similar accounts which were often published as a sign of recognition and gratitude to those who given the funds for the prisoners' release.

PUBLICATIONS

MS The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek – 131 C5 (*Reijsbeschrijvinge Cornelis Stout*) (c. 1680)

L. van den Broek and M. Jacobs (eds), *Christenslaven. De slavernij-ervaringen van Cornelis Stout in Algiers (1678-1680) en Maria Ter Meetelen in Marokko (1731-1743)* (*Linschoten-vereniging* 104), Zutphen, 2006 (edition of *Reijsbeschrijvinge*, pp. 103-248)

Karel Steenbrink

Olfert Dapper

DATE OF BIRTH Probably January 1636
PLACE OF BIRTH Amsterdam
DATE OF DEATH 29 December 1689
PLACE OF DEATH Amsterdam

BIOGRAPHY

Not much is known about Olfert Dapper. He was born in Amsterdam and baptised in the Lutheran Church on 6 January 1636, probably very soon after his birth. He studied medicine at Utrecht University and then returned to Amsterdam. It is not certain that he actually worked as a medical doctor, but the abbreviation Dr appears before his name in his numerous works.

Dapper never left his home country and never married. In 1663, at the age of 27, he published a well-received book on the history of Amsterdam, some 650 pages in folio. The book was reprinted several times. In 1665, he published a Dutch translation of the *History* of Herodotus. In 1668, the first of his 'exotic' works was published, dedicated to Africa. Others, describing far-away regions such as Asia and the Middle East, soon followed, resulting in a series of eight large volumes, folio size and neatly bound.

Dapper's books were very popular; they were sometimes translated into German, English and French in the same year as they were published, and they have continued to be reprinted until very recently. Dapper worked in a well-stocked library in Amsterdam. He also mentions that he drew on personal notes and on letters written by his acquaintances. One modern observer has remarked that he was writing at a time when copyright was not yet widespread and authors and their books were 'outlaws' (E. Dronckers, 'Uit de tijd toen het boek nog vogelvrij was', *Het Boek* 29 (1948) p. 154). Dapper does refer to quite a few of his sources, though not in a systematic and definitely not in a complete way. But this was sometimes also his own fate: his book on Africa was published in English without his name on the title page (or anywhere else in the book for that matter).

Dapper died in Amsterdam on 29 December 1689, aged 53. His very readable compilations have led to his remaining a famous and influential

author, known for his work on the world outside Europe. In Amsterdam, he is honoured with a Dapper District and a Dapper Street, and also the Dapper market.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- H. Alles, 'Olfert Dapper, een blik op Afrika', *Spiegel Historiae* 27 (1992) 251-3
- P.M. Martin, *Olfert Dapper et l'histoire du Loango. Quelques remarques sur le tricentenaire de la traduction française de Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewensten*, (s.l.), 1986
- E. Faust, *Arabien 1680. Olfert Dappers Arabienbuch und seine Quellen, geprüft an Nachrichten über Kaffee, Sesam und Träumen*, Cologne, 1977
- P.E. Hair, 'Barbot, Dapper, Davity. A critique of sources on Sierra Leone and Cape Mount', *History in Africa* 1 (1974) 25-54
- G. Thilmans, 'Le Sénégal dans l'oeuvre d'Olfert Dapper', *Le Bulletin de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique Noire* 33 (1971) 508-63
- C.M. Dozy, 'Olfert Dapper', *Tijdschrift voor het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 2 (1886) 414-35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Naukeurige beschrijvinge van . . ., 'An accurate description of . . .'

DATE 1668-88

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Dutch

DESCRIPTION

Olfert Dapper was a prolific writer of books on 'foreign parts', although he never travelled outside The Netherlands. His books are compilations of materials gathered from a variety of sources, such as travelogues, letters and interviews. Between 1668 and 1688, he published a series of eight volumes, all beginning with *Naukeurige beschrijvinge van . . .* ('An accurate description of . . .'). Dapper started his series with a description of mainland Africa and the African Islands (1668), then he turned to China (1670), North India, Persia and Georgia (1672), Syria and Palestine (1677), Arabia (1680) and two volumes on the Greek Islands (1688). His books are lengthy, between 500 and 990 pages. Several of the volumes are divided into sections, each with separate page numbering. All the volumes are richly illustrated with etchings. He aimed to give reliable information, so

his books do not include stories about miracles or sensational tales about frightening habits, monsters, mythological beings or weird creatures.

Most of Dapper's books were translated into English, French and German shortly after their appearance in Dutch. In later times, only his books on Africa and the Greek islands seem to have been re-read and reprinted.

Like his contemporary, the famous map maker Jan Blaeu, Dapper portrayed other civilisations as being very similar to his own society. His descriptions of Africa and other continents are positive, describing prosperous regions where mighty kings ruled over their peoples.

Religion does not feature as a major theme in Dapper's books; rather, he gives more general information. He often starts with geography, quoting information from classical authors such as Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny and even the Bible. Commerce, marriage, food and clothing are among his favourite topics, but religion is always given some attention. In his volume on India, he includes several stories about the ten incarnations of Vishnu, complete with large etchings.

Islam features in many of Dapper's writings. In some volumes, he gives a short summary of the life and teachings of Muḥammad and the teachings of Islam, depicting Muḥammad as the bringer of a false doctrine and claiming that Islam was first established in a region where the heresy of Arianism was already dominant. In his volume on Africa, Dapper writes that Islam is only popular among its believers because 'it has taken easy elements from other religions, does give free space to sexual lust and has no rational arguments for its doctrine, but only asks mere submission to its doctrines' (Ogilby, *Africa*, p. 41). Besides these derogatory remarks, which from time to time are repeated when Muslim realms are portrayed, most attention is given to rulers, capitals, trade, popular devotions and bath houses. Muslim countries are regularly praised for their high quality schools, located in the *mesquitas*.

Dapper's most detailed descriptions of Islam are found in his *Naukeurige beschrijving van Asie* (1680), and more particularly in the 324 pages dedicated to Arabia in this volume. In this section, he starts with a description of the geography and the major towns such as Mecca, Jeddah, Sana'a, Mokha, Ta'if, Muscat and Basra. After narrating events before Muḥammad's birth (e.g. the story of the attack on the Ka'ba by Abraha), he presents ethnographic material on Bedouin life and pagan Arab religion (pp. 149-88). Pages 194-324 serve as a kind of general introduction to Muslim beliefs and practices. Here, the debate about the immortality

of the soul and the uncreatedness of the Qur'an is reproduced in some detail, as is the list of 72 Islamic sects which Muḥammad traditionally predicted, with most attention given to the better known ones, such as the Mu'tazila. There is also a brief account of the Qur'an and the Sunna and their sources, as well as the six classical collections of Hadith. The basic rituals of Islam are also mentioned, from the ablutions and daily prayers to the fast of Ramaḍān and the annual pilgrimage. The work also includes a comparison between Muslim and Christian doctrines. On p. 319, Dapper cites a certain 'Ahmed ibn Edris', who questions how the Holy Spirit could have been involved during the conception of Jesus if the Gospels relate that the Spirit descended on Jesus during his baptism in the river Jordan. According to Ibn Edris, *Ruhul Qudus* should therefore be understood as the angel Gabriel. Apart from this, Dapper's style is generally descriptive rather than polemical.

Dapper's series describes many different regions and peoples, so Islam and Muslim-Christian relations feature in a variety of settings. In all regions, Dapper mentions the variety of Christian denominations as well as the major ethnic background of Muslims. In Syria, he pays special attention to the Druze and Maronite communities, besides Melkites, Jacobites, Nestorians, Georgians and Armenians. As to Muslims, he mentions at length that the Moors (Arabic-speaking Muslims of North Africa) are more religious than the politically dominant Turks (*Afrikaensche gewesten*, p. 160).

Dapper himself had been born into the minority Lutheran community of Amsterdam, which had limited religious freedom in a society where Reformed Protestantism was considered the official religion. A German *Gelehrten-Lexikon* of 1750 (C.G. Jöcher) even qualified him as *hatte keine Religion* ('without religious affiliation'), probably indicating that he was not a member of the dominant Reformed Church. Although he does not draw attention to his own religious affiliation, his membership of a religious minority community might explain why he repeatedly pays attention to the position of Christian denominations under Muslim rulers. His overall opinion seems to be that Christian communities have a limited yet guaranteed freedom to practise their beliefs and rituals.

Dapper relates in detail the story that the Caliph 'Umar decreed in 637 that the Christian churches in Jerusalem were to remain open, and that this decree was observed for a period of 430 years, during which the Christians had to pay *grote schattingen voor de vrye oeffening van godsdienst* ('huge amounts for the free exercise of religion'), until a certain 'Hequen'

conquered Jerusalem and destroyed all its churches (*Syrië en Palestyn*, p. 357). He is presumably referring here to the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and especially of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in 1009. For such short historical excursions Dapper uses the universal history of the Egyptian Christian 'Elmacine' (al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd, d. after 1280), translated into Latin by Thomas Erpenius and published by Jacobus Golius in Leiden in 1625. Occasionally, he observes that a Christian church was converted into a mosque, as in the town of Rama (*Syrië en Palestyn*, p. 192) where the largest 11 mosques had been Christian churches. But his description of Jerusalem (*Syrië en Palestyn*, pp. 321-540) seldom mentions Muslim influence, and is effectively a full travel guide for Christians.

It is also remarkable that Dapper does not appear to highlight the major spiritual or intellectual centres of Islam. Cairo and Istanbul are described, but no specific mention is made of their role as Muslim centres of learning. Likewise, although he describes the Mughal Empire as divided into many kingdoms, remarkable towns and various cultures, highlighting the local and exotic, he does not draw attention to the Islamic character of the empire or acknowledge Islam as the source of its splendour.

Dapper frequently compares Muslim practices to Roman Catholic tradition; pilgrimages to the graves of saints are among his favourite topics, and the *tasbīḥ* is called a rosary or even *paternoster*. More than half of the 324 pages of his description of Arabia is devoted to summaries of Muslim doctrines, with much attention to philosophy and the problems of the soul (whether it is immortal or not) and to the Sunna of Muḥammad, especially the rules of purity and hygiene, where he mentions an obsessive fear of pollution with urine. Apart from occasional theological censures, his many pages mainly depict Muslim societies that are well-organised, alien and exotic.

SIGNIFICANCE

Dapper's descriptions of Islam and Muslims pay lip service to popular European conceptions of Islam and express age-old prejudices and criticisms. But the main tenor of his accounts is of a faith that underlies well-run societies that offer allurements to the traveller. In his works, the Islamic world may harbour superstition and religious error, but its attractions are there to be investigated and experienced.

PUBLICATIONS

- Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Lybiën, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinië, vertoont in de benamingen / met lantkaerten en afbeeldingen van steden, drachten, &c. na 't leven getekent, en in kooper gesneden; getrokken uyt verscheyde hedendaegse lantbeschrijvers en geschriften van bereisde ondersoekers dier landen*, Amsterdam: Jakob van Meurs, 1668, 1676²; Getty Research Institute 30038 (digitalised version available through Getty Research Institute)
- Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Eylanden: als Madagaskar, of Sant Laurens, Sant Thomee, d'eilanden van Kanarien, Kaep de Verd, Malta, en andere: vertoont in de Benamingen, gelegenheit, Steden, Revieren, Gewassen, Dieren, Zeeden, Drachten, Talen, Rijkdommen, Godsdiensten en Heerschappyen. / Met Aftekeningen der Eilanden, en verscheide afbeeldingen*, Amsterdam: Jakob van Meurs, 1668, 1676²; Getty Research Institute 619309 (digitalised version available through Getty Research Institute)
- John Ogilby, *Africa: being an accurate description of the regions of Aegypt, Barbary, Lybia, and Biledulgerid, the Land of Negroes, Guinee, Aethiopia, and the Abyssines, with all the adjacent islands, either in the Mediterranean, Atlantick, Southern, or Oriental Sea, belonging thereunto; with the several denominations of their coasts, harbors, creeks, rivers, lakes, cities, towns, castles, and villages: their customs, modes, and manners, languages, religions, and inexhaustible treasure: with their government, and policy, variety of trade and barter: and also of their wonderful plants, beasts, birds, and serpents: collected and translated from most authentick authors, and augmented with later observations; illustrated with notes, and adorn'd with peculiar maps, and proper sculptures*, London, 1670 (English trans. by John Ogilby; Olfert Dapper is not acknowledged as the author); Wing 0163 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

- Olfert Dapper, *Umbständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa, und denen darzu gehörigen Königreichen und Landtschaften, als Egypten, Barbarien, Libyen, Biledulgerid, dem Lande der Negros, Guinea, Ethiopien, Abyssina, und den Africanischen Insulen: zusamt deren verschiedenen Grentzen...*, Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1670-1, Nuremberg, 1681 (German trans.; repr. New York, 1967; facsimile Saarbrücken, 2012); digitalised version available through *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11164959-0>
- Olfert Dapper, *Asia of Naukeurige beschryving van het rijk des Grootten Mogols en een groot gedeelte van Indiën: beneffens een volkome beschryving van geheel Persie, Georgie, Mengrelie en andere gebuurgewesten*, Amsterdam: Jakob van Meurs, 1672; Koninklijke Bibliotheek 388 A 4 [1] (digitalised version available through *EEB*)
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Poland and Lithuania

Erazm Otwinowski

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1524 and 1529
PLACE OF BIRTH Liśnik (formerly Leśnik), near Urzędów
DATE OF DEATH June 1614
PLACE OF DEATH Raków

BIOGRAPHY

According to H. Barycz, Erazm Otwinowski was born in 1528 into an impoverished noble family. Their material status and the fact that he was one of 12 children (six brothers and five sisters) were perhaps the reasons for his lack of a good formal education. After spending some time at the courts of influential aristocrats, he entered the service of Stanisław Tęczyński, voivode of Kraków. With Tęczyński's support, he joined Andrzej Bzicki's mission to Constantinople (the year is uncertain, but the dates were 7 July to 5 November, with the stay in Constantinople lasting from 24 August to 13 September). It is known that he also accompanied Stanisław's son, Jan Baptysta Tęczyński, on his journey through western Europe (1555-9) and on his mission to King Eric XIV in Stockholm in November 1561, during which Tęczyński became involved in a love affair with Princess Cecilia Vasa, and also on Tęczyński's secret voyage to marry her in September 1563. The Danes intercepted their ship and Tęczyński died in a Copenhagen prison, while the rest of the party were eventually released. Barycz indicates that the Tęczyńskis excused themselves from any obligation to pay for Otwinowski's services, but Prejs (*Egzotyzm w literaturze staropolskiej*, pp. 59-60) argues that Otwinowski maintained the link with his patrons. He married and settled in his estate in Leśnik but often travelled to Lublin and to the Mazovia region.

He became increasingly involved in the activities of the Calvinist community (his pro-Reformation sympathies probably date back to when he joined the Tęczyńskis' court in 1554, and he took part in several synods). He became increasingly involved with the anti-Trinitarians after taking part in the 1563 Kraków synod of the 'Arian' faction of the Calvinist community. He wrote a pamphlet – now lost – against the cult of the Eucharist and attacked a Corpus Christi procession in Lublin on 1 June 1564, committing a sacrilege against the host carried by the priest. He found refuge in the house of a Lublin official, a co-religionist, and escaped from

the city. Summoned by the royal court, he was defended by influential gentry (including the poet Mikołaj Rej) and was not convicted (being simply exhorted to respect of religious ceremonies and convictions).

As a convinced Unitarian, Otwinowski moved to Raków (the centre of the 'Polish Brethren') before 1598. There, he became influential in shaping the publishing policy of the church and was acclaimed as one who lived by his principles. He died in June 1614.

His literary heritage was managed by an important Unitarian family, the Lubienieckis, linked to Otwinowski through the marriage of his eldest daughter, Anna, to Krzysztof Lubieniecki 'the elder'. Otwinowski's works include: *O wtargnięciu nieprzyjacielskim w ziemie ruskie a o gotowości w sprawach naszych* ('On the inimical incursion into the Ruthenian lands and on readiness in our affairs'), in which he rebukes for cowardice the gentry who formed part of the mass levy during a Tatar raid in 1566 and admonishes the king for negligence in defending the south-eastern part of the country; *Votum*, in which he ridicules the type of talkative nobleman who is enthralled by his own voice and earns public office through his loquacity; *W sprawach abo historyach znacznych niewiast* ('In cases or stories of important women') (2nd ed. 1589, 1st ed. unknown), in which he draws examples from the Bible and current affairs, and develops the theme of the social and intellectual equality of women, arguing against men who deny them the opportunity of reading God's word in the vernacular and try to confine them to domestic work; *Bohaterowie chrystiańscy* ('Christian heroes'), in which he writes on patrons and ministers who have particularly served the church.

At least two issues concerning his life remain puzzling: whether he was the author of *Erotyki, fraszki, obrazki, epigramaty* ('Love poems, short stories, epigrams') (ed. I. Chrzanowski, Kraków, 1903), attributed to a so-called Anonymous Protestant; and the date of his travels to Istanbul (discussed below).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Wypisanie drogi tureckiej, 'Description of the journey to Turkey'

DATE Possibly 1557

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

The title of the manuscript of *Wypisanie drogi tureckiej* (in full: *Wypisanie drogi tureckiej, gdym tam z postem wielkim wielmożnym panem Andrzejem Bzickim, kasztelanem chełmskim, od króla Zygmunta Augusta postanym roku pańskiego 1557 jeździł*, 'Description of the journey to Turkey when I went there with Sir Andrzej Bzicki, castelan of Chełm, sent by King Sigismund August A.D. 1557') from Henryk Iliński's library (MS Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska – 5267) mentions the year 1557 (this is repeated in the 19th-century edition by Kraszewski). However, this date is problematic, as Otwinowski is thought to have been travelling in western Europe with the young Tęczyński between 1555 and 1559. Marek Prejs (*Egzotyzm w literaturze staropolskiej*, pp. 28, 56) argues that the date in the manuscript is wrong, and Otwinowski must have been in Istanbul in 1566-9, providing textual evidence: the author mentions two bridges on

the way to Istanbul – one built by the late Sultan Süleyman (d. 1566), the other by the ‘present Emperor Selim’; he mentions only two minarets of Hagia Sophia (the other two were added on the orders of Sultan Selim II in 1569). Prejs’s argument carries weight, but he does not explain how to correlate the dates he gives with the information that Otwinowski took part in Andrzej Bzicki’s mission, which historians date to 1557 (W. Pocięcha, art. ‘Bzicki Andrzej’, in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Kraków, 1937, vol. 3, pp. 185-6). Here, perhaps, Barycz comes to our aid when he states that Otwinowski wrote the account of his adventures only later in life, from memory and from notes taken by himself and some of his friends who had visited Istanbul on other occasions before the end of the 16th century. Some scholars find Otwinowski’s authorship of *Wypisanie drogi tureckiej* problematic as the text in the Kraków manuscript is not signed, but the name ‘P. Otffinowski’ [Sir Otffinowski] is added at the top of the first page in a different hand (I. Janicki, *Perska księga na polski język przelożona*, Warsaw, 1879, p. v, n. 1).

The work is a short description of the itinerary and the events that took place during the diplomatic mission to Constantinople headed by Andrzej Bzicki. It is 32 pages long in the Kraków manuscript (pp. 117-49).

Descriptions provided by the author are brief, but a few matters relevant to Christian-Muslim relations attracted his attention: the condition of Hagia Sophia; the slave market and slavery; the headgear worn by the locals; burial places; the possibility of social advancement; the position of the mufti and his contacts with the sultan.

Otwinowski describes the location of the city briefly and accurately with the correct geographical orientation (many Sarmatian visitors to Istanbul had a distorted perception, as Prejs indicates). He writes that Hagia Sophia (called *Zofia Meszczit*, Zofia Mosque) was crowned with a huge dome, which could not be outdone by the architects working for the Ottomans and which affected the minarets (he uses *wieża* – ‘tower’). He writes that Hagia Sophia was ‘corrupted by Turkish idolatry’ (*bałwochwalstwem tureckim splugawiony*), so there were two towers attached to the main building from where the ‘priests’ (*księża*) called people to prayer every day at certain hours (usually three times – morning, noon, evening, sometimes at midnight). In other mosques the towers were taller so that the voice of the ‘priest’ would project unobstructed, but at Hagia Sophia the towers never rose higher than the dome, because they collapsed whenever an attempt was made to increase their height.

He briefly describes the slave market, noting that many slaves came from Muscovy, Ruthenia and Hungary, but also Italy and Spain, and

some were taken at sea. The tone of the description indicates a certain unease at the existence of such a place and the practice of selling people. He observes that, without the slaves, the power of the Ottomans would not be so great. For this reason, the Ottomans do not keep peace with Christians and so cannot be trusted.

In a short paragraph, he indicates that various classes of people could be distinguished by the colours and decorations of the headgear they wear, e.g. 'the Greeks in blue, the Jews in gold ones, Turkish priests in green ones'.

Another short paragraph is devoted to the description of burial practices and places. Burial grounds were located outside towns ('like among the Jews'), and the corpses, once buried, were not moved elsewhere. Only emperors or important pashas were buried in 'churches or chapels', which were inhabited by 'Turkish monks' called *derbisze* (dervishes), who pray and fast for the souls of those buried there. Otwinowski adds that the Turks believe that, if they kill *Gawry* (Christians) or build anything of particular beauty, they are closer to 'Machomet', and for this reason they make large donations 'for [the sake of] their souls'.

Otwinowski is also intrigued by the possibilities for social advancement in Ottoman society, especially for the originally Christian children who had been given in tribute to the Ottomans or captured during wars and were trained at the imperial court. They were allocated to various groups based not on their previous social standing but on their abilities, and were trained accordingly in a range of skills (including reading and writing). He mentions this again in another paragraph, underlining that 'nobility' was not acquired by birth but by steadfastness and bravery or by luck and imperial favour. One could become an important official almost overnight, but one could also pay with one's throat for any mistake without any consequent disturbance (in striking contrast to what he knew from home).

One long paragraph contains information about the mufti and a story about a wise young chamberlain. Otwinowski writes that the mufti was 'as if the highest priest above all the clergy' similar to the pope. He was also the highest judge (*omnium legum Machometicarum summus interpres*). His authority – due to his wisdom – was such that the sultan, if he encountered him in the street, would dismount and pay his respects (such incidents were rather avoided). He alone was allowed to rebuke the sultan for his mistakes. One day, the mufti set off for the palace to rebuke Sultan Selim, a notorious drunkard (*wielki pijanica i człowiek zbyteczny*), for his abuse of alcohol. Selim had been alerted to the purpose

of the mufti's visit and was determined to put him to death if he mentioned anything about drinking wine. A young chamberlain of Circassian origin overheard this, went to meet the mufti before he entered the palace, and begged him to not make any reference to wine during his encounter with the sultan. The mufti took his advice seriously and spoke gently with the sultan on other matters. For this, the young man gained favour with the sultan and a blessing from the mufti. Soon afterwards, despite being only in his early twenties, he was promoted to an important office in the empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

Wypisanie drogi tureckiej is one of the earliest descriptions in Polish of Ottoman customs, state structure, education of the young, and curiosities. Information on Ottoman society and culture is given randomly, but fairly objectively and sympathetically, almost without any negative judgment, in contrast to some later works. There is a hint of 'Christian supremacy' in what Otwinowski writes (or maybe, 'cultural/religious self-confidence'), but also an interest in seeing what others are doing. His own personal religious itinerary was not without significance in shaping his interest in the religious other. It should be remembered that Unitarians were accused at this time of their apparent pro-Muslim sympathies.

The work was not printed till the mid-19th century, but there were probably hand-written copies of the journal in existence, kept in private libraries (as evidenced by the Kraków manuscript).

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Stanisław Grodz

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł

DATE OF BIRTH 2 August 1549
PLACE OF BIRTH Ćmielów
DATE OF DEATH 28 February 1616
PLACE OF DEATH Nieśwież (present-day Belarus)

BIOGRAPHY

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł 'Sierotka' ('the Orphan'), son of Mikołaj 'the Black', belonged to a powerful family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He was first court and later grand marshal of Lithuania, and voivode first of Trakai (1590) then of Vilnius (1604). He studied in Strasbourg (1563) and Tübingen (from 1564). Following his father's wish, he took an interest in the contemporary religious movements in Europe. He travelled extensively, including visits to France and Italy, and was a guest at the courts of rulers (e.g. Emperor Maximilian II, Pope Pius V). Influenced by the Jesuits, he converted from Calvinism to Catholicism in 1566.

Radziwiłł took part in the 1569 *Sejm* (Parliament) in Lublin, when the Union of Lublin was signed, creating the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and replacing the personal union of the two countries with a dual political entity resting on common agreement though still under one king. He cooperated closely with King Sigismund Augustus. During the first interregnum (1572), he and his uncle Radziwiłł 'the Red' and the Chodkiewicz family lobbied for Ernest Habsburg as the royal candidate but accepted the election of the counter-candidate. As a very active and conscientious politician, he repeatedly tried to underline the significance of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, countering the initiatives of the gentry from 'the Crown', i.e. Poland.

As a convert, he actively supported the Counter-Reformation, especially after 1574. He restored Catholic churches on his estate (reversing his father's actions) and cooperated closely with the Jesuits.

In 1575, he decided to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, provided his failing health would allow it (he searched for a cure in many places, including Italy). When his health improved, he undertook the pilgrimage with a detour to Egypt in 1582-4.

After his return, Radziwiłł played an active role in the deliberations of another interregnum (1586-7). He also took part in military actions

against the Cossack uprising of Semen Nalewajko (1595-6), and mustered and equipped a heavy-armoured cavalry unit (*husaria* – ‘the winged horsemen’) for the war with the Swedes in Livonia (1601). During the Zebrzydowski rebellion (a confederation of noblemen against King Sigismund III Vasa), he was the head of the pro-royal faction.

He ended his political activities during the *Sejm* (Parliament) session of 1613 and lived the last years of his life in Nieśwież, Lithuania, where he died on 28 February 1616.

Radziwiłł sponsored artists, architects and writers, and funded and sponsored many Catholic churches. Pope Clement XII called him ‘the support of the Catholic faith in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’. Notwithstanding all his activities and influence, he was a humble person: rejecting the current fashion for a *pompa funebris* (lavish funeral), he ordered that he should be buried in his pilgrim’s attire in the Radziwiłł Necropolis in Nieśwież (present-day Belarus).

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Secondary

Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka* (with extensive bibliography on pp. 354-69)

H. Lulewicz, art. ‘Radziwiłł Mikołaj Krzysztof’, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław, 1987, vol. 30, pp. 349-61 (see bibliography)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej, ‘Peregrination to the Holy Land’

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, ‘Sierotka’, Podróż do Ziemi Świętej Syrii i Egiptu 1582-1584

DATE Probably 1590-1

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Radziwiłł ‘Sierotka’ went on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in order to fulfil a vow he had made in the hope of recovering his health. Undertaking

this journey during the 16th century was nothing extraordinary, as peace with the Ottoman Empire had made pilgrimages to the Holy Land possible. Not every pilgrim, however, left a diary of his pilgrimage – especially not with the kind of personal content that can be found in this instance. The work contains an abundance of information, as not only does Radziwiłł describe people's customs, but he also pays much attention to the flora and fauna, and to descriptions of the towns he visited (noting, for example, their size or spatial organisation).

Researchers agree that facts and impressions (at least in part) were noted during the actual journey, either by Radziwiłł himself or by his secretary. After his return, Radziwiłł was encouraged by his relatives and friends to write an account of his pilgrimage. He did so with some reluctance, but the original of that work remains unknown. On the basis of the existing manuscripts, S. Alexandrowicz ('Peregrynacja', p. 600) assumes that the first version might have been written in 1590-1. Various manuscript copies (or fragments of it, often at variance with each other and with different titles) were in circulation in the 1590s and 1600s, and long after. As the work was gaining popularity, a new version may have been prepared and authorised by Radziwiłł around 1597-9. Tomasz Treter, secretary to Cardinal S. Hozjusz, was commissioned to prepare it for printing. Probably in consultation with the Jesuits, it was decided to give it the form of four letters written in Latin and sent during the voyage. Radziwiłł accepted the idea, and the work was published in Brunsberg (present-day Braniewo, Poland) in 1601 as *Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio Illustrissimi Domini Nicolai Christophori Radzivilii Ducis... IV Epistolis compræhensa, ex idiomate Polonico in Latinam linguam translata et nunc primum edita. Thoma Tretero Custode Varmiensi Interprete*. The work must have been in demand, as Alexandrowicz asserts the existence of three impressions that vary slightly from one another but all are dated '1601'. A second edition appeared in Antwerp in 1614. Treter's version was translated into Polish by Andrzej Wargocki as *Peregrynacyja abo pielgrzymowanie do Ziemię Święte... przez Jego Mości X. Tomasza Tretera, językiem łacińskim napisana i wydana, a przez ks. A. Wargockiego na polski język przelożona* and published in Kraków in 1607. It was republished there in 1611, 1617, 1628, 1683 and 1745 (twice), and in Breslau/Wrocław in 1847. German and Russian translations were also published. Wargocki translated Treter's version, ignoring the existence of the manuscript copies, although he knew they were in circulation (he seemed irritated by their discrepancies). The printed versions eventually overshadowed

the manuscript material. Scholars began noticing the latter only in the 19th century, and Jan Czubek eventually published the content of the Warsaw manuscript in 1925 (referring to the others to fill in gaps or determine the meaning of ambiguities) as *Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej (1582-1584)*. A new edition, *Podróż do Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egiptu 1582-1584*, by Leszek Kukulski was published in 1962, using the same manuscript as the basis. In the 1925 edition, Radziwiłł's work comes to 160 pages, in the 1962 edition 248 pages (there are differences in the format).

Material dealing with Christian–Muslim relations is scattered but amounts to an estimated 15-20% of the work. The following description is based on the 1962 edition; all page references are to that edition.

The Commonwealth shared a border with the Ottoman Empire, and Radziwiłł was well aware of the differences between the two countries. Still, one of his first comments is that, after his party entered land inhabited by a Muslim majority, 'we dismounted from our horses because Christians are not permitted to ride horses in large Turkish towns' (p. 34).

As an attentive and inquisitive observer, he very rarely succumbs to the temptation of judging what he sees, and even when relating events or phenomena shocking to him he tries to stay on the level of description. Thus, when he sees a man walking naked, beardless and with a shaven head, 'I asked who that was. They told me that it was a holy man, living an innocent life, who rejected the world with contempt, lived as an angel, caring for nothing in this world.' Radziwiłł adds that he has noted it only 'to know what oddity (*brzydliwość*) those pagans do' (pp. 36-7).

During his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Radziwiłł was highly interested in issues relating to the custody of the Holy Sepulchre and the attitude of the Turks to the holy place. The monks or caretakers of the Holy Sepulchre confirmed that the Turks caused them no difficulties with regard to their Christian celebrations, which led him to write: '[The Christian prayer] so [strongly] penetrates the heaven that the Turks allow everything; that fact gives glory to God and confirms the holy catholic faith' (p. 73).

Remembering his visit to Lazarus' grave, he notes that 'the Turks have their own small mosque (*moschea*) nearby because they, too, believe that the Lord Christ raised Lazarus from the dead'. He adds: 'On the way to those houses, by the common road, there is a huge stone called from olden times the Conversation Stone, because Christ the Lord sat on it

and talked with Mary about Lazarus' death; that stone the Machometans (*Mahometani*) respect, kissing it just as we, the Catholics, do' (p. 76).

The Mount of Olives offers another example of the intermingling of Christian and Muslim elements. Radziwiłł writes: 'There was a church on that spot built earlier by St Helen but it was destroyed. The Turks have their own mosque (*moschee*) there but small and round; there in the middle, there is an imprint of the foot [left] when Christ the Lord ascended into heaven, and the Turks venerate it very much and kiss it', because they also 'believe that he ascended into heaven' (pp. 77-8). Radziwiłł states with a certain appreciation that the Turks venerate many places important to Christians, also in Bethlehem, 'where, they believe, that Christ the Lord was born of the Virgin' (p. 78). Elsewhere, he notes and describes the care with which Muslims treat the well to which 'the Holy Virgin went for water' (p. 88).

The issue of Christ's crucifixion, in which the Muslims do not believe, is an interesting element of Radziwiłł's deliberations: '[The Muslims] only ridicule those places in which Christ suffered, and they also ridicule us, saying that Christ ascended into heaven long before that [i.e. the crucifixion] as God's Spirit, but to the Jews, who hated him, he sent a phantasm or illusion in his likeness, whom the Jews seized, tied up and then – as they think – killed, and who seemingly rose from the dead.' He mentions the Turks' great disregard for the Jews and their insistence that they could not be a serious threat to anybody, especially not to 'God's Spirit' (p. 78). It is intriguing that Radziwiłł does not comment on the equation of Christ with 'God's Spirit', almost treating it as obvious. This is all the more interesting, given that the common perception among Radziwiłł's contemporaries was that Islam was associated with and equal to idolatry, while in the Holy Land he encountered elements common to both religions at every turn. This change in perception can be attributed to the effects of his pilgrimage.

Radziwiłł's pilgrimage included a detour to Egypt, where he visited a town called Naterea (present-day al-Maṭariyya in the northern part of Greater Cairo), where a fig tree grew that was supposed to have given shelter to the Holy Virgin and the Christ child. Describing the spot, Radziwiłł notes with admiration and even satisfaction, that 'The Turks [in that town] have their lamp there, because they greatly venerate that place and acknowledge (because everybody will see the evidence) that it was a miracle that God's Spirit (as they call Christ the Lord) was there with his mother' (p. 165). Radziwiłł's reaction is interesting, because he

was not surprised by the fact that a 'pagan religion' – as he had considered Islam previously – had so much in common with the Christians, venerating the same places and figures.

It seems that, to his own surprise, Radziwiłł began to discover the common traits between Christianity and Islam only during his pilgrimage. Up until that time, living in Lithuania, he considered the Muslims as pagans and infidels. In his diary, a correction of this judgment can be observed. Obviously, he neither fully understood the essence of Islamic monotheism, nor was he inclined to see Islam as God's religion, yet he discovered common traits.

Radziwiłł was interested in issues of religious folklore and made various inquiries, for example, concerning Muḥammad's grave and the rumours that his coffin floated in the air: 'But they told me, that it was not so, and that his body was in the coffin high above the earth placed on pillars or thin columns, but in the dark and small enclosure [...] it might have seemed so. But they told me that whoever comes closer, can see that it was placed on columns' (p. 42). Radziwiłł was aware that Muslims were forbidden to drink alcohol, but he observes that 'though their faith forbids the Turks to drink wine, they respect the restriction until an opportunity provides them with such a drink' (p. 46). He also notes in his diary a 'Turkish fast' (Ramaḍān) that lasts from the new moon of October to the new moon of November (p. 179). Differences in colours of turbans did not escape his attention either. He observes that a few Muslims wear green turbans: 'All the Turks wear white turbans; they told me that he was Mahomet's relative and to mark that fact he wore a green turban' (p. 37).

In Egypt, he learns that during a plague people did not try to protect themselves as in Europe, but placed their lives entirely in God's hands. He also notes another custom, that the dead were carried out of the house in which they had died head first, unlike Christians in his country who carried the corpse out in such a way that the legs crossed the threshold first (p. 146). He also reflects on burial customs, not judging them but just making comments: 'I do not know if the Turks have some superstitious beliefs about it, but where the burials take place they rarely enter, most commonly the *santons* but ordinary people rarely or not at all' (p. 164).

Radziwiłł also describes the formal conversion from Christianity to Islam made by a priest, who justified his deed by saying that during mass 'the Holy Spirit inspired him to abandon the Christian and take up the Turkish faith' (p. 125). He describes the entire event at length but with

some uneasiness, noting that it turned out later that the man had been a fugitive priest. Nonetheless, he preferred to attempt to understand all the implications of the event, rather than merely judging it.

Radziwiłł describes numerous mosques in Cairo and expresses admiration for their architecture. He often mentions that if a Christian were to enter a mosque he would have to pay a hefty fine or convert to Islam. Sometimes he is very specific, for example comparing the space taken by al-Azhar, which he walked round with his companions, with the city of Lublin, at the time an important city in the Commonwealth, and states that the former was bigger.

The existence of hospitals built not so much for the sick as for pilgrims, as the Ottoman rulers claimed to be the guardians of the holy places of Islam and the defenders of pilgrims, was also among the first things he noted: '[the hospital] that Emperor Süleyman built at a high cost, and the guesthouse where pilgrims bound for Mecha [Mecca] are received and fed free of charge for three days' (p. 36).

He admits that during his journey he redeemed Christians who had fallen into Turkish captivity. Some of them had accepted Islam, either of their free will or under (unspecified) pressure. In Alexandria, he redeemed an Italian called John, whom – at the man's request – he took along with him, because he was moved by the misery the man had suffered (p. 193). However, when they reached Crete the man stole some of Radziwiłł's goods and ran away. He was quickly caught but Radziwiłł prevented his execution because, as he wrote, it would have been very unfortunate that the man, having been redeemed from Turkish captivity and brought back to Christian lands, should have lost his life there (p. 194).

SIGNIFICANCE

Radziwiłł was not primarily concerned with describing Islam or the life of Muslims. Such descriptions come as an element within the broader depiction of his pilgrimage. However, he was an attentive and inquisitive observer, and often made enquiries about people he encountered or phenomena he saw (it seemed that he knew how to choose knowledgeable informants). He tries to keep his account on a descriptive level and is not prepared to judge the people or things he has encountered. Despite his social position, his descriptions are relatively free of any condescending attitude.

The diary is a priceless source that reflects the particular character of the epoch and sheds light on how a member of the elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania perceived the world. The descriptions contained in

the text allow their author to be seen not only as a devout Catholic, as he was known in Lithuania, but also as a sensitive man open to encountering new cultures, customs and religions. He does not make value judgements about the places visited or the social or religious phenomena observed, but rather puts them alongside his own experiences.

Radziwiłł's work, both in manuscript and printed forms, was an important source on the Middle East and Egypt until almost the mid-19th century, and information provided by Radziwiłł was used by his contemporaries, such as Paszkowski. The Latin edition was quoted by the French traveller Jacob Mislin in *Les saints lieux. Pèlerinage à Jérusalem*, Paris, 1858, vol. 3, indicating that the work was known in other parts of Europe. The number of manuscripts, printed editions and translations bears witness to its great popularity.

PUBLICATIONS

For a detailed description of the lost and extant manuscripts, see S. Alexandrowicz, 'Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej księcia Radziwiłła Sierotki. Czas powstania rękopisu', in M. Biskup et al. (eds), *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań, 1976, 595-601.

MS Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka – 299 (possibly the end of the 16th century; incomplete)

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MS Lvov, University of Lvov Library – no. 79 (late 16th-early 17th century)

MS Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska – sygn. 1776 (incomplete)

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- 'Peregrynacya do Ziemi Stój', *Przyjaciel Ludu* 3 (1836-37) nos 12-16, 18-20 (excerpts from the 1628 edition of Wargocki's translation: no. 12, pp. 91-3; no. 13, pp. 99-100; no. 14, pp. 108-11; no. 15, pp. 116-18; no. 16, pp. 121-2; no. 18, pp. 140-1; no. 19, pp. 145-7; no. 20, pp. 157-8)
- Pokhozhdenie v' zemliu sviatuiu kniazia Radivila Sirotki 1582-1584, podgotowil' P.A. Gil'tebrant'*, St Petersburg, 1879 (based on Wargocki's 1628 edition)
- J. Czubek (ed.), *Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła peregrynacya do Ziemi Świętej 1582-1585*, Kraków, 1925 (the first full critical edition of the Warsaw MS)
- Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł 'Sierotka', *Podróż do Ziemi Świętej Syrii i Egiptu 1582-1584*, ed. L. Kukulski, Warsaw, 1962
- 'Mikołaj, Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka: Peregrynacya do Ziemi Świętej i Egiptu (1582-1584)', in R. Pollak, S. Derwniak and M. Kaczmarek (eds), *Antologia pamiętników polskich XVI wieku*, Wrocław, 1966, 30-102 (based on the Warsaw MS)
- J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*, 2 vols, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 220-7 (two short excerpts quoted from Treter's version on pp. 223-5)
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STUDIES

Only the most important studies are listed here.

Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka* (especially ch. 4, pp. 105-30; extensive bibliography on pp. 346-69)

Alexandrowicz, 'Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej', pp. 585-601 (describes the known MSS from the turn of the 16/17th century)

M. Kaczmarek, 'Wstęp', in R. Pollak, S. Derwniak and M. Kaczmarek (eds), *Antologia pamiątek polskich XVI wieku*, Wrocław, 1966, xxxvi-xliii

A. Kowalska, 'Z badań nad "Peregrynacją" Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła', *Prace Polonistyczne* 3 (1939) 19-54

K. Hartelb, 'Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła "Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej"', in *Prace historyczne w 30-lecie działalności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrzewskiego*, Lvów, 1934, 18-38

Artur Konopacki

Krzysztof Warszawicki

DATE OF BIRTH 1543
PLACE OF BIRTH Warszawice, Mazovia
DATE OF DEATH 10 or 11 September 1603
PLACE OF DEATH Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Krzysztof Warszawicki was the son of Jan Warszawicki, the castellan of Warsaw. In his youth, he served at the Habsburg court of Ferdinand and the English royal court. On returning home, he served at the court of Jan Tarnowski (or Tęczyński). Between 1556 and 1561, he studied in Leipzig, Wittenberg and Bologna. During his stay in Italy, his career was jeopardised by accusations of misconduct, including indecency, but he was exonerated through the help of influential protectors and by destroying some of the compromising evidence.

Between 1561 and 1572, he was a courtier and secretary of Adam Konarski, the bishop of Poznań. After the death of King Sigismund August, he supported the election of Henry de Valois to the Polish throne. When de Valois abandoned the Polish throne to succeed his late brother, Warszawicki left for France (in some way associated with the papal legate mission) to find Henry in Avignon; there, he obtained a paid position as royal secretary and took part in the coronation ceremony at Reims.

During the second royal election, Warszawicki supported a Habsburg candidate and had to leave the country when Stefan Batory became king. Reconciled with Batory, he accompanied him on his military campaigns against Moscow and acted as negotiator in contacts with the Muscovites during the wars of 1577-82. This did not prevent him from taking money from Emperor Rudolph II.

During the third interregnum, he again supported a Habsburg candidate. When the pro-Habsburg party was defeated at the battle of Byczyna (1588) he fled, along with many others, to the Czech kingdom, where he stayed until 1593. Through the mediation of some church hierarchs, he was finally reconciled with King Sigismund III Vasa but, after returning to Poland in 1594, he was unable to gain access to royal court circles. He nonetheless tried to pose as an advisor to the king.

During this period, he expanded and re-edited the anti-Turkish speeches that he had first written in Prague. In 1598, he became a Roman Catholic priest and obtained the position of canon in Kraków. A congratulatory speech on the occasion of the coronation of King James I of England, which he sent to London, was his last known written work. He died in poverty in Kraków in 1603.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- S. Starowolski, *Setnik Pisarzy Polskich albo pochwały i żywoty stu najznakomitszych pisarzy polskich*, ed. J. Starnawski, Kraków, 1970, pp. 210-12 (entry no. xcii; based on *Scriptorum Polonicorum Hekatonias*, Venice, 1627², p. 205)

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- W.A. Maciejowski, *Piśmiennictwo polskie od czasów najdawniejszych aż do roku 1830*, Warsaw, 1851, vol. 1, pp. 619-21

- I. Chodynicki, *Dykcyonarz uczonych Polaków, zawierający krótkie rysy ich życia, szczególnie wiadomości o pismach, i krytyczny rozbiór ważniejszych dzieł niektórych. Porządkiem alfabetycznym ułożony*, Lwów, 1833, vol. 3, pp. 308-13

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Turcicae quatuordecim, Christophori Varsevicii, 'Fourteen speeches on Turkish matters by Krzysztof Warszewicki'

DATE 1595

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Warszewicki published *Turcicae quatuordecim* in Kraków in 1595, under the full title *Turcicae quatuordecim, Christophori Varsevicii Turcicae Quatuordecim: His Accesserunt Opuscula Duo L. Friderici Ceriolae, De consilio et consiliariis principis ex Hispanico in Latinum versus unum, et De legato legationeque eiusdem Varsevicii alterum. Omnia his rebus et temporibus accommodata*. This work was a compilation of his *Turcicae tres*, written and published during his exile in Prague in 1589, together with 11 new speeches, all composed in Latin. The published work is 314 pages long in a folio edition. A few historians doubt Warszewicki's authorship of some of the speeches.

Although it deals with some religious issues, Warszewicki's work is above all a political manifesto. In the first three speeches, he focuses on confrontation between Christian and Turkish cultures, showing the Christian as the more mature. He argues this by presenting the faults in Islamic theology, such as the rejection of the person of Christ as the giver of eternal salvation, and by describing the history of Islam. He states that the Turks represent a threat to Christian civilisation, and Europe should close ranks and form an anti-Turkish coalition.

The remaining 11 speeches are even more political in tone (it should be taken into account that the author was an experienced diplomat). In them, Warszewicki attempts to spur the Europeans to fight against the Ottomans. Religious elements in these speeches are rather subsidiary. He writes about the superiority of Christ over Muḥammad, and of Christianity over Islam. Starting from these theological assumptions, he aims to prove the need for offensive military operations against the Ottomans. He advises the Christian troops to head for Constantinople, take it from the Muslims and move on towards Jerusalem.

Warszewicki suggests that Ottoman power is strengthened by intra-Christian conflicts and he therefore often stresses the need to fight against 'sects' in Christianity, as these could become obstacles that divert attention from the war with the Turks (a motif also found in his other works, such as *Paradoxa de sectis in religione Christiana*, Kraków, 1598). This approach was not unique; for example, one of his contemporaries, Marcin Łaszcz (1551-1615), in his work *Messiasz nowych arianów* ('Messiah of the new Arians'), tried to prove an ideological link between the Polish Brethren and Muslims, and a liking of the former for the latter. His point is that, if the European monarchs reached agreement, the defeat of the Turks would be easy. (Warszewicki argues that the decision to take up military action against the Ottomans is often disregarded for fear that it could sever business links with the Middle East, a motif developed in *Paradoxa*.)

Warszewicki warns against passive waiting for events to unfold. He indicates the significance of the Habsburg Empire as a stronghold against the Turkish threat, and reiterates the need for a special tax that could be used to prepare for war against the Ottomans. To help make his point, he recalls figures from history, such as John Capistrano, King Vladislav, who was killed at the battle of Varna, and Jan Tęczyński, a Polish envoy to Constantinople during the reign of King John-Albrecht.

SIGNIFICANCE

Warszewicki's anti-Turkish speeches were more an exercise in political writing than a serious expression of tendencies shaping foreign policy towards the Ottomans. He uses religious material solely as a tool to prove the Christian's superiority, and to incite them to war against the religious other. It seems that his first three speeches served as a springboard to write more on the subject of the Ottoman threat. According to some critics, the subsequent speeches contained only repetitive, rearranged material.

In writing his *Turcicae*, Warszewicki was probably trying to ride the wave of heightened tension between the Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire during the first years of the reign of Sigismund Vasa, when direct conflict seemed unavoidable (possibly also trying his luck to re-enter the wide circle of royal courtiers). As the Habsburgs tried to involve the Commonwealth in direct military conflict with the Ottomans, Warszewicki played the role of promoting foreign (Habsburg) interests, just as Stanisław Orzechowski had done previously. However, his attempts to be vocal about contact with the Ottomans in his anti-Turkish speeches appear to have fallen on deaf ears as the gentry

were generally opposed to the idea of war, although some copies of the speeches found their way into the libraries of the nobility.

PUBLICATIONS

Turcicae tres, Prague, 1589

Turcicae quatuordecim, Christophori Varsevicii Turcicae Quatuordecim: His Accesserunt Opuscula Duo L. Friderici Ceriolae, De consilio et consiliariis principis ex Hispanico in Latinum versum unum, et De legato legationeque eiusdem Varsevicii alterum. Omnia his rebus et temporibus accommodata, Kraków, 1595 (including *Turcicae tres*) (digitalised version available from Dolnośląska Digital Library – 9169)

Omnia quotquot extant et quae nondum in lucem prodierunt opera Clementi VIII pontifici maximo dicata et in quinque tomos distincta, Innsbruck, 1600 (identical with the above, though with four initial pages added)

M. Reusner (ed.), *Selectissimarum orationum et consultationum de bello Turcico variorum et diversorum auctorum libri XIV*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1595-6 (two of the first three speeches reprinted in one vol. as *Consilia bellica A Summis Pontificibus, Imperatoribus, Caeterisque Sac. Rom. Imperii Electoribus... contra Turcam*, Leipzig, 1603-4, pp. 197-236)

STUDIES

Czapliński, 'Jeszcze raz o Warszewickim'

Tamborra, *Krzysztof Warszewicki e la diplomazia*

B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII w.*, Łódź, 1950, pp. 45-46, 110, 177

Leśnodorski, 'Polski Makiawel'

Wierzbowski, *Krzysztof Warszewicki (1543-1603) i jego dzieła*, pp. 164-221 (on political works including the anti-Turkish speeches and *Paradoxa*)

Norbert Frejek

Hieronim Baliński

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1540
PLACE OF BIRTH	Balin, near Sieradz, Poland
DATE OF DEATH	After 1600
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Hieronim Baliński was born into a Protestant family and received his basic education from Jerzy Schoman (a Lutheran, later a Unitarian) at the home of his uncle, Hieronim Bużeński, a royal salt mine official. He then studied in Leipzig and Wittenberg (1557-65), and also spent some time in Italy (in Rome, and also probably Bologna or Padua). Theological studies formed a significant part of his education. After returning home, he became an official at Wieliczka salt mines (1569-78), afterwards moving to his estate in Siedlec (in Sandomierz region). Around 1580, he became a Roman Catholic and started to engage in religious-theological polemics, especially with the Unitarians (Arians, as they were called in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). He married Anna Otocka and had a son, Damian. It is not known when he died.

Baliński wrote several polemical works in Latin and in Polish, and also left a treatise on the education of the sons of the gentry (*De educatione pueri nobilis ad Generosum dominum Lanczynski*, in Polish). This was the only one of his works to be printed, and it did not appear in print till 1914.

In his writings, Baliński defended the cult and images of saints, the Roman Catholic understanding of sacraments, the organisation and structure of the church, and laws against non-Catholics. He argued against and criticised ideas propagated by Szymon Budny, Marcin Czechowic, Fausto Sozzini (Faust Socyn) and Bartholomaeus Bithner.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Z. Bujakowski, 'Dwa pedagogiczne traktaty polskie XVI-XVII wieku. Z Cesarskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Petersburgu. Wydał i wstępem zaopatrzył dr Zygmunt Bujakowski', *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce* 14 (1914) 323-47, pp. 324-7

S. Bodniak, 'Hieronim Baliński nieznanym polemista katolicki ze schyłku XVI wieku', *Reformacja w Polsce* 5/20 (1928) 104-14

Secondary

E. Ozorowski, art. 'Baliński Hieronim', in H.E. Wyczawski (ed.), *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, Warsaw, 1981, vol. 1, 92-3

A. Penkalla, art. 'Baliński Hieronim', in F. Gryglewicz et al. (eds), *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Lublin, 1973, vol. 1, col. 1283

Art. 'Baliński Hieronim', in *Bibliografia literatury polskiej. Nowy Korbut*, Warsaw, 1964, vol. 2, 12

S. Bodniak, art. 'Baliński Hieronim', *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Kraków, 1935, vol. 1, 237

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Symphonia albo wjednochrzęk, 'Symphony or harmony'

DATE 1598

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

The work described here is thought to be lost, so this account is based on a description of its contents published by Stanisław Bodniak in 1928.

The body of the text is in Polish, with the introduction written in Latin (its full title is *Symphonia albo wjednochrzęk nauki nowokrzęćskiej samoszatańskiej z Alkoranem Mahometowym o Panu Chrystusie i o inszych częściach wiary*, 'Symphony or harmony of Anabaptist self-Satanic teaching with the Alkoran of Mahomet about Christ the Lord and other elements of faith'). The work was finished by the end of the 16th century (Bodniak dates it to 1598), and it was found in a collection of manuscripts discovered by Józef Korzeniowski in St Petersburg at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, then recovered and brought to Warsaw after the First World War and deposited at the Warsaw University Library. These manuscripts are untraceable today and probably perished during the Second World War with the destruction of Warsaw. According to Korzeniowski, the collection contained 236 numbered pages 220 x 165 mm in size, with *Symphonia* comprising pp. 71-146. (Bodniak counts 68 pages of the text but numbers them 75-149 – see below.) Korzeniowski does not identify the origin of the manuscripts prior to their seizure by the Russians. The various texts in the collection were written by various hands, though

they contained many corrections, additions and marginal notes, all written by the same hand, apparently Baliński's.

In his diatribe, Baliński favoured excluding the Unitarians, and even called on the Lutherans and Calvinists to take discriminatory action against them. Bodniak suggests that this text was the result of Baliński's polemics against the views propagated by Fausto Sozzini (Socyn, an Italian reformer who settled in the Commonwealth in the early 1580s and died there in 1604), amended by Baliński's study of the Qur'an. In his brief description of the contents of the collection of manuscripts, Korzeniowski includes a quotation from Baliński: *Ego qui Alchoranum attentius legi...* (Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów*, p. 307), and Bodniak corroborates this with numerous quotations from the Qur'an written on pp. 153-5 of the collection. There seems to be a discrepancy in the page numbering between Korzeniowski and Bodniak: in Korzeniowski's description, another work is said to begin on p. 147, a polemical treatise in defence of the cult of the saints against the views of Bartholomaeus Bithner.

According to Bodniak, *Symphonia albo wjednobrzęk* consisted of three parts. The first directly developed the issues indicated in the title, while the other two seem to have been added as a later expansion of the theme. Baliński juxtaposed various Catholic dogmas with qur'anic teaching and the views of Sozzini, Budny and Czechowic, quoting from each of their works. He addressed such themes as the Trinity, the conception and birth of Christ, his divinity, the Virgin Mary, the sacraments, the practice of confession, tradition, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the veneration of saints and their images. In his argument, he not only tried to show the correspondence and coherence between Islamic and Unitarian teachings but also stated explicitly that Sozzini and other 'Samosatans' (followers of the 3rd-century bishop, Paul of Samosata, who taught that Jesus was born a man and acquired divinity only later in his life) gained a third name, *machometany* (Muhammedans). They apparently admitted openly that they were 'Socinians' or 'Samosatans' (he calls them *samoszatani*, 'self-Satans', using a play on words). But, when they were called 'Muhammedans', Baliński observed, they did not reject it too vehemently.

In the second part, Baliński argued that Sozzini approved of Muḥammad's teaching about Christ, and that the teachings of the Qur'an and the teachings in the works of Sozzini and his followers about Christ were in agreement (including on other matters of 'their common impiety'). This led Baliński to call Sozzini the follower and imitator of Julian

the Apostate and Muḥammad. Baliński also described apparently similar 'tricks' used by both groups to 'capture souls'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is the first known written instance in intra-Christian polemics in the Commonwealth of Unitarians being accused of having an affinity with the teachings of the Qur'an. Baliński made efforts to be systematic and business-like in his criticism and polemics. He tended to refrain from the insults used by other polemicists and only spoke harshly against the Unitarians (Arians), though even then only by making a play on words, i.e. using the nonsense word *nimister* for one of their ministers, and changing the term he used for them, Samosatans, into *samoszatani* ('self-Satans').

Though Baliński is a rare example of a Catholic layman in the Commonwealth taking part in the heated theological debates of Counter-Reformation times, his works fell into oblivion. Bodniak points out that they were not considered very sophisticated, and in addition he was just a layman while other authors were clerics. His texts may have been in circulation soon after they were written, as Bodniak mentions that Bartholomaeus Bithner responded to Baliński's earliest polemics.

The accusation that Unitarians were Muslims was evidently widely known at this time. In one of his sermons, *Zawstydzienie aryanów i wzywianie ich do pokuty i wiary chrześcijańskiej* ('Shaming the Arians and calling them to repentance and to the Christian faith', Kraków, 1604), the Jesuit Piotr Skarga (d. 1612), King Sigismund III Vasa's court preacher, equated the Unitarians to the Jews and 'Turks' (i.e. Muslims) on account of their Christological views. This accusation was developed in another work – now seemingly lost – printed in 1612 and for some time attributed to Skarga but most probably written by another Jesuit, Marcin Łaszcz (see the entry in *CMR* 8) (T. Grabowski, *Literatura aryńska w Polsce 1560-1660*, Kraków, 1908, pp. 281-6).

PUBLICATIONS

Symfonia albo wjednostrzęk nauki nowokrzęskiej samoszatańskiej [!] z Alkoranem Mahometowym o Panu Chrystusie i o inszych częściach wiary, in Bodniak, 'Hieronim Baliński nieznany polemista katolicki', pp. 108-9 (fragments)

STUDIES

C. Backvis, *Szkice o kulturze staropolskiej*, Warsaw, 1975, p. 610

M. Korolko, *Klejnot swobodnego sumienia*, Warsaw, 1974, p. 100

Bodniak, 'Hieronim Baliński nieznanymi polemista katolicki'

Bujakowski, 'Dwa pedagogiczne traktaty polskie', 331-42

J. Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów Cesarskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Petersburgu i innych bibliotek petersburskich: sprawozdanie z podróży naukowych odbytych w 1891-1892 i 1907 r.*, Kraków, 1910, pp. 306-8 (brief annotated bibliography)

Stanisław Grodź

Sefer Muratowicz

DATE OF BIRTH Second half of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Karahisar (today Şebinkarahisar in
northeastern Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH After 1632
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Born in north-eastern Turkey into an Armenian family, Sefer Muratowicz arrived in Poland in about 1596. For some time he served as a trading agent for two prominent members of the Armenian merchant community of Lwów (today L'viv in Ukraine). After one of his patrons, Murat Kierymowicz, died in 1599, Muratowicz, with the support of Ottoman envoys then present in Poland, who intervened on his behalf in 1600, claimed a share of his inheritance. This indicates that at the time he was still regarded as an Ottoman subject.

In 1601, King Sigismund III of Poland sent Muratowicz to Shah Abbas I, officially to purchase Persian carpets, but also probably to test the shah's readiness to enter into an anti-Ottoman alliance. On his return from Isfahan with his mission complete, Muratowicz obtained a royal privilege to serve as the court *servitor ac negotiator*. He continued to travel and trade in oriental goods, acquiring citizenship of Zamość, a private city founded by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, and simultaneously of two royal cities: Warsaw and Kamieniec Podolski (today Kamjanec' in Ukraine). He also married into a local Armenian family in Kamieniec. In 1631, he took part in the embassy to Etchmiadzin, sent by the Polish Armenians who opposed the union with Rome, to ask Catholicos Moses III to intervene with the Polish king on their behalf. The latest evidence of Muratowicz's merchant activity comes from 1632 and is recorded in the register of the Armenian court in Kamieniec.

Much information about Muratowicz's life and activities remains unpublished and still awaits its retrieval from so far insufficiently researched sources such as *Acta iudicii civilis Armenorum* (see the comment on A. Zięba, 'Sefer Muratowicz' below).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Relacyja Sefera Muratowicza Ormianina, posłanego Króla Jego Miłości do Persyji, z którą zwróciwszy się stamtąd, podał na piśmie w te słowa', in A. Walaszek (ed.), *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na wschód muzułmański w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Cracow, 1980, 35-47 (dated 1602, first printed in 1745 [1752])

Secondary

- M. Połczyński, 'The *Relacyja* of Sefer Muratowicz: 1601-1602 Private Royal Envoy of Sigismund III Vasa to Shah 'Abbas I', *Turkish Historical Review* 5 (2014) 59-93
- A. Zięba, art. 'Sefer Muratowicz', in *Portrety polskich Ormian* [Portraits of Polish Armenians], Warsaw, 2012 (calendar for the year 2013, this information has been supplemented through written communication with Andrzej Zięba and Krzysztof Stopka who provided excerpts from hitherto unpublished archival sources, mostly from the registers of the Armenian court in L'viv – *Acta iudicii civilis Armenorum*)
- A. Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław, 1997, p. 154 (the latest mention of Muratowicz, dated 1632)
- M. Szuppe, 'Un marchand du roi de Pologne en Perse, 1601-1602', *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 3 (1986) 81-110
- A. Walaszek, 'Introduction', in Walaszek (ed.), *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na wschód muzułmański*, 5-33
- Z. Abrahamowicz, art. 'Muratowicz Sefer', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław, vol. 22, 1977, 269-71
- A. Przyboś and R. Żelewski (eds), *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach. Relacje staropolskie z XVI-XVIII stulecia*, Cracow, 1959, pp. 179-83
- T. Mańkowski, 'Wyprawa po kobierce do Persji w roku 1601', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951-2) 184-211
- S. Barącz, *Żywoity sławnych Ormian w Polsce*, Lwów, 1856, pp. 234-7
- F.X. Zachariasiewicz, *Wiadomość o Ormianach w Polsce*, Lwów, 1842, p. 50 (mention of Muratowicz's participation in the Armenian embassy to Etchmiadzin, 1631)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relacyja Sefera Muratowicza, 'A relation by Sefer Muratowicz'

Relatia Sefera Muratowicza, Relacya Sefera Muratowicza, 'The Relacyja of Sefer Muratowicz'

DATE 1602

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Even though the autograph of Muratowicz's *Relation* is not preserved and the original text may have been subject to some editing, its authenticity is beyond doubt (its title in full is *Relacyja Sefera Muratowicza Ormianina, poslanego Króla Jego Miłości do Persyji, z którą zwróciwszy się stamtąd, podał na piśmie w te słowa, 'A relation by Sefer Muratowicz, an Armenian, sent by His Royal Majesty to Persia, who having returned from there has submitted it in writing, in the following words'*). Muratowicz's journey to Iran, which took place in 1601-2 (the date 1588 in the heading of the first printed edition is obviously mistaken and contradicted by the text itself), is confirmed by archival documents such as travel receipts and a royal privilege granted to the returning envoy in October 1602. Scholars still disagree as to whether his task was purely commercial (a commission to purchase tapestries for the royal court) or whether he was also entrusted with a secret mission to discuss an anti-Ottoman alliance. Given the fact that King Sigismund III Vasa, constrained by the Polish-Lithuanian parliamentary system, was known to have resorted to secret diplomacy (e.g. his secret treaty with the Habsburgs of 1613) and that the mission, whose route ran across Ottoman lands, required top secrecy, the latter version is highly possible. It might also explain the lack of any written record of the mission's political contents, apart from the *Relation* itself.

Although an acute observer, Muratowicz was no intellectual and no theologian, and the language of his account is quite simple. He easily gained access to the court, thanks to the network of Armenians in the Safavid capital, especially Tahmasp-qoli Beg, the shah's favourite minister. The informal character of his mission and the fact that he posed as a merchant and not a diplomat facilitated communication, because this rendered diplomatic protocol unnecessary (besides, Muratowicz had no inhibitions about kissing the shah's foot according to the local custom,

whereas this would have certainly incensed a higher-ranking diplomat). Shah Abbas also enjoyed the fact that he could speak with his guest without an interpreter (apparently in Turkish, although Muratowicz also hints that he understood Persian as well).

The *Relation*, which is quite brief, is focused on the description of the route travelled and the envoy's encounters with the shah. Paradoxically, it is not the Ottoman sultan but the grand duke of Muscovy (Muratowicz denies him the title of tsar) who is portrayed as a *bête noire* and accused of striving to prevent any communication between Poland and Iran. Of special interest is Muratowicz's narrative of his attendance at a wine-drinking party, hosted by Shah Abbas. When left alone with the envoy, the shah reportedly confessed that in his heart he was a Christian and a follower of the teaching of the pope, although he could not reveal his conversion due to the fact that the majority of his subjects were Muslims and not Christians.

Muratowicz also witnessed the departure of Abbas I on a solemn pilgrimage to the tomb of Imam Reza at Mashhad, which took place in 1601 and is described by Persian chroniclers. According to the *Relation*, for the first three days the shah travelled on foot wearing simple garments and coarse slippers, accompanied by 600 handsome youths (apparently the *gholams*), while on the fourth day he was seen riding a horse.

The extant manuscript from the Czartoryski Library in Kraków, which judging by the form of the script should be dated to the early 17th century, has been pasted into a large 18th-century volume from the collection of Tadeusz Czacki. This manuscript must be the copy from the library of King Stanislaus Augustus that is recorded in 18th-century inventories but was considered to be lost by Mańkowski and ignored by all later scholars, with the exception of Przyboś and Żelewski, who nonetheless did not recognise its value. Another manuscript copy, which in the 18th century belonged to Kazimierz Niesiołowski, the castellan of Smolensk, is now lost, though it is this copy that has served as the basis for all printed editions apart from the fragment published by Przyboś and Żelewski.

SIGNIFICANCE

The description of Shah Abbas as a sympathiser of Christianity, or even a crypto-Christian himself, fits well within the *topos* perpetuated by numerous Western observers of the time. It is nonetheless worth noting that Muratowicz's *Relation* contains one of the earliest references to this. Several explanations have been given for this extraordinary assertion: the shah did his best to encourage the European powers to attack

his arch-enemies, the Ottomans, and invoking the possibility of his conversion might provide extra bait; his passion for wine and figurative art, both condemned by orthodox Islam, might have further added to his sympathy towards Christianity, with which he must have been familiar from the presence of Georgian and Armenian Christians at his court and in his harem, long before the arrival of Western envoys and missionaries. It is nonetheless striking that Muratowicz, himself a member of the Armenian Apostolic Church and future member of anti-Uniate opposition among the Polish Armenians, attributes praise of the Roman pope to the shah. It is no less striking that – at least in his *Relation* – he strongly identifies himself with the Catholic king of Poland, whereas his attitude towards the Orthodox ruler of Russia is highly negative. Still, it cannot be ruled out that the pro-Catholic tones apparent in his *Relation* were intended for the Polish audience or were the result of editing after his return to Poland. In Muratowicz's description, the depiction of the shah oscillates between that of a shrewd and cynical political player, a boon companion looking for forbidden pleasures, and a person genuinely interested in foreign cultures and seeking the true way of salvation.

It is also worth noting that Muratowicz refers to his Armenian protector at the Safavid court, Tahmasp-qoli Beg, as a Christian, even though, as a *gholam*, the latter must have converted to Islam. Apparently, the famous phrase by Vladimir Minorsky referring to the Georgians in the shah's service, that 'Islam sat lightly on their shoulders', applied to Armenians as well.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cracow, Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka Czartoryskich) – 351, pp. 337-46 (early 17th century, judging by the form of the script)

'Relacya Sefera Muratowicza Ormianina, posłanego do [sic] Króla JMci do Persyi, z którą wróciwszy się z tamtąd podał na piśmie w te słowa', in K. Niesiołowski (ed.), *Otia domestica per velocem aquilam et celerem equitem...*, [Pińsk], 1745 (it appeared in 1752), 272-91

J. E. Minasowicz (ed.), *Relacya Sefera Muratowicza obywatela warszawskiego od Zygmunta III króla polskiego dla sprawowania rzeczy wysłanego do Persyi w roku 1602, rzecz z starego rękopisma wybrana*, Warsaw, 1777, 1807 (second edition with a new preface)

A. Kraushar, 'Podróż obywatela warszawskiego do Persyi w r. 1602', in A. Kraushar, *Drobiazgi historyczne*, St Petersburg, 1891, 109-26 (passages quoted)

- Przyboś and Żelewski, *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach*, pp. 182-3
(a short edited passage)
- 'Relacja Sefera Muratowicza Ormianina', in Walaszek (ed.), *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży* (and see the critical review by Z. Abrahamowicz in *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 26 (1981) 198-203)
- Szuppe, 'Un marchand du roi de Pologne', pp. 93-101 (French trans. based on the edition by Walaszek and the edition by Minasowicz of 1807)
- Pończyński, 'Relacja of Sefer Muratowicz', pp. 82-93 (English trans. based on the Polish edition by Walaszek; the description of the arrival of a Muscovite envoy, contained in the Polish original, is omitted)

STUDIES

- Pończyński, 'Relacja of Sefer Muratowicz'
- Szuppe, 'Un marchand du roi de Pologne'
- Walaszek, *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży*, 5-33
- Abrahamowicz, 'Muratowicz Sefer'
- Mańkowski, 'Wyprawa po kobierce do Persji'

Dariusz Kołodziejczyk

Strasznego widzenie Piotra Pęgowskiego z Mazosz

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of this work. The name Piotr Pęgowski, which features in the title, is most probably fictitious, as the armorials of the Commonwealth gentry do not give evidence of any branch of the Pęgowski family living in the Mazovia region, though some family members lived near Sieradz (not far from Kalisz /Calissia, mentioned on the title page). J. Sokolski, who edited the work in 1998 (*Strasznego widzenie Piotra Pęgowskiego*, Wrocław, 1998, p. 10), suggests that we can only speculate about the identity of the author as geographical details seem to be unimportant in the work.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Strasznego widzenie Piotra Pęgowskiego z Mazosz, 'The terrifying vision of Piotr Pęgowski'

DATE 1608

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

This work, written in pamphlet form for distribution in markets, consists of eight pages in quarto. The title page contains a small and rather simple woodcut depicting the Last Judgment. The editor of the 1998 edition, J. Sokolski, was unable to find a similar illustration in other publications. Only two copies of the work are known to be extant – one in Wrocław (Ossolineum – sygn. XVII-731-II), the other in Kórnik (Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN – sygn. 12506). The text is written in verse and consists of 440 lines.

It tells the story of a gentleman named Piotr Pęgowski from Mazosz, who, on his way home, on 4 March 1608, stayed at an inn where he had a vision in which he witnessed the scene of the Final Judgment. He had told his servants the previous evening that he would leave for home ahead of them very early the next morning, so when they did not see him at the inn in the morning they went on their way. When they reached his

home, he was not there but he eventually arrived three days later, having told his story to all he met on the way.

In his vision, he was accompanied by someone who led him to see the scene of the Last Judgment. He saw Jesus Christ sitting on a throne surrounded by the Apostles, other saints and martyrs, while people divided into various groups (mainly according to their beliefs) were summoned before him for judgement. The results of this judgment are surprising, as Jesus's verdicts, which are based on people's faith in him and are thus severe for some groups, are, in a way, overruled by God the Father, who either steps in or is asked by Jesus to help him to pass a judgment. God the Father requests that the people from all the groups, including the Roman Catholics, are judged on the strength of their deeds and not their affiliation to any particular religious group. All those found to have led a just life are admitted to heaven. The passage explicitly relevant for Christian-Muslim relations appears near the end of the work in verses 375-412 (the Turks are mentioned earlier, together with the vast majority of pagans, without any reference to Islam).

In verse 375, the Tatars and Bisurmans (a term used in the Commonwealth for Muslims) are summoned before the judge. Asked in whom they believe, they respond: 'In Mahomet, revealed to us by a heavenly planet.' They affirm that he was successful and valiant in wars, taught God's Law and resisted evil. Interrogated by the judge, they boldly point out that they believe in God. This boldness annoys the judge who asks God the Father whether he really knows them. God the Father responds that they were God-loving people who diligently obeyed God's laws, though they had 'Mahomet' as their patron (who respected God's laws and defended the people from evil). At this point Mahomet says to God that he has heard about the great miracles of Christ, the prophet, who had been cruelly murdered and taken to God's kingdom. Mahomet says that he did not deny this, although he and his people worshipped God alone. If by this they had all sinned, then he requests to be forgiven and admitted to heaven. Mahomet declares that if God considers it appropriate then, in their simplicity, they would apologise to Jesus Christ. However, God only tells him that he knows about those among his followers who had been blinded by their malevolence, and for their wrongdoing they will be condemned to hell. The others will be admitted to heaven.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is neither a theological treatise nor poetry, but rather a text meant for popular distribution. It is remarkable that it conveys the idea

of salvation of the just, regardless of their religious convictions and affiliation to religious communities (although these are explicitly named). Sokolski says that the author was evidently a Roman Catholic because the Roman Catholic doctrine is used as a criterion for the judgment, though at the same time the author questions the rule of *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (no salvation outside the Church). He points out that the Mazovian gentry were known for their staunch Roman Catholicism, and to ascribe authorship to one of them could be taken as a guarantee of the 'orthodox' character of the content. On the other hand, they were notorious for being troublesome and backward, which, in turn, can be taken as an element undermining the message presented in the work.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the work as we do not know how many copies existed. Nonetheless, it is significant that there were people who entertained the idea that salvation is attainable by all who live justly, regardless of their religious affiliation and actual beliefs. Another hint that such an idea was known to the gentry can be found in a dialogue written in 1648 by Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz, a Jesuit, in which he argues against it (see the entry on Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz in this volume).

Sokolski states that the work has not attracted the attention of researchers, although it was listed by A. Jocher (*Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce, od wprowadzenia do niej druku po rok 1830 włącznie*, vol. 3, Vilnius, 1857, no. 7254), by some 19th-century scholars (W. Maciejowski, *Piśmiennictwo polskie od czasów najdawniejszych aż do roku 1830*, Warsaw, 1851-3, vol. 3, pp. 69-70; M. Wiszniewski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, Kraków, 1845, vol. 7, p. 187) and in Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 24, Kraków, 1912, pp. 179-80. Nor does the work feature in the index of prohibited books.

Sokolski ('Wstęp', p. 18) indicates that the only hint of interest given to the work is in a handwritten note dated 1710 on the last page of the Wrocław copy. This was made by a certain priest, Antoni Węgrzynowicz, who noted that the vision was false and contrary to the articles of faith. He marked the doctrinally suspect verses (those affirming that non-Catholics were admitted into heaven) with an asterisk.

PUBLICATIONS

Strasznego widzenie Piotra Pęgowskiego z Mazosz. Którego dnia czwartego marca, w dzień wtorkowy, jadąc z Poznania przez Kalisz; stanąwszy w gospodzie wieczór; po wieczerzy szedł na górę pod dach spać, namówiwszy się z sługą swym z wieczora, iż barzo rano miał wyjechać; a on się uspokoiwszy Panu Bogu modły oddawał; zaczęł wiatr, szum z deszczem okrutnym i z piorunem powstał i tegoż szlachcica porwał wicher, gdzie był trzy dni w zatrzymaniu. A sługa jego rano nazajutrz, widząc, że pana już nie było w gospodzie, mniemając, iż w przód szedł, pośpieszył się i odjechał ku domowi. A pan Pęgowski trzeciego dnia był przyniesiony na onoż miejsce, który piechotą do domu zaszedłszy, to swoje widzenie wszem wobec rozgłaszał, Roku Pańskiego, (s.l.), 1608

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Stanisław Grodz

Aleksander Gwagnin

Alessandro Guagnini

DATE OF BIRTH 1534 or 1538

PLACE OF BIRTH Verona

DATE OF DEATH 1614

PLACE OF DEATH Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Aleksander Gwagnin was born Alessandro Guagnini in Verona, at that time part of the Commonwealth of Venice. During his education, he learned Latin, military topography and the military art of besieging.

In 1551, Aleksander's father left Italy because of quarrels with relatives and financial problems, and reached Poland around 1555. Aleksander joined him before 1558. They probably went to Poland at the encouragement of Bona Sforza, the mother of King Sigismund II Augustus. They were enrolled in the royal army, and were recommended to the king as specialists in fortifications and laying sieges by Mikołaj Sieniawski, Ruthenian *voivode* (*wojewoda ruski*) and grand Crown *hetman* (general; *hetman wielki koronny*), in a letter dated 25 February 1561. Aleksander was with his father at the capture of Dorpat, Wielkie Łuki and Połock in 1561, and fought at Jezierzyszczce (1564), Newel (1565) and Wieliz (1567). Promoted to the rank of infantry captain (*rotnistrz*), together with his father and two other captains, he was in charge of defending Witebsk, which had been taken earlier from the Muscovites. In autumn 1568, he was injured and briefly taken prisoner by the Muscovites. He also took part in a military campaign against the Wallachians (1562). He himself declared that he was a captain for 18 years (1568-86) and commanded a unit of 500 soldiers and 10 cavalrymen.

During the session of Parliament that ratified the Lublin Union and accepted the renewed Prussian Homage in 1569, on the recommendation of Joachim II, Margrave of Brandenburg, Aleksander was knighted for his actions in war and achievements in siege laying. Already ennobled by the German emperor, he received a Polish *indigenat* (ennoblement) from King Sigismund II on 17 July 1571, on the recommendation of the grand Lithuanian *hetman* Hrehory (Gregory) Chodkiewicz (1513-72). The king particularly appreciated his involvement in fortifying Witebsk. Henry de Valois, the first elected monarch of the Commonwealth, also appreciated

his merits, granting him the office of starost of Filipów on the borderland of Princely Prussia and Lithuania for life in 1574.

Aleksander temporarily left military service (though he enlisted again in 1576 to take part in the campaign against the city of Gdańsk) and became active as a merchant. With borrowed money, he travelled to Venice (1578, 1581), Rome and Stockholm (1581). A recommendation letter addressed to the Doge of Venice, issued for him by the Swedish King John III in 1581 gives evidence of his attempted change of occupation. He wanted to regain the lost family property in Verona and gather funds for the construction of two ships, which he intended to use for the transportation of tar, hemp, flax and other goods, making a commercial link between Sweden, the Commonwealth and Venice, but his efforts failed. Now in debt, he had to sell his rights to the *starost* of Filipów in 1579, and the title 'count of the Lateran Palace' was all he brought with him from Italy. After his return to Poland, he again enlisted in the army and took part in the siege of Pskov. He acquired an annual pension from the Lithuanian treasury.

It is difficult to establish what Gwagnin's main occupation was between 1586 and 1600. Then, from 1601 till his death in 1614 he must have remained in Kraków or Cisów, travelling to Italy from time to time. He was linked to the court of the bishops of Kraków (Bernard Maciejowski and his successor Piotr Tylicki). Maciejowski referred to him as *familiaris noster* in a document dated 1601 that gave Gwagnin the right to set up and run glassworks in Cisów, in the bishop's land east of Kielce (confirmed by Tylicki in 1614). Gwagnin brought Italian specialists to work in his glassworks.

His link to Kraków is not only confirmed by his contacts with the bishops of the city but also by his literary activity, which focused on the translation into Polish of the expanded version of *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* as *Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej* in 1611.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej, 'Chronicle of European Sarmatia'

DATE 1611

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Aleksander Gwagnin's chronicle (its full Polish title is *Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej, w której się zamyka królestwo Polskie, ze wszystkiemi państwami, księstwami i prowincyjami swemi; tudzież też Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, ruskie, pruskie, żmudzkie, inflantskie, moskiewskie i część Tatarów*,

'Chronicle of European Sarmatia, in which the Kingdom of Poland is contained with all its states, duchies and provinces; also the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, [and duchies of] Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, Livonia and Muscovy, and part of the [lands of the] Tatars'), also known by the Latin title *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* ('Description of European Sarmatia'), was published many times in Latin and in various translations. The Latin original consists of 203 pages and is divided into four parts: 1. Description of European Sarmatia, biographies of the Polish princes and kings with explanation of the order of the royal coronation ceremony; 2. Description of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; 3. Description of Prussia, Livonia and the Duchy of Muscovy, with an account of the atrocities committed by Ivan the Terrible; 4. Description of the Tatar lands. However, in the Polish translation by Marcin Paszkowski in 1611, which is followed here, the chronicle is divided into ten books, each preceded by a letter addressed to a different noble. The books are ordered as follows: 1. European Sarmatia and its peoples; biographies of the Polish princes and kings down to Sigismund III Vasa with an account of the royal coronation ceremony; description of the administrative division of the country supplemented by a list of offices (275 pages); 2. Origin of the Lithuanian people; biographies and deeds of their rulers; description of the Lithuanian lands; rules for soldiers (117 pages); 3. Description of the Russian lands with elements of culture and customs, deeds of selected heroes and princes, the genealogy of important families (40 pages); 4. Geographical characteristics of Prussia and the history of wars between the Lithuanians and the Teutonic Order (61 pages); 5. The history and the most important towns and castles of Livonia and Samogitia (Żmudź) (30 pages); 6. A short description of the lands neighbouring the Commonwealth (46 pages); 7. The Duchy of Muscovy, its history, culture, customs and religion (87 pages); 8. Description of the lands inhabited by the Tatars, their history (in part legendary), customs and ways of waging war (32 pages); 9. Southern Europe including Greece, Wallachia and Transylvania (32 pages); 10. The history of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Hungary, part of North Africa (Libya), the Middle East (Syria, Persia), Babylonia and Asia Minor, together with a short geographical and historical account of the empire and its soldiers accompanied by a brief presentation of Islam (48 pages). Book 10 was added to the translated chronicle and does not feature in the Latin original. Since Gwagnin's knowledge of Polish was limited, it is generally assumed that Marcin Paszkowski, the translator, was the author of this addition.



Illustration 11. Frontispiece of the 1611 Polish translation of *Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej*

It has to be stressed that the Latin and Polish versions of Gwagnin's chronicle differ quite significantly. In the Latin version Gwagnin only briefly describes the Tatar hordes and principalities, with just a brief mention in the final general remarks about the life of the Tatars and that they are followers of Muḥammad. This description is a continuation of the section on the Duchy of Muscovy, and it treats the Tatars as dependents of the Duchy. In contrast, in the Polish version the Tatars are presented as a separate entity with their own origins and cultural and religious character. Furthermore, the Latin version does not contain anything corresponding to Book 10, containing the part on the Ottoman Empire and the account of Islam.

The work is written mainly in prose, though in both versions long sections in poetry are drawn from various sources; these are most often quotations from ancient and 16th-17th century works (Ovid, Maciej Strykowski, Jarosz /Hieronim/ Otwinowski, among others). In the section devoted to Islam, the reader is informed that the author has drawn his information from Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł's *Peregrynacja*, the historical works of Georg Cedrenus and Krzysztof Warszawicki (*Wenecja*). Some other information is also taken from Josephus and Pliny. According to Jerzy Nosowski, he also drew from Bartholomaeo Georgius's *De origine Turcarum* (*Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna*, p. 159).

The part of *Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej* that deals most with Islam is the third part of Book 10, mainly the section on Asia Minor.

Here, Islam is presented as a religion of superstition and degeneracy. Paszkowski gives an example from Radziwiłł's *Peregrynacja* about the belief that a Christian assault on Jerusalem would be mounted through the walled-up Golden Gate on the Temple Mount. This would be on a Friday, when Muslims would be praying in mosques, so in Damascus the city gates were closed early on Fridays and the guards were doubled. It was believed that the invasion would come from the direction of Alexandria, so the Ottomans guarded the old port and prevented Christian ships from entering. Paszkowski includes another account from Georgius about the fall of the Ottoman Empire: the Ottomans would conquer a state ruled by a pagan prince and take a red apple from him (in Georgius, this symbolises Constantinople) and rule the country for seven years, or, if the inhabitants opposed them, for twelve. After that time the Christians would attack the Turks from many sides and inflict a final devastating defeat on them. Again following Radziwiłł, Paszkowski describes the *santons*, Muslim religious men who roam the streets naked,

with shaved head and beard. They take food from market stalls without paying, considered by the sellers as a blessing, and they also have sex with women in public, supposedly a sign of innocence but in reality 'vile witchcraft'.

Muḥammad (the form 'Machomet' is used throughout the work), whose father was Arabas and his mother Agarena, a Jew, drew his teachings from three sources: Judaism, from which he took circumcision, respect for the Sabbath as a sacred day, the ban on pork, and fasting for a month every year; Christianity, from which he took ritual washing away of sins, acknowledgment of Christ as God's Spirit and his mother as a virgin, and respect for the Mount of Olives as the place of Christ's ascension into heaven; primal religions, from which he took worship of the sun. The reason for the prohibition of alcohol in Islam was that when Muḥammad got drunk on one occasion, his servants killed a hermit using his knife. When he discovered the dead body, he believed them when they said he had done it and forbade wine from that time.

The description of Mecca includes a mosque at the centre of the city, in which was Muḥammad's tomb. The coffin was placed on a pedestal, and when it was seen from afar it seemed to float in the air. Pilgrims circumambulated on their knees and kissed a little tower in the middle, which they believed was Abraham's house. There was also a little pond there in which believers washed themselves from their sins, and a great number of doves, justified by the story of a dove (supposedly the Holy Spirit) pecking at peas which Muḥammad placed in his ear.

Following Warszewicki's *Wenecyja*, the work details the cruelty done to David, the Emperor of Trebizond, who with his family refused to accept Islam. The emperor and his sons were killed, and only the youngest of the seven was spared. Avarice and internal quarrels were the reasons for the fall of this remaining part of the Byzantine Empire: the Christians paid with their lives for not using their money to invest in defence. Still following Warszewicki, Paszkowski not only calls for the restoration of the Holy Land to Christian rulers, but also warns about the fate of the lands that have fallen under Ottoman rule.

The Christians living in the Ottoman Empire face enormous hardships, and they either seek help from their coreligionists or they look forward to an early death. They are forced to pay heavy tributes, but since they have no means to pay them, they have to resort to begging while being bound in chains. If they object to insults spoken against Christ they risk being circumcised by force, while if they say anything against Muḥammad they risk being burned to death.

At the end, Paszkowski encourages the Christian knights of Europe to engage jointly in military action against Muslims in order to free their suffering coreligionists who have to hide their profession of faith even while they carry St John's Gospel 'under their arms' for protection.

SIGNIFICANCE

Published in Kraków in 1611, *Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej* is not simply a translation of Aleksander Gwagnin's *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* but a vital expansion of it with a rearrangement of its contents. Editions of the Latin original, first published in Kraków in 1574 and again in 1578, appeared in Spire (1581) and Basel as part of Jan Pistorius's *Poloniae Historiae Corpus* (1582). A German translation was published in 1582, and an Italian by Diona de Fano in Venice in 1583 (1606²). It appeared again in 1584, though in a slightly modified form, published by Feuerabend in *Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 2. Then, a Czech translation of the sections on the Duchy of Muscovy was published in 1590 (1602² and 1786³). Two Russian translations were also made but never printed.

Paszkowski's expansion of the text in Polish could have resulted from the new situation in the country in the early 17th century, when the expectation of a full military clash with the Ottomans was growing. Perhaps in response to this, and aware that the parts in Polish would have less impact than those in Latin, Gwagnin took steps to have the Polish version of the chronicle translated back into Latin by Grzegorz Czaradzki, but the project was never completed. However, it was known within the Commonwealth and its neighbouring Slavonic countries.

Its popularity can be deduced from the fact that quite a number of copies are extant and they bear the marks of being heavily used. The Polish version was translated into Ukrainian in the 21st century. Unfortunately, most researchers' attention since Gwagnin's time has been devoted to the plagiarism case brought against him by Maciej Strykowski, ignoring the issues related to the difference between the Latin and Polish version of the chronicle.

PUBLICATIONS

Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio, quae Regnorum Poloniae, Lituaniae, Samogitiam, Russiam, Masoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam et Moschoviae, Tartariae etc. partem complectur. Alexandri Gwagnini Veronensis, Equitis Aurati, pediq[ue] praefecti, diligentia conscriptae, [Cracoviae], Matthiae Wirzbientae [1574, 1578]

Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio, quae Regnum Poloniae, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Massoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam et Moschoviae, Tartariaeque partem complectitur, Alexandri Guagnini Veronensis, Equitis Aurati, peditumque praefecti. Cui supplementi loco, ea quae gesta sunt superiori anno, inter Serenissimum Regem Poloniae, et Magnum Ducem Moschoviae breviter adiecta sunt. Item Genealogia Regnum Polonorum, Spiraе, apud Bernardum Albertinum, 1581

'Alexandri Guagnini Veronensis Compendium Chronicorum Poloniae, secundum seriem et successiones omnium principum, regumque gentis, a Lecho primo duce, authoreque Polonorum, usque ad regem Henricum Valesium, potentissimi et invictissimi Poloniae Regis', in J. Pistorius, *Poloniae Historiae Corpus: hoc est Polonicarum Rerum Latini recentiones et veteres scriptiores, quotquot extant, uno volumine compraehehsi omnes, et in aliquot distributi tomos...*, vol. 2, Basileae, 1582, 341-70

Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej, w której się zamyka królestwo Polskie, ze wszystkimi państwami, księstwami i prowincjami swemi; tudzież też Wielkie Księstwo Litewskiej, ruskie, pruskie, żmudzkie, inflantskie, moskiewskie i część Tatarów; przez Aleksandra Gwagnina z Werony, hrabię Pałacu Laterańskiego, rycerza pasowanego i rotmistrza Jego K[rólewskiej] M[ości] pierwszej roku 1578 po łacinie wydana, a teraz zaś z przyczynieniem tych królów, których w łacińskiej nie masz, tudzież królestw, państw, insuł, ziem i prowincyj ku tej Sarmacyjej przyległych, jako Grecyjej, ziem słowiańskich, Wołoszej, Panonijej, Bohemijej, Germanijej, Danijej, Szwecyjej, Gotyjej etc. przez tegoż autora z wielką pilnością rozdziałami na X ksiąg króciuchno zebrana, a przez Marcina Paszkowskiego za staraniem autorowym z łacińskiego na polskie przełożona, Kraków, 1611

Kronika Sarmacyi Europejskiej Aleksandra hrabi Gwagnina rycerza pasowanego rotmistrza J[ego] K[rólewskiej] M[ości] niegdyś w Krakowie drukowana, in [F. Bohomolec (ed.)], Zbiór dziejopisów polskich we czterech tomach zawarty. Tom czwarty, Warsaw, 1768

Z Kroniki Sarmacyi europejskiej Aleksandra Gwagnina z Werony (hrabię Pałacu Laterańskiego, rycerza pasowanego i rotmistrza J[ego] K[rólewskiej] M[ości]) opisanie Polski, W[ielkiego] Ks[ięstwa] Litewskiego, ziemie ruskiej, ziemie pruskiej, ziemie inflantskiej, ziemie żmudzkiej, ed. K.J. Turowski, Kraków, 1860 (extracts in 'Biblioteka Polska' fasc. 18-22)

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Jurkiewicz, 'Czy tylko plagiat?'

M. Kuran, *Marcin Paszkowski. Poeta okolicznościowy i moralista z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Łódź, 2012

Kuran, 'Adresaci i poetyka listów dedykacyjnych w Kronice Sarmacji europejskiej Aleksandra Gwagnina'

Iu. Mitsik, 'Vstup', in Aleksander Gwagnin, *Khronika i evropeïš' koï Sarmatïi*, pp. 5-33

Michał Kuran

Marcin Łaszcz

‘Skarga’

DATE OF BIRTH 11 November 1551

PLACE OF BIRTH Kalisz

DATE OF DEATH 24 May 1615

PLACE OF DEATH Cracow

BIOGRAPHY

Marcin Łaszcz joined the Jesuits in Pułtusk on 1 February 1570, and in April 1576 was ordained to the priesthood. After teaching grammar and rhetoric in Vilnius (1574-5), he worked as a preacher and school supervisor in Pułtusk (1575-9), and preacher and teacher of logic in Poznań. In Dynów, he was chaplain to Katarzyna Wapowska (1530-96), the heiress to vast estates in Ruthenia and a benefactor and founder of the Jesuit college in Lublin and churches in Dynów and Hyżne. Łaszcz was also vice-rector of the Jesuit college in Lublin (1590-3) and served as a preacher in Vilnius (1593-8) and Toruń (Thorn). He also served as a missionary in Lwów (Lvov) and preacher in Kraków (1609-13). He was the superior of the house of the professed order members in Kraków (1613-5), and was the censor of the first Roman Catholic translation of the Bible into Polish, the so-called ‘Bible of Jakub Wujek’.

Łaszcz advocated the practice of 40 hours’ devotion and was the author of many polemical and theological treatises, which he often signed using a pseudonym; Skarga was one he habitually used. Some historians have argued that through his lack of a sound theological education he contributed significantly to the oversimplification of Counter-reformation polemics, a view recently questioned by P. Wilczek (*Dyskurs-przełtad-interpretacja*, pp. 90-1; *Polonice et latine. Studia o literaturze staropolskiej*, Katowice, 2007, pp. 72-3).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Messyas nowych arianów, 'The Messiah of the new Arians'

Messyas Arykański, 'The Arian Messiah'

DATE 1612

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Marcin Łaszcz's work was published in Kraków in 1612, under the title *Messyas Arykański, to iest: że pan Moskorzewski z swoiemi Aryany takiego Chrystusa wyznaie, jakiego Mahomet w Alkoranie Tureckim, i tak pismo rozumi, iak te Mahomet rozumiał* ('The Arian Messiah, that is: that Mr Moskorzewski with his Arians profess such a Christ as does Mahomet in the Turkish Alkoran, and that he understands the Scripture the way Mahomet did') and was signed with the name 'Skarga', suggesting that it was authored by another Jesuit, Fr Piotr Skarga, the famous *Sejm* (Parliament) preacher. However, Grabowski (*Literatura arikańska w Polsce*, pp. 285-6) concludes that the opinions advocated in the work, as well as its style, indicate that it was unlikely to have been written by the famous preacher, adding that the evident narrow-mindedness of the author of this work counter any claim to Skarga's authorship.

At present the work is considered lost and all information about it comes from descriptions and references. K. Estreicher in his 1933 Polish bibliography describes the work as printed in quarto and consisting of 66 pages. Some descriptions give alternative titles, such as *Mesjasz nowych arianów wedle Alkoranu Tureckiego* ('The Messiah of the new Arians according to the Turkish Alkoran').

In this work, Łaszcz is said to have presented a 12-point accusation of the Polish Brethren, claiming that their teachings resembled those of the Qur'an. He is also reported to have accused them of pro-Turkish sympathies, with the aim of destroying Christian Catholic identity in the Commonwealth.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Arian (Unitarian, Polish Brethren) movement in the Commonwealth was received positively by some of the gentry, and its representatives came to be active participants on the political scene. Baranowski indicates that non-Catholics (particularly the Polish Brethren) tended to view the Muslim East with some sympathy, which the Catholics then used as an argument against them.

The Jesuits engaged eagerly in combating the ideas propagated by the Polish Brethren in public debates and the printed word. Łaszcz was not alone in comparing the teachings of the Polish Brethren to those of Islam. Traces of accusations that the Polish Brethren entertained pro-Muslim sympathies on the basis of apparently visible similarities in some elements of doctrine and practice can be found in the writings of Piotr Skarga himself (*Kazania na niedziele i święta całego roku*, 'Sermons for Sundays and feasts of the entire year', Kraków, 1595, p. 47; *Zawstydzienie arianów i wzywianie ich do pokuty i wiary chrześcijańskiej. Przy nim kazanie o przenachwalebniejszej Trójcy czynione od X. Piotra Skargi S.J.*, 'Shaming the Arians and calling them to penance and Christian faith. Together with a sermon on the most glorious Trinity preached by Fr Piotr Skarga S.I.', Kraków, 1604, fol. A2). Other authors and works are also worth mentioning in this context, including J. Simler, *Assertio orthodoxae doctrinae de duabus naturis Christi* (Tuguri, 1575, pp. 53, 59-60) and H. Baliński, *Symphonia albo wjednobrzęk* written in 1595. In addition, B. Baranowski (*Znajomość Wschodu*, pp. 73-4) mentions Marcin Lubieniecki, a member of the Polish Brethren, who learned eastern languages in Constantinople and after returning home probably defended Islam publicly, or at least was accused by his adversaries of doing so. Lubieniecki propagated the view that Christianity and Islam had a common origin.

Debates and quarrels between the Arians (Polish Brethren) and the Catholics (as well as members of the Calvinist Church) have been described extensively by scholars in the second half of the 20th century, but the motif of real or alleged Arian pro-Muslim sympathies has remained unexplored (Baranowski indicates that part of the material in manuscript form that would have provided evidence was destroyed during World War II).

PUBLICATIONS

Messyas Ariański, to iest: że pan Moskorzewski ze swoiemi Aryany takiego Chrystusa wyznaie, jakiego Mahomet w Alkoranie Tureckim, i tak pismo rozumi, iak te Mahomet rozumiał, Kraków, 1612

STUDIES

- S. Radoń, *Z dziejów polemiki antyariańskiej w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku*, Kraków, 1993, pp. 49-50
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Norbert Frejek

Marcin Paszkowski

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1560
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Paszkówka
DATE OF DEATH	After 1621
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Marcin Paszkowski's home area was Paszkówka near Szczyrzyc, southwest of Kraków. Educated in a local parish school, he most probably continued his studies in Kraków, as is attested by his good knowledge of Latin, which allowed him to take up translator's tasks later in life. Although his name cannot be found in the *Album studiosorum* of Kraków University, Kraków was the place of his later literary activity.

Paszkowski most probably fought in the wars in Livonia (present-day Latvia and Estonia) against the Grand Duchy of Muscovy (1579-82) and later took part in the colonisation of the region as a representative of the Crown nobility (i.e. from the Polish part of the Commonwealth), for which he obtained a royal document on 20 May 1593 granting him rights to own land there. This indicates his presence in Warsaw in May 1593, and testifies to his industriousness and the good contacts he had made in the king's administration. The document also mentions the name of Paszkowski's wife, Ewa Szadkowska.

In Livonia, Paszkowski could have made acquaintance with the poet Andrzej Sapieha and others, including Aleksander Gwagnin, whose *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* he translated into Polish, and Stanisław Lubomirski, who had taken part in the defence of Livonia since 1605. Paszkowski's liking for the Jesuits, who were chaplains in the Polish garrisons and who also raised awareness about the poverty and exploitation of peasants, may have come from his time in Livonia. His dedication of *Dziele tureckie* to Hieronim Łaski could be taken as a sign of gratitude to his father Olbracht, who had been the *starost* (administrative head) of Marienburg (1587-1603) and was also interested in Turkish affairs. Paszkowski must have left Livonia in 1607-8, when his land fell under the control of the Swedes.

After his return to Kraków in 1608, Paszkowski became an occasional poet, and he also admitted his own professional soldier status by remaining in service at the royal castle. During this period (1610-16), he

refrained from alluding to political themes in his poetry. He supported the Counter-Reformation, and as a royalist defended the military actions of *hetman* (general) Stanisław Żółkiewski against the Tatars, actions considered controversial by some. The dedications of his poems to Dorota Barzi, the devout widow of the late Kraków *voivode*, and to Andrzej Sapieha – both members of the religious Arch-Fraternity of Mercy – confirm his strengthening links with the circles supporting the Jesuits.

Paszkowski's translation into Polish of Gwagnin's *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* as *Kronika Sarmacyjej europejskiej* was published in 1611. He probably wrote his own work *Dzieie tureckie*, published in 1615, with the support of people who knew the Turkish language, customs and religion, and possessed the appropriate books. Among these would have been Samuel Otwinowski, who was in the service of Stanisław Żółkiewski and Stefan Potocki and took up a job in the royal chancery in 1614, after his return from Turkish captivity.

Paszkowski's works published after 1618 were closely linked with the internal and external political initiatives of Stanisław Lubomirski. His *Positek Bellony słowieńskiej. Na odpór...* (1620) appears to support the Christian militia formed in Vienna to defend the Christian territories from Ottoman invasion. In another work, *Bitwy znamienite*, he comments on the defeat of Stanisław Żółkiewski at Cecora. As a propagandist for the Lubomirskis, in *Chorągiew sauromacka w Wołoszech* he praises the merits of the troops that stopped the northward advance of Sultan Osman II's army.

Paszkowski did not take part in the military expeditions to Cecora (1620) or Khotin/Chocim (1621), and he acknowledged that the reports in his works were second-hand, based on reports from eye-witnesses. He conceded that he did not have a proper orientation in Cossack affairs ('did not sit among the Cossacks', *Dzieie tureckie*, Kraków, 1615, p. 21).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dzieie tureckie y utarczki kozackie z Tatory, 'Turkish history and Cossack skirmishes with Tatars'

DATE 1615

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Published only once in 1615, this is an encyclopaedic compilation in which Paszkowski draws attention to the persecution of Christians and the suppression of their culture in many regions. Its full title is *Dzieie tureckie y utarczki kozackie z Tatory. Tudzież też o narodzie, obrzędziech, nabożeństwie, gospodarstwie i rycerstwie etc. tych pogan ku wiadomości ludziom różnego stanu pożyteczne. Przydany jest do tego Dykcjonarz języka tureckiego i Dysputa o wierze chrześcijańskiej i zabobonach bisurmańskich etc* ('Turkish history and Cossack skirmishes with Tatars... And also about the nation, customs, religion, administration and soldiers, etc. of these pagans, useful for knowledge of people of various classes. A Turkish language dictionary and a Debate about the Christian Faith and Muslim

superstitions etc. are added'). The text, extending to 146 pages (or 158 if Paszkowski's translation of Bartholomaeo Georgius' account of a debate with a Muslim, on which see below, is counted in), is preceded by a dedication letter to Adam ze Żmigroda Stadnicki (or to Hieronim Łaski in some copies) and a Latin poem by Stefan Farkocz, a Transylvanian who was apparently Jakub Kimikowski's companion in captivity (see below). It is derived from numerous earlier sources, many of them in Polish.

The work is divided into four chapters (books), each with several sub-chapters. In ch. 1 (70 pages), with 12 sub-chapters, Paszkowski presents the story of the Polish nobleman Jakub Kimikowski (it is unclear whether this character is real or fictitious) from his time among the Cossacks and later in Tatar captivity, through the time he was a slave in the Ottoman Empire until his escape and return home. Further sub-chapters present matters of a more general interest: the text of the Lord's Prayer in Arabic, Polish, Old Church Slavonic and Latin, and other prayers as well as the 'Hail Mary' and the Creed in Latin and Slavonic. The Arabic translation is written phonetically in Latin script. These are preceded by a table of the Arabic, Latin and Cyrillic alphabets: 'an exquisitely interesting attempt (the oldest in the history of Polish printing and writing!) at presentation of the Turkish-Arabic alphabet' (Zajączkowski, *Studia orientalistyczne*, p. 102).

Ch. 2, with five sub-chapters, outlines the origins of the Turkish nation, their religious ceremonies and prayers, the origin of Islam, and the ceremony for becoming a Muslim. It contains information about the clergy, the observance of customs, and the Turkish education system. Ch. 3, comprising six sub-chapters, describes the organisation of the Ottoman Empire, including the army, high offices, the judiciary, marriage, trade, crafts, farming, building, clothing, food and hunting. It also gives the penalties for prostitutes, and for dishonest market traders and craftsmen. Ch. 4 contains a thematic dictionary of the Turkish language, greetings and Christian prayers written in Arabic, again phonetically in Latin script with an interlinear Polish translation (the text of the prayers is copied literally from the Polish 1548 edition of Georgius' text – k. F-Fv). The chapter also contains Paszkowski's translation of Georgius' *Dysputacja albo rozmowa o wierze chrześcijańskiej i tureckich zabobonach*, which Georgius held with a Turk in Varadin (Oradea in present-day Romania) in 1547, during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Paszkowski regards the Nogay Tatars as cruel and savage, acting without religious principles, and devoid of any codified law. They settle arguments with duels and indulge in homosexual relationships. Although

they profess Islam, they are pagans who 'live a disgraceful life', have 'superstitions in their faith', and are 'vile pagans' (*Dzieie tureckie*, pp. 6-7). They kill and eat their old ones, worship the sun, and when they cannot see it they prostrate themselves before a scarlet cloth suspended before them. They follow a custom in which a cleric takes milk, soil and dung, climbs a tree, sprinkles the assembled people with the mixture, preaches and then 'mumbles some pagan words' (*Dzieie tureckie*, p. 8).

Within the Ottoman Empire, Christians who refuse to convert risk confiscation of property, removal of their children, hunger, rape and physical violence. Christians have to step aside before Muslims and bow to them, and also have to submit to their homosexual whims (Paszkowski frequently refers to this Turkish vice). They have to accept Muslim customs and faith, experience physical violence at the hands of Muslims, and in some cases even circumcision. Public witness to being a Christian is forbidden and death by burning is the penalty for this.

For Paszkowski, the Ottoman expansion in Europe was a religious undertaking. He accuses the Ottomans of signing peace treaties in order to bind their opponents with oaths, and then of attacking them without regard for the treaties and promises. This kind of perjury springs from the false religion of Islam.

Ch. 2 contains the most sustained account of Islam. Here, Paszkowski draws on Gwagnin's chronicle in his own Polish translation, complementing it with information taken mainly from the works of Radziwiłł and Georgius. He describes the interior of a mosque and the form of worship, and goes on to give an account of Muḥammad (relying here on Georgius's *De Turcarum ritu*). He says that Muḥammad was neither an Arab nor a Persian, but a descendant of Ishmael. He was supposedly taken to heaven, and was taught the faith by the Spirit of God, though in actuality he trained a dove to sit on his shoulder during his sermons and peck peas from his ear. His coffin was suspended just under the roof of his mosque, though it did not contain his body but only a stone effigy. Islam is an amalgam of four sources: Arab and Tatar beliefs, Judaism and Christianity.

Paszkowski goes on to contrast Islam and Christianity. He argues that Muḥammad was a deceiver whose body lies in a grave (unlike that of Christ), that only faith in the Holy Trinity is true, that Christ is the Saviour while Muḥammad leads the way to damnation. The truthfulness of Christianity is proved by the fulfilment in Christ of prophecies that do not even mention Muḥammad, and by the miracles he performed, while

all the stories in the Qur'an are only fables. Christian sexual continence is superior to Muslim sexual laxity, and Christ's holiness to Muḥammad's liking for war, killing and causing fear. In a word, for Paszkowski the quality of Muslim beliefs and morality exclude them from being acceptable as principles of true faith (Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna*, p. 180).

Paszkowski describes such customs as circumcision, which for voluntary converts from Christianity was accompanied by a public procession with the convert wearing a red robe as an example for other Christians, and observance of the Islamic feasts. He frequently uses Christian terms such as baptism, fasting, Easter, sacrament and sin, explaining that a Muslim could obtain remission of sins by 'baptism' and a pilgrimage to Mecca, and equating ritual ablution with baptism and *Īd al-adḥā* with Easter.

In ch. 4 Paszkowski translates from Georgius the debate Georgius held with a Turk dervish at the Franciscan monastery in Varadin, in 1547, in which each party posed a main question. The Muslim's question is where was God before the creation of the world, to which the Christian answers that 'God was in his essence' (p. 148). The Muslim does not understand, so the Christian answers again, 'God was there, where God is now, everywhere.'

In his turn, the Christian asks about the Qur'anic formula *Bisem Attahe, el Rachmane, el Ruoahim*, which he translates as 'In the name of the Father and Mercy, and their Spirits' ('*W imię Ojca i Miłosierdzia, i Duchów ich*'). He tries to show that this is the same as the Christian formula when making the sign of the cross, arguing that Mercy (*el Rachmane*) is identifiable as the Son of God. The Muslim expresses surprise that God could have a son since he has no wife.

The Christian goes on to explain the doctrine of salvation, referring to original sin, Christ's passion, death and resurrection, his ascension into heaven and the Last Judgment. The Muslim is impressed with the sophistication of this explanation and with Christian theology in general. This gives the Christian a chance to undermine the Muslim articles of faith. He questions the status of Muḥammad, arguing that he was a deceiver and no more than a borrower of others' scriptures, and asserts that everything in Islam that is not corroborated by the Bible is mere fable. The Muslim is humbled, though when they enter a church he accuses Christians of being idolaters who worship wood, stone and paint. The Christian replies that statues are nothing more than helps for the illiterate to

piety and moral living. Eventually, the Christian accepts that the Muslim is right when he complains that Christians do not maintain their churches properly, while the Muslim accepts that the Christian's reasoning is correct, declaring that he will share Christian truth with Muslim elders, and asking to be taught the Christian prayers in Arabic.

SIGNIFICANCE

Paszkowski was unable to give unity to the many sources he used, and could not avoid repetition and contradiction. Statements that are openly anti-Islamic and biased are entwined with more positive statements that raise the possibility of respectful discussion with Muslims, or even of admitting that they are right on certain issues.

Influenced by some of his sources, Paszkowski tried to build parallels between the Islamic and Christian articles of faith and customs, e.g. equating Ramadan with Lent or the great 'Īd with Easter, or pointing out the presence of Jesus and Mary in the Qur'an. Seeing common elements and Muslim acceptance of some biblical truths, he strove to convince Muslims to accept not only the divinity of Christ but also the doctrine of the Trinity. At the same time, he doubted the truthfulness of Muḥammad, presenting him as a religious deceiver who relished sin.

The work shows a combination of religious and political reasoning that was typical of writers on Ottoman matters in the 16th and 17th centuries. In addition to its description of elements of Muslim religious culture and doctrine, its presentation of the persecution and enslavement of Christians in the Ottoman Empire and also of the forms of sexual conduct that contravened Christian teaching, the work also contains new elements in the form of a Polish-Ottoman dictionary and translation of basic Christian prayers into Arabic, Polish and Croatian. Paszkowski can be credited with acquainting Polish readers with elements of Muslim religious vocabulary.

Despite all its merits, not least the novelty and richness of its sources, the significance of the work in shaping the image of Islam in the Commonwealth could not have been significant. It was published only once, and quite a number of copies are extant in relatively good condition, looking as though they were not used very often. The lack of any wide circulation could have been the result of the unusual and difficult form of the presentation of the material and its obviously biased and propaganda character, aimed not only against Muslims but also against various Protestant groups in the Commonwealth.

PUBLICATIONS

Dzieie tureckie y utarczki kozackie z Tatary. Tudzież też o narodzie, obrzędziech, nabożeństwie, gospodarstwie i rycerstwie etc. tych pogan ku wiadomości ludziom różnego stanu pożyteczne. Przydany jest do tego Dykcyjonarz języka tureckiego i Dysputa o wierze chrześcijańskiej i zabobonach bisurmańskich etc. Przez Marcina Paszkowskiego, na czworo ksiąg rozdzielone, opisane i wydane. Cum Gratia et privilegio S. R. M., Kraków, 1615

STUDIES

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Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu*, pp. 76-9

Michał Kuran

‘Piotr Czyżewski’

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing certain is known about this author and he cannot presently be identified. We can only make assumptions from an analysis of the general situation in which *Alfurkan Tatarski* was written and of the text itself. Despite the fact that it is signed, it is generally agreed that Piotr Czyżewski is a pen-name.

It is certain that the author knew theological works and had access to religious texts circulating in western Europe in the early 17th century. He was also quite familiar with the realities of Tatar life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Since the Jesuits were the *spiritus movens* of the majority of the actions of the Counter-Reformation directed against non-Catholics, it is sometimes assumed that this author was a Jesuit. There is a hint of this in the fact that the work was printed in the printing house that also handled Jesuit material, but we cannot be completely certain. We might equally assume that he was one of the nobility who had a personal reason for writing such a text, as is suggested by the long description on the title page that refers to his father being killed by a Tatar.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy na czterdzieści części podzielony, 'True Tatar *Alfurkan* divided into 40 parts'

DATE 1617

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Alfurkan Tatarski was written during a period of intensive production of intra- and interreligious polemical literature. Although it is only about 80 quarto pages long, and despite the fact that it is a pamphlet insulting the Muslim Tatars, it provides a great deal of information about the Muslims who lived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the early 17th century. It was printed in the printing house of Józef Karcan's (alias Kartzan, Karczan, Karzan), a well-known printer in Vilnius, who inherited the business from his father Jan around 1611. He printed works for the Jesuits, mainly panegyrics or polemics. From this connection, some researchers have assumed that *Alfurkan* was written at the instigation of the Jesuits.

It is quite difficult to describe *Alfurkan* because, despite the division of the material into 40 parts, the author returns to the same issues in different places. The work opens with a chapter 'On the beginnings of the Tatars after they were brought to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and about their deeds' (*O początku Tatar po przygnaniu ich do Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i o postępkach ich*). Then there is a description of the range of Tatar communities, from those doing military service (ch. 8 'Is it the right thing to admit the Tatar pagans into the Christian army?', *Jeśliż jest rzecz słuszna Tatary pogany przyjmować do wojska Chrześcijanskiego?*) to farmers (ch. 11 'Is it decent to rob with impunity a Tatar ploughing and harrowing, or doing other work on Sunday and holiday?', *Jeśliż Tatarzyna w niedzielę i w święto orzącego, bronującego i inszą robotę odprawującego, godzi się grabić abo nie?*), and those settled in the Łukiszki district of Vilnius (ch. 19 'Why are the Tatars settled close to Vilnius?', *Dlaczego Tatarowie blisko Wilna osadzeni są?*). Czyżewski regards Tatars near the capital as a threat, completely forgetting that from the time of Duke Vytautas they had been settled close to important centres to help protect them. He ignores this because it does not fit into the 'grave threat' argument he promotes.

The threat argument is underlined by descriptions of how the Tatars apparently cheat, steal and commit violence. Czyżewski gives a number of reasons for getting rid of them as infidels and for destroying their mosques. He points to the examples of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, who forbade the construction of pagan temples, and to the Turks in Greece, who will not allow the rebuilding of ruined churches unless large sums of money are given to them. By contrast, in the Commonwealth Tatars build mosques 'for the service of the devil', even where these did not exist before, and they do not even ask the king for permission. 'But no wonder, as they are allowed to do anything they want' (ch. 9). He argues that there is no law to protect mosques, and that just as in former times when pagan ancestors turned Christian 'all the idols were thrown away and the pagan temples were brought down', so it should be with the mosques. In fact, the timber from the six mosques around Vilnius could be used as fuel in the schools during winter. Among ten ways of converting the Tatars to Christianity, he says that they should be ordered to listen to Christian sermons, work for their local churches, and be threatened with having their possessions and privileges removed and even with expulsion like the Jews from Portugal and Spain (ch. 12).

Chapters 35-9 deal with Islam as a religion: 'Why do the Tatars celebrate Friday?' (*Dlaczego Tatarowie piątek święcą?*), 'How Machomet Obdułowicz rode a mare to heaven for *Alkoran* and *Alfurkan*' (*Jako Machomet Obdułowicz jeździł na kobyle po Alkoran i Alfurkan do nieba*), 'How Machomet Obdułowicz ordered the mullahs or his ministers to teach *Alkoran*' (*Jako Machomet Obdułowicz Alkoranu Mohłom abo Ministrom swoim kazał nauczać*), 'For what reason did Machomet forbid the Tatars to drink wine?' (*Dla której przyczyny Machomet Tatarom pić wina zakazał?*), 'How Machomet Obdułowicz, the Tatar prophet, performed great miracles during his lifetime and after his death' (*Jako Machomet Obdułowicz Prorok Tatarski cuda wielkie czynił za żywota i po śmierci*). Czyżewski repeatedly emphasises that the Tatars 'do not know the true God' and that their prophet and religion are false and deceptive. This is illustrated by their observance of Friday rather than Sunday as the chief day of the week. In ch. 35 he explains that although they do not say why Friday is their important day, it is because it is the day of Venus, and Muḥammad did not want to abandon the goddess because of her link with the carnality in which he indulged.

Muḥammad (Machomet Obdułowicz) was reputedly given the teachings of his new faith (*articuli Veneris*, just as the Christians have *articuli*

fidei) during his ascent to heaven, when God gave him 'Alkoran and Alfurkan' and ordered him to teach them to the people. However, when Muḥammad realised that the 'alkoranic chattering and imagined fables' were difficult to prove and defend, he forbade all discussion about the Qur'an. For this reason, neither the Turks nor the Tatars will discuss it. Furthermore, the text of the Qur'an is inaccessible as it is written in Arabic. This is suspicious, though it is understandable because all those who do evil prefer to keep away from the light.

There are so many references to Jews in the text that it sometimes appears the Tatars are only a pretext for targeting them. The two are often condemned together for their dislike of Christians: 'the Tatars do not consider perjury against Christians a sin, and indeed it is commendable to cheat and murder a Christian, as among the Jews' (pp. 137-8).

It is apparent that Czyżewski knew the translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton, probably in Theodore Bibliander's 1543 edition. However, his use of Qur'anic material is rather shallow, and he includes only six direct quotations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Alfurkan was the first book written directly against the Muslims who had been living in Lithuania since the end of the 14th century. Its arguments, drawing on acknowledged medieval authorities and the Church Fathers, made it a trustworthy and popular source; it was published three times in 26 years. However, it did not achieve its purpose of provoking any significant increase in dislike for Muslims or hostility towards them. Rather, it became a source of information (even though presented in a distorted form) that explained who the Muslims were, what they believed and why they acted as they did.

PUBLICATIONS

Piotr Czyżewski, *Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy na czterdzieści części rozdzielony*, Wilno, 1617, 1640², 1643³

Piotr Czyżewski, *Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy na czterdzieści części rozdzielony*, ed. A. Konopacki, Białystok, 2013

The few surviving copies of *Alfurkan* are found in the following collections: University of Warsaw Library (Old Prints Section [Dział starych druków]) – sygn. Sd. 713.1262, 1617 edition; Jagiellonian University Library, Kraków (Old Prints Section [Dział starych druków]) – sygn. I 31114, 1617 edition; Jagiellonian University Library, Kraków (Old Prints Section [Dział starych druków]) – sygn. I 31113, 1640 edition; W. Stefanyk

Academic Library, Lviv (Old Prints Section) – sygn. CT 79765, 1617 edition; W. Stefanyk Academic Library, Lviv (Old Prints Section) – sygn. CT 76895, 1643 edition. The last two copies are from the Count Baworowski Foundation and bear ornate *ex libris* marks by Zygmunt Czarnecki.

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- J. Šiaučiušaitė-Verbickienė, 'Kuris iš jų geresnis: žydas, totorius ar čigonas? Petro Čiževskio žvilgsnis į Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos totorių kasdienybę', in T. Bairašauskaitė, H. Kobeckaitė, G. Miškinienė (eds), *Orientas Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos tradicijoje: totoriai ir karaimai. Specialusis Lietuvos istorijos studijos' leidinys*, Vilnius, 2008, 215-22
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- J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII wieku*, Warsaw, 1989, pp. 287-9, 291
- J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna XVI, XVII, XVIII w.*, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 351-68
- S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficzna*, Warsaw, 1938, pp. 21, 70, 81, 114, 129, 135, 169, 206, 255 (extracts quoted)

Artur Konopacki

Fabian Birkowski

DATE OF BIRTH 1566
PLACE OF BIRTH Lwów/Lviv
DATE OF DEATH 9 December 1636
PLACE OF DEATH Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Fabian Birkowski was born into a burgher family in 1566 (though some give 1564 or 1569), the eldest of four children. In 1587, he gained a Bachelor of Arts degree, and taught Greek and Latin literature as well as philosophy and rhetoric. In 1593, he obtained a doctorate in philosophy, followed by a two-year tenure as a *docent-extraneus*, when he lectured on classical literature.

At this point, he gave up his academic career, and in 1597 he entered the Dominican Order, making his vows in 1598. Some sources suggest that his decision was motivated by a minor misunderstanding with the local clergy concerning the headship of a school in Olkusz and ecclesiastical titles he had been denied. He was sent to Bologna to continue his theological training, and gained the title of Lecturer in Theology in 1602. After returning to Poland, he taught theology in the Dominican *Studium Generale*, gaining a Bachelor of Arts degree in theology in 1611.

In 1614, he succeeded Piotr Skarga as court preacher and guardian-tutor of Prince Władysław (elected King of Poland in 1632). As a member of the royal court, he accompanied the prince's military expeditions against Moscow in 1618-19, and he was also in the Polish camp during the battle of Khotin/Chocim in 1621. In 1618, he crowned his career by obtaining the highest degree in theology, when he was admitted to the group of masters in his religious order. In the last years of his life, he returned to Kraków, where he briefly served as the prior of the Dominican monastery. He died on 9 December 1636.

Birkowski was considered one of the greatest Polish preachers of his time. The haranguing sermons he delivered at many state and military funerals are counted among the greatest achievements of homily and rhetoric in Polish literature.

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- S. Starowolski, *Setnik Pisarzy Polskich albo pochwały i żywoty stu najznakomitszych pisarzy polskich*, trans. and commentary J. Starnawski, Kraków, 1970, 213-14 (on the expanded version published in Venice, 1627; the original was published in Frankfurt, 1625)
- S. Starowolski, *De claris oratoribus Sarmatiae*, ed. and trans. E.J. Głębicka, Warsaw, 2002, p. 65, para. 76 (using Florence, 1628 edition)
- J.M. Ossoliński, *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literatury polskiej, o pisarzach polskich, także postronnych, którzy w Polszcze abo o Polszcze pisali*, Kraków, 1819, vol. 1, pp. 144-73

Secondary

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- S. Dubisz, *Język i polityka. Szkice z historii stylu retorycznego*, Warsaw, 1992, pp. 57-69
- M. Korolko, art. 'Fabian Birkowski', in J. Krzyżanowski and Cz. Hernas (eds), *Literatura polska. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, 2nd ed., Warsaw, 1984, vol. 1, 87
- E. Ozorowski, art. 'Birkowski Fabian', *Słownik Teologów Polskich*, Warsaw, 1983, vol. 1, 163-5
- M. Brzozowski and J. Dąbrowski, art. 'Birkowski Fabian OP', *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, Lublin, 1974, vol. 2, cols 584-5
- Ł. Wołek, *Ojciec Fabian Birkowski z Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego. Kaznodzieja obozowy rycerstwa polskiego. Szkic biograficzny*, Kraków, about 1936 (typescript, Biblioteka Konwentu Krakowskiego OO. Dominikanów w Krakowie, sygn. B31101, written for the three hundredth anniversary of Birkowski's death)
- M. Dynowska, art. 'Fabian Birkowski', *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Warsaw, 1935, vol. 2, 104-5
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W.A. Maciejowski, *Piśmiennictwo polskie od czasów najdawniejszych aż do roku 1830*, Warsaw, 1851, vol. 1, 760-801, pp. 769-79

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nagrobek Osmanowi, 'The tombstone for Osman'

DATE 1622

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Birkowski's sermon on the death of Sultan Osman II (r. 1618-22), *Nagrobek Osmanowi* (in full, *Nagrobek Osmanowi cesarzowi tureckiemu. W roku Pańskim 1622, maja 20, w oktawę Zesłania Ducha świętego*, 'The tombstone of Osman, Ottoman Emperor. Anno Domini 1622, 20 May, in the octave of Pentecost'), comes to about ten pages in standard printed editions. As preacher to the royal court, Birkowski covered the most recent issues in his sermons. His attitude was that the constant threat arising from the Ottoman state demanded not only political and military reactions, but also spiritual reflection on its significance in the life of the Polish nation.

Birkowski's literary style habitually included numerous references to ancient history. This sermon is built around the parallel between Osman and the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate. Osman is presented as evil personified, and his death not only places his own legacy as a political and military leader in jeopardy, but demonstrates the fate of all who follow the teachings of the Qur'an and build society within the framework of Muslim teachings. The gravest sins of Osman and his predecessors include the conquest of the Holy Land and its holy sites, enslaving those they have conquered, and bringing up captured children in Muslim ways. He unapologetically reinforces the dark image of Islam, referring above all to the damnation of all who follow the teachings of Muḥammad, the root of all that is evil.

Birkowski draws a clear line between two opposing worlds: the Christian sphere under God's rule offering salvation, grace, peace, progress and justice, and the Muslim sphere that brings nothing more than sin and death. The only foundation of justice lies in Christianity and in the defeat of all who dissent, including Muslims and followers of the post-Reformation movements.

Despite its rich presentation of Muslim beliefs, customs and ethics, Birkowski's sermon cannot be seen as part of any religious debate in his

time. Its intentionally harsh language, insults and emphasis on the dangers and evil represented by the Muslim world leave no room for any kind of dialogue. There is no reference to Christian mercy and love of enemies, nor would his listeners have expected any.

SIGNIFICANCE

Birkowski's sermons reveal detailed study of the Qur'an (its vision of hell and its torments) and Muslim customs (marriage laws), but use it only to strengthen the generally negative appraisal of Islam. They offer a utopian vision of the state as the rule of God, a military and social stronghold based on Christian foundations. Muslim aggression, as well the effects of the Reformation, had to be eliminated by any means because they were possible threats to this sacred unity. A sermon such as this was meant to awaken patriotic attitudes and increase commitment to Christian unity and social order.

Popular during the first half of the 17th century, the sermons fell into oblivion later, owing to changed political conditions and also growing dislike for Baroque forms of expression. They were re-edited during the 19th century, a period of renewal and reinforcement of the national spirit.

PUBLICATIONS

Kazanie obozowe o Bogarodzicy, przy tym Nagrobek Osmanowi Cesarzowi Tureckiemu y insze Kazania o S. Iacku y B. Kantym, Kraków, 1623, 1624²

'Nagrobek Osmanowi cesarzowi tureckiemu. W roku Pańskim 1622, maja 20, w oktawę Zesłania Ducha świętego', in *Kazania Obozowe o Bogarodzicy, przytem nagrobek Osmanowi cesarzowi tureckiem i insze kazania o ś. Jacku i b. Kantym, przez W.X.D. Fabiana Birkowskiego z Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego, królewicza J.M. Władysława Zygmunta kaznodzieje, na świat podane, wydanie Kazimierza Józefa Turowskiego*, Kraków, 1858, 37-50

'Nagrobek Osmanowi Cesarzowi Tureckiemu', in A. Szlagowski (ed.), *Mowy pogrzebowe i przygodne ks. Fabiana Birkowskiego*, Warsaw, 1901, vol. 2, 41-52

'Nagrobek Osmanowi Cesarzowi Tureckiemu', in *Kazania. Fabian Birkowski*, ed. M. Hanczakowski, Kraków, 2003, 22-32

STUDIES

J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII, XVIII w.*, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 1, 338-47

M. Petzówna, *Prawo i państwo w kazaniach ks. F. Birkowskiego*, Warsaw, 1938

Wołek, *Ojciec Fabian Birkowski z Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego Maciejowski, Piśmiennictwo polskie od czasów najdawniejszych Ossoliński, Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literatury polskiej*

Kantymir Basza porażony, 'Kantymir Basha blasted'

DATE 1624

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Kantymir Basza porażony (in full, *Kantymir Basza porażony albo o zwycięstwie z Tatar, przez Jego M. Pana / P. Stanisława Koniecpolskiego, hetmana polnego koronnego w roku 1624, dnia 20 miesiąca czerwca / w oktawie św. Antoniego z Padwi / między Haliczem a Bolszowcem otrzymanym, kazanie przez W.O.X. Fabiana Birkowskiego, Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego S. Dominika, napisane, 'Kantymir Basha blasted, or about the victory over the Tatars by his lordship Stanisław Koniecpolski, Crown Field Hetman [general], on 20 June in the year 1624 / in the octave of St Anthony of Padua / given between Halicz and Bolszowiec, a sermon written by the priest Fabian Birkowski of the Preaching Order of St Dominic')*

is the second of Fabian Birkowski's camp sermons, delivered in 1624 after the defeat of the Tatars at the battle of Bolszowiec. In printed editions, it is 21 pages long. Its structure is built around Psalm 145, which calls believers to give thanks to God and worship him for his great acts. In the first part, there is a recurring repetition of the verse: 'I will extol you, my God and King, and bless your name for ever and ever.'

Each part of the text gives a reason for gratitude and worship to God, all founded on the victory over the Tatars. In his typical manner, Birkowski sets the military victory in the wider context of politics, patriotism, religion and morality, and he uses language that is strong, sometimes harsh, full of emotion and curses. He also employs his classical education to give numerous citations from the Latin translation of the Bible, references to historical events and classical texts. The overall structure, language and subject matter contribute to the intended effect of the sermon, to shock the listener into wakeful alertness.

Birkowski gives a vivid account of the Muslim threat, linking, for example, the deaths of Polish children enslaved by Muslims to the biblical slaughter of the Holy Innocents by King Herod. The conflict between

Christians and Muslims serves to reinforce many national, moral and religious ideas that would be familiar to his listeners, and is the starting point for a deep analysis of the current domestic situation, which was far from perfect. In order to make a clear distinction between the Ottomans and the Poles, he focuses on the Tatar commander Kantymir, who in his killing of a Carmelite monk demonstrates the cruelty and profanity that makes him an enemy of God, the Church and the Christian Commonwealth. He calls on him to convert to Christianity, dead though he is, and condemns all Tatar leaders to eternal damnation. At the same time, he praises martyrdom as a proof of loyalty to the one true faith and an act of bravery, two virtues that some Christians lack.

Birkowski gives no sign of any Christian sentiment towards the defeated Tatars, least of all mercy. For him, in order to save what is just and sacred there can be no compromise between Christian and Muslim realities, no space for dialogue of any kind. The Polish victory has proved the legitimacy of the Christian Commonwealth over the unjust and evil Tatar state, for God has intervened to protect his nation: when he describes those who have been liberated from the Muslim yoke, Birkowski uses the biblical image of the chosen nation returning from the Babylonian captivity. The joy accompanying these events should remind the victors that God has not abandoned his faithful, and everyone should show their gratitude by living a virtuous life as Christians, citizens and patriots. This point was especially useful in the post-Reformation era, when new Christian denominations appeared to be as much a danger to national and Christian unity as Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Birkowski's sermons are significant examples of Polish Baroque preaching. They reveal the most important ideas in many crucial areas of common life, such as the sense of national community, religious identity, attitudes towards post-Reformation Christian movements, external threats and the dangers to the 17th-century Commonwealth. Birkowski uses the military victories over the Ottoman and Tatar forces to reinforce utopian and idealistic visions of the Commonwealth as a reign of God. The external threats give an insight into domestic affairs, revealing numerous deficiencies and weaknesses in society that should be made good.

All references to Islam, the Qur'an and Muslim culture and customs in the sermon support its leading thesis. They are articulated harshly and negatively, leaving no doubt about what to think and feel towards Islam.

Birkowski reveals not only that Kantymir Basha was godless and cruel, but also that he betrayed his own religion by dishonestly bending the laws he supposedly followed and ignoring written agreements made with his allies.

Birkowski insists that there can be no dialogue between the colliding worlds of Christianity and Islam, as there is only one true God, one just religion and one earthly manifestation of God's plan for humanity in the form of the Christian Commonwealth. Everything that stands in contradiction to this cannot be accepted and has to be destroyed.

Birkowski's works give a heightened picture of Islam and attitudes towards it, and include deliberate distortions. For this reason, they are not contributions towards constructive dialogue. Nevertheless, this voice is significant as a witness to the general attitudes, expectations and fears that were present in the 17th-century Polish Commonwealth. His works fell into oblivion when the Ottoman threat ended and when the 'Sarmatian' period of Commonwealth history came to be regarded as outmoded and benighted. His sermons received some scholarly attention and were re-edited during the second part of the 19th century as part of the efforts to maintain the national, patriotic spirit in a period when Poland had ceased to exist as a political entity.

PUBLICATIONS

Kantymir Basza porażony albo o zwycięstwie z Tatar, przez Jego M. Pana / P. Stanisława Koniecpolskiego, hetmana polnego koronnego w roku 1624, dnia 20 miesiąca czerwca / w oktawie św. Antoniego z Padwi / między Haliczem a Bolszowcem otrzymanym, kazanie przez W.O.X. Fabiana Birkowskiego, Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego S. Dominika, napisane, Warsaw, 1624

Fabian Birkowski, 'Kantymir Basza porażony', in K.J. Turowski (ed.), *Sześć kazań księdza Fabiana Birkowskiego*, Sanok, 1856, 35-59

Fabian Birkowski, 'Kantymir Basza porażony', in A. Szlagowski (ed.), *Mowy pogrzebowe i przygodne ks. Fabiana Birkowskiego*, Warsaw, 1901, vol. 1, 110-31

STUDIES

Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna*, vol. 1, 325-37

Wołek, *Ojciec Fabian Birkowski z Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego*

Maciejowski, *Piśmiennictwo polskie od czasów najdawniejszych*

Ossoliński, *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literatury polskiej*

Azulewicz

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

It is not known for certain whether 'Azulewicz' is a real name or a pen-name, and no information is available about this individual, although the Azulewicz family was well-known in the Tatar community of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see Kryczyński, art. 'Azulewicz Jakób').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Apologia Tatarów, 'An apology for the Tatars'

DATE 1630

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

This work, ascribed to Azulewicz, was an apology written to defend the views of the Tatars, and as a response to accusations directed against the Muslim Tatars living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in Piotr Czyżewski's *Alfurkan tatarski* (1617). It was written in Polish but its structure and actual contents remain unknown, as the work is nowadays considered lost. The historian and educationist Tadeusz Czacki (1765-1813) is known to have consulted it in the early 19th century, and he appears to be the only author to have quoted a fragment from it, noting in a footnote that the *Apologia* was published in 1630.

In a short chapter on the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Czacki mentions persecutions in 1609, when a number of Tatar wives

were accused of witchcraft and of consorting with the devil because they had coins with inscriptions that no one was able to read. A number of these women were killed. Czacki notes that in the foreword to *Apologia Tatarów*, the author writes that the Tatars had been buying up copies of Czyżewski's *Alfurkan tatarski* and destroying them after its publication in order to limit the damage it was causing (Czacki, *Dziela*, pp. 312-13). Concerning the *Apologia* itself, Czacki writes that it is, 'A rather good work (*poziome dzieło*), it was the only one in the best cause' (p. 313). At the beginning of the fourth section of Czacki's chapter on the Tatars, he quotes from the *Apologia*, saying that Azulewicz, or another writer using this name, strongly defends the Tatars against the accusation of witchcraft: 'But they have money [coins] sent to them by their brothers; they cannot read them, but for God's sake (*dalibóg*) there is no devil's image on them. They have these coins as a sign of blessing from their parents, but they are all illiterate, so there could not be any implication of blasphemy against God in that'. Eh! And should there have been burnings [at the stake] because someone has silver or golden pieces? You cannot read them but you say that it is devilish writing. You wear *muzulbasy i cięczyzny* [precise meaning unknown; presumably an item of clothing, headwear or jewellery] from Asia, but the Tatars are not allowed to wear silver and golden money [coins].' Footnote 76 to the quotation gives the reference as 'In *Apologia Tatarów* published 1630, on the second page' (p. 317).

SIGNIFICANCE

The book serves to indicate that the Tatars were not without a voice in the social, political and religious debates that took place in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 17th century. The precise content remains unknown, although the *kitab*s of the Tatars (see the entry in this volume), of which many are still extant, give some indication of how the Tatars used apologetics.

PUBLICATIONS

Azulewicz, *Apologia Tatarów*, (s.l.), 1630 (no longer extant)

STUDIES

- A. Konopacki, *Życie religijne Tatarów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVII w.* [Religious life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Tatars in the 16-17th century], Warsaw, 2010, p. 79
- J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII w.* [Tatars in Lithuania and Poland. Studies in the history of the 13th-18th centuries], Warsaw, 1989, p. 294

- B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* [Knowledge of the East in old Poland to the 18th century], Łódź, 1950, p. 110
- S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej* [Lithuanian Tatars. An attempt at historical and ethnographic monograph], Warsaw, 1938, pp. 27, 307 (new edition: Gdańsk, 2000, pp. 22, 268; on p. 22, Kryczyński gives 1680 as the year of publication of the *Apologia*, but this would appear to be a mistake)
- T. Czacki, *Dziela* [Works], E. Raczyński (ed.), Poznań, 1845, vol. 3, pp. 304-20

Artur Konopacki

Samuel Twardowski

DATE OF BIRTH About 1600
PLACE OF BIRTH Lutynia near Pleszew, Wielkopolska Region
(Poland)
DATE OF DEATH June or July 1661
PLACE OF DEATH Zalesie Wielkie near Kobylin, Wielkopolska
Region (Poland)

BIOGRAPHY

Although Samuel Twardowski's family name was in fact 'Skrzypiński', from the village of Skrzypna, he is known as 'Twardowski', a name his grandfather Marcin adopted from his wife Urszula Twardowska. He was educated at the Jesuit College in Kalisz, where his first poems and translations of Horace's odes must have been written. He took part in the battle of Khotin/Chocim 1621, fighting against the Ottomans and Tatars. He was one of the secretaries to the mission of Prince Krzysztof Zbaraski to the Ottoman Porte (September 1622-April 1623) and described the journey and events of the mission in his private diary (now lost). That description formed the basis for *Przeważna legacyja* ('The important mission'), which familiarised his contemporaries with what was called in Polish 'the Orient' (a generic name for the East including the Ottoman Empire).

Samuel married Elżbieta from Gaj Obornicka in about 1625. He rented land in Podolia region (Zarubińce in contemporary Ukraine) from Krzysztof Zbaraski (d. 1627) and Jerzy Zbaraski (d. 1631). He also worked under the patronage of Stanisław Łubieński, bishop of Płock (odes dated 1631 and 1633 were dedicated to him). *Przeważna legacyja*, published in 1633, was dedicated to the heir to the Zbaraskis, Prince Janusz Wiśniowiecki (d. 1636).

Twardowski probably took part in the victorious campaign of the prince's troops against Abaza Pasha in 1633. He participated in local political gatherings of the nobility and sessions of parliament. He probably ceased to rent the land in Podolia region in mid-1639 (when Princess Eugenia Katarzyna married Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł and moved to Lithuania, leaving the land to be administered by her sons' legal guardians, the Wiśniowieckis). He restored his links with Wielkopolska region

in 1639 and leased land there (Starogard and Dzierżanowo, which he was given for life in 1642). A panegyric 'Pałac Leszczyńskich' to Bogusław Leszczyński, in which he celebrates taking up the office of *starost* (governor) of Wielkopolska region by Bogusław in 1643, proves his connections with the Leszczyńskis. He returned to Zarubińce in 1646, probably after renewing contacts with Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, and after publishing in Leszno a biographical and commemorative praise poem in memory of Prince Janusz Wiśniowiecki, dedicated to his sons Dymitr and Konstanty.

He finally left Podolia in 1648, fleeing the unrest caused by the Cossack uprising led by Bohdan Chmielnicki, and returned to Wielkopolska region. In July 1655, he was with Krzysztof Opaliński, the *voivode* (governor) of Poznań region at Ujście, where the levy of Wielkopolska region en masse capitulated to the invading Swedish army led by Arvid Wittenberg. Twardowski commemorated the event in the poem 'Omen królowi szwedzkiemu', in which he foresaw – without enthusiasm – that Charles X Gustav would overthrow John Casimir and become the king of the Commonwealth.

During the last years of his life, he was involved in lawsuits with two of his neighbours and was sentenced for an unpaid debt to one of them. He was a member of the religious fraternities of St Anne and of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Franciscan church (Bernardins) in Kobylin. He died in 1661 and was buried in Kobylin.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Przeważna legacyja, 'The important mission'

DATE 1633

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Przeważna legacyja is a poem in 13-syllable rhyming couplets (its full title is *Przeważna legacyja Jaśnie Oświeconego książęcia Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego koniuszego koronnego, krzemienieckiego, soleckiego, wiślickiego, rubieszowskiego, etc. starosty. Od najjaśniejszego Zygmunta III króla polskiego i szwedzkiego do napotężniejszego soltana cesarza tureckiego Mustafy w roku 1621, na pięć rozdzielona punktów z dotknięciem krótko przez ucieszne dygresyje stanu pod ten czas, rządów, ceremonij i zwyczajów pogańskich. Przez Samuela ze Skrzypnej Twardowskiego*). Its 6932 verses are divided into five parts called 'points'. Twardowski dedicated the work to his patron, Prince Janusz Korybut Wiśniowiecki, the *starost* of Krzemieniec (1598-1636) and the Zbaraskis' heir.

The poem is preceded by a short introductory *Do czytelnika* ('To the reader'), in which Twardowski emphasises that Zbaraski's momentous work deserves to be commemorated in this epic form. Information about Islam and Islamic religious culture is scattered throughout the work, but especially in the fourth point.

The work traces the course of the mission of Prince Krzysztof Zbaraski to Istanbul, which was undertaken to ratify the preliminary conditions of a peace treaty signed at Khotin (Chocim) on 9 October 1621, concentrating on the proceedings of the diplomatic negotiations between Zbaraski and the Viziers Giurgi Muhammad and Mere Hussein Pasha. Although Twardowski devotes considerable attention to Islam, he evidently knows the faith only superficially, and he makes many mistakes, e.g. he calls the life of Muḥammad *hijra* instead of *sīra*, and he confuses Mecca with Medina. Sketching the genesis of the doctrine of Islam, he says that after Muḥammad's death there was a schism among his followers, resulting in the emergence of a number of sects. Only later did six Muslim scholars agree on the canonical version of the Qur'an. He describes the emergence of the main branches of Islam, the Sunnī and Shī'a, locating the origins of the Ottoman dynasty against this background (again inaccurately).

Twardowski considers Islam a false religion, a blend of Judaism, Christianity and the Christian heresies of the Donatists and Arians, who did not recognise the divinity of Christ. He says that Muslims regard biblical prophecies about Jesus as referring to Muḥammad, and count Christ as an earlier prophet. They do not accept Jesus' passion, death and resurrection, believing instead that Jesus was taken to heaven by angels while someone else died on the cross. Twardowski acknowledges that the Virgin Mary is highly esteemed in Islam, and says that Muslims believe that if she had lived in Muḥammad's time he would have probably considered her the most suitable woman to marry.

Twardowski notes the particular respect that Muslims have for paper. He observes that they collect up any scraps, kiss them and insert them between rocks, doing this because the Qur'an and the law were written on paper, and says this practice is linked to the Muslim understanding of the Day of Judgment, when Muḥammad will call his followers from hell to heaven. The way to paradise will lead through red-hot coals and burning grills, and the souls will make their way barefoot in nothing more than a shirt. Any paper scraps that they have rescued from destruction during their earthly lives will be placed under their feet to save them from burning.

Twardowski devotes some attention to the figure of the grand mufti, the highest authority in the Ottoman Empire, without whose blessing the emperor cannot go to war, and whose authority equals that of the Christian pope. He also makes ironical remarks about the ineffectiveness of the pastoral methods employed by the Jesuits and Dominicans in Istanbul (methods acclaimed as perfect in Christian countries).

In his view, debauchery abounds in the Ottoman Empire. This applies particularly to the emperor, who indulges in intercourse with many women. Trading in young female slaves is explicitly for the purpose of quenching male sexual urges, while the prevalent sexual permissiveness leads to homosexual liaisons. Frequent changes of ruler are the result of the rulers' immorality, which comes from the immorality of Islam itself.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is clear throughout *Przeważna legacyja* that Twardowski regards the Islam he witnesses in the Ottoman world as a false religion with no spiritual depth. He writes openly about the hypocrisy of Muslims in their beliefs and their indifference to religious prohibitions, the fiscal burdens placed on sections of the populace to finance the clergy, the debauchery of the people and especially the widespread homosexual activities. He portrays the Ottoman Empire as a giant with feet of clay – easy to defeat. It has no political stability because of the frequent changes to the ruler and senior officials; the influence of women on the rulers is widespread, and the Empire is riddled with all forms of political corruption.

The frequent publication of new editions of the work, and of the Latin prose translation made in 1645 (this lacks the information about Islam in the original; it was re-translated into Polish before the end of the 17th century), prove that the work was popular. Apparently, it inspired Franciszek Gościecki to write an epic about the mission of Stanisław Chomętowski to Istanbul in 1712-14 (*Poselstwo wielkie*, 1732).

PUBLICATIONS

Przeważna legacyja Jaśnie Oświeconego Księżęcia Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego koniuszego koronnego, krzemienieckiego, soleckiego, wiślickiego, rubieszowskiego, etc. starosty, od Najaśniejszego Zygmunta III, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego, do napotężniejszego sultana, cesarza tureckiego Mustafy w roku 1621. Na pięć rozdzielona punktów z dotknięciem krótko przez uciężne dygresyje stanu pod ten czas, rządów, ceremonij i zwyczajów pogańskich. Przez Samuela ze Skrzypnej Twardowskiego, Kraków, 1633, 1639², 1706³

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Michał Kuran

Wojciech Miaskowski

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; about 1585
PLACE OF BIRTH Near Kościan, Wielkopolska region
(present-day western Poland)
DATE OF DEATH After 1653
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Wojciech Miaskowski was born into a family of middle-class gentry. Due to the mistakes of copyists and the 19th-century editors of his work, his family name also appears spelt as 'Miaskowski' or 'Miastowski'. Not much is known about his early life apart from the fact that he finished his education in Poznań in 1602. He fought as a soldier with the Swedes in Livonia, and later became a courtier of King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland. Having earned royal trust, he was sent to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II in 1607 to inform him of the king's victory after the Zebrzydowski rebellion. He then developed his administrative career, though he did not attain very high office. He regularly took part in Parliament (*Sejm*) sessions. He fought in wars against the Muscovites, Ottomans and Tatars, and in 1638 was sent on another royal mission to the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III.

That same year the king, Sigismund III Vasa, nominated him for the Great Mission to Istanbul but without endowment. Miaskowski, not a very rich man, did not want to rely solely on his own resources and waited for confirmation of the mission and his nomination by Parliament. Initially, he planned to leave in July 1638, but news of the sultan's Persian campaign reached the royal court and the mission was delayed, though apparently Miaskowski was prepared to leave even 'for Babylon'. Meanwhile, some other minor envoys (Armenians) were sent to Istanbul, and the last one in 1639 announced the arrival of a 'great mission' the following year.

Miaskowski left on 15 February 1640 and returned to Kamieniec Podolski on 13 July 1640. His entourage consisted of around 150 people. He kept a personal diary throughout the mission. The writings reveal him to be a sensible diplomat and a man sensitive to the fate of the others. A register attached to the mission documents lists some 250 freed captives brought

back from Istanbul. During the mission, as a practising Catholic he took part in religious services celebrated by the chaplain (who even baptised the children of Christian families met on the way).

We have no information about Miaskowski's activities in the years 1642-6. In 1648, he was in Lwów, and was not present at the defeats by the Cossacks of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Polish: Chmielnicki) at Korsuń, Piławce. In late 1648, he took part in the electoral session of the *Sejm* in Warsaw that brought John Casimir to the throne. He was appointed as one of the four commissaries to conduct talks with the rebellious Cossacks, which were held at Perejesław (in present-day Ukraine) in February 1649. (He left a diary from that mission, covering the period 1 January to 7 March 1649.) He fought in the battle against the Cossacks at Zborów in summer 1649, where he lost many of his men and was himself injured.

The date of his death is unknown. The last information about him is dated 9 December 1653, although his son Andrzej wrote a letter to him from Istanbul dated 18 April 1654.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dyaryusz legacyjej do Turek Wojciecha Miastkowskiego [sic], podkomorzego lwowskiego,
 'Diary of the mission to Turkey by Wojciech Miastkowski [sic], chamberlain of Lvov'
Dyaryusz legacyjej do Turek, 'Diary of the mission to Turkey'

DATE 1640-1

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Miaskowski's diary contains short daily entries of various lengths (from 2 or 3 lines to half a page or more), written by Miaskowski himself, or dictated to his secretary. Its full title is: *Dyaryusz legacyjej do Turek Wojciecha Miastkowskiego [sic], podkomorzego lwowskiego, w którym się opisują instrukcyje od Króla mu i hetmana dane, droga od wyjazdu z Kamieńca aż do powrotu, relacyja tego poselstwa, listy, responsa i wszystko, cokolwiek do tego aktu należy, ut sequitur*, 'Diary of the mission to Turkey by Wojciech Miastkowski [sic], chamberlain of Lvov, in which royal and hetman's instructions given to him are described, the journey from leaving Kamieniec till the return, account of that mission, letters, answers and all that belongs to that set, ut sequitur', and it describes the itinerary and events of the mission. It is uncertain whether it was originally written in this form or reworked later, but no 'original draft' is extant. The text of the diary covers 25 pages in the Wrocław manuscript, and 34 in Przyboś's edition (pp. 45-78).

The discussion here focuses on this diary, but there are other accompanying documents that augment the account it gives and also provide insights into the wider context of the mission. Two are of particular interest as they are most closely connected to the diary itself. The first is a written report by Miaskowski, prepared at the king's request and presented at the Parliament (*Sejm*) session in the presence of the senators (20 August-4 October 1641; the king had heard the oral report on 25 August 1640). This report supplements the diary by giving more details on certain issues. Second, is the anonymous *Diariusz drogi tureckiej* ('Diary of the Turkish itinerary') written at around the same time, most probably by another mission member, possibly Zbigniew Lubieniecki,

as is argued by A. Sajkowski ('Zbigniew Lubieniecki i jego pamiętnik'). The author of this document is mainly concerned with the daily affairs of the mission and describes the diplomatic events only as seen from a distance.

The most comprehensive account of the whole set of documents associated with Miaskowski's mission, presenting their contents, history of publication and critical analysis, together with modern editions of the texts, is provided by Adam Przyboś in 1985. He used three manuscripts as the basis for his edition: two from *Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* in Wrocław (sygn. 224 and 420) and one from *Biblioteka Jagiellońska* (sygn. 2274). The first of the Wrocław manuscripts contains the text of *Dyaryusz legacyjnej do Turek Wojciecha Miaskowskiego* (pp. 298-344), divided into two parts: *Wyjazd poselski w naznaczoną drogę do Konstantynopola od niegoż samego pisany* ('Envoy's leave on the assigned journey to Constantinople written by himself') (pp. 298-323), dated between 28 February and 18 July 1640; and *Relacyja tejże legacyjnej tureckiej Wojciecha Miaskowskiego [sic], podkomorzego lwowskiego, posta wielkiego do Amurata i Ibraima, cesarzów otomańskich, K.J.Mci uczynione* ('The account of the Turkish mission of Wojciech Miaskowski, chamberlain of Lvov, the grand envoy to Amurat and Ibraim, the Ottoman Emperors, given to His Royal Highness') (pp. 323-44), which is the written report prepared by Miaskowski and presented to the Parliament. Manuscript 420 is a contemporary copy of *Dyaryusz* with an identical layout to manuscript 224.

The Kraków manuscript 2274 contains the anonymous *Diariusz drogi tureckiej* on pp. 95-150, not very legible, and with many corrections and amendments. It contains detailed information about the mission from 15 February to 17 July 1640, amending Miaskowski's diary with more details, better chronology and personal observations by the author. Przyboś maintains that manuscripts 224 and 420 are copies, while manuscript 2274 is the autograph.

There is no agreement on the authorship of *Diariusz drogi tureckiej*. Some ascribe it to a certain Taszycki, others, especially A. Sajkowski, argue that Zbigniew Lubieniecki is the author. Both views are apparently based on information provided in the text. Baranowski names the author as 'Zygmunt' (*Znajomość Wschodu*, pp. 74-5, 151-2). Sajkowski's view seems to be predominant now, though Przyboś points to some difficulties with it as the textual information indicates that the author was on good terms with the Jesuits in Kamieniec Podolski and took part

in Catholic devotions celebrated during the mission, while Sajkowski indicates that Zbigniew Lubieniecki was an anti-Trinitarian (Unitarian). Przyboś hints, however, that there may have been at least two different contemporary Zbigniews in the Lubieniecki family.

These three works were known in manuscript form until the beginning of the 19th century, when they were edited and published. However, the editions contributed to the aura of confusion surrounding the actual contents of the works and their authorship. Przyboś indicates that Kajetan Kwiatkowski published Miaskowski's diary in the footnotes of his work on the Polish nation under Władysław IV (Vasa) in 1823, without indicating the actual source. The manuscript basis of his edition was clearly different from the one used by Przyboś, as the text varied significantly in certain places. Miaskowski's diary was then published by J.U. Niemcewicz in 1830 and re-edited with slight changes by J.N. Bobrowicz in 1840. Przyboś notes that both of these editions differ from the manuscript he used. An anonymous editor published the contents of manuscript 420 in *Warta*, a small-circulation weekly, in 1884. Przyboś praises this for its editorial accuracy.

The anonymous *Diariusz drogi tureckiej* drew the attention of Rudolf Ottmann, who published excerpts from it in the magazine *Kłosa* in 1883. He attributed it to a certain Taszycki (apparently on a textual basis). These excerpts, including all the errors made by Ottmann, were reprinted by Jerzy Nosowski in 1974. Adam Walaszek published the text of manuscript 2274 in 1980 with, according to Przyboś, mistakes and omissions.

After the intense military clashes between the Poles and Ottomans in the early 1620s, the situation continued to be tense. The war did not produce a clear winner and both sides were aware that rivalry would continue. Sultan Murad IV made attempts to revive open hostilities, but the Commonwealth victory over the Muscovites in the early 1630s made him reconsider his plans and actions. In the Commonwealth some of the royal advisers kept devising plans to invade the Crimea and then strike a deadly blow against the Ottoman Empire. Vast areas of present-day Ukraine were in a state of almost constant unrest due to the oppressive internal policy of the aristocracy towards the peasants and the Cossacks, and the rivalries between the rich gentry families. The status of the Cossacks remained unresolved with recurring rebellions. This state of unrest characterised the borderlands with the Ottoman-dependent areas, including the Crimean Khanate. The south-eastern parts of the Commonwealth were devastated by recurring Tatar raids

(with the seizing of booty and more especially captives, who were then sold in various parts of the Ottoman Empire). On the other hand, the Ottomans and the Tatars were also under threat from Cossack boat raids (and parties of adventurous hotheaded gentry) that threatened the Black Sea shores. Rulers of both states were aware of the need to restrain both the Tatars and Cossacks (with the gentry adventurers) but at the same time both used these forces to their own advantage.

There were two minor missions to Istanbul in 1634 (Aleksander Trzebiński) and in 1635 (Jakub Zieliński) before the *Sejm* in its 1638 spring session decided to send 'a great mission' to Istanbul. The aim of this was to restore a treaty with the current sultan (as was customary with his predecessors). The envoy was to uphold friendly relations with the Moldavian and Wallachian rulers (Vasile Lupu and Matei Basarab). He was also instructed to make a ceremonial entry into Istanbul and obtain the earliest possible audience with the sultan. The problems of the Tatar and Cossack raids were to be discussed and settled. (Although there was obviously no permanent solution, both sides would try to limit the raids.) Any 'gifts' for the sultan or the vizier were out of question. (In case the Ottomans insisted, the diplomat had been instructed by hetman Koniecpolski to point out that the sultan had never given any 'gifts' to the Polish king, and that, if they indicated 'friendship', they should not be necessary, as friendship itself was the best gift. Besides, the Ottomans were rich enough). The problem of trade was to be discussed and settled. (The Commonwealth rulers were not interested in maintaining a permanent agent in Istanbul, and the example of other countries was not binding in that respect; the Ottoman custom officials were not to harass traders from the Commonwealth.) He was also to speak for the Bernardines (Franciscan Observants), who had been deprived of the keys to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. If the Ottomans raised the question of Polish claims to the north-western shores of the Black Sea, he was to uphold them, stressing that the military posts positioned there (and in Zaporozże) were only to secure the border against Tatar raids and to keep peace in a region infested with all kinds of fugitives and criminals and prevent any chaos that could destabilise both countries.

Several issues noted in the report are of interest: the presence and fate of captives and prisoners of war, and the attitudes of the mission members towards them; intervention on behalf of the Bernardines (Franciscan Observants); contact with Muslim religious officials; observations on state/religious ceremonies; descriptions of mosques.

The presence and fate of captives – both male and female – in various life situations drew a lot of attention from the mission members (see, for example, the entries for 23 and 29 April, and 10 and 29 May 1640). On the way to Istanbul, the mission had already encountered a woman (her family name is given) captured years earlier who then married a wealthy ‘Turk’ and had been widowed (described in the entry for 1 April 1640). She sent her son to greet the mission, and the author of the anonymous *Diariusz* adds that she expressed her wish to be taken back to the Commonwealth. However, when the local Ottoman notables sensed her intentions, they kept guard at her house to prevent her departure. Some galley slaves did manage to see the diplomat very soon after his arrival in Istanbul and asked to be redeemed from captivity (a few names are given; 29 April 1640). The diplomat made it clear to his Ottoman interlocutors that he was concerned about the fate of captives and asked for their release (3/4 May 1640). Some were, indeed, ordered to be released by the vizier, but difficulties with their actual release are mentioned in the report. (For example, the pasha of Rhodes released the requested galley slaves only when threatened with a direct report of his obstruction to the vizier; a few days later it was noted that a ship had escaped from Istanbul for the Mediterranean with the galley slaves who were to be released to the Commonwealth mission.) The mission members were frequently visited by the captives and by those who had earned their freedom – the report notes that the latter had freedom of movement and were married, but *poturczyli się* (‘they had become Turks’, i.e. converted to Islam). The report expresses concern for the captives taken after the disastrous defeat at Cecora in 1620. A case of another nobleman is mentioned (giving his original name), who had committed some crimes in the Commonwealth and then stolen some cattle and crossed the border into Ottoman-controlled territory, where he was captured. He gave some information to the Ottoman authorities, which was false but suited Ottoman plans at the time, and he converted to Islam (for which he was endowed with gifts). The diplomat wanted to get this man, but the vizier refused to hand him over because he had become a Muslim (24/5 May 1640).

After a month in Istanbul, the envoy eventually went to a slave market and was deeply affected by what he saw there. That very evening he went incognito to the grand vizier to negotiate the release of more captives. They also talked about the problem of restraining the Tatar and Cossack raids. The following day, the vizier sent him 23 female slaves

who had been taken away by force from Jewish traders. The rage of the latter was such that they used their connections at the sultan's court to stage a campaign against the vizier. The envoy wrote some very bitter words about their actions and also mentioned that some of the other captive women were kept in hiding till the departure of the mission. The trouble raised by the Jewish traders contributed to a rather hasty departure of the mission from Istanbul on the vizier's advice, particularly as its essential aims had already been attained. Nonetheless, prior to departure Ottoman commissioners carried out thorough checks of the papers of those already released who were ready to depart with the mission. After a delay, some of them were sent by ship to Silistria to meet the returning mission there (30 May, 1 June 1640).

The envoy carried out his instructions to intervene on behalf of the Bernardines in a dispute over the custody of the keys to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The keys had been taken away from them during the reign of the recently deceased sultan and they were attempting to regain them. The Commonwealth envoy joined forces with the Habsburg resident and they planned to involve other diplomats, but the French and Venetian representatives abstained. The matter was brought to the attention of the grand vizier, who was apparently sympathetic to the cause. However, the Orthodox clergy learned of the matter and staged a counter-campaign, accusing the monks in Jerusalem of conspiring with the Spanish king, and then bribing top Ottoman officials to prevent the handing over of the keys. The Commonwealth envoy again wrote bitterly against 'the Greeks', but noted that one of them (he called him 'the true and virtuous deacon') actually rebuked his coreligionists and spoke in favour of handing over the keys (on the basis of what is now a confusing reference to an unspecified St Helen) (14, 18 and 25 May 1640).

The envoy paid a visit to the mufti – 'the Turkish pope' (*moffty* – '*papież turecki*'), as he called him, who received him in his house, dressed, as it was a private visit, in a simple garment, which the author meticulously describes. (He also notes a beautiful view of the city from the house.) The Commonwealth diplomat was received *humaniter* (politely), as he describes it (2 and 11 May 1640).

In his account, he mentions a mosque that he passed on the way to an official visit, which was the site of a ceremony that he compared to the coronation of the new ruler. The new sultan was given a sabre by a Turkish preacher (*kaznodzieja*), who attached it to the sultan's belt. The sultan prayed a while, drank some sherbet (*sorba*) and ceremonially

entered the city on horseback. The author mentions that the sabre had been left to the Muslims by a 'certain Ali', apparently a saint of theirs (16 May 1640).

The envoy went incognito to visit the main mosques of the city and imperial tombs. Describing Hagia Sophia, he notes that old Greek 'paintings' were 'everywhere' but the Turks had whitewashed all the faces. The Turks showed him 'a bath in which the Holy Virgin bathed her son'. He also notes that people in this mosque (and others, too) were sleeping, eating, praying and quarrelling, bargaining, teaching and debating, especially in the doorways. In his description of the richly adorned Sultanahmet mosque (the Blue Mosque) he mentions two huge columns inside, and many lamps. A few lines are devoted to the description of imperial tombs, of which he counted 27. Descriptions of mosques and some religious practices are also provided in *Diariusz drogi tureckiej* (26 May 1640).

SIGNIFICANCE

Concern for captives, which may have not been very widespread, is a significant element in the diary. Miaskowski seemed to be particularly sensitive to the problem, indicating scale of the consequences of the captive-taking raids. His final remark in his account written for the *Sejm*, is that even the Turks estimated that there were about 150,000 captives in Thrace and Istanbul plus those held as galley slaves (p. 319 of MS Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryskich – sygn. IV 138; Przyboś, *Wielka legacja*, pp. 102-3). All these people hoped for release from captivity and longed to see a Christian lord, i.e. Władysław IV Vasa, on the banks of the Danube, from where he would quickly ascend – victorious and triumphant – to the 'eastern see/throne'. Despite revealing the scale of the problem, the report is not alarmist in tone and the author refrains from anything that could be called 'religiously motivated hatred'.

Conversions to Islam do not feature as a significant problem, though instances are noted. Those who became Muslims were neither condemned nor admired, and both Miaskowski and the author of *Diariusz* notes visits by the captive converts, identifying them by their former names. Disapproval is expressed towards a convert who had committed crimes and converted in order to obtain asylum. The diary entries are very balanced. Miaskowski at times expresses disapproval or surprise, but there are very few hostile or derogatory remarks.

The number of extant manuscripts (at least up to World War II), on which the 19th-century printed editions were based, testify that

Miaskowski's diary and report, together with the anonymous *Diariusz*, were not relegated to the archives immediately after his return but were copied and read. Wider influence was probably limited as the Cossack uprising and other calamities of the mid-17th century that affected the Commonwealth diverted the attention of the gentry.

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- A. Przyboś (ed.), *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, Warsaw, 1985 (Miaskowski's diary, report to the Parliament and the anonymous *Diariusz drogi tureckiej*)

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Stanisław Grodź

Szymon Starowolski

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1588
PLACE OF BIRTH Stara Wola, Grand Duchy of Lithuania
DATE OF DEATH 1656
PLACE OF DEATH Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Szymon Starowolski was born into the lower-income gentry, as the fifth and youngest son of Bazyli and Zofia Zarankówna. His elder brothers embarked on military careers, while Szymon improved his status through the patronage of more powerful families and by obtaining an education. We do not have any information about his early education, though as a teenager he joined the court of Jan Zamoyski, the humanist and chancellor of the kingdom. When Zamoyski died in 1605, Starowolski moved to the entourage of Konstanty and Janusz Ostrogski, whom he accompanied as a servant on their educational journey through Germany and the Netherlands. In Leuven, he attended the lectures of Erycius Puteanus, the student of the famous Justus Lipsius. By the end of 1612, he had enrolled at the *Artium* faculty of the Kraków Academy. He finished his studies five years later, obtaining a baccalaureate degree in *artes liberales* and philosophy (1618).

He worked for a short period (1618-19) as a teacher at his *alma mater*, lecturing on Lipsius's 'Politics' and the historical works of Sallust, and then taught moral theology and philosophy to candidates for the priesthood at the Cistercian abbey at Wąchock. In the 1620s, he became a *protégé* of the Polish and Lithuanian aristocracy, first being admitted to the service of the grand Lithuanian *hetman* (general) Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, and after the latter's death in September 1621, becoming a courtier of the grand Crown chancellor Mikołaj Wolski. In the second half of 1624, he travelled to Italy as Krzysztof Sapieha's preceptor. No details are known of that journey, apart from the fact that he listened to a lecture in Padua and stayed in Venice and Rome. He returned to the Commonwealth in 1629. In the 1630s, he twice went to Western Europe as mentor to the sons of aristocratic families. After his return in 1638, he joined the court of Bishop Jakub Zadzik, who persuaded him to accept ordination to the priesthood the following year. Thanks to Zadzik, he was granted the

position of cantor in Tarnów and through this achieved financial stability. In 1649, he was nominated confessor of Wawel cathedral, and in 1655 he became a canon of the cathedral. He died at the beginning of April 1656.

Starowolski wrote about 70 works of various kinds, in both prose and verse, in Polish and in Latin. Among them are historical works, including his pioneering collection of biographies of distinguished countrymen, works on moral, religious, political and economic themes, works on law, geography, the art of conducting war, the theory of music, collections of sermons for Sundays and feasts, funerary speeches and panegyrics. He began to publish his works while studying in Kraków and he remained active as a writer until his death, publishing his works in the Commonwealth and, in the case of his Latin works, abroad. Some of these appeared in many editions, indicating that they had a great impact on the general public. However, rather than being a creative mind, he was far more an erudite and successful compiler who wrote on issues that were likely to resonate among the educated readers of his times. He was interested in state reform, attacked non-Catholics in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, on several occasions warned of the Ottoman threat, and defended the good name of the Commonwealth in international forums.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Dwór cesarza tureckiego y residencyą jego w
 Konstantynopolu*, 'The court of the Turkish emperor
 and his residence in Constantinople'

DATE 1646

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

This work is an adaptation of a so far undiscovered Italian work. The Polish version was dedicated to the young aristocrat Jan Zamoyski (1627-65) as a source of knowledge about the Ottoman Empire, which the addressee had been unable to get to know during his grand tour of Europe. Thus, Starowolski prepared this work with educational purposes in mind. However, it has also been noted that the date of publication coincided with a period of intense preparations by King Władysław IV Vasa of Poland for war with the Ottoman Empire, indicating that the work could also have had propaganda aims.

In the dedication, Starowolski informs readers that the work is a translation of a recently published book, but he names neither this work nor its author. It should be noted that this was the second work translated by Starowolski on Turkish matters. In 1618, he published in Kraków *Wielkiego Turka listy*, a translation of *Epistolae magni Turci*, a Latin work popular at the turn of the 15/16th centuries, compiled by the humanist Laudivio Zacchia. That publication was, however, not as well received as *Dwór cesarza tureckiego*.

In the first edition of 1646, which totals 75 pages, the analysis of Muslim teachings occupies 19 pages. The work can be divided into three main parts. The first, Chapters 1-7, provides partly practical information typical of guidebooks, on towns and cities, taxes and trade. Chapter 1 describes the location of the Ottoman capital and states the purpose of the famous Yedikule. Chapter 2 names the most important mosques in Istanbul, giving a detailed description of Hagia Sophia. Chapter 3 enumerates the Christian churches, while Chapter 4 provides topographical information on the city walls, gates and squares, with, in the case of the

last, abundant practical detail concerning the frequency and specificity of trading days in the capital. Chapter 5 describes the imperial income from various taxes. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the public institutions, including schools, religious fraternities and the judicial system.

Part two, Chapters 8-21, describes the palaces of the imperial capital and customs of the imperial court. The information gathered here is very different. Chapter 8 presents the emperor's most important palaces and their inhabitants, focusing on the emperor's main residence, the Topkapi Palace, where audiences take place, the *divan* is convoked and the treasury is located. The next chapters (9-12) combine descriptions of various sections of the palace (private chambers, gardens, library, pharmacy, kitchen) with information about the palace servants, various occupations of the sultan and his eating habits. The following chapters describe places located outside the Topkapi Palace, such as the imperial stud and gardens situated outside the city (13) and the arsenal, and the groups of artisans linked to the army, adding details about the army suppliers (14) and the imperial mint (15). Then come chapters on the life of the sultan: horse riding (16), the daily schedule of the palace (17), customs in the harem (18), acts of mercy (19), rules of conduct in the case of the ruler's illness or death (20), and for choosing the new sultan (21).

Three chapters on Islam make up the third part of the work. A long chapter (22) presents the basic beliefs of the Muslim faith. Starowolski begins by informing about the source of religious doctrine (the Qur'an), which is said to contain four basic sections: customs, ceremonies, marriage and legal regulations. (The author mistakenly links these with the four Sunni *madhhabs*.) Controversies around these issues form the foundation of religious quarrels between various factions in Islam, leading to enmity between, for example, the Persians and the Turks. (Starowolski is aware that the genesis of these conflicts lies in misunderstandings between the followers of 'Alī and the other heirs of Muḥammad.) Then follows an outline of ten rules/commandments regulating the behaviour of Muslims, apparently formulated by the first caliphs. The first deals with ritual ablutions before entering the mosque for prayers. The author meticulously states how often the hands should be dipped in water and which parts of the body should be washed. He also informs the reader of the penalties for transgressing this rule and explains the particularities of Eastern dress that are due to the need to obey it. This is also the reason for having a water source in the vicinity of the place of prayer. The second rule deals with how to conduct prayer. The author states that one

should remove shoes and perform prostrations and prayers, presenting the Muslims to Polish Catholics as an example of piety (such digressions accompany Starowolski's presentation of other rules). He then writes about the modest interior decoration of mosques, the duty to distribute alms after leaving the mosque, the barring of women and non-Muslims from entering mosques, and the number of obligatory prayers during the day, as well as the penalties for insubordination. The third rule deals with the need to show respect to one's parents, who must be supported materially. The fourth rule regulates ways of contracting marriages and conducting divorces. The author also mentions that Muslims can have as many wives as they are able to support. The fifth orders the circumcision of boys when they are 13, performed in memory of Isaac, son of Abraham, who is apparently their ancestor. The author describes the customs that accompany the ceremony. The next rule deals with funerary customs (the prayer for the dead, preparation of the body for burial, funeral reception, almsgiving). The seventh rule concerns the duty to be prepared for war against the enemies of Islam and the ways of encouraging non-Muslims to accept Islam (giving converts part of one's wealth, or daughters in marriage). The author mentions the exceptional reverence accorded to those who have given up their lives for their faith. The eighth commandment states the need to do good deeds, especially almsgiving. The ninth commands making the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina at least once in a lifetime (either in person or by proxy). The last contains the Muslim profession of faith: 'that there is only one God, that there were seventy thousand prophets in the world and Muḥammad was the greatest among them, Moses after him, and Jesus at the end'. The profession of faith is complemented by information on the links between Islam and biblical history, and about the particular position of the Ottoman sultan among Muslims.

It is easy to note that the number of commandments corresponds to the Decalogue, but in fact these are not commandments but rather arbitrarily compiled information encompassing various aspects of Muslim doctrine (including the Five Pillars of Islam) and information on Turkish customs.

Chapter 22 deals with the duty of carrying out a pilgrimage to Muḥammad's tomb. First, the author describes the ways in which the emperor supports these pilgrimages and the organisation of the caravans that set off from Damascus and Cairo, and then he writes about religious ceremonies that should be performed on arrival first in Mecca, then in

Medina. He narrates stories that link both places to the biblical narratives of the offering of Isaac by Abraham (Mecca) and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Medina).

The work concludes with a chapter bearing a title that announces a discussion of Muslim feasts, but only the beginning of the chapter is devoted to this. Starowolski describes two feasts; the first he calls 'Easter with the fast', and the second 'Easter with the offering' (due to its link to animal sacrifice). Both feasts, he says, last three days, and the second one begins 17 days after the first. He also mentions the feast of almsgiving that is only celebrated in some Muslim countries. The first feast is preceded by a period of carnival plays (military exercises, hunting) that the Turks also enjoy on St George's day (at this point he mentions other Christian saints apparently venerated by Muslims: St Nicolas and St Anthony the Abbot). He then describes the feasts, but his account ends abruptly and is followed by a description of the behaviour of the inhabitants of the capital during drought and plague. He mentions common prayers on a hill in a district of Istanbul, aimed at diverting Allah's wrath, and also the hanging of dogs as offerings, which the author considers madness. The note about dogs gives him the chance to digress about the special Muslim reverence for cats, Muḥammad's favourite animals. Starowolski treats feeding these animals as a superstition of Egyptian origin. He also mentions a custom of freeing birds from cages in order to please Muḥammad. The work concludes with a description of a fire that ravaged Istanbul during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574-95).

Some remarks about Islam also appear in the earlier parts of the work, where Starowolski points out that the muezzin calls the faithful to the mosque, that there is a ban on alcohol consumption in Islam (although it is not always strictly respected), that Muslims do not eat pork, and that they object to figurative art in places of prayer but have no problem in turning churches into mosques.

SIGNIFICANCE

The presentation of Islam in *Dwór cesarza tureckiego* is generally matter-of-fact, although not always reliable. However, it should be kept in mind that, for readers in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries, Starowolski's work was an important compendium of undisputed value. For this reason, *Dwór cesarza tureckiego* can be treated as a testimony to the common perception of the Muslim faith held by the inhabitants of the Commonwealth. Following the so far unidentified Italian work, Starowolski only sporadically adds negative opinions to the facts he describes, occasionally allowing himself malicious remarks. However, in digressions

evidently directed at Polish readers he shows that he is also inclined to treat the religious zeal of the Turks as an example to Catholics, although as a Catholic priest he does not leave any doubt that the Muslim faith is pure idolatry and that the Ottoman state poses a threat to Christian Europe, especially to his homeland (treatment of religious issues evidently being influenced by contemporary politics). The clear indications in the text that the description resulted from first-hand observations made by an Italian author, a panoramic presentation of an exotic reality, the abundance of information and the fame of the translator all ensured great popularity for the work. It was reprinted several times, becoming one of the main sources of information about Islamic beliefs and customs in the Commonwealth of the 17th to early 18th centuries, despite the fact that the translator had never visited a Muslim country. The Polish adaptation of the work became the basis for a translation into Russian (first edition Moscow, 1678, with several reprints up to the end of the 17th century).

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Roman Krzywy

Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz

Adalbert Wijuk Kojalowicz, Albertas Vijukas-Kojalavičius

DATE OF BIRTH 1609
PLACE OF BIRTH Kaunas (present-day Lithuania)
DATE OF DEATH 6 October 1677
PLACE OF DEATH Warsaw

BIOGRAPHY

Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz was born into a family of gentry whose wealth was slowly declining. He joined the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) in Vilnius in 1627. After initial philosophical studies in Nieśwież (1629-32), he alternately taught at Jesuit educational institutions (e.g. Vilnius, Braniewo/Braunsberg) and continued his studies at the Vilnius Academy, developing his academic career there and obtaining his doctoral degree. He then taught systematic theology until 1653, when he became the rector of the academy. He was one of the founders of the Jesuit collegium in Kaunas.

He took part in a Jesuit general assembly in Rome (1655-6) and, after returning to the Commonwealth, held various administrative and pastoral positions at Jesuit institutions (Vilnius, Warsaw). Both before and after his trip to Rome, he was also a preacher, censor of books and adviser to bishops. He spoke several languages (Polish, Latin, Lithuanian, Ruthenian/Russian, Italian and Spanish), wrote many polemical works and took part in debates with non-Catholics. He also devoted his energy to historical pursuits, writing on the beginnings of Christianity in Lithuania (*Miscellanea rerum ad statum ecclesiasticum in Magno Lituaniae Ducatu pertinentium*, Vilnius, 1650) and the history of Lithuania (*Historiae Lituanae*, part 1, Gdańsk, 1650; part 2, Antwerp, 1669), the latter being considered the first competent work on the history of the country. He also worked on an armorial of the Lithuanian gentry from around 1648. Its first sections were printed in 1656, but the work was left unfinished because of wars and financial problems. However, the material gathered by Kojalowicz was later used by other researchers and partly published. He died during an epidemic in Warsaw on 6 October 1677.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

- K. Puchowski, 'Dzieje Litwy w kształceniu elit politycznych w szkołach jezuickich Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Rekonesans', *Senoji Lietuvos Literatūra* 27 (2009) 289-307
- J. Tijiūnėlytė, 'Albert Vijuk Kojalovits – khronist XVII v.', *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 8 (1973) 95-107
- Z.I. (Zenonas Ivinskis) art. 'Kojałowicz-Wijuk, Albert (Lit. Kojalavičius-Vijukas) 1609-1677' in S. Sužiedėlis and V. Rastenis (eds), *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, Boston MA, 1973, vol. 3, 151-2

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

O Uwaznym a Rozsadnym obraniu Jedney Prawdziwey Chrześcijańskiej Wiary, 'Concerning the attentive and reasonable choice of the one true Christian faith'

O rzeczach do wiary należących. Rozmowa teologa z różnemi wiary prawdziwey przeciwnikami

DATE 1648

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Kojałowicz did not devote much attention to Christian-Muslim relations, although, given the overall political situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he was not oblivious to the issue. His engagement with

other Christian believers, reflected in his works, shows the general questions and attitudes that were current in his time.

The full title of this work is *O Uwaznym a Rozsadnym obraniu Jedney Prawdziwey Chrześcijańskiej Wiary, teologa z politykiem rozmowy, gruntowne, jasne a wszystkim tak niekatolikom jak katolikom potrzebne* ('Concerning the attentive and reasonable choice of the one true Christian faith, conversations of a theologian with a politician, thorough, clear and necessary to all – non-Catholics as well as Catholics'). The portion relevant to Christian-Muslim relations is contained in the second conversation between 'a politician' and 'a theologian', captioned: *Rozmowa wtora: Jeżeli może każdy, Wierząc tylko w Boga prawdziwego, zbawienia, y chwały Niebieskiej dostąpić?* ('Second conversation: Can anybody, believing only in the true God, attain salvation and the glory of heaven?'). The text is about eight pages in length (pp. 8-17 in the 132-page printed edition of 1671; pp. 8-15 in the 116-page Kraków manuscript), while the rest of the material in the other ten conversations deals with controversies between Christians of different churches.

In this passage, the politician, expressing his surprise at the theologian's earlier insistence that only one true religion leads to salvation, states the conviction he has learned 'at courts' that everybody can attain salvation through his own religion provided he worships one God and lives virtuously according to reason. The theologian retorts that such a conviction is the most dangerous fallacy, as it allows comparisons to be made between all religions, the Turkish, the Jewish and the Christian, as if the differences between them concerned only trivial matters. Such an approach would mean that Christ could be compared not only to Moses but even to 'Machumet', and the Bible to 'Alkoran'. However, there can only be one truth and one true religion. Those who compare opposing religions imply that there is no need for any faith/religion to obtain salvation, in that way abolishing all religions and fostering godlessness.

The politician does not give up and asks whether God really needs to condemn to hell so many Jews and Muslims who diligently worship Him and are just and charitable towards their neighbours. The fact that they do not believe in Christ seemed to be a minor fault and sin. Were this to be the cause of their damnation, it would not reflect the merciful heart of God and God's wish that all should be saved. The theologian again retorts that the politician's view is contrary to the true faith, and it should be easy to counter it by referring to the Holy Scripture, since the politician declares he believes it (thus, he is not a pagan, atheist, 'Machumetan' or unbelieving Jew). Since the Holy Scripture states explicitly that

Christ is the Mediator, Redeemer and Saviour, then if – as the politician insists – the unbelieving Jew and Turk can be saved, the Holy Scripture is wrong. Salvation of the Jew and the Turk in their own religions would make Christ's sacrificial death redundant. It would have been enough to send preachers to call the pagans to believe in one God. Neither the Jewish law, nor life according to its precepts (not to mention 'Machumetan' fables) can justify and save people. Besides, if people reject God's gift, they cannot participate in the goodness that gift brings.

To the insistence of the politician that the Tatars and Turks believe in the true God, and the Jews believe in many true things described in the Bible, the theologian responds that such a belief is unsatisfactory. The faith of the Turks and Jews in the true God did not come from the Holy Spirit but was based on individual reason, or rather it came from Satan. The 'Machumetans' – whatever truth they believe about God, believe not because God revealed it through a true prophet but because 'Machumet', whom they hold as a prophet, wrote it in the 'Alkoran'. So, even if some of their articles of faith are true, the foundation of believing in them is false, i.e. the authority of 'Machumet' in the 'Alkoran', and their faith is harmful. The faith of both the Jews and the 'Machumetans' is filled with tales and fables; it is human (or even perhaps demonic) in origin.

The politician insists that he finds it very difficult to accept an image of such a severe God, condemning millions of Jews and Tatars simply because they do not believe in Christ. The theologian answers that the Jews and 'Machumetans' can be divided into two groups. First are those who have either never heard of Christ and the Christian faith, or to whom it has never occurred that they should do anything more with regard to searching further for the truth, the true faith and Christ. If they had done wrong, they would have been condemned not for lack of knowledge of Christ and faith in him but for their wrongdoing. Had they lived according to the precepts of their religion, not committing any mortal sin (and God gave them grace and strength to be good), God would enlighten them and lead them to the discovery of Christ. If enlightened, they would believe in Christ and they would be saved. Otherwise, by that very disobedience they would have committed a sin and would perish. Second are those who have heard about the Christian faith and also had reasons to doubt their own religion, especially those who live among Christians. They are obliged, under threat of committing a mortal sin, to seek the truth and consult the wise Christians. Seeking the truth should be pursued at all costs. Since the Jews, Turks and Tatars do not seek the truth,

and even display hatred towards the Christian faith, picked up at an early age and perpetuated since, they have committed a mortal sin, and this very sin, the sin of unbelief, even if they do not commit others, is enough to earn them eternal damnation at God's judgment. The theologian adds that the damnation of unbelievers is not contrary to God's mercy: since God allowed that in earlier times so many pagans lived in idolatry and were damned, then the damnation in the present situation is even more justified as it is easier for contemporary Jews and 'Machumetans' to learn of the truth than it was for the pagan folk of old. Although they are given this aid, they do not enquire about the truth but even blaspheme against it.

In conclusion, the politician admits that the adage 'everyone can be saved through his own faith/religion' is untenable in the case of those who reject Christ, though he remains unconvinced that non-Catholics will not be saved, as the Lutherans, Calvinists and Unitarians (*nowochrześciany*) do have faith in Christ. The dispute goes on to treat the problem of differences between the Christian churches.

The book was first printed by the Jesuits in Vilnius, then reprinted several times by other Jesuit printing houses together with other works by Kojalowicz, most often as a part of a collection that has appeared under slightly different titles (*O rzeczach do wiary należących*, Kraków, 1671; Lwów, 1780; *Gruntowne teologa rozmowy*, Kalisz, 1758). Copies are held in Kraków (Biblioteka Jagiellońska; Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich – the latter also holds a hand-written book of 384 pages copied from a printed version) and Warsaw (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego). L. Grzebień has noted that the manuscript (autograph?) that had been kept at the University of Warsaw Library was burnt during the destruction of the city in the Second World War.

SIGNIFICANCE

The period from the mid-16th to the mid-17th century was marked by fierce controversies between various groups of Christians in the Commonwealth. The Jesuits, belonging to the avant-garde of the Counter-Reformation, committed themselves to challenging and changing the religious views of people who were considered 'unorthodox'. Historians also point out that, at the beginning of the 17th century, the Jesuits ceased to support attempts to strengthen the state by advocating the need for increasing the power of the monarch, instead taking the side of the gentry with their 'republican' views, initially trying to impart to them a strong attraction to Catholicism. Their success in creating a highly appreciated

school system also made them attractive to Protestants interested in giving their sons a good education. (This also contributed to a reduction of the distance between 'the Catholics' and 'the Protestants'. A certain familiarity between 'the dissident/politician' and 'the theologian' is noticeable in their dialogue, even if the theologian accuses the politician of taking the stand of a defender of non-Christians.)

The dialogue is very likely a work of fiction, though the views debated must have reflected the views held by real people. It is remarkable that in these intra-Christian disputes the question of the salvation of non-Christians was not left out. Although it is difficult to retrieve the full picture of the religious controversies and debates of that time, it seems from the surviving material that the strictly understood Christian adage *extra ecclesiam salus nulla* ('no salvation outside the [Catholic] church') was not shared unquestionably by the nobility of the Commonwealth (see also the entry on 'Piotr Pęgowski' in this volume).

Although the theologian seems ready to accept that the Qur'an contains some elements of truth and that Muslims (and Jews) may act with good will, he insists that they believe these truths not on God's authority but on the authority of 'Mahumet' (or the rabbis, in the case of the Jews). He does try to discredit Islam but his argumentation is kept on an intellectual level without stirring up strong emotions, and the tone of his answers is neither aggressive nor offensive.

The real impact of the work is difficult to assess, as Kojalowicz's contribution to the understanding of religious matters was eventually marginalised and emphasis was given to his role as a historian. However, the fact that the text underwent several editions may suggest that, even if it was not read, it was nonetheless made available to the public. That availability was further enhanced by handwritten copies of the text being kept in the house libraries of the gentry (for example, the hand-written copy of the book held at the Czartoryskis Library in Kraków).

PUBLICATIONS

O Uwaznym a Rozsadnym obraniu Jedney Prawdziwey Chrześcijańskiej Wiary teologa z politykiem rozmowy, gruntowne, jasne a wszystkim tak niekatolikom jak katolikom potrzebne [sometimes the title starts with: *Rozmowy theologa z politykiem...*], Vilnius, 1648

O rzeczach do wiary należących. Rozmowy Theologa z roznemi Wiary prawdziwey przeciwnikami. Przez X. Woyćiecha Wiiuká Koiatłowicza Societatis Iesu, Świętey Theolo. Doktorá napisane. Teraz świeżo w iedne xiaǳke zebrane a za pozwoleniem starszych do druku podane, Kraków, 1671 (the first item in this collection, together with two other works; in 4°); Lvov, 1780 (in 8°)

Gruntowne teologa rozmowy wszelkie zarzuty nieprzyjaznych prawdziwej wierze ułatwiające, Kalisz, 1758 (the first item in this collection, together with the same two other works, in 4°; the fourth short work added – 18 pp. – against Luther and Calvin)

J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 34-9 (extracts quoted)

STUDIES

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J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 2, pp. 39-40

Tijūnėlytė, 'Albert Vijuk Kojalovits'

Stanisław Grodz

Piotr Starkowiecki

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Piotr Starkowiecki, bearer of the 'Łodzia' coat-of-arms, originated from Wielkopolska (Greater Poland). Not much is known about his life. In 1640, he studied languages in Istanbul and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, although his name appears in slightly different variations in information about these events. His presence in Istanbul can be confirmed by a diary entry from Wojciech Miaskowski's mission, where for 22 April it notes that the grand envoy hosted for dinner, among others, Sir Starkowiecki. B. Baranowski claims that he undertook his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the same year, 1640, and cites a note from the register of pilgrims quoted by J. Bystroń: 'Petrus Wladislaus Starkoniecz eques polonus, Palatinatus Calissiensis' (Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu*, p. 109, quoting J. Bystroń, *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egipcie*, Kraków, 1930, p. 43).

In February 1643, he was back in Vilnius in the Commonwealth, where he most probably worked for the royal chancery as an interpreter. According to Baranowski, he translated letters from the Ottoman grand vizier, Ottoman Sultan Ibrahim I and the Persian shah, and the quality of the translations confirms his competence in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. His date and place of death are unknown.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J.N. Bobrowicz (ed.), *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych* [Polish Armorial of Kasper Niesiecki S.I. enlarged by additions from later authors, manuscripts, official proofs], Leipzig, 1841, vol. 8, pp. 498-9 (the Leipzig edition is taken as the standard one, although the earlier edition also contains this information: K. Niesiecki, *Korona Polska*, Lwów, 1743, vol. 4, p. 192)

Secondary

- J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.* [Polish polemical and anti-Islamic literature of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries], Warsaw, 1974, vol. 2, p. 311 (although the author gives the name in the different form of 'Starkowski')
- B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* [Knowledge of the East in ancient Poland down to the 18th century], Łódź, 1950, pp. 108-11
- B. Baranowski, 'Znajomość języka tureckiego w dawnej Polsce' [Knowledge of the Turkish language in ancient Poland], *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 14 (1938) 24-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Translation of the Qur'an

DATE Probably 1640s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

There is no known copy of Starkowiecki's translation of the Qur'an into Polish. The only information available about it can be found in Kasper Niesiecki's *Herbarz polski* ('Polish armorial'), where he writes: 'Starkowiecki h. Łódzia: Piotr, knew Persian, Turkish, Arabic well; for this reason he translated the Turkish Alkoran [sic] into Polish, but his death prevented it being printed; he died young and unmarried' (Bobrowicz (ed.), *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego*, Leipzig, 1841, vol. 8, pp. 498-9).

SIGNIFICANCE

Starkowiecki's reason for translating the Qur'an into Polish is not known. It may have been part of the broader activities of the Counter-Reformation witnessed in the 17th century. It cannot be ruled out that the translation was intended for use in religious debates with the Muslim Tatars who lived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The beginning of the 17th century was particularly marked by sharp criticism of Muslims and Islam; Czyżewski's *Alfurkan tatarski* (1617) was a vivid example of this.

Artur Konopacki

Johannes Herbinus

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1630
PLACE OF BIRTH Byczyna (Pitschen, Silesia, present-day south-western Poland)
DATE OF DEATH Probably 7 March 1679
PLACE OF DEATH Grudziądz (Graudenz, present-day northern Poland)

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Herbinus was born in Byczyna, Upper Silesia, sometime in the 1620s or 1630s. The precise dates of his birth and his death are unknown. According to information in church books in Byczyna, he was born on 12 October 1626, but the inscription on his tombstone in the cemetery in Grudziądz gave 10 December 1627 (the tombstone no longer exists; Ogrodziński, *Dzieje*, p. 68). However, on the basis of the dates of his school and university education and his first major publication in 1655, H. Bendel (the author Herbinus' biography), suggests 1630 as the most likely date for his birth (Bendel, *Magister*, pp. 6-7). Older publications mention other dates, such as 1633. There is also no agreement as to the date of Herbinus' death, but 1679 seems the most probable.

Herbinus came from an educated Protestant family of the Augsburg Confession. He went to school in Byczyna, where his father Elias was a principal, and probably continued his education in Toruń (Thorn) and Gdańsk (Danzig) until 1647. He attended the University of Wittenberg (1648), where he studied theology, Oriental philology and natural sciences and four years later received a master's degree in philosophy. From 1652, he continued his studies at the University of Leiden, where he was introduced to Oriental studies through the university library's collection of Oriental manuscripts; there, he had the opportunity to attend the lectures of Jacobus Golius, professor of Oriental languages. His third year in the Netherlands was spent at the University of Utrecht, where he published his first important work, *Famosae de solis vel telluris motu controversiae examen theologico-philosophicum* [Theological-philosophical consideration of the famous controversy concerning the motion of the sun or the earth] in 1655. It was based to some extent on discussions with Maria Cunitia (Cunitz, Kunicka; 1610?-64), an eminent astronomer,

called 'a wonder of learning'. He met her in Byczyna, and shared her view that Scripture cannot be used to refute or defend Copernicus' theory (Swerdlow, *Urania propitia*, pp. 117-20; Herbinus, *Dissertatio de educatione*, 1657). They remained in contact (Bendel, *Magister*, p. 13, 17; Kaczorowski, 'List').

In Utrecht, Herbinus met another member of the 'republic of letters' who had a knowledge of Islam, the illustrious philosopher Anna Maria van Schurman, whose interest may have had an effect on him. Herbinus 'at the University of Wittenberg discussed van Schurman in his two dissertations on the erudition of famous women' (van Beek, *First female student*, p. 243).

In 1657, he returned to Byczyna, took over his father's duties as school principal and married Anna Maria Turbian, the daughter of the archdeacon of Oleśnica (Oels) in 1658. He became a priest, following in the footsteps of his very pious father and grandfather. It seems that he devoted his entire life to reflections on science and faith, constantly having in mind the material and spiritual needs of the Polish Protestant community and especially of his small 'homeland', as he called Byczyna. All he undertook and wrote was connected to his vocation and sense of mission to answer questions of natural science and theology, and also to improve the religious education of Polish Protestants.

He enjoyed the confidence of the Polish Lutheran community and was repeatedly sent abroad on missions to obtain support and donations for Protestant education. He had a leading position in the educational centre in Wołów (Wohlau), established in 1661 through donations he had obtained, and from 1663 in the gymnasium in Bojanowo (Bojavien), where he retained his post of *professor primarius* until 1670.

Herbinus combined his fundraising journeys through German domains, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden (1664-72), giving lecturing at universities and undertaking research to complete his scientific works. Some of his journeys were expressly for scientific purposes, such as journeys to Switzerland, Estonia, Finland and Ukraine, resulting in his two main publications: *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis* and *Religiosae Kijovienses cryptae*. Almost all of his major publications are related to the Scriptures and the literal Lutheran interpretation of them. As was the custom, he corresponded in Latin with other scholars, exchanging comments on science and politics. His work was noticed by G.W. Leibniz (1646-1716), who read *Dissertationes de admirandis mundi cataractis* (Latvakangas,

Riksgrundarna, p. 195), and by Adam Olearius (1599-1671), traveller to Persia and librarian at the Duke of Holstein's library in Gottorp (Bendel, *Magister*, p. 75), among others.

In 1660, Herbinus prepared an improved version of Luther's *Kathechismus* (translated into Polish and published in 1622 by his mother's stepfather, Lutheran pastor Krzysztof Süßenbach) and published it as *Katechizm błogostawionego Ojca D. Marcina Luthera* in Oleśnica (it seems that no library owns a copy of this edition). He was almost certainly familiar with the *Short catechisme* by J. Ball (1585-1640), which was translated into Turkish by the talented Orientalist William Seaman (Hamilton, *Introduction*, p. 8; C.T. Riggs, 'The Turkish translations of the Bible', *The Muslim World* 40 (1940) 236-48), and the second edition of it published at Oxford in 1666. Nine years later Herbinus published his own polyglot translation of the *Kathechismus* into Turkish, and for a second time into Polish under the title *Symbola fidei Christianae*.

Sent to Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden in search of protectors for Polish Protestants in Silesia (under the Catholic Habsburgs after the peace treaty of Westphalia), he arrived in Sweden representing the Polish Protestant Church, and in 1666-8 and 1671-2 was the rector of a German school in Stockholm (Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi*, p. 375). In 1668, he prepared a handbook on history, extending the work of Petrus Laurenbergius' *Chronius, sive Historiae Universalis Epitome* and included a two-page brief history of the Ottoman Empire (*Turcarum Imperium*) listing its rulers and the former and current geopolitical conflicts. In 1672, he prepared for baptism one of two Muslims, members of the Crimean embassy, who applied for political asylum in Sweden and was responsible for his baptism into the Augsburg-Evangelical faith practised in Sweden, an occasion that gave rise to his Turkish translation of parts of the Lutheran catechism, *Catechizacya Turecka*, which formed part of *Symbola fidei Christianae*.

Herbinus also became an advisor to Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie concerning the Polish Protestants, and in 1673 'the Saxon preacher in Vilnius'. He left the Vilnius Protestant community, which was torn apart by internal conflicts, and travelled to Kiev, conducting research for his *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*. In 1674, Swedish diplomat Anders Lilliehöök (1635-85) appointed Herbinus as chaplain to the Swedish legation when he left to be ambassador to Poland. It seems that Herbinus remained in close contact with Lilliehöök and was indebted to him for his appointment as archpresbyter in Tylża (Tilsit; 1675) and

also for his last post as a parson in Grudziądz (1677). Before he settled down in Grudziądz, he travelled to Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad) in 1675, where he probably lectured at the university. He also travelled to Gdańsk, where he worked on and published *Symbola fidei Christianae Catholica*. The new revised edition of *Dissertationes de admirandis*, dedicated to Lilliehöök, was published during his journey to the Netherlands in 1678. In Grudziądz, he carried out his duties as a pastor and enjoyed great respect for his wisdom and charity work. He died in 1679 and the community erected his tombstone.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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- MS Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva Library – H 177 (J. Herbinus, *Brevis delineatis status ecclesiarum invar. Augustanae Confessioni in Polonia Majore*. Memorandum of 1666 for M.G. de la Gardie), and N 478 (J. Herbinus, *Letters to Christian Ravius*, (5), 1666-7)
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- Johannes Herbinus, *Petri Laurenbergii Chronius, sive Historiae Universalis Epitome. Olim in Academia Rostochiensi ab eodem proposita. Nunc vero continuata a Johanne Herbinio Illustratam & triplici Praxi: didactica, Polemica & Axiomatica aucta*, Holmiæ (Stockholm), 1668
- Johannes Herbinus, *Status ecclesiarum invar. Augustanae confessioni in Polonia addictarum nec non earundem suppl. Petitio ad venerabiles Episcopos...*, Copenhagen (Hafniae), 1670 (according to Estreicher, also in Riga 1669)
- Johannes Herbinus, *Religiosae Kijovienses cryptae, sive Kijovia subterranea: In quibus Labyrinthus sub terra, et in eo emortua, à sexcentis annis, Divorum atque Heroum Graeco-Ruthenorum, & nec dum corrupta, corpora, ex nomine atque ad oculum, è Πατερικω Sclavonico detegit*, Jenae: Impensis Martini Haiievordi, 1675 (see the facsimile in *Seventeenth-century writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*, intr. P. Lewin, Cambridge MA, 1987)
- Johannes Schefferus, *Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Svecia literata sev de scriptis & scriptoribus gentis Sveciae. Opus postumum*, Stockholm (Holmiæ), 1680
- Johannes Herbinus, *Petri Laurembergii Cronius, sive Historiae Universalis Epitome, Olim in Academia Rostochiensi ab eodem Autore clarissimo proposita...*, Aboae, 1687

J.H. Zedler. *Universalexicon aller Wissenschaften und Piotr Pegowski*, Halle, 1735
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Catechizacya Turecka, 'The Turkish catechesis'

DATE 1675

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Catechizacya Turecka (its full title is *Catechizacya Turecka/ albo Turczyzna niejakiego w Sztokholmie, Roku 1672. Dnia 30. Lipca/ jawnie ochrzczonego/ krotkie w Wierze Chrzescijanskiej cwiczenie/ Jezykiem Tureckim podane y spisane przez X. Jana Herbiniusa, bywszego niekiedy Saskiego w Wilnie Kaznodzieję*, 'The Turkish catechesis or the catechesis of a certain Turk in Stockholm, openly and publicly baptised on 30th July 1672. A short exercise in the Christian faith, given in the Turkish language and written down by Fr. Jan Herbinius, the former Vilnius Saxon preacher') constitutes the fifth part of Herbinius' polyglot translation of Luther's *Catechism* into Polish and Turkish, entitled *Symbolae fidei Christianae Catholicae*. The additional title he gives it, *Horae Turcico*

catecheticae, stands for the exercise of catechism, divided into lessons, each lasting an hour, containing the principles of the Christian religion in the form of questions and answers. These are in Turkish, divided into ten lessons on the eight numbered pages. Above the Turkish text an interlinear Latin translation appears in italics.

Catechizacya Turecka is prefaced by the *Dissertatio ad fratres in Borussia* ['Dissertation for the brothers in Prussia'] on seven unnumbered pages, giving the reason why Herbinus translated the catechism and referring to the person who helped with it, Zachariasz Gamocki (1620-79), a Polish nobleman of Armenian extraction from Podole (today in Ukraine). Gamocki came to Sweden during the reign of Queen Christina (r. 1632-54) and made his career there as lieutenant-colonel and master of the stables.

According to the Polish title page of *Catechizacya Turecka*, Alexander, a servant to an Ottoman delegation in Sweden, claimed refuge and was baptised in Stockholm Cathedral on 30 July 1672, with King Charles XI (r. 1660-97) as his sponsor. The additional title page, *Horae Turcico catecheticae*, and also Herbinus' *Dissertatio*, include the date of 31 July 1673. However, 1672 appears to be more likely because between 30 June and 30 November 1673 King Charles was absent from Stockholm touring southern Sweden (Tunberg et al., *Den Svenska*, p. 127). It seems that the records concerning the baptism ceremony are not extant.

In 1669, the Regency Council of the underage King Charles XI corresponded with the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet IV (r. 1648-87) about the safety of Swedish merchant vessels, which were often attacked and plundered by pirates from the Barbary Coast. The sultan's answer was brought by a certain Aslan Aga, a Tatar-Ottoman diplomat (K. Ettlinger, 'Aslan Aga - turkisk ambassadör till Sverige eller svenskt sändebud med diplomatiska uppdrag till Turkiet?' *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 94 (1998) 3-19, p. 6). He returned on a second embassy between September 1671 and March 1672, during which two of the ten members of his party applied for refuge in Sweden. One was a servant who took the name Charles at his baptism, while the other was a cook, a certain Alexander (Iskender?) of Greek extraction (Herbinus, *Dissertatio*; *Överstelöjtnant Gamotsky för den turkiske Abgesandten* [Colonel Gamotsky to the Turkish envoy] in MS Stockholm, Swedish National Archives – Kammarkollegiet Likvidationer. Försträckningar och leveranser /RA/521/521, serie 92-93, vol. 6). According to the law of 1655, acceptance of the Augsburg-Evangelical faith was a condition for being granted refuge (Staf, *De främmande trosbekännarna*, p. 9).

As part of the preparation for baptism into his new faith, Alexander had to be taught the basics of Christianity in the form of the Lutheran catechism. Since he only knew Turkish, a translation was needed. The task was given to Herbinus, who asked for help from the 'illustrious and extremely energetic' Gamocki (Herbinus, *Dissertatio*; Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie*, p. 26). Gamocki also provided Alexander with shelter (Ettlinger, *Aslan Aga*, p. 12; *Överstelöjtnant Gamotsky*).

The description of Islam that Herbinus gives in the *Dissertatio* contains nothing hostile or polemical. However, he does suggest that references to the Trinity are present in the Qur'an in the *Basmala*, *bi-sm-Llāh l-raḥmān l-raḥīm* ('In the name of God, the most compassionate, the most merciful'). He incorrectly gives this as *Bi ssem Allahe, el Rahmane, el Ruoachim* (*quod Latine ita audit: in nomine Dei & Misericordiae & Spiritus eorum*), and argues that *Allahe* means 'God the Father', *el Rahmane* 'Mercy', i.e. the Son, and *el Ruoachim* 'their Spirit'.

This interpretation appears in a work by Bartholomeus Georgievits, known also as Peregrinus (1506-66), *Turcarum moribus epitome* (1553), which was undoubtedly known to Herbinus (Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie*, p. 34). Georgievits, who knew the correct interpretation of the *basmala* well (*De ritibus et differentiis Graecorum et Armenorum*, 1544), employed this incorrect interpretation to convince Muslim converts to Christianity that the Trinity is recognised in the Qur'an (Peregrinus Lectori, 'Disputationis mysterium sanct. Trinit. Arabic: "Bisem Allahe, el Rahmane, el Ruoachim"', in *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis capitulum*, p. 130, date unknown).

Catechizacya Turecka is written in 'vulgar Turkish', because, as Herbinus emphasises, the convert was a simple man.

Some of the five parts of *Symbolae fidei Christianae Catholicae* were published in Vilnius (1672), probably with help of the rector, Frederick Mortzfeld (d. 1691), and Jerzy Skrodzki (1635-82), Polish minister in Königsberg (Ogrodziński, *Dzieje piśmiennictwa*, p. 70; Fijałkowski, 'Książd Jerzy Skrodzki'). *Symbolae fidei Christianae* was republished in 1730, in the Silesian town of Brzeg, but without *Catechizacya Turecka*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Catechizacya Turecka is related to missionary activity among Muslims. Herbinus was well prepared for the role of missionary, as, in the spirit of Protestantism, he was constantly engaged in evangelisation. In 1672, during his time in Vilnius, home to a large Tatar minority, he attended Tatar religious ceremonies and visited several Tatar and Turkish houses

of prayer (...*tum Vilnae in Lithuania cum Fanum & sacra Tatarorum Turcica aliquoties aspectarem*). He believed that the evangelisation of the Turks should be carried out very 'sweetly and gently' while they are being placed under the yoke of the Gospel (*adeoque ipsis dulce Evangelii jugum leniter imponendum est...*).

It is not known whether the catechism was later used for evangelisation, but a Jesuit missionary, Fr Michał Ignacy Wieczorkowski (1674-1751), benefitted from it when he was writing his comprehensive (119 pages) *Katechism* in Polish and Turkish for the baptism of a Tatar from Budziacz in 1720 (Kowalski, 'Wieczorkowski, pp. 1-27; Podolak, 'Der Transkriptionstext').

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Elżbieta Święcicka

Joanicjusz Galatowski

Joannicjusz Galatowski, Joanicj Galatowski (alternative Polish); Iōan(n)ikii Haliatov(')skii, Hialetoꝛ' skii (Ukrainian); Ioanikii Galiatov'skyi, Ioan(n)ikii Galatovskii, Ioan(n)ikii Goliatovskii, Ioanikei Galitovskii (Russian)

DATE OF BIRTH Probably in the 1620s

PLACE OF BIRTH Presumably Volhynia (present-day western Ukraine)

DATE OF DEATH 2 January 1688

PLACE OF DEATH Chernihiv (present-day north-eastern Ukraine)

BIOGRAPHY

Joanicjusz (Joanicj) Galatowski's (the Polish form of his name) date of birth, his family background, and his native region all remain unknown. That he was born in the 1620s can be deduced from the fact that he was a student of Lazar Baranovych (Łazarz Baranowicz) at Mohyla College in Kiev; Baranovych taught there in the 1640s and became its rector in 1650. This school was the centre of higher education among the East Slavs; both the college and its founder Petro Mohyla (1596-1647) were well-known throughout the Orthodox world. Since Galatowski wrote many of his books in Polish, he probably originated from the western regions of Ukraine, presumably Volhynia, which was then a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and where Polish was commonly used.

Galatowski's attendance at the college is the first documented biographical evidence that we have of him, but it is unclear when he enrolled and completed the course. Given the high level of general knowledge that he demonstrates in his writings, his education had probably started in his early youth. After finishing at the college, he moved to Volhynia to enter a monastery. Later, presumably because of the war between the Cossacks and Poland-Lithuania, he moved to Kupiatitskii Monastery near Pinsk. When Baranovych became rector of Mohyla college, he invited Galatowski to serve there as a teacher.

In 1657, Baranovych was appointed bishop of Chernihiv (Czernihów, Chernigov) and Galatowski succeeded him as rector, an indication of his scholarly reputation. He also became *hegoumen* (abbot) of the Epiphany Brotherhood Monastery where the college was situated. During his

rectorate, Ukraine underwent a tumultuous and, in retrospect, crucial period of its history. The Cossack uprising of 1648 against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth initiated a major international war involving Muscovy, Sweden, the Crimean Khanate (a vassal of the Ottoman Empire) and others. In the treaty of Pereyaslavl of 1654, the Cossacks secured Muscovy's support, but had to pledge allegiance to the tsar. Only four years later, in 1658, the Cossacks achieved a favourable agreement with Poland-Lithuania (treaty of Hadiach), but this was not ultimately ratified by the Polish *Sejm* (parliament).

With regard to the Kiev College, the agreement provided for its elevation to an academy with equal status to the Cracow Academy (university). When Cossack troops entered Kiev to expel the Muscovite garrison, the college was burnt down. Galatowski successfully turned to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich to raise funds for its reconstruction, but the continuing war resulted in its demolition a second time in 1665. Furthermore, Galatowski was forced to leave Kiev because he supported the opposition to Bishop Mefodii of Mstislav, who had been appointed by the *locum tenens* of the patriarchal throne in Moscow to be *locum tenens* of the Diocese of Kiev in violation of canon law (Petrov, *Kievskaia akademiia*, p. 30; Ęingorn, 'O snosheniakh', p. 346, n. 395). For the next three years, he sought refuge in Podolia, Volhynia and Lithuania.

According to some scholars, Galatowski had already left Kiev by 1663 or 1664 (Ęingorn, 'O snosheniakh', p. 346, n. 395; Sinkevich and Pigaiko, 'Ioanniki', p. 80). With his escape, his term as rector in effect ended, although in some sources he was connected with this office until 1669 (Baranovych, *Pis'ma*, no. 69, p. 89, n. 67). In that year, with the support of his former teacher and patron Lazar Baranovych, he was appointed archimandrite of Ielets'kyi Monastery in Chernihiv, where he remained until his death in 1688. Galatowski produced most of his writings in this period but, as head of one of the most prominent Ukrainian monasteries, he was also deeply involved in church political affairs. While the majority of Ukrainian Orthodox clergy endorsed a political association with Muscovy, they rejected the idea of giving up ecclesiastical independence by leaving the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople and being subordinate to the Patriarch of Moscow. Baranovych and Galatowski kept an intermediate position. While soliciting the independence of the Kiev metropolitanate, they retained close ties with the Muscovite authorities. In 1670, Galatowski even travelled to Moscow on a mission.

It is hard to comprehend Galatowski's work without considering the complex political and religious situation in Ukraine. The struggle to preserve their own Orthodox faith and the quest to establish its major principles explain his engagement in polemics with other denominations. He wrote books against Catholics and Uniates (*Rozmowa białocerkiewska* [Debate in Bila Tserkva], 1676; *Stary kościół Zachodni nowemu kościołowi Rzymskiemu* [The old Western Church to the new Roman Church], 1678; *Fundamenta, na których łacinnicy iedność Ruśi z Rzymem funduią* [Fundamentals on which the Latins base unity of Rus' with Rome], 1683); against Protestants, Catholics and other 'heretics' (*Alphabetum rozmaitym heretykom niewiernym, dla ich nauczenia i nawrócenia* [The alphabet, for various faithless heretics, to teach and convert them], 1681; against Jews (*Mesia prawdziwy* [The true Messiah], 1669 – published in a Polish version in Kiev in 1672 – the first fierce and comprehensive book against Jews in an East Slavic language, which was based on Western sources and included typical anti-Semitic stereotypes such as the 'blood libel', and was also directed against Sabbatai Sevi, a Jewish pseudo-messiah); and finally two pamphlets against Muslims (*Łabędź z piórami swemi* [The swan with its feathers], 1679; *Alkoran Machometow* [Muhammad's Qur'an], 1683). Galatowski's interest in Islam was related to the attempt to form an international coalition of Christian states, including Muscovy, against the expanding Ottoman Empire. He therefore forwarded his anti-Muslim writings to the tsar. Although both texts were translated into Russian, they were not widely distributed and did not exert much influence. However, during the reign of Peter the Great (r. 1689-1725) the translations of both books were copied a few times and, on the eve of the Pruth campaign against the Ottoman Empire (1710-4), *Łabędź* even underwent a second translation dedicated to Peter.

Although today Galatowski's polemical books receive much attention by scholars, during his own lifetime his homiletic work was probably more significant and influential. His book *Kliuch razumeniia sviashchennikom zakonnym i svetskim nalezhachyi* [The key of understanding for monastic and secular priests] includes a section *Nauka, al'bo sposob slozhen'ia kazanii* [The art or ability to compose a sermon] published in 1659, the first East Slavic theoretical book on homily writing. It was reissued in 1663 in Lvov, in 1665 in Kiev, translated into Romanian (Bucharest, 1678) and widely used for a long time.

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Wolfram von Scheliha

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Łabędź z piorami swemi z darami boskiemi
Chrystusa*, 'The swan with its feathers with
the divine gifts of Christ'

DATE 1679

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

No copy of the original Polish text of *Łabędź* ('The swan') appears to be extant. Polish scholars consider it to be lost, and Nosowski's *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna* does not even mention it. However, copies of a Russian translation are held in Russian and Swedish collections.

Galatowski wrote the book in 1679, intending to 'arouse Christians to war against Muslims' (Waugh, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 909). He dedicated it to *hetman* (general) Ivan Samoilovych, patron of the Ielets' Monastery, where Galatowski had been archimandrite since 1669.

The image of the swan is used to represent 'the protecting Christ, under whose wings success against the infidels can be expected' (Waugh, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 909). The contents are divided into five parts ('feathers' of the swan): 1) on the longevity of Islam and on the prophecies about the fall of the Ottoman Empire and Islam; 2) reasons why so many converts are attracted to Islam; 3) Turkish victories

against Christians, but if Christians united they could defeat the Turks; 4) 'the ways in which the Muslim faithful were aroused against Christians'; 5) over 40 examples of military ruses that may be used to defeat the Turks – this is the longest part (Waugh, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 909).

Among the sources Galatowski employed are Marcin Bielski's *Kronika* (especially the section on Skanderbeg) and Giovanni Botero's *Relatiae powszechne* (translated into Polish in 1609).

According to Waugh ('Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 914), *Łabędź* was translated twice in Muscovy. The first translation of 1683 was rather poor (the sections on religious issues in particular were not well translated) and the polemical tone was exaggerated (the 'Mohamedan sect' became an 'accursed heresy'). The second translation was apparently made by a monk, Avraamii Karamyshev, and dedicated to Tsar Peter I. Waugh thinks that this translation either predates Peter's disastrous defeat on the Pruth at the hands of the Turks in 1711, or else was made after his victory over the Swedes at Poltava in 1709 ('Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 915; the manuscript is BAN 17.6.18).

SIGNIFICANCE

Waugh ('Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 913) suggests that both *Łabędź* and *Alkoraan* in their Russian translations 'were valued not only as religious polemics, but as Turcica which might serve as a source of information for those curious about Ottoman beliefs and customs'.

The sentiments found in *Łabędź* are also reflected in a contemporaneous work by Teofil Rutka, *Miecz przeciwko Turkom* ('The sword against the Turks').

A copy of a Russian translation of the work was contained in the library of Simeon Polotskii and his pupil Silvestr Medvedev. After 1689, the collection became part of the library of the Moscow Printing House. Waugh ('Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 918) relates that Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn, who brought together the most remarkable Russian private library of his time and apparently had a particular interest in Turcica, 'owned a copy of the translation of *Łabędź*, a manuscript previously owned by one Fedor Kirilovich Gerasimov (possibly a government clerk). This copy is of particular interest, because it shows evidence of some effort to edit and improve the translation with reference to the Polish original. Several other copies of the Russian version are known, indicating that it perhaps had some influence among church and government officials.

PUBLICATIONS

Details of the various known MSS of the Russian trans., both complete and fragmentary, are given in Waugh, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', pp. 913-14, n. 17; 915, n. 21; 918, nn. 31 and 32.

Joanicjusz Galatowski, *Łabędź z piorami swemi z darami boskiemi Chrystusa*, Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, 1679

STUDIES

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A.S. Orlov, *Skazochnye povesti ob Azove. 'Istoriia' 7135 goda. Issledovanie i tekst*, Warsaw, 1906, pp. 163-9

Alkoran Machometow, 'Machomet's Alkoran'

DATE 1683

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

This work (its full title is *Alkoran Machometow, naukę heretycką y żydowską y pogańską napelniony, od Koheletha Chrystusowego rozproszony y zgładzony*, 'Machomet's Alkoran filled with heretical and Jewish knowledge, dispersed and annihilated by Christ's Koheleth') has 86 numbered pages in quarto, together with 16 unnumbered pages containing the dedication and the table of contents. It was printed in Chernihiv (Chernihów; present-day north-eastern Ukraine) in the printing press set up by Lazar Baranovych, the Orthodox Archbishop of Chernihiv.

Galatowski dedicated his work to the Russian tsars Ivan Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, so that they could read and see for themselves 'the heresies, blasphemies and countless sins by which the Machometans offend the Triune God' (p. 8). It encourages the tsars to wage war against God's enemies by citing a prophecy that it says even the Machometans believe, according to which 'a ruler from the north' will take over the Turkish state and regain control over the Holy Places and Christ's tomb. Apart from political reasons, Galatowski admitted that he wrote the book so that Christians would have a response to 'Machomet's Alkoran' and be able to explain the Christian faith to enquiring Muslims.

Galatowski names his sources as the writings of those who had striven to uproot Machomet's Alkoran, i.e. St Eulogius the martyr, St Cyril of Alexandria, Pope Pius V, Gabriel Beriletanus, Cedranus and Theophan, though more names appear in the marginal notes – e.g. J. Löwenclau, C. Baronius. In the summary of the book, he also refers to William Rainolds' *Calvinoturcismus* (writing about *hıjj*).

Throughout the work, Galatowski refers to Muḥammad as 'Machomet', to Muslims as 'machometanie' and to the Qur'an as 'Alkoran'.

The first chapter is preceded by an invocation alerting the reader to the fact that, as he reads Christ's Koheleth's (the teacher) answers to the 'Machometan Alkoran', he will find 'the true Christian religion' among the 'false Machometan fables'. The summary of the book (pp. 83-5) exhorts Christians to lead a pious life among Muslims, since the latter are capable of good works, and Christians can convert Muslims to the Christian faith by their exemplary life.

The main text of the book is divided into 12 chapters of uneven length in which Christ's Koheleth debates with the 'author of Alkoran'. The first statement (or question or accusation) is always pronounced by Alkoran, to which Koheleth gives a response.

The chapters are on (1) Muḥammad's prophethood, apostleship and mission; (2) Muḥammad's law (*zakon*) written in the Qur'an; (3) The sword given to Muḥammad by God together with the book; (4) Muḥammad's miracles noted in the Qur'an; (5) Muḥammad's supposed ascent to heaven and his false vision; (6) The sacred cross, for which Muḥammad forbids respect; (7) Pictures and images, whose veneration Muḥammad forbids; (8) Muslim monks and priests; (9) Sacred scripture falsified by the Jews and Christians according to Muḥammad's false fable; (10) The Trinity; (11) The Muslim fable that the Jews did not crucify Christ but Judas instead, and why the Qur'an orders the celebration of the sacred night (*wielką noc* – the Polish term used here makes reference to Easter); (12) Other fables, that Muḥammad would hold the

keys to Paradise on Judgment Day, and on torments in hell and eternal rest in Paradise.

According to Galatowski, Muḥammad was a trickster and brigand (*zwodzieciel i totr*). He was not an apostle because apostles lead people to faith by their teaching, while he did so by the sword; he rebelled against the Byzantine emperor, while apostles are not rebels, since St Paul taught that believers should be obedient to rulers, who were installed by God.

Muslims themselves do not agree on the prophethood of Muḥammad, as the Persians oppose the Turks and maintain that 'Hali' ('Alī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law) was the real prophet. They claim that God showed himself to people under the figure of 'Hali'.

Muḥammad did not perform any miracles because God had explicitly forbidden him to do so, as stated in the Qur'an (earlier in the text Galatowski recalls some 'miraculous' events presented by 'Alkoran' – the dove pecking from Muḥammad's ear, the fall of idols on the day of Muḥammad's birth – but they are recalled only so that 'Kohleth' could ridicule them as false).

In Galatowski's view, Muḥammad's Qur'an is infected by pagan and Jewish heretical teaching. Muḥammad had learned the Christian faith from Sergius, the heretical 'monk of the Arian and Nestorian sect expelled from *Carogrod* [Tsarogrod, i.e. Constantinople], who mixed three religions into one (p. 22).

To the statement that the Qur'an was revealed in instalments coming down from the highest to the lowest heaven and then brought to Muḥammad by the archangel Gabriel, and that the law written in the Qur'an was finally gathered together into one book by *Odmēn* ('Uthmān) with the help of other Muslims about 100 years after Muḥammad's death, 'Kohleth' responds that this law contradicts what God had given the Israelites as God had not ordered to kill, commit adultery or any other sin, while in the Qur'an Muḥammad's followers are ordered to kill, commit adultery and break oaths and agreements. However, on breaking oaths and agreements, Galatowski inserts a curious example that was used in Orthodox-Catholic polemics, i.e. the treaty broken with the Ottomans by the Polish and Hungarian King Władysław, who lost the Battle of Varna against the army of Sultan Murat in 1444. Galatowski makes the point that the papal legate unlawfully released the king from his word given to the sultan. Galatowski puts into the sultan's mouth the following prayer: 'O Christ, if you are God, as the Christians say, you will punish the Christians, those oath-breakers (*wiarołomcy*) who broke the word given to you (*którzy tobie wiarę złamali*) and will help me in war.' Galatowski reminds the reader that the sultan won.

To the pronouncements of the author of the Qur'an that he takes pride in Muslim religious practices and religiosity, 'Kohemoth' responds that ablutions are pointless because they only wash the body; five daily prayers have no value as the Muslims do not pray to the Triune God (who does not listen to their blasphemous prayers); the fast is pointless since Muslims feast during the nights of the fast. All in all, the Islamic law does not lead people to eternal salvation in heaven. Muslims are 'godless atheists'.

The Qur'an falsely says that things happen by chance without God's will and outside of his Providence. It also errs when it calls God the author of sins. The Qur'an orders that good deeds should be done to animals (dogs, cats, birds), which is an idolatry and superstition borrowed from the pagans. Muḥammad's law allows a man to have many wives, but that is not so in the law of God.

In addition, Muḥammad did not allow anybody to dispute the Qur'an, on pain of death by the sword. Muḥammad was aware that the Qur'an is far from being true, and it is no wonder that discussing its teaching is forbidden since the true scripture says that wrongdoers keep away from the light, while the Apostle Peter orders Christians to be ready to discuss their faith with anybody who is interested.

Chapters on the Bible and the Trinity cover only a few pages. The statement that Jews and Christians falsified their scriptures by adding or removing certain information (especially references to Muḥammad) is refuted by 'Kohemoth' with a rhetorical question asking why Muḥammad had ordered his followers to believe the scripture given to Moses and Jesus. The usual statement that God is one and not triune is countered by mentioning certain Muslims called *Eszref* who believe that God is triune (they symbolically tie three knots in a piece of cloth – here a reference is given to 'Turkish monarchy'; ch. 2, p. 166 – possibly Ricaut's work). The answer given by Christ to God that he did not consider himself God and that this claim was mistakenly imputed to him (a paraphrase from the Qur'an) is briskly waived away by 'Kohemoth', saying that Christ's divinity can be known from his deeds, and especially those among the Muslims in Egypt after the conquest, where many Muslims converted to Christianity because of the miracles of St Nicholas.

SIGNIFICANCE

Alkoraan Machometow is one of only a few examples of polemics written against Islam by Orthodox writers from the south-eastern part of the

former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (present-day Ukraine), though its impact was not of great significance in the Polish language area.

It contains indications of confused loyalties, as Galatowski, although an Orthodox hierarch, drew extensively from Western sources (he seemed to be quite conversant with the literature he was quoting), and wrote in Polish but dedicated the book to the Muscovite tsars. The dedication – in which he states that the Turks hold the tsars in greater esteem than they do the Polish king – was dated 18 May 1683. Four months later, the Polish King Jan Sobieski crushed the Ottoman army at Vienna.

Waugh ('Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 916) surmises that *Alkora*n was probably translated into Russian soon after it was received in Moscow in August 1683. There were two translations. The first was a rough one (too close linguistically to the Polish original), while the second was an extended reworking and improvement made with reference to the original book. Apparently both 'were done in the Muscovite Diplomatic Chancellery'. While the identity of the first translator is unknown, the second was Stakhii Ivanovich Gadzalovskii, 'a man with considerable education and literary talent, a translator for the Diplomatic Chancellery' (I.Iu. Krachkovskii, *Ocherki po istorii russkoï arabistiki*, Moscow, 1950, p. 29). Because a copy of this translation was taken to Sweden by Gadzalovskii's acquaintance, the Swedish diplomat Sparwenfeld, Waugh assumes that the Swedish translation now held in Västerås must have been completed before 1687 ('Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 917).

Some of the information presented by the 'author of *Alkora*n' show that Galatowski was aware not only of the basic tenets of Islam but also of some nuances of doctrine and practice, all recalled with the underlying purpose of refuting Muslim claims. The key doctrinal issues and polemics around them are duly acknowledged, but the discussions presented in the book are rather shallow. 'Koheloth' now and again uses rhetorical tricks to ridicule the claims and questions put by the Muslims. His answers also express a condescending attitude and contain offensive language.

Two copies were presented to the tsars, and Simeon Polotskii and Silvestr Medvedev's library also contained two copies. Their collection became a part of the library of the Moscow Printing House after 1689. A Muscovite cleric in the late 17th or early 18th century, deacon Pavel Vologzhanin, owned a copy of *Alkora*n (now in the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, formerly in the Moscow Synodal Library), and Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn, the owner of the most remarkable Russian private

library of his time, had an early 18th-century manuscript copy of the translation (Waugh, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', p. 918).

PUBLICATIONS

MS St Petersburg, St Petersburg Theological Academy – 186 (probably late 1683; first translation, following the Polish word order)

MS Moscow, State Historical Museum (GIM) – Uvarov 490 (307) (probably late 1683; first translation, following the Polish word order)

MS Moscow, Central State Archive of Ancient Arts (RGADA) – f. 181, no. 756 (1286) (probably late 1683; first translation, following the Polish word order)

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Ioaniciusz Galatowski, *Alkoran Machometow, naukę heretycką y żydowską y pogańską napelniony, od Koheletha Chrystusowego rozproszony y zgładzony*, Czernihów, 1683

J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna, XVI, XVI, XVIII w.*, Warsaw, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 146-81 (quotes long excerpts)

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Nosowski, *Polska literatura*, vol. 1, pp. 146-81 (quotations intermingled with Nosowski's commentary)

Waugh, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's polemics', pp. 909-13, 916-19 (discusses contents and sources used by Galatowski)

Bida, 'The works of I. Galiatovs'kyj', p. 12

Waugh, 'Seventeenth-century Muscovite pamphlets', pp. 157-82, 192-5 (discussion of themes in *Alkoran Machometow*)

Chepiga, 'Ioannikii Galiatovs'kii'

S. Dahl, 'Codex ad 10 der Västeråser Gymnasialbibliothek', Uppsala, 1949 (Diss. Uppsala University) (full description of contents of the codex, including Russian trans. by Gadzelovskii)

K.V. Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikoruskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'*, Kazan, 1914, p. 452

Teofil Rutka

DATE OF BIRTH 27 December 1622
PLACE OF BIRTH Kiev region
DATE OF DEATH 18 May 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Lvov

BIOGRAPHY

Born in the region of Kiev, Teofil Rutka received his secondary education (including a course in rhetoric and a two-year course in philosophy) at the Jesuit College in Ostróg. On 13 August 1643, he joined the Jesuits in Kraków and was ordained priest in Poznań in 1652. He taught rhetoric, philosophy, polemical theology and moral theology in Gdańsk and other towns in Poland between 1653 and 1668, and was also the prefect of schools in Poznań, Rawa, Sandomierz, Lublin, Lwów and Łuck, and served as confessor in Loreto in 1663-4 and instructor for the final stage of the Jesuit education programme in Jarosław in 1675-6.

Rutka was chaplain on the mission led by Władysław Szmeling to the Crimean Tatar khan. From 1672 to 1673, he lived in Istanbul, where he looked after the families of captives from the Commonwealth. He was in contact with Wojciech Bobowski (also known as Ali Ufki and Ali Bey). From 1676 until the end of his life, he served as a court missionary of Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski, voivode of Ruthenia, later the castellan of Kraków and the Crown Grand Hetman (commander-in-chief).

Most of his literary activity took place during his time at the court of Jabłonowski. Formally, he belonged to the Jesuit community in Lvov, but he did not participate in the life of his religious province in any significant way. In addition to ascetic and religious works, such as *Uspokojenie w Bogu* ['Peaceful rest in God'] (Kalisz, 1662), *Męka Chrystusowa w ofierze Mszy świętej wyrażona* ['The passion of Christ expressed in the sacrifice of the holy Mass'] (Poznań, 1668), he also wrote polemical works against Orthodox Christians in defence of the religious Union of Brest-Litovsk, including, *Defensio sanctae orthodoxae Orientalis Ecclesiae contra haereticos* ['Defence of the holy orthodox Oriental Church against the heretics'] (Poznań 1678, Kalisz 1682), and *Kamień przeciwko kamieniowi* ['Stone against the stone'] (Lublin, 1690). Polemics against the Orthodox formed one of the most important elements in that stage of his life. He translated

the rule of St Basil into Polish (*Św. Bazyliusz Wielki życia zakonnego patriarcha i fundator*, Kalisz, 1686), and influenced the Orthodox bishop of Lvov, Józef Szumlański, into joining the Union of Brest-Litovsk.

In the field of polemics against Islam, Rutka translated several works by Western authors into Polish, among them works by Michel Nau (*Wiara chrześcijańska przeciwko Alkoranowi przez Alkoran spokojnie obrobiona i utwierdzona*, Poznań, 1692, a translation of *Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa ac probate*), Tirso González (*Rękoprowadzenie do nawrócenia mahometanów*, Lwów, 1694, a translation of *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*) and Filippo Guadagnoli (*Alkoran na wywrócenie wiary chrześcijańskiej od Mahometa spisany*, Lwów, 1699, probably a translation of *Considerationes as Mahomettanos, cum responsione ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabeddin*, although Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych*, pp. 25-6, observes that Rutka makes so many changes by adding material from Georgius (Georgewicz), J. Galatowski and other sources that this is effectively a new book). During his stay in Istanbul he learned about Ottoman customs and language, and used this knowledge in his efforts to evangelise the Turks and in writing anti-Islamic polemics. His personal input into the latter was expressed in the work *Gladius contra Turcas* (Lwów, 1679; Zamość, 1680) later translated into Polish, reworked and published as *Miecz przeciwko Turkom* (Leszno, 1684; Lwów, 1696).

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 B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII w.*, Łódź, 1950, pp. 166-7, 180-1
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 F.M. S[obieszkański], art. 'Rutka (Teofil)', in *Encyklopedyja powszechna. Nakład, druk i własność S. Orgelbrandta*, vol. 22, Warsaw, 1866, pp. 557-9

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Miecz przeciwko Turkom, 'The sword against the Turks'

DATE 1684

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

Miecz przeciwko Turkom is Rutka's Polish translation and amplification of his own Latin work *Gladius contra Turcas* (Lwów, 1679). Its full title is *Miecz przeciwko Turkom od Christusa xiążęcia, króla, cesarza, cesarzom, królom y xiążętom chrześcijańskim na obronę y odebranie królestw chrześcijańskich podany. I od jednego żołnierza chrześcijańskiego, ze starey rdzy otarty y wypolerowany z łacińskiego na polski przelożony, y drukiem christianopolitańskim światu pokazany*, 'The sword against the Turks given from Christ, the prince, king, emperor to Christian emperors, kings and princes for defence and regaining Christian kingdoms. Cleared and polished from old rust by a Christian soldier, translated from Latin into Polish, and shown to the world in a Christianopolitan print'. It was published in Leszno in 1684, and later rearranged into the 1696 edition.

The description here is based on the two Polish editions. The Latin original consists of 88 pages in duodecimo, while the 1684 Polish edition consists of 80 quarto pages and is divided into five chapters. The second edition of 1696 contains 160 octavo pages divided into six chapters, and has an additional second part consisting of 123 pages with a description of the patron saints in war against the Ottomans (four chapters, dealing respectively with Jesus, the Virgin Mary, angels, and various saints, including those martyred in clashes with Muslims), and a 'soldier's

devotion' (chapter 5, pp. 107-23) in which the author draws attention to the importance of intention in fighting the Turks – 'not for fame [...] but [...] to spread Christ's glory' (p. 107). The devotion ends with a short dedication 'To the immortal King of the ages and unconquerable warrior Jesus Christ [...] who conquers] Mahometan impiety' and 'to the Queen his most sacred mother, unconquerable lady-warrior – Mary' (p. 123).

Towards the end of this work, the author mentions that the Vienna victory took place 'last year', suggesting that the work must have been edited in the Polish version in 1684.

Miecz przeciwko Turkom is Rutka's main work of anti-Islamic polemic and is primarily a propaganda work functioning on two levels, political-patriotic and religious-missionary. The author notes the permanent threat to the Christian world from the Ottomans and their constant desire to conquer Europe. As proof, he presents examples from history, mainly military instances, and cases when the Ottoman Empire broke political and military agreements (presented as the symbolic epitome of all Muslim conquests). Intermittently, Rutka reminds his readers of the treachery of the Ottomans.

The first chapter describes the situation of those living in the areas bordering on the Muslim sphere. They are in constant danger because Muslims follow the rule of fighting against the people of other faiths inscribed in the Qur'an, apparently referred to in Sura 76 (Rutka uses the form *Azoara*), although his qur'anic references, here and elsewhere, are somewhat inadequate. He states that Christians have to pay *jizya* or they will be killed.

In the following chapters, Rutka questions whether the Christians will find it difficult to resist the Ottomans, and also the difficulty of the war against the Ottoman Empire. Recalling the crusades, among other examples, as well as the defeat inflicted by Tamerlane, he concludes that defeating the Turks should not be difficult.

Rutka's core message is found in chapter 5. Here he writes that the sword referred to in the title of the work should be sharpened, and that the Christians will gain their liberty by this sword 'that will disperse the Turks to all the corners of the world' (recalling a prophecy quoted by Bartholomaeo Georgius). Rutka makes use of all available intellectual arguments, whether political, historical or theological. At the same time, he calls for peace between Christian rulers. The work calls for war against the Turks, stating that the contemporary Muslim conquests are the extension of the wars conducted by Muḥammad himself – whom Rutka calls a brigand – and the caliphs.

Using references to the Old and New Testaments, Rutka tries to prove that no biblical text foretold the coming of Muḥammad. Christians are called upon to put into practice the message of the Gospel and not be afraid of those who kill only the body. He warns, however, with reference to 'Transylvanian Anonymous' (possibly Konstantin Mihailović), that the Turks can also destroy Christian souls by converting them to Islam. He tries to prove that Christian civilisation is under a triple threat from the Ottomans: cultural, political and religious, and he sees the reason for this threat first in the Qur'an and the religious injunctions contained in it, and second in the treachery of the Ottomans, who break all treaties.

As for the theological arguments in the work, Rutka tries to show theological errors and inconsistencies contained in the Qur'an. In addition, he uses arguments *ad personam*, reading Muḥammad's biography and accusing him of envy, immorality, cruelty and lust for power. He characterises Muḥammad's successors in the same way, and adds that the followers of Muḥammad persist in errors: he calls them 'godless followers of his teaching'. He also highlights internal divisions within Islam, attributing them to religious and confessional causes. Here, he refers to 'Alī, Muḥammad's son-in-law (although Rutka's text is not very clear at this point), writing that it was to him the Archangel Gabriel was sent with the Qur'an, but he lost his way and ended up with Muḥammad. Rutka points to this event as the beginning of the schism in Islam. He reiterates that good neighbourly relations with the Ottomans, whom he presents as confirmed invaders, are impossible. 'The Turks do not know how to buy kingdoms, only how to capture them' is his key statement. He sees the need to give material and spiritual support to Christian rulers fighting against the Turks. He also argues that the Muslims are constantly bound by their law, which sanctions raids. He quotes the words of Emperor Süleyman the Magnificent on tolerance, but subsequently indicates that ultimately Muslims must submit to the higher authority of the qur'anic injunction to subjugate the infidels, and to kill them if necessary.

At the same time, Rutka criticises Christian rulers for their quarrelsomeness and greed, and their failure to defend the Christian lands. War against the Ottomans should not be difficult, but the problems lie with the Christian rulers of Europe, who should take the deliberate decision to fight them. Finding a consensus is not beyond their capacity, he urges them to take up arms, reminding them that the Ottoman army is not invincible and has been defeated in the past. In order to build

up political will among the Christian rulers, he recalls victories from the distant and more recent past. He then dwells on the history of the Commonwealth – Ottoman wars and proposes that certain actions are taken, such as sending the Dniepr Cossacks to raid the shores of the Black Sea, and sowing discord among the Ottomans.

Rutka tries to illustrate the weakness within Islam by highlighting the leadership conflicts that have been tearing apart the Muslim community since the death of Muḥammad, and by pointing out divisions within the Muslim world. Christian soldiers should be incited to war with the promise of ‘gold and heaven’.

The problem of the salvation of non-Muslims is one of the theological issues used by Rutka to show the inconsistencies in the Qur’an. He says the sura called ‘The Cow’ says that Jews, Christians and Sabians will be saved by practising their own religions, while according to the sura ‘Abraham’, only the Saracens living according to the Qur’an will be saved. Similarly, he presents discrepancies in the descriptions of the figures of Isaac and Jacob, and reproaches the Muslims for their denial of the death of Jesus. He adds that no other ‘sect’ has inflicted so much misery on Christians as the Muslims. At the same time, he presents signs that predict victory over the Ottomans, underlining the role played in this by the Commonwealth.

The summary emphasises that the Christians, including the Poles, in combat with the Turks are fighting against the enemies of the Holy Cross, Christianity and the Holy Trinity. Rutka refers to a prediction in a work by Georgius, which states that after the twelfth year the sword against the Turks will gain victory. The Turks themselves are not sure whether ‘the sword’ means a strong Christian ruler and his army, or a Christian prophet who will turn Muslims into Christians. He adds a paragraph in which he narrates a story about a chapel in the Church of Hagia Sophia from which the Ottomans were unable to remove the images of Jesus and Mary, so they sealed the entry to it. This means that Jesus and Mary never left the church, and are waiting there for the return of the Christians.

Copies of the work can be found in the University of Warsaw Library, the Princes Czartoryskis’ Library in Kraków, the Jagiellonian University Library and Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN.

SIGNIFICANCE

A main feature of *Miecz przeciwko Turkom* is the call to Christians to fight against the Ottomans, although this came at a time when the Ottomans,

crushed at Vienna, were losing their power and status as a major threat to their European neighbours. Despite Rutka's hopes, the Commonwealth did not play a major role in the final stages of fending off the Ottomans.

It is worth bearing in mind that the second edition of the work appeared three years before the treaty of Carlovitz and the 'Ottoman threat' had ceased to be a major issue, even in the Commonwealth. Rutka's translations of the Western anti-Islamic works also appeared at a time when the Ottoman threat had largely lost its relevance. This notwithstanding, his missionary approach to the Muslims was in tune with the spirit of the times, when various catechisms or missionary manuals were published in the last quarter of the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th centuries (for example, by Jan Herbinus and Michał Wieczorkowski).

Rutka's work fell into oblivion. Its propaganda-devotional character probably contributed to its not being re-edited in the 19th century, when other earlier works were given a second life as part of the drive to keep the national spirit alive during times when Poland had no political existence of its own. It is hard to find any studies of this work, or of the anti-Islamic themes in Rutka's writings.

PUBLICATIONS

Gladius contra Turcas. A Christo Principe, Rege, Imperatore, Imperatoribus, Regibus, Principibusque Christianorum. Ad defendenda et recuperanda Christianorum Regna porrectus, et a quodam Milite Christiano ab antiqua rubigine detersus, limatusque. Typis Christianopolitanis. Anno Christi Imperatoris, et Bellatoris, Lwów, 1679; Zamość, 1680²

Miecz przeciwko Turkom od Christusa xiążęcia, króla, cesarza, cesarzom, królom y xiążętom chrześcijańskim na obronę y odebranie królestw chrześcijańskich podany. I od jednego żołnierza chrześcijańskiego, ze starey rdzy otarty y wypolerowany z łacińskiego na polski przełożony, y drukiem christianopolitańskim światu pokazany, Leszno, 1684; Lwów, 1696 (Polish trans., reworked and expanded)

Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna*, vol. 1, pp. 401-25 (extracts from the 1684 edition)

Norbert Frejek

Kitaby Tatarów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego

‘Kitabs of the Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’

DATE 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Tatar Muslims were already settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the end of the 14th century. They lost their original Turkic dialects as time went on, and were progressively unable to use religious literature in these dialects, so translations into the local Slavonic languages, Belorussian and Polish, took the place of the originals. These were usually compilations of several different sources, some of them anonymous, and some, especially from the later period, signed (though there is no certainty whether the signature was that of the compiler or of a later copyist). They employed a specially adapted Arabic alphabet and were hand-copied, usually prepared for the specific needs of local communities. Only copies dating from the 18th century have survived, although linguistic analysis shows clear traces of language forms from the second half of the 16th century.

Among the Tatar settlers, these hand-written *kitabs* (from Arabic *kitāb*, ‘book’) were manuscripts with religious content, such as moral treatises or stories from the lives of prophets. Jakub Szykiewicz defines *kitab* as: ‘a book of religious content where narratives from the history of the prophets, religious legends and even Oriental fables are gathered; translations of some prayers and Qur’anic surahs; religious rites; explanation of the rules of the Muslim religion can also be found there’ (Szykiewicz, ‘O kitabie’, p. 188).

These Tatar religious works were not only influenced by writings from the Islamic world; strong influences from Christian literature, including the Bible, are also visible. The use of Christian works was a very important feature of the *kitabs* (and of other genres in Tatar religious literature), though this material was suitably adapted by ‘purifying’ it of some of its explicitly Christian elements, for example, by removing references to the divinity of Jesus and the Trinity. Fragments of polemical treatises that draw material from the Old Testament, such as *Wywód narodu*

naszego a syna Abrahamowego starszego ('Genealogy of our people from Abraham's elder son') offer examples of such borrowings.

Citations from the Bible are frequent in these works. They were most often taken from the Polish translation by Szymon Budny, the so-called *Nieśwież Bible* (1572), that was made for the Polish Brethren (also known as the 'Arians'), though the translation by Jakub Wujek (1599) was also used. Biblical quotations were employed for a variety of purposes: to show that the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad had been revealed 'in the Gospel in Isaiah prophecies' (Isaiah 42:1-4); for proofs of the divine origin of Islam; for teachings about ritual purity (e.g. Exodus 30:20-1, Deuteronomy 15:16, 18:4, 22:3); for the justification of circumcision (Genesis 17:14) and the ban on alcohol and pork (Jeremiah 35:1-8).

The *kitab*s also contain rich commentary material on biblical stories, e.g. the raising of Lazarus. One *kitab* accuses St Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, of 'false witness against the Sacred Scripture and against the Sacred Gospel' (Drozd, 'Wpływy chrześcijańskie na literaturę Tatarów', p. 13), while others criticise Jakub Wujek's translation. There are also refutations of Christian teachings, and devotional passages about the Virgin Mary.

The story about the birth of Jesus (*o narodzeniu Isi*) offers a particular example of adaptation of Christian texts to the teachings of Islam. Here, King Herod is crucified as a substitute for Jesus (whose crucifixion is denied in the Qur'an). The text contains many borrowings from the Gospel, which are amended to make them compatible with Muslim doctrine. This kind of alteration extends to the commentaries on and explanations of biblical passages. In effect, the Qur'an itself is called 'Sacred Scripture' (*Pismo Święte*), an obvious synonym of the term 'Bible'.

The *kitab*s drew on *Historyja barzo cudna o stworzeniu nieba i ziemie* ('Most wonderful story about the creation of heaven and earth') by Krzysztof Pussman (1551), which was a translation of an Old Testament apocryphal account of the life of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from paradise. Tatar authors expanded this text to four times its original length, enriching it with verses from the Qur'an and the Bible and giving it a new purpose, with the result that it became a new version while still recognisable as Pussman's original.

Other borrowings from Christian literature can also be detected, including the 15th-century hagiographical poem-hymn *Legenda o św. Jopie* ('Legend of St Job'), which according to Drozd ('Tatarska wersja pieśni-legendy o św. Hiobie', pp. 166-70) found its way into the Tatar prayer book via a Christian hymn book, *Pieśni katolickie nowo reformowane* ('Catholic hymns newly reformed') (Kraków, c. 1638); and *Przykład o*

dziwnym zarządzeniu Boskim i o poczęciu świętego Grzegorza ('An example of the mysterious divine will and of the conception of St Gregory), found in a collection of homilies, *Historyje rzymskie* ('Roman stories').

SIGNIFICANCE

The Tatar Muslim authors of the *kitab*s used the Bible as an extension of the Qur'an, which appears to indicate regard for its authority. In creating their compilations, the authors aimed at creating a certain synthesis of the two religious traditions, while their explicit use of extremist Protestant books and translations was presumably linked to the fact that doctrinally, anti-Trinitarians were closer to the monotheism of Islam.

Interest in the literary heritage of the Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania among philologists, historians, theologians and other scholars has led to the development of a new philological sub-discipline called *kitabistyka*.

PUBLICATIONS

Manuscripts of *kitab*s are kept in numerous libraries and museums in various countries, and also in private collections. Details of those held in certain Belarusian, Lithuanian and Polish collections can be found in:

A. Drozd, M.M. Dziekan, and T. Majda (eds), *Katalog zabytków tatarskich, Tom III. Piśmiennictwo i muhiry Tatarów polsko-litewskich* [Catalogue of Tatar memorials, vol. 3, Literature and *muhirs* of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars], Warsaw, 2000, pp. 8-11, 48-66 (includes details of Tatar MSS catalogued by the end of the 20th century)

I.A. Goncharova, A.I. Citavec and M. Tarelka (eds), *Rukapisy beloruskikh tatarau kantsa 17-nachatku 20 stagoddzia z kalektsyi Tsentral'naï Navukovaï Bibliiateki imia Iakuba Kolasa Natsyianal'naï Akademii Navuk Belarusi*, Minsk, 2003 (lists the holdings of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences)

G. Mishkinene, S. Namavichute and E. Pokrovskaia (eds), *Katalog arabsko-alfabitnukh rukopiseï litovskikh tatar*, Vilnius, 2005 (lists 83 items)

Critical editions of a few *kitab*s have been published:

H. Jankowski and Cz. Łapicz (ed. and trans.), *Klucz do raju. Księga Tatarów litewsko-polskich z XVIII wieku* [The key to paradise. A book of the Lithuanian-Polish Tatars from the 18th century], Warsaw, 2000

G. Miškinienė (ed.), *Ivano Luckievičiaus kitabas. Lietuvos totorių kultūros paminklas*, Vilnius, 2009

STUDIES

- Projekt 'tefsir'*; <http://www.tefsir.umk.pl> (website of a research project on the religious books of the Tatars including *kitab*s)
- A. Konopacki, *Życie religijne Tatarów na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XIX wieku* [Religious life of the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-19th centuries], Warsaw, 2010
- S. Akiner, *Religious language of a Belarusian Tatar Kitab, a cultural monument of Islam in Europe. With a Latin-script transliteration of the British library Tatar Belarusian Kitab*, Wiesbaden, 2009
- I. Citavec, art. 'Kitab', in *Vialikaie Kniastva Litouskae*, Minsk, 2006, vol. 2, pp. 98-9
- Goncharova, Citavec and Tarelka (eds), *Rukapisy beloruskikh tatarau kantsa 17-nachatku 20 stagoddzia*
- J. Tyszkiewicz, 'Początki muzułmańskiej kodykologii polsko-litewskiej [The beginnings of Muslim Polish-Lithuanian codicology]', in B. Trelińska (ed.), *Tekst źródła. Krytyka. Interpretacja* [The text of the source. Criticism. Interpretation], Warsaw, 2005
- Mishkinene, Namavichute and Pokrovskaia (eds), *Katalog arabsko-alfabitnukh rukopisei litovskikh tatar*
- M. Tarelka, *Struktura arabograficznego teksta na polskoï move*, Minsk, 2004
- M. Tarelka and A.I. Citavec, 'Belaruskaia kniga napisaniia arabskim pis'mom u fondze Tsentral'naï Navukovai Bibliateki Belarusi', *Vesti Natsyianal'naï Akademii Navuk Belarusi. Seryia humanitarnykh navuk* 1 (2002) 116-18
- G. Miškinienė, *Seniausii Lietuvos Totorių Rankraščiai. Grafika. Transliteracija. Vertimas. Tekstų struktūra ir turinys*, Vilnius, 2001
- H. Miškinienė, 'O zawartości treściowej najstarszych rękopisów Tatarów litewskich [On the contents of the oldest manuscripts of the Lithuanian Tatars]', *Rocznik Tatarów Polskich* 6 (2000) 30-5
- A. Drozd, 'Wpływy chrześcijańskie na literaturę Tatarów w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej [Christian influences on the literature of the Tatars in the erstwhile Commonwealth]', *Pamiętnik Literacki* 88/3 (1997) 3-34
- A. Drozd, 'Staropolski apokryf w muzułmańskich księgach. (Tatarska adaptacja *Historyji barzo cudnej o stworzeniu nieba i ziemie* Krzysztofa Pussmana) [Old Polish apocrypha in Muslim books. (A Tatar adaptation of *Historyja barzo cudna o stworzeniu nieba i ziemie* by Krzysztof Pussman)]', *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne, Seria Literacka* 3 (1996) 95-134

- A. Drozd, 'Tatarska wersja pieśni-legendy o św. Hiobie [Tatar version of a hymn-legend about St Job]', *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne, seria literacka II* 22 (1995) 163-95
- A. Drozd, 'Rękopisy tatarskie w zbiorach londyńskich [Tatar manuscripts in London collections]', *Rocznik Tatarów Polskich* 2 (1994) 38-54
- I. Anikievich and I. Krynitskiï, 'Drevnia skazka iz kitaba', *Biaram* 1 (1991) 40-52
- Cz. Łapicz, 'Zawartość treściowa kitabu Tatarów litewsko-polskich [Content of a Lithuanian-Polish Tatar *kitab*]', *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 20 (1991) 169-91
- Cz. Łapicz, *Kitab Tatarów litewsko-polskich (Paleografia. Grafia. Język)* [*Kitab of the Lithuanian-Polish Tatars. (Paleography. Orthography. Language)*], Toruń, 1986
- G.M. Meredith-Owens and A. Nadson, 'The Byelorussian Tatars and their writings', *Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 2 (1970) 141-76
- A. Antonovich, *Belaruskie teksty pisanue i ikh grafiko-ortograficheskaia sistema*, Vilnius, 1968
- A.K. Antonovich, 'Kratkiï obzor Belarusskikh tekstov pisanykh arabskim pis'mom', in V.V. Martynova and N.N. Tolstogo (eds), *Poles'e*, Moscow, 1968
- M. Konopacki, 'Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich w nauce polskiej i obcej [Literature of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in Polish and foreign research]', *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 3 (1966) 193-204
- A. Woronowicz, 'Kitab Tatarów litewskich i jego zawartość [A *kitab* of Lithuanian Tatars and its contents]', *Rocznik Tatarski* 2 (1935) 376-94
- J. Szyrkiewicz, 'O kitabie [On *kitabs*]', *Rocznik Tatarski* 1 (1932) 188-94
- I.I. Krachkovskiï, 'Rukopis' Korana u Pskove', *Doklad Rossijskoï Akademii Nauk*, 1924

Czesław Łapicz and Artur Konopacki

Russia

Trifon Korobeinikov

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Tver, Russia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1594
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Originally a merchant from Tver, Trifon Korobeinikov worked as a scrivener, or junior clerk (*pod'chii*), in the Moscow chancellery (*prikaz*). In March 1582, Tsar Ivan IV sent him and several other emissaries to the Middle East to distribute alms for the repose of the soul of his late son Ivan, whom he had accidentally killed in a heated dispute earlier that month. Part of the tsar's offering (500 roubles) was assigned for the construction of the Church of St Catherine of Alexandria on the spot where her body was buried on Mt Sinai (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', p. 62). The embassy, led by the merchant Ivan Matveievich Mishenin, travelled by way of Thessaloniki, the Greek islands, Tripoli, Damascus, Mt Tabor, Jaffa and Ramleh. They reached Constantinople on 20 November 1582 and spent seven months there, presenting the tsar's monetary gifts to the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Patriarch of Alexandria and other Orthodox clergy. It is believed that from Constantinople Mishenin continued his journey to Mt Athos, while Korobeinikov and Yury the Greek set off for Jerusalem, where they stayed for seven weeks. The three men met again in Constantinople, and left the city on 19 November 1583, returning via Adrianople, Bulgaria, Wallachia and Lithuania, and reaching Moscow on 28 February 1584, while the tsar was still alive. The envoys must have been generously rewarded for the successful completion of their mission, for Korobeinikov was working as a state secretary (*d'iak*) in 1588-9 (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', pp. iii-iv; Zabelin, *Materialy*, pp. 1218, 1221).

In 1593, Tsar Feodor Ivanovich again sent Korobeinikov to the East, this time in the company of *d'iak* Mikhail Ogarkov and *pod'iachii* Vasiliev, to distribute alms in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Egypt and Sinai to give thanks for the birth of Princess Feodosia in 1592. The envoys left Moscow on 19 January 1593, taking with them 5564 Hungarian gold coins and a large number of sable furs. They travelled through

Smolensk, Orsha, Borisov, Minsk, Slutsk, Turov, Kamenets-Podolsk, Khotyn, Yassy, Sakchi and Hapsa (Khapst), reaching Constantinople in April, and Jerusalem in late September 1593. The emissaries stayed in Jerusalem for seven months, until April 1594, and then left for Antioch, and, travelling via Lithuania, returned to Moscow 'with great honours'. Korobeinikov brought back with him a model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', pp. vi-viii).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Primary sources on Korobeinikov include the earliest MSS of his 1583-4 and 1593-5 records of his journeys to the East. Other references to him, found in various state records, diplomatic reports, and chronicles, are listed and described in: Kh.M. Loparev (ed.), 'Khozhdeniie Trifona Korobeinikova', *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 27 (1888) 1-103, and foreword pp. i-lxxv

Secondary

- O.A. Belobrova, art. 'Korobeinikov Trifon', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, vyp. 2 (vtoraia polovina XIV-XVI v.), Leningrad, 1988, ch. 1, 490-1; Institut russkoi literatury [The Pushkin House] Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (RAN), 2006-11; <http://www.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4025>
- J. Glad, *Russia abroad. Writers, history, politics*, Tenafly NJ, 1999, pp. 48-9
- T.G. Stavrou and P.R. Weisensel, *Russian travelers to the Christian East from the twelfth to the twentieth century*, Columbus OH, 1986, pp. 39-40
- Art. 'Korobeinikov (Trifon)', in I.E. Andreievskii, K.K. Arseniev and F.F. Petrushevskii (eds), *Entsyklopedicheskii slovar' F.A. Brokgauza i I.A. Efrona*, St Petersburg, 1890-1907, vol. 31 (xvi), 307-8; <http://www.runivers.ru/bookreader/book10162/#page/316/mode/iup>; <http://www.vehi.net/brokgauz/index.html>
- I.Ye. Zabelin, *Materialy dlia istorii, arkheologii i statistiki goroda Moskvyy*, Moscow, 1884, vol. 1

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Khozheniie (Khozhdeniie) Trifona Korobeinikova ko sviatym mestam Vostoka; Khozhdeniie (Khozhdeniie) Trifona Korobeinikova, moskovskogo kouptsa, s tovarishchi, puteshestviie vo Ierusalim, Iegipet i k Sinaiskoi gore v 1583 g.; Puteshestviie moskovskikh kouptsov Trifona Korobeinikova i Iuriia Grekova ko sviatym mestam v 1582 g., 'Journey of Trifon Korobeinikov to the holy sites of the East'

DATE Approximately 1584-1602

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Korobeinikov's embassies to the Middle East were recorded in two accounts (*Khozheniia*), one detailing his 1583-4 journey to Constantinople and Jerusalem, and the other relating his 1593-4 trip from Moscow to Constantinople. There is also Korobeinikov's written report (*otchet*) on the distribution of the tsar's alms during his 1593-4 diplomatic mission to Constantinople. The account of his 1583-4 journey enjoyed wide popularity with the Russian public for over three centuries. In 1884, however, the authenticity of his 1583-4 *Khozheniie* was suddenly questioned, when an almost identical account of the journey, written by Vasily Poznyakov over two decades earlier but little known before, was brought to light. The 1884 publication of Poznyakov's *Khozheniie* generated a heated authorship debate among historians (for an overview, see Stavrou and Weisensel, *Russian travelers*, pp. 40-2). It was argued that Korobeinikov never even reached Jerusalem, but rather stayed behind in Constantinople waiting for the rest of the embassy (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', p. xix). It was also suggested that Poznyakov's account may have been adapted not by Korobeinikov himself, who probably lacked a gift for writing, but by someone else in the late 16th or early 17th century (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', pp. xvii, xxxi, xxxvii; Prokofiev and Alekhina, *Zapiski*, p. 435). Others defended Korobeinikov's authorship on the basis of some diplomatic documents that came to light later (Roubtsov, 'K voprosu'; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, pp. 290-2), as well as others who believed that Korobeinikov did go to Jerusalem in 1583 but wrote

his account at least a decade later (Prokofiev, 'Literatura', p. 15; Prokofiev and Alekhina, *Zapiski*, p. 435).

The first extensive history of the Korobeinikov manuscripts was given by Loparev in his 1888 edition of the *Khozhdenie*. He argued that the original account appeared, possibly in two copies, in the late 16th century ('Khozhdeniie', pp. xxxi-xxxii).

Loparev divided the 200 manuscript copies (*spiski*) of the *Khozhdenie* that were known at the time into three major groups: 1) the most complete copies, used for the first publication of the full account by Ivan Sakharov in his 1849 collection, *Skazaniia russkogo naroda* (St Petersburg, 1849, vol. 2, pp. 137-58); 2) copies containing long interpolations from other pilgrim narratives or sacred books; and 3) parts of the text that were included in various chronicles, cosmographies and chronologies. In Loparev's opinion, only those in the first group were close to the 'original' non-extant late 16th-century manuscript, although they were often incomplete and lacked the opening, middle or closing chapters ('Khozhdeniie', pp. xxxv-xxxvii; see also Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaiia literatura*, pp. 230-1).

Loparev based his own edition of the work on a manuscript in the Imperial Public Library (now The National Library of Russia), MS Q.XVII.44, which had probably been adapted from Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* ('Khozhdeniie', p. xxxvii). His edition indicates where exactly Korobeinikov had 'plagiarized' Poznyakov by printing in a smaller font the parts of the text that are identical to Poznyakov's *spiski*. In the footnotes, Loparev also provides passages found in several other manuscript copies which are missing or phrased differently from MS Q.XVII.44.

Loparev's interpolation of Poznyakov's account into Korobeinikov's, as well as the 'typicality' of the *spisok* itself – Loparev's main criterion for choosing it – were questioned by some later scholars (Roubtsov, 'K voprosu'; Bush, 'K voprosu', pp. 154-6; Fedorova, "Khozhdeniia" russkikh', pp. 740, 747), and after Loparev's time new *spiski* of Korobeinikov's account were found that appeared to be more 'archetypal' than MS Q.XVII.44 (Bush, 'K voprosu'). Moreover, the possibility that Poznyakov's account may itself have been adapted from a Greek *proskynitarion*, translated into Russian as *Poklonieniie sv. gradu Ierusalimu* (Goloubtsova, 'K voprosu', pp. 438-50), distorts the true textual relationship between Poznyakov's and Korobeinikov's *Khozhdeniia* and compromises the attempt fully to reconstruct the way in which Korobeinikov constructed his account (Fedorova, "Khozhdeniia" russkikh', pp. 747-9).

Nevertheless, Anna Reshetova has been able to offer a textual reconstruction history of Korobeinikov's *Khozhdenie* and also to provide a detailed textual comparison of Poznyakov's and Korobeinikov's accounts (*Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura*, pp. 207-91).

At present, 508 extant *spiski* of Korobeinikov's narrative are known (Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura*, pp. 468-621). Of these, 80 copies are held in the Russian State Library (RGB, Moscow); 98 in the State Historical Museum (GIM, Moscow); 32 in the Russian State Archive of Early Acts (RGADA, Moscow); 139 in the National Library of Russia (RNB, St Petersburg); and 50 in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN, St Petersburg). The manuscript production and publication history of the *Khozhdenie* has been discussed by A.A. Oparina (*Sravnitel'no-tekstologicheskii analiz*) and more recently by Reshetova (*Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura*, pp. 230-48).

Korobeinikov's *Khozhdenie* is very similar to Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* in the part that describes the holy sites of Palestine, Egypt and Sinai, but Korobeinikov makes significant alterations to the structure of the narrative by changing the travel itinerary and the selection of certain details (see Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', p. xx). The narrative opens with a brief though rather poignant description of the pilgrims' passage through Salonica, the Greek islands (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Rhodes and Cyprus), Tripoli, Damascus, Jaffa and Ramleh, en route to Jerusalem. Along the way, the author makes a few interesting observations on local geography, flora and fauna, economy and customs – practical details that a sharp merchant's eye would notice. For instance, when he describes the sea journey from Cyprus to Tripoli, he mentions the abundance of olive trees in the area, from which the local people make 'wood oil' and 'Greek soap', as well as the presence of many large ships at the wharfs (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', p. 4; all further page references are to this edition). The narrative then slows down to focus on the description of the holy sites of Jerusalem and the suburbs, generously embellished with biblical references (pp. 7-46). The last part, relating the journey to Egypt (pp. 47, 55-7) and Sinai (pp. 58-71), is also interspersed with apocryphal references and practical observations. As mentioned above, the pilgrimage narrative in Korobeinikov's account is very close to that of Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie*, and for this reason the remarks contained in it about Muslims and Islam do not differ noticeably from Poznyakov's.

Korobeinikov managed to incorporate Poznyakov's diplomatic report, albeit much abridged, into the description of his embassy's reception by

the Patriarch of Alexandria by adjusting all the names to the year 1583. In his account, it is Sylvester, the new patriarch (1566-90), who receives the guests and praises Ivan IV for protecting Muscovy from non-Christians (p. 47). This short account serves as a transition to the legend of how the previous patriarch, Joachim, proved his faith to the Mamlūk sultan. The miracle, now related by Sylvester, repeats Poznyakov's rendition of this story almost verbatim (pp. 48-54).

SIGNIFICANCE

Like Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie*, Korobeinikov's account combines a pilgrim narrative with a diplomatic report. This combination became the most characteristic feature of many 16th- and 17th-century accounts, in which the narrator is both a pilgrim piously describing the holy sites, and a statesman carrying out his public duties (Prokofiev, 'Literatura', p. 9; Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura*, pp. 218-21, 227). The two roles were not mutually exclusive, given the increasingly important role that the Holy Land and the Eastern Orthodox patriarchates played in Russia's foreign policy, specifically with regard to Ottoman Turkey, from the mid-16th century onwards (for more on this topic, see Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii*).

After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the Near East, the four Eastern Orthodox patriarchs (of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) depended on Muscovy's financial support to pay taxes to the Turks. For its part, Moscow adopted the role of Protector of the Orthodox East, proclaiming itself the 'Third Rome'. In these circumstances, pilgrimages to the Middle East acquired new, political significance, and their spiritual and political aims became intertwined. The interaction between Muscovy and the Orthodox East had intensified by the 1580s, as is evident from the increased number of both the Eastern patriarchs' trips to Moscow and the Russian tsars' embassies to the East. It is believed that the establishment of the autocephalous Moscow Patriarchate in 1589 came about, at least in part, in exchange for the financial support given to the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II during his trips to Moscow in 1586 and 1588-9 (van den Bercken, *Holy Russia*, p. 159). The active support of the Orthodox East by the Russian tsar can be seen in the enormous number of gifts and funds that were taken to the Holy Land by Korobeinikov's second embassy of 1593-4 (see Loparev, 'Otchet').

On the other hand, the structure of Korobeinikov's *Khozhdenie* suggests a shift of emphasis from state ideology to spirituality, in that the

narrative is centred on the description of Jerusalem during the Easter celebration. The structural changes Korobeinikov made to Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* may be accounted for by the fact that the tsar's letters sent with the 1583-4 embassy did not survive (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', p. ii), but they can also be explained by the different nature of the embassy's mission and the different rhetorical purposes of the author and/or later editors of his account (see Yermolenko, 'Early modern Russian pilgrims', pp. 67-72).

Korobeinikov's account of his 1583-4 journey to the East is also indicative of the transformations that notions of the 'Holy Land' and Orthodox piety were undergoing in the Russian political and cultural imagination (Yermolenko, 'Early modern Russian pilgrims', pp. 71-2). The discourse of the 'Third Rome' came to an end in the course of the 17th century under pressure from Patriarch Nikon's radical church reform and the ensuing 'Old Believers' schism. But, unlike Poznyakov's account, Korobeinikov's *Khozhdenie* never lost its popular appeal. The narrative was widely read in Russia throughout the 18th-19th centuries; it was referred to in Russian chronicles (e.g., *Polnoie sobranie russkikh letopisei*, St Petersburg, 1841, vol. 3, p. 263), and enjoyed the authority of a sacred book; it was as popular among Russian peasants and merchants as the tales of the Trojan war and the legends of Alexander the Great (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', pp. i-ii, xiii-xiv). Several hundred manuscript and handwritten copies were in circulation. From the late 18th century, starting with the 1783 publication by V.G. Roubtsov, and up to the early 20th century, it had appeared in over 40 printed editions, some of which were loose adaptations (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie', p. i; see also the list of editions below). It became the definitive text in the genre of pilgrimage literature, as well as a valuable source of geographical and cultural information about the Holy Land and its Christian and Muslim inhabitants.

PUBLICATIONS

There are too many MS variants and copies of the *Khozhdenie* to be listed here. For the most up-to-date and detailed list of the extant manuscript copies of Korobeinikov's account, see A.A. Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura XVI-XVII vekov (istoriia i poetika)*, Riazan, 2006, pp. 468-621.

MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia – MS Q.XVII.44, 4^o, 342 fols (16th-17th centuries; MS copy used by Loparev for his 1888 edition)

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- I. Mikhailov (ed.), *Puteshestviie moskovskago kouptsia Trifona Korobeinikova s tovarishchi vo Ierusalim, Iegipet i k Sinaiskoi gore, predpriniatie po osoblivomu soizvoleniuiu gosudaria tsaria i velikogo kniazia Ioanna Vasil'evicha vseia Rossii, v 1583 godu, i opisannoe im Korobeinikovym na slavenskom iazyke, s kotorago nynie, dlia oudobneishego poniatia, perelozheno na chisty rossiskii*, Moscow, 1798 (1826², 1829³, 1830⁴) (adaptation)
- I. Mikhailov (ed.), *Puteshestviie v Ierusalim, Iegipet i k Sinaiskoi gore v 1583 godu Trifona Korobeinikova*, St Petersburg, 1846⁵ (adaptation)
- Trifon Korobeinikov, 'Puteshestviia moskovskikh kouptsiov Trifona Korobeinikova i Iurii Grekova ko sviatym mestam v 1582 g.', in I.P. Sakharov (ed.), *Skazaniia russkogo naroda*, St Petersburg, 1849, vol. 2, 135-58
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- Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie'
- Kh.M. Loparev (ed.), 'Otchet Trifona Korobeinikova v rozdannoii tsarskoi milostyni', *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 27 (1888) 84-103 (Korobeinikov's financial report on how he distributed the tsar's charitable donations in the East in 1594, during his second trip)
- V.A. Lounin (ed.), *Puteshestviie moskovskogo kouptsia Trifona Korobeinikova vo Ierusalim, Iegipet i k Sinaiskoi gore v 1583 godu pri tsare Ioanne Vasil'eviche Groznom*, Moscow, 1899, 1902²
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- Trifon Korobeinikov, 'Khozheniie kouptsia Trifona Korobeinikova po sviatym mestam Vostoka', in Prokofiev and Alekhina (eds), *Zapiski russkikh puteshestvennikov XVI-XVII vv.*, 33-67
- Puteshestviie moskovskikh kouptsiov Trifona Korobeinikova i Iurii Grekova*, Moscow, 1999

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- M.A. Goloubtsova, 'K voprosu ob istochnikakh drevnerusskikh khozhdenii v sv. Zemliu', *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh* 4 (1911) 1-78
- M.V. Roubtsov, 'K voprosu o "khozhdenii" Trifona Korobeinikova v sv. Zemliu v 1582 godu', *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* 334 (1901) 359-88
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Galina Yermolenko

Povest' o Skanderbege, kniaze Albanskom

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; early or mid-17th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of this work is unknown, but he was probably from the Ukrainian or Byelorussian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Another possibility is that he was an official working in Moscow, maybe in the diplomatic service.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Povest' o Skanderbege, kniaze Albanskom, 'The story of Skanderbeg, Prince of Albania'

DATE Probably beginning of the 17th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The origins of the *Povest'* are obscure. The title states that it is a translation of the Polish *Chronicles of the whole world* by Marcin Bielski (1495-1575) (the third edition is entitled *Kronika. tho iesth, Historia Swiata*, Kraków, 1564), though it is not an accurate translation and so many changes have been made that it can be considered an independent literary work. There are a number of Polish borrowings, which suggest that it was made in the Ruthenian (Ukrainian or Belarusian) lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Another possibility is that the author was a Moscow official (maybe an ambassador) who had access to the literature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

N. Rozov dates the story to the beginning of the 17th century; the earliest known copy is from the mid-17th century, and comprises 66 pages. This, and later manuscripts, have not been well studied, and although discrepancies between them have been marked, no revisions have been made. Rozov's edition is based on the earliest known MS, the Solovetsky list of the mid-17th century, but, according to P.M. Popov, the original is

best captured in the later version of the list from the second half of the 17th century, held in the Egorov collection, no. 862.

What other texts could the author of the *Povest'* have used, apart from the *Chronicles* by Marcin Bielski? For one, the sources of the *Chronicles* are also complex. Bielski's works are based on an essay by Marin Barleti (1450-1512), who was a resident of the Albanian city of Shkodra, and also on an anonymous southern Slavonic story of Skanderbeg in which the Albanian hero is identified as Stefan Crnojević, a Serbian prince from the Principality of Zeta. After 1479, Barleti fled from the Turks to Italy, and it was there that his work on Skanderbeg was published as *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum* between 1508 and 1510. This work was reprinted several times in the 16th and 17th centuries in Latin, German, Portuguese, Polish, French, English and other languages. It was the main source of information about the battle of the Albanian Prince George Kastrioti (1404-68), commonly known as Skanderbeg, against the Turks.

The text of this Russian tale from the 17th century thus draws upon material from an unknown 17th-century author, and from Italian, Polish and southern Slavic works from the 16th century.

The *Povest'* begins with a critique of the 'Greeks' (Byzantines), who boast of their deeds in the fight against the Muslims. The author claims that the real heroes who defeated the Turks remain in the shadows, and are little known. The Greeks, in contrast, only saved those who survived the Turkish troops and helped them recover from defeat.

As the *Povest'* narrates, the Turkish oppression caused great harm to the Christians. Sultan Bayezid's son, Sultan Mehmed I Çelebi (r. 1413-21), restored his country after the defeat of his father by Tamerlane, and attacked the Byzantines, the Romanians ('Vlachs') and the country of Albania. (This information is not entirely accurate, as Mehmed in fact fought against Rumelia, but tried to maintain peaceful relations with Byzantium. It was his son, Sultan Murad II (r. 1421-44), who fought in the Balkans.) He took, George, the son of a local ruler, the Albanian prince Giona (John) Kastrioti, and held him hostage.

The story relates that George achieved great prowess in Turkey. He was tempted by fame and power but continued to serve the sultan. He was also entreated by Balkan princes to return home to lead a rebellion against the Turks, though he still remained loyal to the sultan. But the Ottoman ruler betrayed him. He saw how popular and brave George was and made plans to kill him. The sultan sent him to take part in a difficult

military campaign against the Serbs in Moesia, at the same time seeking to poison him.

Meanwhile, King Ladislaus III Jagiellon of Poland, leading Hungarian and Polish troops, began a crusade against the Ottomans. George now decided to go over to him to oppose them. The Hungarians and Poles defeated the Turks (although historically, in 1444 the crusaders were defeated by the Turks near Varna, and King Ladislaus III himself was killed), and George, now known as Skanderbeg, became ruler of the principality of Albania, acclaimed by Slav and Christian princes as the liberator of Christianity from Turkish domination. He began to capture the surrounding towns, expelling the Turks. He was praised as a just and wise leader, who in his battles had mercy on Christians and respected their communities. His enemies were the Turks (the *Povest'* here refers to them as Turks, not Muslims), enslavers of the Slavic and Balkan nations.

The narrative that follows is based on military fiction, describing numerous battles Skanderbeg won against the Turks. He was declared the greatest military leader, the fighter for truth, the leader of the struggle for the freedom of the Balkans. His military success was granted by God in Jerusalem, in the temple of Solomon.

The *Povest'* ends with a description of the hero's death and his last call to fight for freedom and resist the Turks. Finally, the Turks desecrated his tomb and broke up his bones to make amulets, hoping in this way to inherit his military success.

The *Povest'* depicts Skanderbeg as the saviour of Christianity, 'a warrior for the Christian faith'. Turkish rule over the Balkans was illegitimate: they took the region by deceit and violence, and they themselves were lowborn, since Sultan Murad's family originated from 'the forest men'. In the conquest of the Balkans, the Turks did not demonstrate courage but made their attacks in areas populated with weak, 'ill people'.

According to a fictional letter from Skanderbeg to the sultan included in the *Povest'*, Christians consider Islam an unjust religion. It 'is protected by unrighteousness', and the Turks 'see the salvation of the soul in the sabre'. This has nothing to do with real Islam, but demonstrates that 'Turks' are synonymous with 'conquerors', not peaceful believers: they are made to say: 'The Prophet teaches that the land on which the hooves of a Turkish horse are set becomes Turkish.' A Turk's ideal lifestyle involves warfare, living off the land, sleeping without a pillow, enduring all the hardships of war and defeating the pampered Christians, who in their eyes are lazy drunkards deserving only physical abuse and enslavement.

The letter goes on to say that Christians agree with Muslims in their belief in one God. However, it is Jesus Christ, not the Muslim god, who is the only true God. It makes no sense to debate with Muslims about religion, since the deaf do not hear and the dumb do not understand. Muḥammad is 'a prodigal prophet'.

The *Povest'* also includes a letter from the sultan in which he calls Skanderbeg 'an apostate' from Islam and a traitor who has broken his oath of allegiance to the sultan. But for Skanderbeg devotion to the sultan and loyalty to Islam was the way to hell. By renouncing his Islamic faith and adopting Christianity, he found salvation.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Povest'* presents the idea of the need for the unity of all Christians, both those in the west headed by the pope, and the Balkan Orthodox (Vlachs, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians and others). Only together in a crusade can they beat off the Turkish threat to Christianity and expel the Turks from the Balkans. However, it must be emphasised that the author assesses the Turkish menace mainly as imperialistic, military and aggressive. The *Povest'* associates the threat to Christianity not with Islam, but rather with the Ottoman Empire. Islam is simply a wrong and unjust religion.

PUBLICATIONS

MS St Petersburg, Russian National Library – Collection of Solovetsky monastery, no. 1495/36, 66 pages (mid-17th century; earliest known MS)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Egorov collection, no. 862 (late 17th century)

For descriptions of nine 17th-century MSS, see N.N. Rozov, 'Spiski povesti o Skanderbege', in N.N. Rozov and N.A. Chistyakova (eds), *Povest' o Skanderbege*, Moscow, 1957, 148-58

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Alexander Filyushkin

Povest' ob Ivane Ponomareviche

Povest' ob Ivane Ponomareviche, kako imel bran' s turskim saltanom, 'The tale of Ivan the Sexton's son as he fought the Turkish sultan'

DATE Early 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

This work, commonly known as *Povest' ob Ivane Ponomareviche*, 13 pages long, is preserved in a single copy found in a manuscript collection dating from the beginning of the 17th century. This collection also contains the lives of the saints, satirical tales, spiritual songs and fairy tales. The structure of the *Povest'* contains translated elements from Western European chivalric romance as well as from Old Russian fairy tales.

The tale itself recounts the popular story of a lonely knight, son of a sexton, who is going to fight the Turkish sultan in order to escape slavery. On his way, he helps the king of the fantastic land of Arinaria to repulse the attacks of the Turkish army and marries the king's daughter, Cleopatra, as a reward. However, she betrays Ivan to the sultan and discloses to him the secret of how to kill her husband. At the end, with the help of his father, his faithful horse and a servant girl, Ivan rises from the dead and kills both the sultan and Cleopatra.

SIGNIFICANCE

Povest' is typical of the early modern Muscovite literary genre of occasional tales. Religious motifs are practically absent: Ivan's faith is nowhere indicated, though he is presumably an Orthodox Christian, nor are the Turkish sultan and his army defined as Muslims; they are only described as 'pagan Turks'. This is more a story of a lonely hero fighting for his personal freedom and life than a story of two faiths confronting one another.

The absence of any religious identification seems to have been characteristic of adventure literature translated into Russian at this time. Even when the religion of the hero is mentioned (such as in *The tale of Prince Bova* from this same period), it is only for the sake of portraying him as morally upright. The main plot itself is characterized by entirely secular motifs – romantic chivalrous love, adventures, and exotic travels. If there

is a religious element in the hero's identity, it usually serves to underline the identity of the enemy as stereotypically 'pagan' and unchivalrous. This appears to have been a unique feature of 17th century Muscovite occasional literature.

PUBLICATIONS

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N.S. Tikhonravov, *Sochinieniia*, Moscow, 1898, vol. 3, pt 1, p. 218

Liliya Berezhnaya

Semen Ivanovich Shakhovskoi

DATE OF BIRTH 1580s
PLACE OF BIRTH Muscovy
DATE OF DEATH About 1654/5
PLACE OF DEATH Muscovy

BIOGRAPHY

Semen Ivanovich Shakhovskoi was born into a noble family, related to the princes of Iaroslavl', and holding land around both Moscow and Galich. He served the princes of Moscow in a number of capacities over the years, although he also fell into disfavour on a number of occasions. He was active in the wars and politics of the period, as well as being a notable literary figure, composing a number of texts both for his own purposes and on the orders of the court. He was specifically interested in the correct practice of Russian Orthodoxy, a subject which led to some of the great troubles of his life.

From the death of the last of the Riurikid tsars, Fedor Ivanovich, in 1598, until the election of the Romanovs as the new dynasty in 1613, Russia experienced serious political and military problems, known as the Time of Troubles. Shakhovskoi, along with all other Russian nobles of any note, was closely involved in these affairs. In the 1600s, he was attached to the court of Vasili Shuiskii, a strong claimant to the throne. However, Shakhovskoi was not treated well by Shuiskii, probably, according to the 19th-century Russian historian S.F. Platonov (*Drevnerusskie skazaniia*, pp. 231-46), because Shakhovskoi's uncle, G.P. Shakhovskoi, had rebelled against Shuiskii. Ironically, Shuiskii's mistrust of Shakhovskoi led to the latter's defection to the rival court at Tushino in 1608. However, soon afterwards, in 1610, he again defected, this time to the Polish king, although he had returned to Russia by 1611.

Shakhovskoi's familial political problems continued during the early Romanov years. He served Mikhail Romanov from at least 1613, fighting the Polish army and being wounded. This service did not help him when in 1620 some of Shakhovskoi's cousins staged a drunken reconstruction of the 1613 election of Mikhail Romanov, jokingly electing one of their own as tsar and forming a 'court'. Despite the fact that he was not even in Moscow when this took place, Shakhovskoi was accused of concealing

his cousin's treasonous behaviour; his estates were confiscated and he may also have been imprisoned. This was a lighter sentence than that imposed on some of his cousins, who were sentenced to death, although this was later commuted to internal exile.

Religion was the basis of a significant crisis in Shakhovskoi's life. After his third wife died in 1619, he married a fourth time. Having lived with his fourth wife for two years, and fathered children with her, Patriarch Filaret decided that the marriage contravened Russian Orthodox law on remarriage, and the two were forcibly separated and Shakhovskoi exiled to Tobol'sk in Siberia. Shakhovskoi was only rehabilitated in 1625.

After this crisis was resolved, Shakhovskoi served the Romanovs fairly quietly from the mid-1620s until the mid-1640s. It was during this period of relative calm that he most likely wrote a number of his literary works. These all deal with recent historical events in which he was somehow involved, notably the suspicious death of Ivan the Terrible's youngest son, Dmitrii, in 1591, and the Moscow fire of 1626, as well as a tale dealing with the gift to the tsar of a relic of Christ by the Muslim Shah of Iran.

Shakhovskoi's involvement with Muslims came in 1625, with the arrival of this relic, meant as an appeasement from the Shah, who had recently conquered the Kingdom of Georgia, a Russian protectorate. Since the gift came from a Muslim and was presented in a box covered in Latin inscriptions, it was considered to be suspicious. As a result, much time was spent checking its provenance with Georgian clerics, and testing its miraculous healing powers. Once the authenticity of the relic was established, Shakhovskoi wrote a letter to the Shah on behalf of Patriarch Filaret, thanking him for the gift and suggesting he convert to Russian Orthodoxy. As well as the letter, Shakhovskoi wrote one of several literary texts dealing with the gift of the relic.

In 1642, Shakhovskoi was involved in a different controversy, concerning the proposed marriage of the Tsar's daughter, Irina, to the Lutheran Duke Waldemar of Denmark. There was some debate over whether Waldemar should have been rebaptised as a Russian Orthodox in order to marry Irina, and Shakhovskoi's written opinion – that the Lutheran baptism was sufficient – was considered heretical. Others at court considered Waldemar's rebaptism to be essential, and a letter stressing this and aimed at converting Waldemar was written by Shakhovskoi's cousin. As a result of this controversy, the marriage negotiations broke down, Waldemar and his party were effectively placed under arrest and later tried to escape, leading to violence and at least one death, and the marriage never took place. Nevertheless, Shakhovskoi's part on the wrong

side of this controversy affected his reputation, and likely contributed to his nickname 'Kharia' – dissembler, or hypocrite. More seriously, it also led to his internal exile to Tomsk in Siberia, where he remained from 1649 into the early-mid 1650s, when he was able to return to the capital.

Shakhovskoi's contemporary and posthumous reputation as a literary figure led the American academic Edward Keenan to identify him as the real author of a series of letters purportedly between Ivan the Terrible and Andrei Kurbskii, and indeed other works traditionally ascribed to Kurbskii. This argument has proved to be hugely controversial, as indeed has the entire idea that the Kurbskii works were later fakes. The field remains divided on these sources, but perhaps a majority see the 16th-century origin of these texts as having been established as well as can be hoped.

The main source of information for Shakhovskoi's life is his autobiography, written in the early 17th century (before 1652) and covering the events in his life from 1601 to 1649, including the issue of his fourth marriage, and ending with his exile to Siberia. It is arranged as a chronicle, with each entry beginning with the year of the event, and then a description of the incident following it. Although the autobiography covers the period during which Shakhovskoi was involved in the incident with the Shah, it does not directly refer this event, probably because he wrote about it at length in another of his works, the *Povest' preslavna*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Povest' preslavna, 'The wondrous tale'

DATE After 1625

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

This tale (in full, its title is *Povest' preslavna, skazuema o perenesenii mnogoch desnyia rizy Spasa Khrista ot Persid v tsarstvuiushchii grad Moskvu*, 'The wondrous tale of how the most holy raiments of Christ the Saviour were transferred from Persia to the imperial city of Moscow') covers the historical event of the presentation of a relic of Christ to the Russian tsar, which took place in 1625, an incident in which Shakhovskoi was involved. After the gift was received, the Russians decided to send a missive to the Shah, encouraging him to convert to Russian Orthodoxy. This letter was commissioned by the Patriarch and co-ruler, Filaret, but written by Shakhovskoi. (See also the entry on the *Skazaniia o dare shakha Abbasa*.) The Tale is extant in a number of manuscripts, in the oldest of which it runs to 50 folios.

In 1617, the Shah of Iran had captured the kingdom of Georgia, which was then under the protection of Russia. As a means of placating the tsar, and discouraging a counter-invasion by the Russians, he sent a relic as a gift. The relic, a garment said to have been worn by Christ prior to the crucifixion, was treated as suspicious from the start, as it was obtained from a Muslim and was presented in a box covered in Latin inscriptions.

The authenticity of the relic was established both from discussion with Georgian clerics, who confirmed the existence of such a relic in Georgia prior to the invasion, and also through the miraculous healing of 14 persons by the relic. The relic was thus proclaimed to be genuine.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although there are several tales that deal with this same event, this is one of the few to which we can definitively ascribe an author, and one who was actually witness to, and involved in, the events. Shakhovskoi gives no direct opinion of the shah himself, but rather focuses on the relic and on the box in which it was delivered to Moscow, which was covered in Latin inscriptions. Shakhovskoi seems to find this association with the Latin language (and by extension the Western Church) and the connection with Muslims equally suspicious. He seems to have viewed Muslims as simply one group within the wider category of non-Orthodox

heretics since, after the relic was judged to be authentic, the shah was encouraged to convert, suggesting that Muslims were seen as misguided, rather than irredeemably evil.

PUBLICATIONS

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Semenova, 'Ob istochnikakh "Povesti preslavnoi"'

Platonov, *Drevnerusskie skazaniia*

Clare Griffin

Skazaniia o dare Shakha Abbasa

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Skazaniia o dare Shakha Abbasa does not give any details to indicate its authorship. S.N. Gukhman ('Dokumental'noe' skazanie', pp. 255-6) has argued that the context of its creation, its subject and its extensive use of biblical citations suggest that it was created by a member of the Muscovite clergy with close ties to the court, although he does not suggest any specific individual.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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S.N. Gukhman, 'Dokumental'noe' skazanie', *Trudy otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury* 28 (1974) 255-70, 376-84
Dvortsovye razriady, St Petersburg, 1850, vol. 2, cols 760-6

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Skazaniia o dare Shakha Abbasa, 'Tale of the gift of Shah Abbas'

DATE Early-mid 17th century; after 1625
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The title *Tale of the gift of Shah Abbas* refers to a cycle of texts that circulated in four variants ('documentary', short, 'legendary', and extended), and which also forms part of a group of related sources, all dealing with the gift of Christ's clothing to the Russian Tsar by the Shah of Persia in 1625. Prior to the gift being made, the shah had invaded the kingdom

of Georgia, which was then under the protection of the Russian crown. Indeed, the shah claimed that the clothing had been taken as spoils of war from the Georgians in 1617. The gift of the clothing was meant to persuade the tsar not to take action against this invasion.

All variants of the text, which was probably written in the mid-17th century, spend significant time on the issue of ensuring the authenticity of the relic. Approximately 45 of the 50 folios that make up the manuscript variant found in the Russian State Archive for Ancient Acts (MS Moscow, Russian State Archive for Ancient Acts – F. 135, Additions, rubr. III, No. 41) focus on this. As an object presented by a Muslim ruler, it was already suspicious. Moreover, the shah presented the relic to the Russians in a box covered in Latin inscriptions. For Orthodox Christians who had recently been at war with Catholic Poland, this raised further doubts about the relic. It was thus decided that its authenticity must be investigated.

The first stage in establishing its authenticity was to speak to Georgian clerics, who were able to confirm that such a relic had indeed been in their possession before the Persian invasion. They told a story of how a Georgian man present at the Crucifixion had acquired the garment and how his sister, hearing of it, had obtained it and kept it safe. However, the information from the Georgian clerics only served to prove the existence of such a relic, not that the shah's gift was indeed that same relic.

The relic was then directly tested for miracle-working powers, particularly whether it could cure the sick. The text gives details of 14 people who were cured, including their social status and illness. This takes up a substantial section of the latter part of the text. The tale breaks off at this point, but from other sources it is known that the relic was accepted as authentic (see also the entry on *Semen Ivanovich Shakhovskoi*).

SIGNIFICANCE

This is one of several texts that deal with this incident. As a group, they serve to proclaim the authenticity of a key relic acquired by the Russian crown. It is significant that the text seems as concerned with the Latin inscriptions on the relic as it is with its Muslim origin; for the Russian Orthodox court, both raised questions as to its authenticity and holiness. It is also interesting that the testimony of the Georgian clerics, also Eastern Orthodox, was not considered enough to prove the relic's authenticity. Only a direct sign from God – the healing miracles – was sufficient to establish this.

This text presents Muslims as a part of the Russian world with whom diplomatic relations can be conducted, but also as suspicious. However, they are regarded with the same degree of suspicion as non-Russian Christians, suggesting a dichotomy between Russian Orthodoxy and the rest of the world, rather than between Christendom and the Muslim world, as the central organising principle.

Muslims themselves are almost peripheral to this tale; the central concern is the relic. Establishing its authenticity seems to have been less about relations with Persia than about the prestige that ownership of such a relic would bring to the Russian crown. That the relic was eventually declared to be authentic should, then, not be taken as a particular sign of good will towards the shah of Persia, but merely as indicating that relations with Persia were acceptable, allowing the Russians eventually to take ownership of this important relic.

PUBLICATIONS

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Gukhman, 'Dokumental'noe' skazanie', pp. 255-70, 376-84

STUDIES

Dvortsovye razriady, vol. 2, cols 760-6

Gukhman, 'Dokumental'noe' skazanie', pp. 255-70, 376-84

Kagan, 'Skazanie o dare Shakha Abbassa'

Clare Griffin

Fedot Afansev syn Kotov

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Moscow
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably mid-17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Fedot (some sources give his name as 'Fedor') Kotov was an affluent Moscow merchant who traded with Middle Eastern and Asian countries. Some scholars surmise that he was a descendant of an ancient merchant clan engaged in international trade and the collection of customs duties. He is first mentioned in documents dated to 1617 and 1619, which name him as one of the Russian merchants who supported the Boyar Duma's plan to grant land and special rights to English traders in gratitude for England's involvement in the Treaty of Stolbovo between Russia and Sweden.

Kotov is mainly known for his trip to Persia in 1623-4 on a commission from Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov (r. 1613-45); as he himself says, 'in a merchant status, carrying the sovereign's money'. He left Moscow with eight others on 5 May 1623. During his travels, Kotov visited Persia, Turkey and India. His caravan did not meet with any diplomatic obstacles on its journey, as it carried the tsar's goods. Kotov recorded his observations and impressions, probably on the instructions of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

O khodu v Persidskoe tsarstvo i iz Persidy v Turskuiu zemliu i v Iudeiu i v Urmuz, gde korabli prikhodiat,

'About the journey to the Persian Kingdom, and from Persia to the Turkish Land, and to Judea, and to Hormuz, where ships arrive'

O khodu v Persidskoe tsarstvo, 'Journey to Persia'

DATE Probably first quarter of the 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

Fedot Kotov's account of his journey includes geographical and ethnographic descriptions of the places the trade mission visited on the way from Moscow to Persia, Turkey and, finally, Hormuz. Kotov paid particular attention to the most important Muslim festivals, as well as to local buildings, which he constantly compared with those in Moscow: he thought Persian architecture superior to Russian in its design and scale. He also noted unfamiliar plants and animals. Kotov devoted much attention to his description of his mission's meeting with the Persian Shah Abbas, which took place on 26 June 1624. The shah was on his way home after the seizure of Baghdad.

Kotov's *O khodu v Persidskoe tsarstvo* contains indirect evidence of the conflict between the Persian and Turkish interpretations of Islam. For instance, he reports that, after capturing the city of Shamakhi, the Persian shah demolished not only the fortress but also all the Turkish mosques in the city. He notes that the shah then 'built his own' mosques in their place.

Kotov describes many phenomena and events in the lives of Muslims in Persia and Turkey. He bases his description on personal experience, as well as on information drawn from various written sources. Although he appears genuinely interested in Muslim customs, he seems unable to understand some of them correctly. For example, he describes a large spiritual complex built around the mosque in Ardabil as a monastery of

sorts. Within the complex, founded by the son of the Sheikh Safi ('Shah Sofeiiia'), lived *teziki*, or Tajiks (the same term, *teziki*, was used in Muscovy to describe the merchants from Bukhara). In Kotov's words, 'Both, monastery walls and the mosque, are made of stone and covered with glaze. Muslims, also known as *teziki*, live here instead of monks... They are being fed from one pot using the monastery's earnings, just like in Russian monasteries.'

Kotov mentions the four Orthodox *piadnichnye* icons (the size of a man's palm) kept in the Isfahan mosque, depicting the nativity of Christ, the baptism of Christ, the transfiguration of Christ, and Christ's entry into Jerusalem. They had presumably all been brought to Isfahan from Georgia. This is remarkable, given that Muslim doctrine prohibits images in their places of worship.

Kotov also notes that Persian mosques were guarded by *abdaly*, a term he appears to have used for dervishes. According to Kotov, they patrolled the square and the streets barefoot and almost naked; they only wore loincloths made of sheepskin, caps on their heads, and rock crystals in their ears. The guards were armed with lances, cudgels and axes. Kotov concluded that they were 'terrifying in their appearance just like madmen and fools'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The increase in hostility towards Islam in Muscovy from the end of the 16th century led to a reassessment of knowledge about the Muslim faith. Thus, despite a certain sympathy for colourful Muslim festivals and customs, Kotov attacks Islam directly on several occasions. For example, he refers to the veneration of holy men as 'damned', and says that celebration and praise of such figures, including reverence for Muḥammad himself, does not bring any good; instead, it leads to the 'eternal fire, to everlasting torment, to defamation, and to reproach'.

PUBLICATIONS

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Kuznetsova, *Khozhdenie kuptsa Fedota Kotova*

P.M. Kemp (ed. and trans.), *Russian travellers to India and Persia (1624-1798). Kotov, Yefremov, Danibegov*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 1-42 (annotated English trans. of 1852 edition)

Fedot Kotov, 'Zapiski kuptsa Fedota Kotova o puteshestvii v Persiiu', in N.I. Prokof'ev and L.I. Alekhina (eds), *Zapiski russkikh puteshestvennikov XVI-XVII vv.*, Moscow, 1988, pp. 135-62

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V.P. Adrianova-Peretts and A.S. Demin, *O khudozhestvennosti drevnerusskoi literatury*, Moscow, 1998, p. 689

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'Puteshestviia pervoi poloviny XVII v.', in *Istoriia russkoi literatury*, Moscow, 1948, vol. 2, ch. 2, pp. 121-3

Liudmila Sukina

Ioannikii Grek

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Jerusalem or Greece
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1631 and 19 September 1632
PLACE OF DEATH	Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Ioannikii Grek is one of the most important figures in the history of Russian-Greek relations in the early 17th century. His ethnic origin is apparent from the nickname *Grek* ('Greek'), and he was an active and influential member of the Greek colony in Moscow. His name is first mentioned in primary sources in 1608.

Before coming to Russia, Ioannikii was the cellarer of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre and a member of the circle of the Jerusalem Patriarch Theophanes III (r. 1606-8). He may have known Arabic, as well as one of the Slavic languages. In 1619, he came to Russia as part of the entourage of Patriarch Theophanes. Here, Theophanes consecrated Metropolitan Filaret of Rostov and Iaroslavl' (father of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov) as Patriarch of Moscow. As a result of this, Theophanes, along with other members of his Jerusalem embassy, greatly improved their standing with the Russian rulers. For reasons unknown, Ioannikii remained in Moscow instead of returning to Jerusalem; it is probable that Patriarch Theophanes retained him there as an emissary. Soon after the departure of the Jerusalem embassy, Ioannikii obtained the position of cellarer of the Novospasskii monastery in Moscow. He was also given his own cell in the Chudov monastery, located inside the Kremlin walls.

Ioannikii supported and provided patronage to Greeks arriving in Moscow. He maintained close links with Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre's residencies (*metochions*) in Moldavia and Wallachia. The last letter that Ioannikii is known to have received arrived in 1630 from Bucharest (the original is extant, written in Greek). This letter solicited his assistance for Bishop Antonii and Archimandrite Meletii of Wallachia, in an attempt to gain the support of the Russian tsar for the Wallachian metropolitanate.

In the 1620s, the Russian authorities frequently called on Ioannikii as an 'expert' on the Christian Middle East. In 1622, they used information provided by him to determine the amount of financial support to be given to monasteries, churches and clergy in the Middle East. The ambassadorial mission of Ivan Kondyrev and Tikhon Bormosov was charged with delivering this to Istanbul. In 1625, Ioannikii played a role in the events surrounding the arrival in Moscow of the Robe of the Lord, presented by the Shah of Persia, Abbas I. This robe became one of the most important relics in the possession of the Russian state. In 1628, Ioannikii was probably also involved in ascertaining the authenticity of the piece of the True Cross that had been brought to Russia by the Greek Konstantin Larev (Larivonov), a member of the entourage of Metropolitan Averkios of Veria.

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Secondary

- B.L. Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly v XVII veke*, Moscow, 2009, p. 14
- B.L. Fonkich, 'Ioannikii Grek (K istorii grecheskoi kolonii v Moskvowe v pervoi treti XVII v.)', in S.N. Kisterev (ed.), *Ocherki feodal'noi Rossii*, Moscow, 2006, vol. 10, pp. 85-110
- O.A. Belobrova, art., 'Ionnikiï Grek', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, St Petersburg, 1993, vol. 3, chap. 2, pp. 76-8
- O.A. Belobrova, 'Ioannikii Grek', *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury* 44 (1990) 127-8

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Skazka Novospasskago monasteryia kelariia grechenina Ioannikiia pro monasteryi, imeiushchiesia v Tsaregrade, Ierusalime i vo vsei grecheskoi oblasti, 'A report by the Novospasskii monastery cellarer, the Greek Ioannikii, about the monasteries of Constantinople, Jerusalem and all of the Greek region'

DATE Probably 1622 or 1629

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

The *Skazka* was recorded in Moscow from Ioannikii's words by an unknown translator of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs, either in 1622, the date of the interview, or in 1629, the date on the document. The *Skazka* is 11 pages long, but the first few lines are missing in the only extant copy. It contains a list of Greek Orthodox monasteries in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, Mt Sinai and Mt Athos, as well as information about the topographical characteristics of their location, their superiors and the number of monks in each. For example, in Constantinople there is 'a monastery of John the Forerunner, standing close to the *Baltutskie* gates, behind the city wall, near the sea, with two priests in it, black and white, as well as two deacons and 20 nuns'; 'in the city of Jerusalem in front of the Patriarch's residence there is the monastery of the Assumption of the Most Pure Mother of God, a hegumen and 50 nuns are in it'. In some parts of the text it is noted that Ioannikii does not remember exact details. In general, the information he provides is not comprehensive, as he has never been to some of the places (such as Sinai or Antioch), while in others (such as Constantinople) he has 'lived very little'.

The *Skazka* also notes the distances, by land and by sea, between the cities mentioned. The text does not contain any other information or opinions concerning the fate and difficult situation of Christian clerics in lands under Muslim control, though officials of the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs were well already aware of this. Ioannikii's task was to provide information that would allow the tsar's emissaries who would

be taking financial support to the Christians of the Holy Land to allocate their time, energy and resources more efficiently.

The compiler of the manuscript provided additions to Ioannikii's report, particularly noting 'alms' previously given to Greek monasteries and ecclesiastical authorities. This information was taken from the account of Trifon Korobeinikov's ambassadorial mission to Istanbul in 1593-4.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Skazka* is not a literary work. Its purpose was to contribute to the preparations for the ambassadorial mission of Ivan Kondyrev and Tikhon Bormosov to Istanbul in 1622, in particular, to determine the financial support to be given by the Russian tsar and the Moscow Patriarch to the superiors of the Greek Orthodox monasteries and the Orthodox clergy in the Middle East. It primarily provides statistical information: the approximate number of Orthodox monasteries and their inhabitants, and churches with serving clerics that were under Muslim rule. The text lacks the legendary detail about Greek monasteries common to Russian literary works of the time – these were not necessary in a report aimed at well-informed officials in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs. Ioannikii may have expressed his views concerning Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle East, and on the situation of Christian clergy within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. However, these views did not make their way into the text of the 'Report'.

According to B.L. Fonkich, *dumnyi d'iak* (Duma secretary) Ivan Gramotin and *d'iak* (government official) Savva Romanchukov compared the information provided by Ioannikii with the account given by the Russian diplomat Trifon Korobeinikov, who visited the Middle East at the end of the 16th century. The information in the *Skazka* regarding the Orthodox monasteries in the Christian Middle East, their names and number of monks, was in turn used verbatim in the 'Register' (*Rospis'*) of the donations to be distributed by the ambassadors Ivan Kondyrev and Tikhon Bormosov.

The *Skaska* provides striking evidence of the existence of monasteries in the leading cities of the Muslim Ottoman world. They were evidently tolerated, even in the capital itself, and the Ottoman authorities apparently permitted funds to be given to allow them to continue.

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Skazka* has never been published. It is preserved, apparently in a single copy, among the documents of the Foreign Affairs Chancellery:

MS Moscow, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov
(RGADA) – f. 52, op. 1, d. 1629 g., no. 22, 1-11 (1629)

STUDIES

Fonkich, 'Ioannikii Grek'

N.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Reestry grecheskim delam Moskovskogo
arkhiva Kollegii inostrannykh del* (RGADA. F. 52. Op. 1), Moscow,
2001, p. 57

Belobrova, 'Ioannikii Grek', 1993

Belobrova, 'Ioannikii Grek', 1990

O.A. Belobrova, *Kiprskii tsikl v drevnerusskoi literature*, Leningrad,
1972, pp. 17-18

A.I. Sobolevskii, *Perevodnaia literatura Moskovskoi Rusi XIV-XVII vekov.
Bibliograficheskie materialy*, St Petersburg, 1903, pp. 286, 292, 391

Liudmila Sukina

Vasily Yakovlev ‘Gagara’

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1594
PLACE OF BIRTH Plesa, Russia
DATE OF DEATH After 1637
PLACE OF DEATH Possibly Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Vasily Yakovlev (or possibly, son of Yakov), nicknamed ‘Gagara’, was born in the town of Plesa on the Volga, in the Kostroma province of the Russian Empire. He worked as a merchant in Kazan, trading mostly in the East. At around the age of 40, he experienced a great reversal of fortune, when one of his ships sank en route to Persia, and his wife suddenly passed away. He vowed to go to the Holy Land to repent for the sins of his youth, and soon after he was able to recover from financial ruin.

In 1634, accompanied by his servant Garanka, Gagara embarked on his journey. Sailing first down the Volga, he travelled through the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. He passed through many cities – Tiflis (Tbilisi), Yerevan, Ardagan, Kars, Erzurum, Sivas, Kayseri, Aleppo, Hama, Damascus and Samaria – some of which involved a detour from the most direct path to the Holy Land, possibly because he was trading en route. It took him over a year to reach Palestine. In Jerusalem, he missed Patriarch Theophanes, but met with Metropolitan Athanasius of Bethlehem, who had come to the patriarch’s court. During his three-day stay, Gagara visited major shrines in and around Jerusalem.

From Jerusalem, Gagara went overland to Egypt, visiting Cairo, Alexandria and Mount Sinai. There he met with Patriarch Gerasimos of Alexandria, from whom he received an epistle (*gramota*) to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich (Romanov). Overall, Gagara spent 14 weeks in Egypt, probably from 20 December 1635 to 13 March 1636. Such a lengthy stay may have been needed for diplomatic and mercantile tasks (for example, the patriarch’s epistle praises Gagara for ransoming a Muscovite captive, Jeremiah, and for attempting to ransom other slaves). From Egypt, Gagara returned to Jerusalem on 3 April 1636 – two weeks before Easter, which fell on 17 April – and stayed there for a few weeks, participating in the rituals of Holy Week and the Easter celebrations.

Gagara started his journey home along the same route by which he had come, passing through Samaria, Damascus, Hama, Urfa, Biredjik and Diyarbakir. However, due to the ongoing Turkish–Persian hostilities, he decided not to continue through Persia, but to travel via Turkey. From Diyarbakir, he went through Angora (Ankara) and Kastamonu towards the Black Sea. From Sinop, he had intended to cross the Black Sea to reach Kaffa (Feodosia), but was warned by some Russian captives of the dangerous slave hunts conducted by the Tatars in the Crimea. He went instead to the eastern coast of the Black Sea, sailing via Istanbul to Gallipoli and going on to Adrianopolis (Edirne), from where he continued his journey through Bulgaria (the city of Varna) and Wallachia (the city of Măcin on the Danube) on to Moldavia. In early 1637, Gagara appeared in Iași, where he celebrated the feast of Epiphany and met with Metropolitan Varlaam, and then in Suceava. After three weeks in Moldavia, he reached the Polish-Lithuanian lands, passing through Kamianets-Podolsk and Bary (Bar). However, in Vinnitsa (then Polish territory) he was imprisoned, being mistaken for a Muscovite emissary in Turkey, Afanasy Boukov, whom the Polish authorities were eager to arrest.

Released from prison 15 weeks later, Gagara continued his journey home. He reached Kiev on 14 April 1637, where he visited the famous Kiev-Pechersk Cave Monastery and met with Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and Archbishop Athinogenos. Gagara arrived in Moscow in late April or early May 1637. For his services to the state, the tsar granted him the title of 'Moscow guest', i.e. membership in the Moscow merchants' guild.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Primary sources on Gagara include the extant manuscript accounts of his journey, as well as the following early printed editions:

- A.N. Murav'ev, *Puteshestvie ko sviatym mestam v 1830 g.*, St Petersburg, 1832, part 1, pp. xlvii-li (1848⁵; repr. Moscow, 2007)
- I.P. Sakharov (ed.), 'Spisok khozhdeniia v palestinskikh mestakh oubogogo Vasiliiia po prozvizhchiiu Gogara', in *Skazaniia russkogo naroda*, St Petersburg, 1849, vol. 2, pp. 109-22
- I.M. (ed.), 'Ierusalimskoie khozhdeniie', in *Vremennik Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 10 (1851) 14-23

- S.O. Dolgov (ed.), 'Zhitii i khozhdeniie v Ierusalim i Iegipet kazantsa Vasiliia Iakovleva Gagary 1634-1637 gg.', *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 33 (1891) 1-78
- Dolgov, foreword to 'Zhitii i khozhdeniie', pp. i-x
- Gerasimos, Patriarch of Alexandria, 'Epistle (*gramota*) to Tsar Mikhail Feodorovich', *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 33 (1891) 79-90

Secondary

- J. Glad, *Russia abroad. Writers, history, politics*, Tenafly NJ, 1999, pp. 36-7
- Th.G. Stavrou and P.R. Weisensel, *Russian travelers to the Christian East from the twelfth to the twentieth century*, Columbus OH, 1986, pp. 45-6
- K.-D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur. Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres*, Munich, 1976, pp. 318-34
- B.M. Dantsig, *Blizhnii Vostok v russkoi nauke i literature*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 29-31
- B.M. Dantsig, *Russkii puteshestvenniki na Blizhnem Vostoke*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 31-4
- V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, 'Puteshestviia XVI veka', in *Istoriia russkoi literatury*, Moscow, 1948, vol. 2, 124-6
- A.N. Pypin, 'Palomnichestvo i puteshestviia v staroi pis'mennosti', *Vestnik Ievropy* 4 (1896) 718-71, pp. 764-8
- Art. 'Gagara (Vasilii Iakovlev)', in I.E. Andreievskii, K.K. Arseniev and F.F. Petrushevskii (eds), *Entsyklopedicheskii slovar' F.A. Brokgauz i I.A. Efrona*, 1892, vol. 7A (14), p. 767, <http://www.vehi.net/brokgauz/index.html>; <http://www.runivers.ru/lib/book3182/10145/>
- A. Giliarevskii, 'Drevne-russkoe palomnichestvo', in *Drevniaia i novaia Rossia*, St Petersburg, 1878, vol. 8, 327-37, p. 333

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Zhitii i Khozhdeniie v Ierusalim i Iegipet kazantsa Vasiliia Iakovlevicha Gagary, 'Life and journey of Vasilii Gagara to Jerusalem and Egypt'

DATE After 1637

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Selections from Gagara's *Khozhdenie* first appeared in print in A.N. Murav'ev's *Puteshestviie ko sviatym mestam v 1830 g.*, published in St Petersburg in 1848. Then in 1849, Ivan Sakharov published it in vol. 2 of his collection, *Skazaniia russkogo naroda*, based on two manuscript variants (*spiski*), one of which is no longer extant. A third printed

edition, 'Ierusalimskoie khozhdeniie', edited by a certain I.M., appeared in Book 10 of *Vremennik imperatorskogo moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnosti rossiiskikh* (*Vremennik OADR*) in 1851. The manuscript copy (*spisok*) used for this edition is not extant.

Scholarly study of the available manuscripts of Gagara's account started only in 1891, when Archimandrite Leonid sent a late-17th-century historical collection that he found in Moscow State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MGAMID 401/853) to the Orthodox Palestinian Society (Pravoslavnoie Palestinskoie Obshchestvo). This *spisok* triggered off an extensive search for other existing copies of the account. The publisher of Gagara's account, Semen Osipovich Dolgov, singled out 8 manuscript *spiski* of the account, which he divided into two distinct textual redactions. He believed that Redaction 1 was written by Gagara immediately after returning to Moscow in spring 1637. This redaction, composed on the basis of personal details of his life, the travel notes he took during his journey, and some other literary sources, is marked by a simple narrative style, folk diction, and a generally naïve world view. The *spiski* of Redaction 2 are characterized by a more polished and bookish style, and by no mention of Gagara's personal details or incidental anecdotes that may not have been appropriate for a pilgrim's account. The second redaction appears to have been treated stylistically by someone else at a later date.

Owing to significant discrepancies between the two redactions, Dolgov published them separately in *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik* 33 (1891) pp. 1-45 and pp. 46-78, respectively. For each redaction, footnotes indicated the verbal variants from other manuscript copies in the same group. The two redactions were included with the Greek original and a Russian translation of the letter (*gramota*) from the Alexandrian Patriarch Gerasimos to Tsar Mikhail Feodorovich, which was given in 1636 to Gagara during his visit in Egypt (ed. Dolgov, pp. 79-90).

Later historians discovered more manuscript copies of Gagara's travelogue, albeit mostly defective or abridged. In the 1920s, V.P. Adrianova-Peretts discovered two corrupt *spiski* of Gagara's account (bound together with other manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries), which differed significantly from Redactions 1 and 2. According to Adrianova-Peretts, *spisok A*, written in shorthand, was an earlier, if not the earliest, variant, and it was the closest to the 1851 edition of 'Jerusalem pilgrimage' published in *Vremennik OADR*. *Spisok B* also pointed to a proto-variant of the account, as it mixed together features of both redactions (Adrianova-Peretts,

'Khozhdeniie', pp. 230-47). These findings made Adrianova-Peretts believe that Gagara's oral rendition of his journey may first have been recorded by the Russian ambassadors to Persia in the form of a narrative account (*skazka*), which was sent to the royal court along with other diplomatic correspondence. The *skazka* (extant in a defective 17th-century copy) told of a Russian 'explorer', who went to Jerusalem 'according to the promise', and described the journey's itinerary without making any biographical or biblical references (Adrianova-Peretts, 'Puteshestviia', p. 124). On his return to Moscow, Gagara may have edited this rough draft, embellishing it with biographical and literary details (*spisok B*). Later treatments of this original text by other editors gradually removed the biographical details, turning it into a more conventional pilgrim narrative (Adrianova-Peretts, 'Khozhdeniie', pp. 246-7).

In 1979, Olga Belobrova corroborated Adrianova-Peretts' hypothesis of a proto-manuscript of Gagara's *Khozhdenie* when she described several other manuscript *spiski* pointing to an earlier variant that may have preceded the two redactions distinguished by Dolgov (Belobrova, 'O leningradskikh', pp. 168-9). These abridged or fragmentary copies, which were often enclosed in chronicles and historical compilations, have never been published, at least not in their entirety. Due to their differences from Redactions 1 and 2, they have been categorized by Belobrova as a separate Redaction 3.

By 1976, 19 copies of Gagara's *Khozhdenie* were known (see Seeman, *Die altrussische*, p. 456), two of which had been long lost (i.e. one used by Sakharov in 1849, and the other published in *Vremennik OIDR* in 1851, as mentioned above). The latest and most comprehensive catalogue of the available Gagara manuscripts can be found in Anna Reshetova's 2006 book, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura XVI-XVII vv.*, pp. 626-35. The 17 extant manuscript copies are currently held by Russian libraries: nine are in St Petersburg, seven in Moscow, and one in Tomsk.

The manuscript of Redaction 1 runs for 45 printed pages including footnotes (pp. 1-45 in Dolgov's 1891 edition), or approximately 20 pages without footnotes (pp. 68-87 in Prokofiev and Alekhina's 1988 edition). In the short introduction, Gagara admits to having led a dissolute life until the age of 40, revealing sensitive personal details. After being afflicted by some personal and financial disasters, he pledged to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to repent for his sins and to alleviate his grief at the death of his wife. The following narrative is structured around Gagara's travel itinerary: his rather meandering journey through the Caucasus and

eastern Anatolia; his three-day stay in Jerusalem, during which he met with the Orthodox hierarchs and visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other holy places in the city and its environs; his 14-week-long tour of Egypt and Sinai and his meetings with the Orthodox hierarchs; his return to Jerusalem for Passion Week and the Easter celebrations; his long and meandering route back to Muscovy via Turkey, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Overall, Gagara's travelogue covers a vast geography: no other Russian traveller before him had journeyed through such an extensive territory (Dantsig, *Blizhnii*, p. 29).

Although Gagara's initial motives may have been spiritual, most of his journey was spent outside of the Holy Land. His itinerary manifests a great deal of sidetracking from the main target, and the descriptions of the holy sites take up only a small part of the narrative. The description of Egypt is much fuller than that of Palestine, and the description of Georgia is unique in the pre-Petrine travelogue tradition. The account shows Gagara's sharp interest in the cultural, economic, and geographical conditions of the Caucasus, Levant, Egypt, and Turkey. In its emphasis on such details, rather than biblical shrines and figures, the earlier version of the *Khozhdenie* differs somewhat from standard medieval and early modern pilgrimage accounts. The descriptions of the monasteries and churches around Tiflis and Yerevan, and even the descriptions of the holy sites of Palestine (Capernaum, Nazareth, Mount Tabor, the Pool of Siloam, Gethsemane, Mount Eleon, Bethany, Bethlehem, Golgotha, and the Sea of Galilee) and Egypt (Cairo, Mount Sinai) tend to be somewhat terse and filled with practical details and measurements. For instance, after mentioning the Apostle Peter's house in Capernaum, the author quickly switches his attention to the depth of the nearby lake and the amount of fish in it (ed. Dolgov, p. 7; all subsequent references are to this edition).

Scriptural citations and references, which were indispensable in the Russian pilgrim narrative tradition, are few in the manuscripts of Redaction 1. Gagara seems to be more interested in apocryphal legends or miracle stories. For example, he mentions the 'bloody rain' miracle which he heard from the Kiev Metropolitan, Petro Mohyla, according to which a rain of blood fell in Rome on a Monday during Lent, followed by a rain of rocks and stone crosses, after which the skies opened up, revealing angels covered in blood. The metropolitan himself saw a sample of this bloody rain brought from Rome when he was visiting the king of Lithuania (p. 44; all subsequent references are to this edition).

The narration also slows down to recount Christ's miracles with much visual detail. Thus, in describing the town of Mataria, Gagara vividly portrays the Virgin's thirst for water, Jesus' miraculous creation of a spring from the sand on which he was standing, a tree that later appeared on the spot, and the tree's miraculous oil that healed the disabled and lepers (pp. 14-15). Gagara's own spiritual experiences are also rendered with much emotional detail: e.g., while visiting the Holy Sepulchre, he was suddenly afflicted by a fainting spell and was then miraculously healed (pp. 8-9).

The first redaction of Gagara's *Khozhdenie* follows the chief conventions of the standard medieval and early modern Russian pilgrimage narrative genre by focusing on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during Passion Week and the Easter celebration, and by relating the miraculous appearance of the Holy Fire in the Holy of Holies on Easter Eve (pp. 35-6). Yet, he manages to insert a personal moment into the traditional account of the Holy Fire: several times he tried to test the Holy Fire on his own beard, but each time it was not singed; he then repented of his hesitations and fully accepted the miracle (pp. 36-7). Another important element of the early modern pilgrim accounts contained in the manuscripts of Redaction 1 is a debate on faith, which is presented as a miracle of a moving mountain in Egypt (pp. 22-7; for more on this, see 'Significance' below). Such debates, proving the triumph of Orthodoxy over other faiths through some miraculous event, were used in the 16th-century pilgrimage accounts of Vassily Poznyakov and Trifon Korobeinikov.

Overall, the earlier version of Gagara's *Khozhdenie* stands out among other, more traditional, pilgrimage accounts for its folklore-like style, concise and unorthodox descriptions of the holy sites, the narrator's expressions of spiritual awe, wondrous emotions and personal revelations, his naive belief in fantastic happenings, and his generally simplistic worldview. This redaction most likely represents the sensibility of an ordinary, minimally educated, Russian pilgrim.

Later redactions and revisions gradually edited out the personal features of Gagara's *Khozhdenie*, making the account more attuned to a standard traditional pilgrim narrative. The manuscript copies of Redaction 2 – which run to 32 printed pages, including footnotes (pp. 46-78 in Dolgov's 1891 edition) – shift emphasis from travel notes to spirituality and centre the narrative on Jerusalem at the time of the Easter celebration. In this second redaction, prayers and scriptural references are abundant, and the descriptions of the holy places are more extensive and embellished

with more biblical citations to enhance their spiritual or mystical significance. Even the tone of the opening pages of this redaction is far more spiritual, enhanced with the narrator's repeated prayers to Jesus, invocations of the Virgin Mary and the Apostle Paul, and with his determination to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At the same time, some unorthodox details (e.g., his sodomy and other deadly sins mentioned in the first redaction) have been removed from Redaction 2 (see pp. 47-8), as have some fantastic stories that appeared in Redaction 1. For instance, the improbable story of the production of 'firiak' from captives' bodies (p. 28) has been edited out, while the account of the production of cane sugar, which immediately followed the 'firiak' story in Redaction 1 (p. 29), has been considerably expanded with more practical details (pp. 67-8).

Gagara's *Khozhdenie* reflects a range of early modern attitudes towards Christian-Muslim relations across Asia Minor and the Balkans. For one thing, the work provides evidence about the state of relations between Muscovy and the East Orthodox churches, as well as the Orthodox churches of Wallachia and Moldavia, vis-à-vis the Ottoman Turks. In the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the Balkans, and the Holy Land, Muscovy assumed the 'Third Rome' doctrine and established itself as protector of the Orthodox East against the Turks. This policy found its expression in the sizeable material support that Muscovite tsars were regularly sending to the East Orthodox hierarchs and churches, which can be vividly seen in the eastern missions of merchants Vassily Poznyakov (1558) and Trifon Korobeinikov (1583-4 and 1595). However, this initiative was interrupted during the tumultuous Time of Troubles (1598-1613). Gagara's journey to the East, the first known pilgrimage after the Time of Troubles, marks a restoration of Muscovy's interaction with the Orthodox East and a resumption of its foreign policy in Asia Minor.

From the manuscripts of Redaction 1, it is not clear whether Gagara's meetings with the patriarchs were official. Early in the account, Gagara resolves to see the 'Greek patriarchs', on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in order to confess his sins and to receive their blessings (p. 2). Even if he had not been an official envoy of the tsar, the warm and honourable welcome he received from the Eastern Orthodox hierarchs in Jerusalem, Egypt, Wallachia, and Kiev (pp. 9-10, 41, 43-4, 52-4, 57-8, 75, 77), as well as the fact that he was trusted with delivering their letters to the tsar (e.g., the letter of Gerasimos, Patriarch of Alexandria; see pp. 79-90), all point to at least a semi-diplomatic character of those meetings. (This conjecture is corroborated by the fact that upon his return, Gagara was

promoted by the tsar to the Moscow merchants' guild for his services for the state.) Redaction 2 stresses the official character of Gagara's visit with Athanasius, metropolitan of Bethlehem, by relating it in the form typical of a standard diplomatic report (*stateinyi spisok*), which details the ceremony of official reception, with the host's questions and the guest's answers (pp. 52-4). Once Gagara appeared at the patriarch's court in Jerusalem he was immediately surrounded by monks and elders, who were very glad to see a man sent by the tsar 'with the gifts and alms' (p. 52). As Patriarch Theophanes was away in Wallachia at the time, Metropolitan Athanasius of Bethlehem came to the patriarch's court the same night to greet a pilgrim from Russian lands. During the reception, the metropolitan joyfully recalled the old days when Tsar Ivan Vasilievich (Ivan IV) had sent generous gifts to Jerusalem with Trifon Korobeinikov, and he inquired after Tsar Mikhail Feodorovich and his family and of the state of affairs in the Russian Church (pp. 53-4). The overall conversation points strongly to the restoration of the connection between Muscovy and the Jerusalem patriarchate.

The combination of a pilgrimage narrative with a diplomatic report was a typical feature of early modern travel accounts, in accord with the standard protocol requiring all Russian travellers abroad to submit a report of their journeys to the Chancery in Moscow (Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii*, p. 109). The diplomatic or semi-diplomatic functions performed by early modern Russian travellers to the East reflected Muscovy's increasing involvement in the region from the mid-16th century onward, as a protector of the Eastern Orthodox against the Ottoman Turks. In this regard, the second redaction of Gagara's *Khozhdenie* bears strong similarity to the 16th-century accounts by merchants Poznyakov and Korobeinikov, who both served as official emissaries of the Muscovy tsars to the East (see CMR entries on Poznyakov and Korobeinikov).

SIGNIFICANCE

Gagara's *Khozhdenie* manifests contemporary Russian perceptions of other Christians and non-Christians of the East. (To what extent these were the authors' personal views, or the perceptions of the Russian public at large, is hard to say, due to the fact that later revisions may have been affected by various political or stylistic concerns. The authenticity of such attitudes is a matter of concern with regard to many early modern travelogues that were written by semi-official or official envoys.) The mixture of great pride in Orthodoxy with some intolerance towards non-Christians was noticeable in the 16th-century pilgrimage accounts

of Poznyakov and Korobeinikov. In Gagara's *Khozhdenie*, the belief in the superiority of Orthodoxy is also mingled with a certain intolerance towards representatives of other faiths who deny or suppress it. Here, 'godless' Turks are portrayed as the main oppressors of Christianity and Orthodoxy. This is featured in the story about a 'bloody lake'. Every year from Great Friday until Ascension Day, when a lake near the Nile in Egypt fills with blood, the bones of Christians come out of the graves in the nearby cemetery and move around as live humans. Once, out of pure spite for the Christian faith, the Turkish Pasha Safer ordered these bones to be buried deep in the ground, but they kept rising up and moving around, thereby demonstrating Christianity's power against the obstacles created by the Turks (pp. 16-17). Even so, 'infidel' Turks can be destructive towards Christian objects or persons, as follows from the story about Jesus' miraculous tree, near the town of Mataria, which became desiccated after being touched by the wife of a 'godless' Turk (pp. 15, 60).

The 'lawless' Turks are particularly denounced in Gagara's account for locking Christian churches and taxing Christian believers when they enter them, for disrespecting and mocking Christians and their holy sites, or for preventing them from practising their faith (pp. 8, 20, 56-7). Gagara was quite upset by the Turks' indecent behaviour in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during Easter night, when they were walking all over the church, 'smoking tobacco, drinking *sharap*, propositioning Christian women in a dirty manner, spitting on them and making lewd bodily gestures in their direction' (p. 34; cf. also p. 73). On Holy Saturday, they disrespectfully searched the Orthodox metropolitan for a flint stone or sulphur with which the latter might attempt to start a fake 'holy' fire (pp. 35, 74).

The miraculous stories related in the account are meant to assert the triumph of Christianity over Islam and Judaism. This is vividly portrayed in the 'debate-of-faith' story about a miraculous moving of a mountain near Alexandria which Gagara heard from the Sinai monks (pp. 22-7, 61-7). The debate started when a Jew challenged an Orthodox bishop before a Turkish pasha, for 500,000 golden coins, to prove the Orthodox God's might by making mountain Adar move into the Nile River. The bishop responded by praying intensely, along with 3,000 Orthodox Christians, for several days and by securing the prayers of a highly devout Christian goldsmith (who proved his strong faith by plucking out his eye to prevent himself from committing adultery with a seductive woman;

pp. 22-3, 64-5). On the third day, the mountain started moving towards the Nile, provoking an earthquake in the area. The awesome miracle was followed by an overwhelming response on the part of the 'barbarians', many of whom instantly converted to Orthodoxy, while other Jews and 'infidels' were cursed and executed by the Turkish pasha himself. The story ends with the pasha's promise not to bother the Orthodox believers any longer – a 'wishful-thinking' ending, similar to those of the miraculous 'debate-of-faith' stories featured in the 16th-century *Khozhdenia* by Vassily Poznyakov and Trifon Korobeinikov.

Considering the exasperation that the Russian pilgrims must have felt when witnessing the oppression of their East Orthodox brothers by the Turks, such miraculous stories, as well as the religiously intolerant remarks about the oppressors, are not altogether surprising in Gagara's account. Occasional intolerant remarks are made in response to the animosity towards the Orthodox on the part of other non-Christians, such as Jews or Arabs. The monks of the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Sinai are forced daily to feed 500 'wild' Arabs living nearby to avoid being beaten by them (pp. 21, 70). During Passion Week, even the Turks must protect the 1700 Christians who come from Jerusalem to bathe in the River Jordan from attacks by Arabs (pp. 31-3, 71-2) – the protection given may be attributed to the need of the Turks to ensure the collection of taxes imposed on Christian bathers (pp. 32-3, 71-2). Due to the frequent attacks of these 'wild' Arabs the monastery of John the Forerunner on the River Jordan and the cave where Christ was fasting for 40 days are completely uninhabitable (p. 33).

Overall, religiously intolerant remarks appear in the *Khozhdenie* only at moments when Orthodoxy is disrespected, or Orthodox Christians are harassed. In other contexts, references to local people are usually neutral or positive. Such cultural comments are more frequent in the part describing Egypt, particularly where there are fewer holy shrines. At these moments, the narrator's purpose is strictly informative, and the attitude to local people – often Arab farmers or Bedouins – is friendly or matter-of-fact. When depicting the everyday life of Arabs Gagara often highlights their hard work at water collection and delivery, at the granaries, and on the Nile (pp. 14, 16, 18-21, 60-1, 67). He even praises Arabs for their excellent skills at producing cane sugar (p. 68). While Gagara's comments on Muslim buildings are occasionally biased (e.g. when approaching Egypt, he sees the 'dark forest' of mosques and minarets, pp. 15, 61), he is quite impressed by the grandiose pyramids and beautiful palaces of Egypt (pp. 16, 61, 68-9).

Among Christians of various confessions, Gagara's *Khozhdnie* makes references to the Copts of Egypt ('of our faith,' p. 17), the Orthodox 'Greeks & true Arabs', and to 15 other 'tongues' that believe in Christ (pp. 31-2). Christians figure prominently in the services and rituals taking place in Jerusalem during Passion Week and Easter (pp. 18, 31-7, 71-5). When he attends the Easter vigil in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Gagara observes that various groups of Christians 'labour' for God by 'running' (i.e. walking in a procession) around the church and singing *Kyrie Eleison* and *Agios, Agios, Agios* (pp. 35, 73; in the manuscripts of Redaction 1 they carry one another on their backs, p. 35). It is interesting to note that *nemtsy* ['Germans', or in this context 'western Europeans'] are mentioned several times in connection with the hunt for Christian relics. Overall, *nemtsy* seem to be quite successful in this enterprise, for they had taken away to their land the true cross on which Jesus was crucified (p. 11) and purchased the desiccated tree that once grew on the spot where Jesus produced a spring in the desert near Mataria (pp. 15, 60); they stole (after an unsuccessful attempt to purchase) the desk on which the young Jesus studied while living in Cairo (p. 18); and they even attempted to buy the ceiling from the House of the biblical patriarch Joseph in Egypt (p. 19).

Lastly, Gagara's account throws light on Russian-Ottoman political relations (largely shaped by Muscovy's role as protector of the Orthodox in the East), the relations between the Crimea and the Ottoman Porte, and the state of affairs in the Danube kingdoms, which were caught in the power struggle between Ottoman Turkey and Muscovy. Both Redactions 1 and 2 of the account mention hostilities between the Persians and the Turks (pp. 37-8, 75), the Crimean Tatars' attacks on Muscovy (pp. 38, 75), and the uneasy relations between Muscovy and the Polish Commonwealth concerning the Turks (pp. 43, 76). Manuscripts of Redaction 1 also comment on the dependence of the Wallachian rulers on the Ottoman sultan (pp. 41-2).

PUBLICATIONS

For lists of MSS of the work and details about them, see Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura*, pp. 626-35; Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, p. 456; Dolgov (ed.), 'Zhitiie i khozhdeniie', p. xi. Listed below are 14 of the 17 extant MSS.

MS Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (GIM) – Shchukin
244, 8^o, fols 1-48 (17th century)

- MS Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (GIM) – Uvarov 6/1337, 1^o, cols. 1204-30 (fragment from a 17th-century chronicle, containing only the description of Georgia and Armenia)
- MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (RNB) – Pogodin 1599, 4^o, fols 150-89 (17th-century miscellaneous collection of 5 MSS; used by Dolgov as the basis for his edition of Redaction 2, 'Zhitie i khozhdenie', pp. 46-78)
- MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (RNB) – F IV.595, 1^o, fols 703-4 (fragment from a 17th-century chronicle, containing details not found in most *spiski* of Redactions 1 and 2; similar to I.M., 'Jerusalem khozhdenie' and to all other *spiski* of Redaction 3)
- MS Moscow, Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka (RGB) – Tikhonravov 553, 8^o, fols 379-83 (17th-century fragment)
- MS Moscow, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (RGADA) – MGAMID 401, 4^o, fols 79r-123v (end of the 17th century; 'archival' MS used by Dolgov as the basis of his edition of Redaction 1, 'Zhitie i khozhdenie', pp. 1-45)
- MS Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (GIM) – Uvarov 699/1747, 4^o, fols 1-49 (late 17th-century collection of travel accounts; cf. 'Uvarov' MS, Redaction 1)
- MS Tomsk, Nauchnaia Biblioteka Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta (NB Tomsk GU) – B 753, 4^o, fols 454-79 (1790s; fragment from a historical-geographical collection; similar to all other *spiski* of Redaction 3)
- MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (RNB) – Solovetsk 862/972, 4^o convolute, fols 55-78 (from a 17th- or 18th-century historical collection of 2 MSS; used by Dolgov as basis for his edition of Redaction 2, 'Zhitie i khozhdenie', pp. 46-78)
- MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (RNB) – O.XVII.37, 8^o, fol. 136v (fols 129-75) (untitled fragments from a 17th-18th-century miscellaneous collection; identical to MS Institut Russkoi Literatury (Pushkinskii Dom) Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (IRLI) – Krasnobor 2, see below; Redaction 1)
- MS St Petersburg, Biblioteka Akademii Nauk (BAN) – 45.10.9, 8^o, fols 110-23 (fragment from a late 17th- early 18th-century collection of 7 MSS; *spisok A*, the earliest variant, according to Adrianova-Peretts, 'Puteshestviia XVI veka')

- MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (RNB) – Q XVII.211, 4^o, fols 208v-27 (fragment from an early 18th-century miscellaneous collection; *spisok B*, according to Adrianova-Peretts)
- MS St Petersburg, Biblioteka Akademii Nauk (BAN) – 16.4.5, 1^o, fols 540-1 (first quarter of the 18th century; fragment from a chronicle, similar to other *spiski* of Redaction 3)
- MS St Petersburg, Institut Russkoi Literatury (Pushkinskii Dom) Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (IRLI) – Krasnobor 2, 4^o, fols 42v-71v (from an 18th-century collection, discovered in Krasnobor region, Arkhangel'sk province, in 1960; identical to MS RNB O.XVII.37; close to Redaction 1)
- Murav'ev, *Puteshestviie*, pp. xlvii-li (selections from 'Archival' MS RGADA – MGAMID 401/853, published later in Dolgov, 'Zhitiie i khozhdeniie', pp. 1-45)
- Sakharov (ed.), 'Spisok khozhdeniia', pp. 109-22 (based on two *spiski*, one of which is now lost)
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- Adrianova-Peretts, 'Khozhdeniie', 230-47
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- Giliarevskii, 'Drevne-russkoie palomnichestvo', p. 333
- Leonid (Kavelin), 'Ierusalim, Palestina i Sv. Afon', pp. 66-79

Galina Yermolenko

Sergius of Chernigov

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly mid-17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Slovo o nekoem startse is sometimes attributed to Sergius of Chernigov (Chernihiv), but it would appear more accurate to designate it as anonymous. Sergius appears in the work as a monk from the Chernigov region who was taken prisoner and sold in Kaffa (present-day Feodosia) in the Crimea. He presumably escaped or was freed and eventually returned home. He is not mentioned again in the text, nor is his existence attested by any other sources, though the brief information provided about him does not contain anything implausible. The author of the work implies that it is an account of Sergius' wanderings in the Middle East, though it is inconceivable that it was written by someone with first-hand knowledge of the region. *Slovo* is not an account of an actual journey made by Sergius or by any other real person; rather, it is a collection of legends containing a few snippets of historical information.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Slovo o nekoem startse, 'A tale of a certain monk'

DATE Possibly 1640

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The text of *Slovo o nekoem startse* was first published by Khrisanf Mefodievich Loparev in 1890. In this edition, Loparev notes that the text 'is found in a 17th-century miscellany owned by me', without explaining anything about its provenance (Loparev, 'Slovo', p. 1). The list of its 17th-century owners ends with a certain Dimitrii Denisov of the Kashira district, who sold the manuscript to a monk at the St Nicholas monastery. There were several St Nicholas monasteries in 17th-century Russia, one of which was located in the Kashira district of the Tula region, and was probably the home of this monk. *Slovo* is found on folios 100v-104v; in Loparev's edition, it is little more than three pages long (Loparev, 'Slovo', pp. 4-7).

The text ends with the date 'year 7148, the first day of April' (p. 7), which appears to be the date when it was either composed or copied. The year, given in accordance with the Byzantine calendar (*Anno mundi*), corresponds to 1640 AD. Numerous accidental omissions and distortions in the manuscript suggest that this is a copy rather than an original. The language of *Slovo* points to its origin in southern Muscovy (Loparev, 'Slovo', p. 3).

The geographical areas mentioned in the work are often also listed in surviving accounts by captives who managed to escape or were ransomed. Such accounts come from the Chancery of the Moscow Patriarch, where returning captives were questioned in order to determine the procedure of readmitting them to the Russian Orthodox Church after they had lived among Muslims and, in many cases, had been forcibly converted to Islam. From their statements, we know that a number of those ransomed or manumitted made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land before returning home; some runaways reached Muscovy after years of wandering in Palestine, Arabia and even Egypt – the regions described in *Slovo*. This suggests that the information in *Slovo* about the monk Sergius and his wanderings may have had some basis in reality.

The same cannot be said about the text that follows the introductory statement. It provides a list of distances between various places in the Crimea and Mediterranean, including Constantinople, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Arabia and Cairo (Mişr) (p. 7) The author appears to imply, but

never states explicitly, that Sergius travelled around all of these places. In addition, *Slovo* describes modes of transportation and points of interest; in this respect, its narrative structure is typical of travel and pilgrimage literature. The narrative is impersonal, in the style of a travel guide – for example: ‘There are five hundred miles of camelback riding between the island of Cyprus and the White Moors, and sixty miles to the Black Moors by land, also to be travelled on camels. From there, thirty miles to the Arabian mountains. The Gryphon bird flies down from the Arabian mountains every day and takes one horse from each person as a tribute’ (p. 5).

This passage is typical of most of *Slovo*, which is a collection of legends about the marvels of the Orient rather than a historical account. The character of its geographical information suggests that its author could not have been to the Middle East. The supposed itinerary of Sergius includes the land of the ‘Blue Moors’ and the ‘Sodom Sea’, which can be crossed in four days ‘by boats on camels’ (*sic*) (p. 5). The distances given between real locations are as much as five times greater or smaller than in reality; descriptions of these locations have numerous parallels with folklore (Loparev, ‘Slovo’, pp. 2, 13-14).

At the same time, the text includes references to two undoubtedly historical personalities who lived in the second half of the 16th century: Michael Cherkashenin and Mustafa Chelebei. Michael Cherkashenin, mentioned as Sergius’s father, was a popular Cossack leader known throughout Ukraine and southern Muscovy as a hero in wars against the Ottomans and Crimean Tatars. Mustafa Chelebei is mentioned in several Russian narrative and diplomatic sources as an Ottoman merchant who conducted business with Muscovy. The Russian Orthodox *Menologion* (the calendar of saints’ days) states that, while still a Muslim he charitably ransomed many Christian captives and helped them to return home. Eventually, he converted to Orthodox Christianity and became a monk in the monastery of St Sabas the Sanctified in Jerusalem (Loparev, ‘Slovo’, p. 50). The same information is repeated in *Slovo*, with the addition of the alleged number of captives that he ransomed daily (p. 7). Thus, while *Slovo* is predominantly legendary, it also includes snippets of historical information.

SIGNIFICANCE

Most of *Slovo* consists of pious Christian legends with eschatological themes (Reshetova, ‘Eskhatologicheskie motivy’). At the same time, it does not contain any references to Islam as a religion and never uses the

word 'Muslims', but only 'Moors', who are mentioned briefly and non-judgmentally. This absence of any hostility is striking in a pious narrative that refers to invaders from Muslim countries raiding Christian lands and enslaving monks, to a war hero who distinguished himself fighting against these raiders, and to a charitable Muslim who converted to Christianity. Despite all this, the tone of *Slovo* is entirely neutral. For example, though the Russian Orthodox *Menologion* explains that Mustafa became a Christian because he 'started having the fear of God', *Slovo* simply states that he was baptised, without discussing his motives or providing any commentary at all.

Slovo contains only one passage that expresses religious hostility, and it is directed not against Muslims but against Jews: while he is describing the fountain of Siloam, the author states that local Christians guard it 'so that the Jews do not steal water from the fountain' (p. 6). He never mentions that the Holy Land is politically controlled by Muslims, presumably either because he is unaware, or unwilling to acknowledge, that it is part of the Ottoman Empire.

Much of the material in *Slovo* is derived from medieval narratives about the Middle East, both Slavonic and Latin, including Western crusade literature (Loparev, 'Slovo', p. 15). Especially complicated is the origin of the passage about the 'place from where the Lord descended into Hell' located in the 'Church of the Holy of Holies'. Loparev argues that this passage goes back to accounts about the Well of Souls in the Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-ṣakhra*), according to a medieval Islamic legend a cave where the spirits of the dead can be heard awaiting Judgment Day (Loparev, 'Slovo', p. 41). Thus, *Slovo* attests that medieval legends about the Holy Land were still alive in 17th-century Muscovy. These legends were common to Eastern and Western Christians, and, to some degree, to the Muslim tradition as well.

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Loparev, 'Slovo'

Yulia Mikhailova

Zemskii sobor of 1648-9

The term *Zemskii sobor* (Assembly of the land) has been applied retrospectively by historians to a series of consultative bodies that were convened in the Muscovite state between the middle of the 16th century and the end of the 17th. Although some scholars have depicted these bodies as proto-parliamentary institutions, they were in fact more informal and irregular than most similar institutions elsewhere in Europe. Their membership usually comprised the tsar's aristocratic counsellors (the *boyar дума*), the leaders of the Orthodox Church (*osviashchennyi sobor*) and representatives of the military servicemen (*dvoriane*), merchants and townsmen from Moscow and the provinces.

The Assembly of 1648-9 took place against the background of a popular uprising that had broken out in Moscow in June 1648 and quickly spread to the provinces. The grievances of the protesters concerned high levels of taxation, the injustices perpetrated by officialdom, and the corruption of the tsar's chief ministers. In response to the events in Moscow, the young Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (r. 1645-76) dismissed his main adviser, the boyar Boris Morozov, and convened an ad hoc Assembly of the Land, which called for the compilation of a new Law Code (*Ulozhenie*). The tsar appointed a commission of five men headed by the boyar Prince N.I. Odoevskii to draft the Code, and he summoned a new Assembly to meet in Moscow from 1 September 1648 in order to approve it.

Prince Odoevskii's commission worked quickly in its task of assembling relevant materials for the new Law Code. On 3 October, the draft Code was read to the members of the Assembly, convened in two 'chambers': one comprising the tsar and the patriarch, together with the boyars and the Church hierarchy, and the other consisting of the elected deputies from Moscow and the provinces. Thereafter, the views of the delegates were conveyed by means of petitions, which were taken into account in the course of the revision of the draft Code. After the final version was approved, the tsar ordered it to be written on a scroll, which was to be signed by all the participants in the Assembly: this scroll, which is still extant, contains 315 signatures. In addition, there may have been a further 30 participants who did not sign the scroll (Cherepnin, *Zemskie sobory*, p. 292). The scroll is dated 29 January 1649, which is

presumed to be the earliest date on which the Assembly could have been disbanded.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ulozhenie of 1649, 'Law Code of 1649'

DATE 1649

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The *Ulozhenie* or Law Code of 1649 (also known by a number of other titles, including the Law Code of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich) updated and codified the legislation that had been embodied in the previous Muscovite Law Codes of 1550, 1589 and 1606-7, incorporating subsequent decrees. It was influenced by church law, Byzantine law and the Lithuanian Statute of 1588. The scroll copy approved by the Assembly of the Land on 29 January 1649 was copied into a manuscript book, from which printed copies were made. Two print-runs, each of 1200 copies, were published in 1649; they were distributed to provincial governors and put on general sale. The Code was re-published many times in the 18th and early 19th centuries; it was superseded by a new Code of Russian laws only in 1832.

The 1649 Code comprises 25 chapters, containing a total of 967 articles. In Richard Hellie's edition, the Russian text and English translation

each occupy 231 printed pages. The only article that makes an explicit reference to Islam is in Chapter 22, on the death penalty. Here, Article 24 states that if an infidel (*busurman*) is proved to have induced a Russian to convert to his faith by force or by deceit, and to have circumcised him, that infidel should be burned to death (this is the same punishment as that prescribed for blasphemy, committed by both Russians and the non-Orthodox, in the first article of the first chapter of the Code). Russians who are forcibly converted are to be treated much more leniently: they are to be sent to the patriarch or to another member of the Church hierarchy, who should compile a decree ‘according to the canons of the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers’, i.e. presumably they will simply be required to do penance (Ch. 22:24).

Islam is mentioned indirectly in another two articles. In Chapter 10, on the judicial process, the predominantly Muslim Tatars are listed, along with some of the pagan indigenous peoples of the Volga region (Chuvash, Cheremis and Votiaks), as a people who should be interrogated ‘according to the oath of their faith’ (Ch. 10:161). And in Chapter 14, which deals specifically with oath-taking, the Tatars are listed alongside the non-Orthodox Christian Lithuanians, Germans (*nemtsy*) and ‘various other foreigners (*inozemtsy*)’ who should be sworn ‘according to their faith’ (Ch. 14:3).

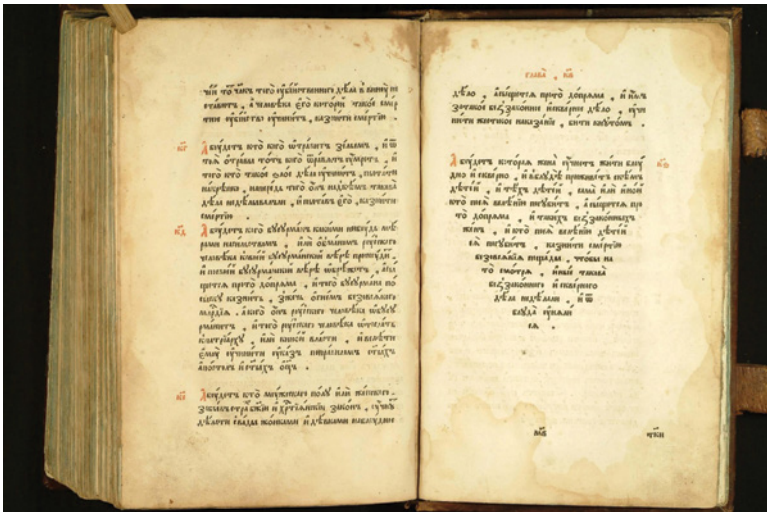


Illustration 12. *Ulozhenie* of 1649, part of Chapter 22, showing Article 24 (lines 10-20 on the left-hand page), on the punishment for inducing conversion to Islam

Tatars are also mentioned – in one case, together with the predominantly Muslim Bashkirs of the Trans-Volga region (Ch. 16:43) – in the chapter on landholding conditional on military service (*pomestnye zemli*). The relevant articles deal with the situation on the Volga, in the territory of the former Tatar khanates of Kazan' and Astrakhan', which had been annexed by Muscovy in the mid-16th century. Land transactions between Russians and the indigenous peoples (Tatars, Mordovians, Chuvash, Cheremis, Votiaks and Bashkirs) were forbidden, presumably to avoid inter-ethnic conflicts (Ch. 16:41-5). If any individual representatives of these peoples converted to Orthodoxy, their service lands were not to be taken from them and 'given back to the Tatars' (Ch. 16:44): this seems to mean that they kept their lands, which were removed from the pool of lands allocated to the non-Orthodox indigenous peoples.

Chapter 20, on slaves (*kholopy*), which is the longest in the Code, with 119 articles, includes special provisions for Tatar slaves, who constituted a special legal category: unlike Russians, they could be bought and sold (Chs 20:74, 97-100, 117-18). If purchased Tatars were baptised, they could not be re-sold, however, but had to be freed, because the tsar had recently decreed that no one should sell baptised people (Ch. 20:97). The American historian Richard Hellie suggests that the tsar's decree to which article 97 refers may have reflected Orthodox missionary activity (Hellie, *Slavery*, p. 83). He also comments that it is curious that 'the Muscovite Orthodox were willing to offer freedom to enslaved Muslim Tatars who converted to Orthodoxy, but they felt no pangs whatsoever about the perpetual enslavement of their own kind' (Hellie, *Slavery*, p. 350). The freeing of baptised purchased slaves was qualified, however: it could happen only if their owners tried to re-sell them or to register them as limited service-contract slaves (the usual form of slavery for Russians) (Ch. 20:97). But they could be gifted (Ch. 20:98), and if their owner died they could be inherited within the family of the deceased (Russian contract slaves, by contrast, had to be freed on the death of their owner) (Ch. 20:100). In another provision, relating to Astrakhan' and Siberia, if Tatars had been kidnapped into slavery, their abductors were to be severely punished and the slaves returned to their former homes. If the slaves had been baptised, however, the abductors had to pay a large sum in compensation to their families, but could keep the Tatar converts as their slaves (Ch. 20:118). The logic of this, according to Hellie, was that, 'Obviously, someone who had been "converted to Christianity" could under no circumstances be returned to perfidious Islam' (Hellie, *Slavery*, pp. 82-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Ulozhenie* of 1649 confirmed the predominant position of the Orthodox Church in the Muscovite state, though at the same time it increased the power of the state over the Church by creating a Monastery Chancellery with extensive jurisdiction over the Church's domains (Ch. 13). Although the Preamble claims that justice will be equal for all, the Code recognises that Muscovy is a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional realm by including some special provisions for non-Russians and for the non-Orthodox. Muslims ('infidels') are mentioned only once (when they are prescribed the death penalty for forcibly converting Russians); in other cases, predominantly Muslim peoples such as the Tatars and Bashkirs are grouped together with other non-Orthodox Muscovites, whether Catholic and Protestant Christians or the pagan indigenous peoples of the Volga. The religion of these non-Orthodox individuals is recognised in relation to oath-taking, where they are allowed to swear 'according to their faith'. And special provision is made for non-Russians who have converted to Orthodox Christianity: when non-Russian landowners on the Volga receive an Orthodox baptism, this changes the status of their lands; and the status of many Tatar slaves is improved when they are baptised. These articles of the Code may be seen as promoting the conversion to Orthodoxy of non-Orthodox Muscovite subjects, including Muslims, in line with the missionary policies of the tsarist government of the time.

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Maureen Perrie

Gavriil, Metropolitan of Nazareth

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Greece
DATE OF DEATH	Probably between 1652/3 and 1657
PLACE OF DEATH	Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

Gavriil was a 17th-century church and political figure of Greek origin, and an ecclesiastical author. Nothing is known of his life prior to his ordination and service in the Middle East. In the 1640s, he spent three years in one of the residences of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Egypt, where he took a vow of obedience. He was ordained as archbishop before 1648. In 1650, the Jerusalem clerics sent him to search for Paisios, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had left for Russia in 1648. Gavriil found him in Moldavia and remained in his entourage as a diplomatic agent.

Gavriil most probably knew some Slavic languages, as he was engaged in translation work and diplomatic activities. In spring 1650, accompanied by the Russian hieromonk Arsenii Sukhanov, he travelled to Ukraine and Moscow in order to present Patriarch Paisios's letters to the Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Khmel'nytsky and the Russian Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. Gavriil became an intermediary in the political negotiations over Ukraine's transition to the authority of the Russian tsar. He remained in Moscow from 8 December 1650 to 20 July 1651, during which time he met and conversed with Nikon, the archimandrite of the Novospasskii monastery and future Russian patriarch.

In the winter of 1650/1, Gavriil wrote a letter to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, the didactic *Sovety otecheskie* ('Guidance from the [Church] fathers'), and a description of the sacred places in Palestine. He also translated several Greek religious texts: homilies of the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church, and Patriarch Gennadios's commentary on the prophetic inscription on the sepulchral stone of the Emperor Constantine the Great.

Gavriil declined a proposal to remain permanently in Russia to carry out teaching and translation work. He left Moscow in May 1651, carrying with him substantial alms for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as a letter from the Russian tsar to Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nytsky. In July of the same year, he met with Khmel'nytsky in Korsun' for negotiations.

That autumn, Gavriil returned to Palestine, travelling through the territories of Moldavia and Turkey. During the final years of his life, he sent information to Russia on repeated occasions about the situation in the Ottoman Empire.

The works Gavriil wrote for the tsar while in Russia raised awareness in Russian society about the sacred places and customs of the Christian Middle East, as well as prompting Russian aid to Orthodox clergy and laity living in the Ottoman Empire.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Povest' o sviatykh i bogoprokhodnykh mestakh
sviatago grada Ierusalima*, 'Account of the holy
places visited by God in the holy city of Jerusalem'

DATE 1651

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

There can be no doubt that Gavriil was the author of *Povest' o sviatykh i bogoprokhodnykh mestakh sviatago grada Ierusalima*. Its first publisher, S.O. Dolgov, quotes the afterword found in 18th-century copies: 'Humble Gavriil, archbishop of the God's habitation Nazareth and an exarch of all of the Galilee, I call you to pray to God for us, so that you too obtain a place in the heavenly Jerusalem. Amen. [I] wrote it with my own hand in the regnant city of Moscow in the year 7159 (1652), in the ... day of March' (Dolgov, 'Povest'). However, it remains unclear whether he actually composed the text himself, or simply reused an unknown Greek guide-book (*proskunētaron*). It is also unclear whether Gavriil wrote the *Povest'* in Russian or in Greek. All the known texts are copies made by Russian scribes. They all range between 1 and 2 pages in length.

The *Povest'* was designed to be used by Russian diplomats, merchants and pilgrims heading to the Christian Middle East. It was also intended to demonstrate to the Christian world the importance of the sacred places and relics of the Holy Land that were under the control of the Turkish sultan. It is comprised of a description of the Holy Land, made by somebody who knew Jerusalem and the surrounding area very well. It identifies precisely the locations of the sacred sites and the distances between them and describes the condition that individual churches and monasteries are in, and who has control over them.

Gavriil names several sacred places revered by both Christians and Muslims. Among these, he tells the story of a column near the western gate of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: during a dispute between the Orthodox and Catholics over this church, a crack on the column emitted a light that fell upon the Orthodox Patriarch Dorotheus II (who was in place in 1516-17, when the Ottoman Turks, tolerant towards non-Muslims, defeated the Mamluk Sultanate, which was harsh towards Christians). As they witnessed the miracle, the Turks ejected the 'papists' from the church and gave it to the Orthodox. They drove iron and copper nails

into a wall in front of the column, so that they would pierce the eyes of those who did not believe in the miracle. At the same time, according to Gavriil, two 'Turkish teachers' came to believe in Christ and started to preach Christian piety, and denounce 'Muḥammad's deception'. Both of them were martyred.

Gavriil also writes about a stone that bore the marks of Christ's 'seat' (*sedalishche*) and footsteps, located near the Cave of the Holy Annunciation. He claims that both Turks and Christians touch the stone to receive healing. Both Christians and Muslims also receive miraculous healings from the fetters of St George preserved in St George's monastery near Bethlehem. According to the *Povest'*, in addition to the money they provide for the lamp oil, the Turks levy a special tax 'from all the lands' to aid the monastery.

However, Gavriil also writes that there are places in the vicinity of Jerusalem from which Christian visitors have been completely 'banned' by the Turks. Thus, during the tenure of Patriarch Theophanes (most likely, Theophanos III, 1608-44), a particular 'Turkish teacher of the vile law' (*turskii zakonmerzkiu uchitel'*) tried to 'turkize' (*poturchit'*, turn into a mosque) the Church of Saints Constantine and Helen in Jerusalem. At that moment, St Constantine himself appeared and killed the teacher in full view, so the church remained Christian even though the ancient residence of the patriarch nearby was taken over. The Church of St Nicholas near Bethlehem is also inaccessible to Muslims: 'thanks to the saint's prayers the Turks cannot come here, only Christians'.

All the details Gavriil provides are meant to arouse sympathy for Christians in the Middle East and a desire to aid them. At the same time, Gavriil gives information to intending pilgrims about which routes are preferable and which are dangerous.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Povest'* contains information about Christian-'Turkish' relations that are lacking in other 17th-century Russian guidebooks to sacred places in the Christian Middle East. It is only the description of the descent of the holy fire on Holy Saturday and the role played by Muslims in this ceremony that is commonly cited elsewhere. Everything else is exclusive to this work, which is not surprising, given that the author was a first-hand witness of the situation in the Holy Land. Thus, the *Povest'* reports that the Turks built a new mosque on the Mount of Olives, where Christ communed with the Apostles; the city of Nazareth is in desolation due to the 'malice of Turkish governors' (*zlobami voevod turetskikh*); large Christian

churches in Sebastia and Emmaus are empty as there are no Christians left in these settlements, only Muslims; only Turks live on the outskirts of Jerusalem, where John the Baptist was born, so that the liturgy in the Church of St John's nativity is celebrated only once a year by visiting priests.

Unlike other authors, Gavriil does not distinguish between Arabs and Turks when he writes about the populace of the Holy Land. To him, all the local Muslims are 'Turks'. He probably used this term for all Muslim subjects of the Turkish sultan without distinction.

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Liudmila Sukina

Iona Malenkii

Iona Malen'kii

DATE OF BIRTH About 1600

PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown

DATE OF DEATH After 1652

PLACE OF DEATH Possibly the Trinity Monastery of St Sergius,
near Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Iona Malen'kii was a black deacon (monk-deacon) at the Trinity Monastery of St Sergius. The name Malen'kii was a nickname, meaning 'small'. The only details known about his life are found in his own work, the *Khozhdenie* ('Journey').

Iona is first mentioned in 1649, when he showed the visiting Russian Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem around the Uspenskii cathedral of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. In 1649-52, invited by the Patriarch, and carrying written permission from the Russian Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, Iona went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and 'Tsar'grad' (Constantinople). Arsenii Sukhanov, an emissary of the tsar with the task of reporting on church customs in the Middle East, travelled with Iona for part of the way. Iona spent about two years in the 'Munt'ianskie lands' (Moldavia) in the monastery in Târgoviște. From there, he travelled to the Holy Land in 1651, together with the monk Ioakim, an Arab from Jerusalem. On his way, Iona stayed at Silistra, Varna and the island of Mytilene. On 10 May 1652, he arrived in Jerusalem. Four months later, after his return to Moscow, he wrote his *Khozhdenie*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Khozhdenie v Ierusalim i Tsar'grad, 'Journey to
Jerusalem and Constantinople'

DATE Uncertain; possibly 1652

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

The *Khozhdenie* includes a fairly detailed description of the route of Iona's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and back. In Jerusalem itself, Iona describes the lower city wall, the Church of the Resurrection and the various rituals performed there by the followers of 'different faiths', Christ's tomb and the Jerusalem monasteries, including the *friazhskii* (Catholic) and Armenian ones. He also mentions a Roman Catholic church and the tombs of the Baldwins, kings of Jerusalem, and lists the Russian icons sent by Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich (r. 1613-45). Iona also describes Mt Zion, turned into a Turkish mosque, the Mount of Olives, where Turks collected money from the pilgrims, Bethany, Bethlehem, and other sacred places, in addition to the Turkish and Arab settlements around Jerusalem. The earliest published edition of 1895, containing both the St Petersburg and Moscow manuscripts, comes to 56 pages.

Iona had good reason to feel nervous about the Turks, as he carried 'tsar's letters' and other important documents for the Christians in the Middle East. For this reason, during the voyage from Varna on a Turkish ship he pretended to be a hieromonk's servant, 'so that Turks could not know who I am'.

Like all other Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem, Iona describes the 1500 Christian pilgrims going to the River Jordan escorted by Turkish soldiers. 'Due to the fear of non-Christians (*poganye*) it is difficult to go there,' he writes, 'for along these routes Arabs come down from the mountains and kill pilgrims.' He also saw the birthplace of John the Baptist, where there had formerly been a church, 'and now everything is in ruins (*razoreno*), and the foul Arabs (*poganye arapy*) live here'. Iona lists many places destroyed by Muslims.

Iona was impressed by the Christian church elders living in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre's choir gallery. Among them were Orthodox Greeks, Roman Catholics, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians (*khabezhi*) and Syrians. The Turks held them permanently locked in the gallery and handed them food through a window. The Turks only allowed pilgrims into the church if they paid a fee: 7 *efimki* (the Russian word for a European silver thaler) for the Orthodox, 12 for Roman Catholics. Iona exclaims, 'Turks are guarding all of the sacred places and would not allow the faithful (Christians) in without charge.' He does not mention, however, the fact that the Greek clergy of the Holy Land also collected money from the pilgrims.

Iona's *Khozhdenie* does not reveal how much the pilgrimage cost or what his opinions of it were. Neither did he express in writing many of his personal impressions of his journey to the Christian Middle East.

SIGNIFICANCE

Iona's description reflects the literary influence of Daniil's *Khozhdenie* ('Journey'), a 12th-century travelogue, renowned in Russia, by the hegumen of the Kievan Caves monastery. Such works are typical of Orthodox travelogues to the Holy Land, and provide little vivid commentary concerning Muslims or non-Orthodox Christians. Iona, like many other Orthodox pilgrims, was primarily interested in Christian sacred places, their ancient history, and the rituals performed in or around them. Iona merely notes that Turks and Arabs live near this or the other sacred place, as if he were providing a geographical guide.

Iona's *Khozhdenie* was not in wide circulation in 17th-century Russia, probably due to the popularity of another account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land – the *Khozhdenie* of Arsenii Sukhanov, which incorporates more detailed descriptions. There are only a few known copies of the work.

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Liudmila Sukina

Arseny Sukhanov

Arseny Putilovich Sukhanov, Arsenii Sukhanov, Arsenius
Sukhanov, Anton Putilovich Sukhanov

DATE OF BIRTH About 1600

PLACE OF BIRTH Uncertain; possibly Solova village, near
Tambov, Tula province, Russia

DATE OF DEATH 14 August 1668

PLACE OF DEATH St Sergius Holy Trinity Monastery, outside
Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Anton Putilovich Sukhanov was born into an impoverished family of gentry. He entered the Golutvin Monastery in Kolomna, and received the name Arseny. An avid reader and bibliophile and a zealous monk, he became one of the most highly educated church figures of his time. In the 1630s, he was transferred to the Chudov Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin. At various points, in 1633 and 1640-9, he served as archdeacon for two patriarchs of Moscow. In the 1640s, he became a hieromonk and abbot (*stroitel'*, 'builder', as he called himself) of the Theophany (Bogoyavlensky) Monastery in Moscow.

Sukhanov's fluency in Greek, Latin and Polish was probably an important factor in the career he followed as a diplomat and state envoy. In 1637-40, he participated in an embassy to Georgia. Between 1649 and 1655, he was sent on several state delegations to the East.

When Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem visited Moscow in 1649, he brought to the attention of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich (1645-76) and Patriarch Iosif of Moscow (1642-52) the discrepancies between Russian liturgical books and the rituals of the Greek Orthodox Church. Arseny was assigned to accompany Paisios's embassy on their return journey, his true mission being to observe and describe objectively ('without any embellishments') Greek religious practices. To this end, Patriarch Iosif gave him a list of 25 questions for the patriarch of Constantinople.

The party left Moscow on 10 June 1649, but Paisios was considerably delayed in Wallachia and Moldavia. During this time, Sukhanov undertook various diplomatic activities, which required his return to Moscow on two occasions. On the second return trip, in December 1650, Sukhanov

submitted to the Moscow Foreign Office a diplomatic account (*stateinyi spisok*) of his journey, along with *Preniia s grekami*, which detailed his debates with Paisios and other Greek monks in Wallachia in 1649-50 on matters of faith and church practice.

Finally, in May 1651, leaving Paisios in Wallachia, Sukhanov embarked on his eastern journey in the company of a Serbian monk, Theon. They crossed the Mediterranean and arrived in Constantinople on 12 June 1651. The recent murder of the patriarch prevented Sukhanov from conducting an interview about the order of Greek liturgy, so after a week he continued his journey to Egypt, where he met with Patriarch Ioannikios of Alexandria (1643-65) and other Orthodox clergy to obtain answers to the liturgical questions he had been given by Patriarch Iosif.

On 19 September 1651, Sukhanov set off for his final destination, the Holy Land. He reached Jerusalem on 6 October 1651, and stayed for almost seven months, visiting the holy sites and celebrating Christmas, Theophany, Lent and Holy Week. Together with Patriarch Paisios, who had arrived from Wallachia in July, he also visited a number of Orthodox monasteries, observing and describing their religious services and everyday monastic life. On 26 April 1652, a week after Easter, he began his return trip to Muscovy. It took him over a year, and he finally reached Moscow on 7 June 1653. On 26 July, he submitted his report, *Proskinitarii*, to Tsar Alexey and the newly appointed Patriarch Nikon (1652-8).

In 1654, supplied with abundant charitable gifts, Sukhanov was sent to Mount Athos to obtain Greek manuscripts which Nikon needed to begin his revision of Russian liturgical books. He returned in February 1655, bringing back over 500 (700 by other accounts) Greek and Slavonic manuscripts of the 8th-17th centuries, among them not only the works of church fathers, service books and church histories, but also the works of Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plutarch, Thucydides and Aristotle, as well as treatises on medicine, grammar and rhetoric. In addition, he brought a replica of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which served as a model for the Resurrection Church in the New Jerusalem (Novoierusalimsky, or Novovoskresensky) Monastery, founded by Nikon in 1656.

In 1655-60, Sukhanov was appointed as cellarer (*kelar'*) of St Sergius Holy Trinity Monastery outside Moscow. In 1661-4, he lived in the Theophany Monastery and served as chief book corrector for the Moscow Printing Courtyard. He spent his last years as a hieromonk in the St Sergius Holy Trinity Monastery, where he died on 14 August 1668.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Proskinitarii Arseniia Sukhanova, 1649-1653
Proskinitarii, 'Pilgrimage'

DATE 1649-53

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Sukhanov's *Proskinitarii* exists in two different redactions: the full version that was submitted to Tsar Alexey, and an abridged version, which was submitted to Patriarch Nikon. The two versions reflect the complex

political situation in Muscovy on the eve of the reform within the Russian Orthodox Church.

From the mid-15th century, following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the Balkans and the Holy Land, Muscovy adopted its 'Third-Rome' doctrine and assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox East against the Turks. Russian tsars regularly sent substantial material support to Orthodox hierarchs during the 16th-17th centuries, although Muscovy's attitude towards the Greeks was one of some suspicion following their concessions to Rome at the Council of Florence in 1439, and throughout the 16th century.

By the mid-17th century, Muscovy's self-image vis-à-vis the Greeks had begun to change, when secular parts of Russian society (the tsar and many boyars) adopted Hellenophile views. Deficiencies in the Russian Orthodox liturgy and worship practices, revealed by visiting Greek hierarchs, had a humbling effect on the Russian spiritual sensibility and strengthened the authority of the Greek Church. The self-understanding of the Moscow Church as the centre of the Orthodox world ('Third Rome') gave way to an image of it as a 'younger sister' of the Greek Church, to which Rus owed its baptism in 988, and the need for church reform was eloquently articulated by archimandrite Nikon of the Moscow Novospassky Monastery (see Pashinin, 'Otsenka', p. 71; Larin, *Byzantine hierarchal divine liturgy*, p. 45).

It is at this critical moment that Arseny Sukhanov was sent to the East to survey Greek church services. However, he was not of the Hellenophile party. While he was with Patriarch Paisios in Wallachia in 1649, he had strong arguments with the Greeks in which he defended the ancient purity of Russian rituals and spirituality. These views found expression in his *Preniia s Grekami* ('Debate with the Greeks') and, to a lesser degree, in *Proskinitarii*. Sukhanov's anti-Greek sentiments did not reflect spiritual arrogance, but rather a concern for pan-Orthodox unity, which the 'Third Rome' doctrine championed. But when he submitted his *Proskinitarii* to the Foreign Office in Moscow, its anti-Greek rhetoric did not sit well with the authorities. By that time, Patriarch Iosif, who had commissioned the report, was dead, and both Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich and the newly elected Patriarch Nikon were strong Hellenophiles. In fact, Nikon was just starting the sweeping church reform that would eventually lead to schism within the Russian Church. As a loyal and shrewd statesman, Sukhanov revised the original *Proskinitarii*, removing his anti-Greek comments, and produced an abridged version of the work. Nevertheless, their highly explosive character meant that neither *Preniia s Grekami*

nor *Proskinitarii* were permitted by Patriarch Nikon to be read in their full form, though many abridged copies circulated in Russia, *Preniia s Grekami* among 'Old Believers', and *Proskinitarii* among the Orthodox.

Selections from *Proskinitarii* first appeared in print in vol. 2 of Ivan Sakharov's *Skazaniia russkogo naroda* in 1849. N.I. Ivanovsky published it in Kazan in 1870, basing his text on a defective manuscript, and then republished it in the journal of the Orthodox Palestinian Society, on the basis of much better manuscript copies (*Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik*) in 1889. In 1891, Sergei Belokurov published the first detailed biography of Sukhanov, and in 1894 his complete works. Selections from *Proskinitarii* were published by N. Prokofiev and L. Alekhina in 1988.

The full version of *Proskinitarii* ('Pilgrimage') contains 46 chapters and spans over 300 printed pages. The narrative combines several distinct parts and genres that reflect the multiple purposes of Sukhanov's journey: a detailed diplomatic report (*stateinyi spisok*) on his meetings with the Eastern Orthodox hierarchs, as well as his visits to Orthodox churches and monasteries (this part was a continuation of the diplomatic report on his Wallachian trip submitted in 1650); a detailed pilgrimage account of Palestine's holy sites, Christmas and Easter services, including the miracle of the 'holy fire' in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Saturday; and a minute description of the Byzantine hierarchal liturgy. The first part not only details Sukhanov's official visits to the Orthodox hierarchs and the state of affairs in the Greek Orthodox Church, but also provides an extensive commentary on the geography, flora and fauna, economy, customs and political life of Ottoman Turkey, the Holy Land and the Caucasus. The second and third parts combine a pilgrimage account of the holy sites with descriptions of Orthodox liturgical services, but they also contain direct and indirect references to Christian-Muslim relations in the Holy Land. Hence, *Proskinitarii* cannot be categorised as a traditional pilgrimage account (*khozhdenie*), as its title suggests. It is rather an 'encyclopedia' of the Middle East, reflecting 17th-century Muscovy's political, religious and cultural relations with the East and its perception of the latter and of itself vis-à-vis Ottoman Turkey.

Three themes in *Proskinitarii* particularly reflect Christian-Muslim relations in the East Mediterranean in the mid-17th century: political relations between Muslim and Christian states (Turkey, Muscovy, Georgia, Wallachia); complex inter-confessional and intra-confessional relations in the region; and the daily life and local customs, such as dress codes,

eating and drinking habits and hospitality, of various ethnic groups and confessions.

The first theme is evident in the tremendous interest in Turkish military potential and war campaigns. In describing his travel itinerary from Ismail to Constantinople, the Greek isles, and on to Egypt, Sukhanov provides an astounding amount of intelligence on the terrain, and military forces and fortifications on the Bosphorus, as well as Ottoman-controlled towns and villages (Ismail, Kilia, Neocastro, Galipoli, Rhodes, Chios and Alexandria). With the sharp eye of a military engineer, he describes the exact measurements of city walls, fortresses and towers; the presence of Turkish armed guards in them; the ramparts and earth works where cannons and other munitions could be stationed; possibilities for digging tunnels under city walls; the location of army barracks and the presence of troops in them; water communications; the suitability of bays for mooring vessels for naval attacks; the suitability of surrounding hills in combat, and so on. The topography of *Tsargrad* ('Tsar-City', as Constantinople has always been named in Russian pilgrim accounts) takes up pages of detailed descriptions of the water ways on the Bosphorus, Golden Horn and Sea of Marmora and the strategic locations on their banks (pp. 9-14, 16, 18, 22-3, 26 in Ivanovsky's 1889 edition; all subsequent references are to this edition). Such an incredible amount of intelligence had never before been provided in any Russian travel account or state report. Another prominent theme in *Proskinitarii* is the mixed, often ambiguous, intra- and inter-confessional life in the eastern Mediterranean. This theme reflects Sukhanov's personality as a Russian Orthodox monk, supporter of the old 'Moscow-the-Third-Rome' ideology, and a visitor to a heterogeneous religious world, different from homogenous Orthodox Muscovy. Earlier travel accounts by the Russian tsars' merchant envoys (e.g. 16th-century pilgrimage accounts by Vasily Poznyakov and Trifon Korobeinikov, as well as the 1634-7 account by Vasily Gagara) depicted the Eastern hierarchs, priests and monks as their spiritual brethren, much in need of Muscovy's financial assistance, whereas the 'lawless' Turks or Jews were portrayed as the major oppressors of Eastern Christians.

In contrast, anti-Turkish rhetoric and fear of the Turks are less obvious in *Proskinitarii*. Anti-Turkish sentiments are indirectly expressed in references to taxes imposed by the Turks (pp. 18-19), to *esir* (Rus. *yassy*, 'slaves', 'captives') (pp. 9, 12, 14, 28) and to the many empty, dilapidated churches that he sees on his journey through the eastern Mediterranean (pp. 23-4, 29-32).

For the most part, however, Sukhanov exposes the shortcomings of the Greek clergy, which reflects his conservative standpoint in the political debates about the Greeks that were raging in Muscovy at the time. In his account, clergy often abbreviate services (p. 64), violate monastic dress code (pp. 54, 62, 68), behave incorrectly during services, and do not take proper care of their churches (p. 57). By contrast, 'Frankish' (Latin) and even Turkish places of worship always look 'clean and proper' (p. 58). Sukhanov also criticises the Greek clergy and Patriarch Paisios for consuming meat, sugar and wine during religious fasts (p. 68), for misusing the funds donated by the Russian tsars, and for always blaming the Turks for their own transgressions (p. 59). The evidence he cites suggests that the clergy's violations of monastic rules and their inability to be proper shepherds to believers leads to abuses of power and conversions to Islam, particularly on the part of the high-ranking clergy. For instance, he mentions Metropolitan Meletian of Rhodes, who, after a few futile attempts in the role of patriarch, was lured by the Turks to become their *kilchibasha* (pp. 30, 65).

Proskinitarii contains many comments on social mixing between confessions both in church-related activities and in daily life. While he is at a Christian wedding in Armenia, he notices among the guests non-Orthodox clergy and even Turks with their many wives (pp. 66-7). However, Sukhanov's portrayals of other Orthodox communities (such as the monks of the Sinai monastery, p. 39) are often positive. As far as the Arab population is concerned, *Proskinitarii* follows earlier Russian travel accounts in distinguishing between two types of Arabs: 'wild' (desert) and faithful (Christian). Arabophobia is somewhat manifest in remarks on the savage habits and uncivilised behaviour of desert Arabs, as when Bedouins attack churches, monasteries or pilgrims out of religious hatred (p. 82). But the faithful (Christian) Arabs are usually depicted positively (p. 84).

The third theme deals with the cultural diversity of the region. At times, Sukhanov perceives life in the eastern Mediterranean communities through the prism of a strict Russian Orthodox monk. His comments on the cultural fusion of styles of clothing and the mixed use of languages between the Greeks, 'Franks' and Turks (pp. 21-2) reveal his amazement at such cultural impurities. On the other hand, his prolific references, purely informative and well nuanced, to agricultural richness and culinary customs provide a wealth of cultural information about the region (see Kirillina, 'Magic of the Holy Land'), and are a noticeable

change from earlier Russian travel accounts. As a traveller, Sukhanov comments on the exotic produce (olives, raisins, dates and melons, p. 36) and medicinal herbs (aloe, *andragryz*, p. 39) of Egypt, as well as the widely used incense and rosewater (p. 52). He drinks coffee and sherbet with Greeks and Turks while sitting on the floor, with dishes served on a *sufra*, 'leather tablecloth' (p. 60). He details two formal receptions organised by the Jerusalem patriarch: one in honour of an Ottoman governor (pp. 59-60), and the other a lavish banquet for the Armenian hierarchs, for which five sheep and 30 chickens were slaughtered (p. 67). Some of his observations on the smoking and drinking habits of Muslims, such as in his conversation with a Dagestani lord who claims that neither tobacco nor wine are sinful (p. 117), provide rare glimpses into Islamic daily life.

SIGNIFICANCE

Given that the purpose of Sukhanov's trip was expressly to seek answers to the questions he was bearing about the Greek Orthodox liturgy, it is not surprising that there are relatively few references in *Proskinitarii* to the beliefs and practices of the Turks as Muslims. Nevertheless, the absence of almost anything about Muslim history or spirituality among all the minute and wide-ranging detail is perhaps surprising. The reason could be simple lack of interest, or else an unquestioned assumption that the Turks' religious standing was even worse than that of the Greek Orthodox.

The Turks who are mentioned are generally portrayed as oppressors of the Greek Church, with no qualms about extorting money from them at every opportunity. They lurk in the background as tyrants, under whom Christianity perseveres against the odds.

PUBLICATIONS

For the latest, fullest and most descriptive list of 89 extant and 11 lost MSS of *Proskinitarii*, see A.A. Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura XVI-XVII vekov: istoriia i poetika*, Riazan, 2006, pp. 646-76. For detailed discussion of several authoritative MSS, see the 2003, 2004 and 2007 articles by Fedorova, listed below. For an earlier (1976) list of 77 MSS, see Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, pp. 457-8.

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MS Moscow, State Historical Museum (Gosudarstviennyi Istoricheskii Muzei, GIM) – Sinod. 575, 4°, 366 fols (second half of the 17th century – almost identical to Sinod. 574 above; corrected by Sukhanov, and possibly the copy that was submitted by Sukhanov to Patriarch Nikon; used by Ivanovsky for the 1889 edition in *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik* 7 [21])

MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia (Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka, RNB) – DA 317, 4°, 143 fols (17th century; no opening or end, but according to Belokurov, *Arsenii Sukhanov*, possibly the only variant that has a full, though uncorrected, redaction)

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Galina Yermolenko

Simon Azar'in

Savva Leont'ev syn Azar'in

DATE OF BIRTH	End of the 16 th or beginning of the 17 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Russia
DATE OF DEATH	1665
PLACE OF DEATH	Trinity-Sergius monastery, Russia

BIOGRAPHY

Savva Leont'ev syn Azar'in (nicknamed Bulat) came from a service family. In 1624, he took monastic vows under the name of Simon in the Trinity-Sergius monastery near Moscow, one of the richest and most influential monasteries in the country at the time. He had a successful administrative career: in 1630-1, he served as treasurer to Patriarch Filaret (r. 1619-33), became treasurer of the Trinity-Sergius monastery in 1634, and in 1645 was appointed to the position of cellarer. At the same time, he was actively engaged in literary work. He edited the *Zhitie* ('Life') of St Sergius and composed the *Kniga o novoiavlennykh chudesakh prepodobnogo Sergiia* ('Book of the newly revealed miracles of St Sergius') and the *Zhitie* ('Life') of the former Trinity-Sergius hegumen, Dionisii Zobninovskii, as well as introductions to several books on monastery management. Some historians also consider him to be the author of the *Povest' o razorenii Moskovskogo gosudarstva* ('Tale of the looting of the Muscovite state'), although his authorship of this work is not universally acknowledged.

In 1655, Patriarch Nikon (r. 1652-66) banished Simon to the Kirillov monastery in the far north of Russia, but he returned several years later to the Trinity-Sergius monastery.

During his years at the monastery, Simon collected a substantial library of more than 100 works in various fields, including liturgy, history, literature and polemics. It is noteworthy that, among other works of religious polemics, he possessed a book containing excerpts from Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's refutation of the Muslim faith, *Contra legem Saracenorum* (Bushkovitch, 'Orthodoxy and Islam', p. 133).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kniga o novoivlennykh chudesakh prepodobnogo Sergiia, 'Book of the newly revealed miracles of St Sergius'

DATE 1646-54

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The *Kniga* is a supplement to the *Zhitie* ('Life') of St Sergius of Radonezh (1322-92), the initial version of which appeared at the beginning of the 15th century. In the foreword to the *Kniga*, Simon writes that he wishes to reveal numerous miracles that had taken place since the *Zhitie* appeared, in addition to which Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (1645-76) had commissioned him to write down the continuing miracles of St Sergius.

Simon included many of the miracles he had recorded in the 1646 colourfully illustrated publication of the *Zhitie*. However, due to some conflict, the typesetters in the printing house extensively edited Simon's work. The final version of the *Kniga*, preserved in manuscript form, consists of 76 miracle stories laid out on 163 folios. Most of the miracles concern events from the first half of the 17th century, including the Time of Troubles in Muscovy and the crucial role that the Trinity-Sergius monastery played in it.

In the foreword to the *Kniga*, Simon stresses that St Sergius assisted the Russian grand princes and tsars in battle against the Muslim Golden Horde and Tatar Khanates. First, in 1380, before the battle of Kulikovo Field, St Sergius 'gave his blessing to the Grand Prince Dmitrii against the godless Tsar Mamai'. Later, in the mid-16th century, during the assault on Kazan', the saint 'helped with his miracles' Tsar Ivan IV to capture Kazan' from 'godless Tatars' (Kloss, *Izbrannye trudy*, p. 468). And not only were rulers helped by St Sergius, but he also invisibly aided 'captives from Orthodox Russian people' to gain their freedom 'from non-Christian hands' (*ot poganykh ruk*) (Kloss, *Izbrannye trudy*, p. 468).

Among the 76 miracles that Simon includes in the final version of the *Kniga*, only three can be directly related to any experience of Islam. All of these are based on historical events. Miracle 12 tells the story of the miraculous salvation of the Russian diplomatic mission to the Persian shah. The story recounts that, with the help of St Sergius, the participants of the mission survived a shipwreck and inevitable death in a storm at

sea (Kloss, *Izbrannye Trudy*, pp. 485-6). It adds no further details about the mission, except that it took place during the reign of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich (1613-45) and that the name of one of the participants was Pogozhikh. This makes it difficult to determine which of the several missions to Persia this story refers to.

Miracle 62 describes the role of St Sergius in the 1643 military victory of voevode Lev Pleshcheev's troops against the 'infidel' (*nevernye*) Kalmyks, Buddhist nomads who moved to the area of the lower Volga steppes in the 1620s. After Pleshcheev prayed before the icon of St Sergius, the saint appeared in his dream and promised defeat of the 'infidels'. Muslim Ufa Tatars (*ufinskie tatory*), subjects of the Russian tsar since the mid-15th century, play a secondary and neutral role in the story, and their religion is not mentioned at all (Kloss, *Izbrannye Trudy*, p. 528).

Finally, miracle 73 concerns the traumatic experience of Russian captives in the Muslim Crimean Khanate. It tells the story of an official, Grigorei Zlovidov, who is sent to ransom Russian captives, as a providential punishment for his conflict with the Trinity-Sergius monastery over disputed land holdings. While in Crimea, Zlovidov is humiliated: in addition to having his moustache and beard shaved off, 'non-Christians' (*poganye*) insult and torture him 'without mercy'. As he repents, St Sergius helps him return home (Kloss, *Izbrannye Trudy*, p. 538). No further evidence of interaction with Muslims in captivity is adduced.

SIGNIFICANCE

The figure of St Sergius of Radonezh was central to Russian state and church historical narratives: he came to the aid of ordinary believers who addressed him in prayers, and also helped Russian rulers in warfare. In addition, he protected all Russian lands and the Orthodox Christianity celebrated there. Especially important was his role in Muscovy's numerous conflicts with its Muslim adversaries. This aspect of the saint's power became important for Russian writers in the 15th century, when new editions of St Sergius's *Zhitie* and some other works began to stress his direct intervention and primary role in the numerous defeats of 'godless' Tatars (Miller, *Saint Sergius of Radonezh*, pp. 63-8, 101-3). In the 17th century, Simon Azar'in continued to express this view in the new edition of St Sergius's *Zhitie* published in 1646, as well as in the foreword to the final version of the *Kniga*. Simon did not himself add anything, however: he copied the episodes of the saint's intervention in warfare against Muslims verbatim or with some editing from the works of his predecessors (*Sluzhby i zhitia Sergiia*, e.g. pp. 86-8, 124-6; Kloss, *Izbrannye Trudy*, p. 468).

The miracles Simon collected for the *Kniga* emphasise the role of St Sergius as a protector of Orthodox Russia during the Time of Troubles against 'infidels' (in the face of Catholic Poles and Lithuanians); they do not emphasise the role of the saint in anti-Muslim warfare. Rather, the miracles refer to the complex relationship of the Muscovite state and its subjects with the Muslim world in the 17th century. As the three miracles outlined above suggest, Muscovy's conflictual relations with the Crimean Tatars were accompanied by military cooperation and diplomatic relations with other ethnic groups that practised Islam. Religion played an important though not determinative role in these relations.

The *Kniga* also had an important practical implication. First and foremost, it aimed to confirm the authority of the Trinity-Sergius monastery through the restatement of the miraculous powers of its founder and patron, St Sergius of Radonezh. The miracles made clear that the saint was guarding the monastery from both assaults from foes and natural disasters. It was not, however, all he did for the monastery: the *Kniga* stressed that the saint also protected its assets and helped the monastery officials in disputes over its vast land holdings and numerous serfs. The miracle experienced by Grigorii Zlovidov attests to this vividly. In addition, the miracles implied that the benefactors of miraculous healings or deliverances from mortal danger had to respect St Sergius's monastery and often made material contributions to it.

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Evgeny Grishin

Grigorii Kotoshikhin

DATE OF BIRTH About 1630
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH End of October 1667
PLACE OF DEATH Stockholm

BIOGRAPHY

Almost nothing is known about Grigorii Kotoshikhin's life before the 1650s. A.I. Markevich, judging mainly by the facts that Kotoshikhin never mentions any service to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich (r. 1613-45), does not seem closely familiar with the events of Mikhail Fedorovich's reign, and had the rank of undersecretary or clerk (*pod'iachij*) in 1658, estimates the year of his birth as 1630 or a little later (Markevich, *Grigorij Karpovich Kotoshikhin*, pp. 6-7). This has been generally accepted, although Markevich's other argument, that a Swedish diplomat called Kotoshikhin *Kerl* (purportedly a young person) in a German-language letter of 1663, is unconvincing and weak (Maier, 'Grigorij Kotošichin als Russischlehrer', p. 553). He was probably born in Moscow, because he says he served in the Ambassadorial Chancellery (*Posol'skij prikaz*) 'from a young age' (according to his Swedish acquaintance O. Barckhusen, who quotes him in the introduction to his own translation of Kotoshikhin's book, *Beskrifning om Muschofsche Rijkets Staat*, p. 1) and because his father Karp was a monastery cellarer in Moscow at the beginning of the 1660s (Adde, *Beskrifning*, p. 1).

Apart from a mention in a document of 1676 about Kotoshikhin ransoming a boy prisoner in 1654/5 (Beliakov, 'Zhizn' Grigoriia Kotoshikhina', p. 66; text of the document at p. 79), it is only after 1658 that there is any record of him. In the summer and autumn of that year, he participated in negotiations between Russia and Poland-Lithuania in Vilna (Vilnius) and was probably present at the conclusion of the Truce of Valiesari in December 1658. At that time, he would have been serving in the Chancellery of the Great Palace (*Prikaz bol'shogo dvortsa*), and just before Christmas 1658 he was transferred to the Ambassadorial Chancellery (Belokurov, *O Posol'skom prikaze*, p. 50; Beliakov, 'Zhizn' Grigoriia Kotoshikhina', p. 66). Kotoshikhin himself only mentions his service in the Ambassadorial Chancellery, and in other Muscovite sources he also

appears as undersecretary here (see Demidova, *Sluzhilaia biurokratiia*, p. 290).

In 1660-1, Kotoshikhin participated in negotiations with Sweden that resulted in the Treaty of Kardis in June 1661. In 1663 he passed a secret Russian diplomatic document to the Swedes. In late March or early April 1664, he was sent to serve in the field chancellery of the Russian army camped near Briansk, where he participated in negotiations with Poland-Lithuania. When the commanders of the army were replaced, the new commander asked Kotoshikhin to make false accusations against one of them in return for help to recover his home in Moscow from which his family had been evicted. Kotoshikhin refused and, out of fear of reprisals, combined with disappointment over the forfeiture of his home after so many years of service to the state, he defected to Poland-Lithuania, most likely in August 1664. H. Łaskiewicz (*Pravivshe gosudarstvo svoje tikho i blagopoluchno*, pp. 37-45) surmises that at this time he was actually involved in reconnaissance as a kind of double agent, and that he defected only in autumn 1665, though this seems less probable.

Kotoshikhin appears to have settled first in Vilna, but when the Lithuanian authorities ignored him he fled to Sweden, appearing in Narva in October 1665. Attempts were made to have him returned to Russia, but these were resisted and he arrived in Stockholm on 5 February 1666.

In March 1666, Kotoshikhin wrote two petitions, to the young king and the Council of the Realm, in which he declared his readiness to teach Russian to Swedish students (the original letters are lost but their Russian texts have been republished since 1860, most recently in Pennington, *O Rossii v carstvovanie Alekseja Mixajloviča*, pp. 760-2). He swore allegiance to the king, and on 28 March was granted 150 talers and permission to settle in Stockholm. He seems to have started to write his book on Russia at about this time.

On 29 November 1666, Kotoshikhin was given a further 150 talers, and his yearly salary was increased to 300 talers, because he was 'necessary for his knowledge of the Russian state'. His name in the form Johan Alexander Selitzki was listed among the clerks of the Swedish Archive of the Realm.

Two weeks before Christmas 1666, Kotoshikhin moved into the house of a colleague in Stockholm, where in the next eight months he finished his book and also compiled a Russian language textbook of a kind (Maier, 'Grigorij Kotošichin als Russischlehrer'; Maier, 'Grigorij Kotošichin – inte bara "svensk spion"').

On 25 August 1667, Kotoshikhin fatally wounded his landlord in a quarrel and was sentenced to death on 26 September. After converting to Lutheranism, he was executed at the end of October (possibly the 26th) 1667. His body was taken to Uppsala to be used for studies in anatomy.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

O Rossii v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha, 'On Russia in the reign of Aleksej Mikhajlovich'

DATE Before 25 August 1667

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

This work is a unique and rich source on Russia in the mid-17th century, written by a well-informed Russian eyewitness. Kotoshikhin had already been working on the first seven chapters when he wrote a letter to the Swedish chancellor, Count M.G. de la Gardie, which can be dated to May 1666 (Pennington, 'Unpublished letter', pp. 116-22). This gives a hint of the *terminus post quem*. As to the *terminus ante quem*, the book was definitely finished by the time of the incident involving Kotoshikhin and his landlord on 25 August 1667.

It is usually accepted that *O Rossii* was written on the orders of the Swedish authorities, although Barckhusen's comment that Kotoshikhin conceived the idea after being impressed by the customs and ceremonies he had seen during his wanderings cannot be totally discounted (Łaszkiwicz, *Pravivshe gosudarstvo svoe tikho i blagopoluchno...*, pp. 63-4). At the same time, Barckhusen explicitly says that Count de la Gardie encouraged Kotoshikhin to write (Adde, *Beskrifning*, p. 3).

Russian scholars (re)discovered Kotoshikhin's work in Sweden at the end of the 1830s. A.I. Turgenev saw the Russian-language manuscript shortly before 1837 and, in 1838, a professor at Helsingfors University, S.V. Solov'ev (not the famous historian), found the Swedish translation and soon after that the untitled Russian original, which is the autograph. The title was supplied by its first publisher, Ia. Berednikov, in 1840 (Markevich, *Grigorij Karpovich Kotoshikhin*, p. 63).

The book comes to 232 folios in manuscript (168 pages in Pennington's edition) and consists of 13 chapters. After a short historical introduction (starting from the reign of Ivan the Terrible), Kotoshikhin describes the structure of Russian society, beginning with the tsar and his family and the court and its ceremonial, moving on to the state bureaucracy and the military, and concluding with traders and peasants. As

I.P. Smirnov has pointed out ('Kotoshikhin Grigorij Karpov', pp. 188-9), it follows a spiral narrative structure from the higher, more ritualised levels of Russian society to lower, less ritualised ones.

Ceremonies, particularly weddings, routines and conventions in administration and social life are focal topics for Kotoshikhin, though he seems to have little interest in matters of religion and theology. There are some critical comments on the Orthodox Church, omitted from the first three editions and printed only in the 1906 edition (Barsukov, *O Rossii*, p. 54; also Pennington, *Rossii*, p. 67), though they are very few.

Kotoshikhin nowhere comments directly on Islam or Muslim religious traditions, and only mentions in passing *busurmane* ('infidels', i.e. Muslims), some Muslim rulers, such as the Ottoman sultan, and the Tatars. The latter appear when he discusses diplomatic protocol (Pennington, *O Rossii*, pp. 41, 42, 50-3, 55, 71-3, 82-4, 100, 147), and describes their status and way of life (Pennington, *Rossii*, pp. 100, 104-5, 107, 137, 143, 146, 148, 156).

These statements on Muslim rulers and peoples are generally non-judgmental, although it becomes plain from what he writes that the Moscow government was extremely sensitive towards Muslims and their rulers. The clearest example of this was the practice of omitting parts of the tsar's title in documents intended for 'the Mohammedan sovereigns' out of fear of violent reactions (Pennington, *Rossii*, pp. 52-3), and another was the practice of sending rich gifts (*pominki*) to the Crimea in order to avoid hostilities with the 'impious' Tatars (the one instance of his using this adjective for them), although these gifts did little to stop their raids (Pennington, *O Rossii*, pp. 72-3). The concern to avoid any upset extended as far as unwillingness to stop Muslim ambassadors from pilfering precious vessels after drinking from them with the tsar: Kotoshikhin explains this with the comment that for a Christian 'it is shameful to quarrel with an infidel' (Pennington, *O Rossii*, p. 84).

SIGNIFICANCE

Kotoshikhin's work demonstrates an overall pragmatism in approach, a business-like tone of narration and relative indifference towards religious matters. In consequence, it is no wonder that he treats Muslims in the same way as any other group, their religion being only one of the features that distinguished them. Such an attitude would appear to be a prerequisite for an official in a state where everyday contacts with Muslims were routine, on both the diplomatic and personal levels.

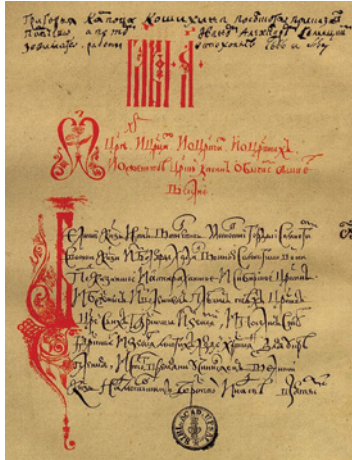


Illustration 13. Opening page of *O Rossii v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha*, with annotations by Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655-1727)

On the other hand, the care with which Muslim rulers and their representatives were treated shows that Muscovite officials recognised them as a distinct category. In this respect, despite his generally non-judgemental attitude and lack of interest in religious matters, Kotoshikhin testifies to an awareness of religious difference in official Russian dealings with Muslims.

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Alexander Tolstikov

Rodion Grekov

DATE OF BIRTH	First half of the 17 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Russia
DATE OF DEATH	Second half of the 17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Russia

BIOGRAPHY

Information on Rodion Grekov is extremely scarce. What is known comes from the single letter he addressed to his spiritual father, Archpriest Avvakum Petrov, who was jailed in Pustozersk, a settlement in Russia's far north. Indirect evidence allows the letter to be dated to the period between November 1668 and 1 August 1669. Archpriest Avvakum was a famous leader of the protest against Patriarch Nikon (1652-66) and the liturgical changes he initiated in the 1650s. Since Grekov dispatched the letter after Avvakum was sentenced for 'church schisms and mutinies', it is possible that Grekov also supported the protest.

Some writings of Archpriest Avvakum and his associates mention the name Rodion/Irodion; additionally, several documents dated to the 1670s refer to the nobleman Rodion Vasil'evsyn (son of Vasilii) Grekov. However, it is hard to determine with absolute confidence whether any of these references are to the Rodion Grekov and his letter discussed here.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pis'mo Rodiona Grekova k protopopu Avvakumu,
'Rodion Grekov's letter to Archpriest Avvakum'

DATE Between November 1668 and August 1669

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The letter sent by Rodion Grekov to Archpriest Avvakum Petrov is only one page long (23 lines). The author asks for a blessing from his spiritual father, and seeks to be mentioned in Avvakum's prayers and to receive further correspondence from him.

Grekov informs Avvakum of the end of his five years of captivity in the Crimean Khanate. The section dealing with his captivity only occupies a few lines in the letter, yet it is possible to decipher from it some information about his experience. Grekov mentions that he was a captive of 'evil Muslim enemies' (*nepriiateli vragi busurmane*; the word *busurmane* was a common term for Muslims in Russia in the 16th-17th centuries). He also complains that he almost lost his mind while in captivity (*odurel bylo*) and that he was maltreated (*pomuchen*) by the 'enemies'. Grekov relates this experience to his spiritual life.

SIGNIFICANCE

It seems from the letter that for Grekov captivity involved not only physical suffering but also spiritual trauma, for which he could not find relief in his faith. In other words, he does not interpret the experience of captivity by Muslims as suffering in the name of true faith or as Christian martyrdom, as Western European narratives of the early modern period would do. Neither does he say that it was God's punishment for his sins, the test for a true believer. Instead, Grekov describes his captivity simply as a devastating experience, spiritually as well as physically.

This interpretation is supported by Aleksandr Lavrov's observation about the almost complete absence of biblical references in numerous petitions by Russian captives who were held in the Crimean Khanate in the 17th century.

PUBLICATIONS

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Evgeny Grishin

Fedor Feoktistov Dorokhin

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Yelets, Russia
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; late 17 th century

BIOGRAPHY

Fedor Dorokhin was a nobleman of the rank of petty gentryman (*syn boiarskii*). All that is known about him is contained in the report of the governor of Kiev, Iu.P. Trubetskoi, who interrogated him after his return from captivity in Ottoman Turkey.

It is likely that Dorokhin entered military service as a youth. In 1660, he was captured by Crimean Tatars in a battle near the city of Chudnov. He spent about two years in Crimea, and was then sold into slavery in Constantinople in 1662. Until 1674, he served in the Turkish army as a cavalryman in place of his Turkish master. Eventually he was able to amass enough money to buy his freedom. After spending the winter of 1674 in the region of the River Danube in the sultan's entourage, he returned to his homeland with some Russian merchants. By July 1675, he had arrived in Kiev, where he was interrogated by the local authorities. The information that he provided about the Turkish military during this interrogation was of such importance that the Kiev governor immediately reported it to Moscow.

Dorokhin presumably either wrote *Opisanie Turetskoi imperii* himself, or someone else recorded it from his words.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Opisanie Turetskoi imperii, 'Description of the Turkish Empire'

DATE Unknown; after 1674

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

Opisanie Turetskoi imperii contains numerous minute observations, and has been called by its editor, P.A. Syrku, a military-geographical, topographic-statistical work (*Opisanie*, pp. ii-v, xxv). The detailed descriptions of Turkish fortresses, including their fortifications and armaments are remarkable. It is also notable for the information it gives about the distances between cities and large settlements, as well as their populations. In addition to Turkey, the author describes Jerusalem, Egypt, the African coast and cities and islands in Asia Minor. Among the peoples he refers to, he specifies Turks, Arabs, Turkmen, Kurds, Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Russians and others, using military qualities as the main criteria for his characterisation of them.

As a professional soldier, it seems Dorokhin was not really interested in religious questions. This is probably the main reason for his lack of attention to Islamic customs. The only thing he writes concerning the 'Turkish people' is that their warfare is 'untrained' (*neuchenaia est*), while the Turks themselves are 'godless Hagarenes, evil and unrighteous sinners, filthy lechers, loathsome sodomites, given to bestiality (*skotolozhniki*), pagan rascals (*pakosnikov poganskikh*), and merciless people' (*Opisanie*, p. 1). In this passage, which lists all the negative qualities and vices commonly attributed to Muslims in Russian literature, Dorokhin was probably intending to emphasise his personal aversion to Islam.

The realism of the *Opisanie* contributes to its literary and practical significance. Dorokhin portrays objects as he sees them. His description is brief, but always competent; simple and clear, and vividly portrayed. Such, for example, is his description of Jerusalem: 'the holy and chosen and blessed city of God'. Dorokhin writes that the city 'stands since its founding on the holy mountains – God loves the doors of Zion more than any other of Jacob's settlements; and the walls of the city make it seem a quadrangle' (*Opisanie*, p. 2).

Dorokhin is unique among his contemporaries in describing so many places. During his period of enslavement, it seems he went to almost

every corner of the Ottoman Empire. He most likely knew Turkish well, because he was able to list accurately all the names of the gates of the fortress of Constantinople.

SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike the Old Russian travelogues (*khozheniia*), the *Opisanie* omits any mention of Christian holy sites and objects, suggesting that Dorokhin was indifferent to them. It may well have been that due to his service in the sultan's army he converted to Islam, or that he purposely showed indifference to Christian churches and relics in order to conceal his true faith from his fellow soldiers. This could be the reason why, during his interrogation by the governor of Kiev, he mentioned nothing about any Christian churches or monasteries he might have seen in foreign lands – they may not have been imprinted on his memory. At the very beginning of the *Opisanie*, he points out that his main goal while in service in the Turkish army was the secret collection of military information.

Dorokhin's sincere adherence to Christianity is revealed only in his description of Constantinople. He stresses that two-thirds of the population of the city and its surroundings are Christians of various denominations, and he notes that all of them became 'Turks by their own will or against it', but does not explain further. He pays especially close attention to his compatriots, an 'innumerable number' (*zelo mnogo mnozhestvam bez chisla*) of whom were slaves on sea and land, in servitude and on the galleys. He may have been trying to stress that experiences such as his own were not uncommon, thus absolving himself of possible suspicions of disloyalty or that he may have voluntarily joined the Turkish side.

PUBLICATIONS

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Liudmila Sukina

Temir-Aksakovo deistvo

Malaia komediia o Baiazete i Tamerlane, 'The play of Tamerlane'

DATE 1675

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

Temir-Aksakovo deistvo is one of the plays created for Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's court theatre, which was established in October 1672. Surviving payment records mention it for the first time in late January 1675, when a long list of supplies and props was compiled, and it was around this time that the text was bound. The play was performed in early February (apparently on 11 February), and it was repeated in the autumn of that year, but there were no further performances as the theatre closed on Tsar Aleksei's death in January 1676.

The play is based on the well-known historical confrontation between the Central Asian ruler Tamerlane (called Temir-Aksak in the Russian play) and the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I (Baiazet in the play) near Ankara in 1402. The Ottoman defeat and Bayezid's humiliation at the hands of the victor were described in Russian chronicle writings and widely reported in historical sources during the 16th and 17th centuries in western Europe, where the episode had also been the subject of several theatrical plays. In Muscovy, Tamerlane was probably best known not for his encounter with Bayezid but rather for his invasion of eastern Europe in the late 14th century, when, according to Russian belief, he halted and turned back as a result of the miraculous intervention of the famous icon of the Vladimir Mother of God.

Temir-Aksakovo deistvo is short, with only three acts (the modern edition published in Derzhavina et al., *Russkaia dramaturgiia*, is just over 30 pages); it appears, however, that some stage elements may have been improvised, which would have extended the performance time (costumes for dancers, for example, are mentioned in the supply lists but their actions are not specified in the surviving play texts). The work emphasises the virtues of the good ruler, focusing on the response of the noble and God-fearing Tamerlane to a plea from the Palaeologus emperor in Constantinople that he should save the city from the impending attack

by the boastful Ottoman sultan. There is very little in the play that can be related to Christian-Muslim polemic – nothing to indicate, for example, that the historical Tamerlane had been a vigorous champion of his Islamic faith, nor much emphasis on the fact that Bayezid was Muslim. Tamerlane is presented not as an opponent of Christianity but as its defender, a wise and resolute ruler, whose character of humility before God destines him for victory (Parfenov, 'K voprosu', p. 18).

The play begins with the appearance of the god Mars, complete with military fanfares, in a brief opening scene, and then the action shifts back and forth between Tamerlane's and Bayezid's camps, with the interjection of a couple of scenes providing comic relief; these comic scenes use character traits and names long familiar from their appearance on Western stages (Pickleherring, Tölpel, wise-cracking soldiers, and so forth). The play includes an exchange of demands that vaguely echo both real missives sent by the Orthodox tsar in his attempts to raise support for the wars in the south, and real or fictional threatening diplomatic exchanges between the Christian rulers of the time and the Ottomans. However, it is difficult to identify any particular Muscovite source that might have been used by the authors of the play. Bayezid meets his end in the famous cage, which was constructed specially for the production. The play undoubtedly was as visually entertaining as it was edifying for the obvious parallels that might be drawn between the hero and Tsar Aleksei, another wise and resolute military leader, who happened to be sitting front row centre.

The earlier plays for the court theatre had been composed by the Lutheran pastor in Moscow's Foreign Quarter (*Nemetskaia sloboda*), Johann Gregorii; however, he died only a few days after the February premiere, and it is not known whether he fully participated in the preparations. It is possible that his assistant, George Hüfner (generally known as Iakov or Iurii Gibner in the Russian sources), contributed to the composition of the play. Although the playwright(s) certainly interacted with Muscovite authorities (particularly with the head of the Diplomatic Chancery, A.S. Matveev, who was in charge of the court's popular theatrical performances), the German authors most probably based their play on traditions with which they were familiar and, perhaps, sources they had at hand (the short prologue to the play emphasises that it was based on historical sources). These would include the popular histories on the subject of Tamerlane that proliferated in Europe at the end of the 16th and throughout the 17th century, as well as their own possible (and unverified) experiences with staged performances of the story.

A.T. Parfenov ('K voprosu', pp. 23-8) points to Jean du Bec's *Histoire du grand empereur Tamerlan* (1595) as a possible source for the German playwright(s); indeed, many of the important elements of the play, particularly the positive view of Tamerlane himself and his respectful religious tolerance, appear in du Bec's influential and widely circulating work. The text of Tamerlane's dream in Act 1 is also close to the dream text in du Bec's work (and Russian chronicles also refer to Tamerlane's dream or vision in connection with the icon of the Vladimir Mother of God). However, du Bec's history alone did not supply all of the action of the Russian play, for he does not include the most famous incident of all: the humiliation of the defeated Bayezid as he is placed in the cage and then kills himself by smashing his head against the bars, which forms the dramatic and bloody conclusion to the Moscow play. Other contemporary Western histories, such as *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum imperatoris vita* by Petrus Perondinus (1553) and *The general historie of the Turkes* by Richard Knolles (1603, which is largely, but not entirely, based on du Bec), do include this image.

Bayezid's suicide also appears in the most famous theatrical rendition of all, Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1* (1587). Like the Russian playwright(s), Marlowe also consulted historical sources (including Perondinus), although it is not clear whether any of Marlowe's known sources might have been available to the Moscow playwrights. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Marlowe's play would have been known directly in Moscow, the English itinerant actors who went to the Continent at around the time *Tamburlaine the Great* appeared, at the end of the 16th century and into the early 17th century, would have been familiar with Marlowe's setting. English theatrical practices influenced the staging and acting traditions of German and Dutch plays, which in turn were highly influential in the formation of the Muscovite court theatre in the first place. One of the popular Western plays based on the Tamerlane story was that by J. Serwouters, *Den grooten Tamerlan* (Amsterdam, 1657), known to have been staged by the Fornenbergh acting troupe, which toured Hamburg in 1667, and so may have been known to some members of the foreign (largely German and Dutch) community in Moscow. However, Serwouters' work (which, in turn, was based on a play by Luis Vélez de Guevara), would have provided only a model for a treatment of the subject as a whole, because its plot differs from the Muscovite play in many important ways.

SIGNIFICANCE

Temir-Aksakovo deistvo was the first full-length play for the Russian theatre not drawn from a biblical story; the subject was relevant to current Muscovite involvement in the war against the Turks and Tatars in Ukraine, where an Ottoman offensive in 1674 had resulted in the subjugation of a number of towns and the seizure of their Christian populations. There were widespread concerns in Muscovy in this period regarding the conflicts in the south, where the Orthodox tsar was looked on to defend Christians against attacks by Muslim forces.

The work is also significant for what it tells us about the history of Europe's changing perception and portrayal of the figure of Tamerlane over the course of the late 16th and the 17th centuries, and for the light it sheds on the relationship between the early Muscovite theatre and western theatrical traditions. The play shows that Muscovy, too, was involved in the re-interpretation of Tamerlane, who appears here as an example of a Christian-style warrior, a wise ruler who, in defending the Byzantine emperor, is a defender of the true Christian faith. This portrayal is one of the hallmarks of du Bec's widely circulating history. The positive imagery of Tamerlane also appears in other contexts in the West, for example in the Turkish pageant created for the Great Wedding of 1634 in Copenhagen between Christian, the heir apparent, and Magdalene Sybille of Saxony, where the role of Tamerlane was portrayed by Duke Frederik of Schleswig-Holstein, brother of the groom (see Wade, *Triumphus*, pp. 196-207).

Thus the image of Tamerlane could be invoked for rhetorical purposes in various contexts in Christian Europe, which, particularly later in the century, was beginning to roll back the Ottoman conquests. These conflicts were less about religion than about political power; within Muscovy, texts such as the Tamerlane play were probably viewed first and foremost as commentary on the power and pretensions of the tsar. The realisation of the story on the Russian stage also fits with western theatrical practices. The spectacular stage occurrences are probably less related to stereotypical western views of Islam and its rulers than to theatrical traditions, both comic and dramatic, that had formed the basis for the Muscovite theatre from its very inception.

Finally, the Tamerlane story continued to appear in early Russian theatre. A play called *Baiazet i Tamerlan* was featured in the next (and short-lived) theatre that was established in the early 18th century. The actors for this theatre were imported wholesale from the West, and their repertoire thus reflects not only continuing western fascination with the

Tamerlane story, where the subject appeared widely, but may also echo the productions assembled for Tsar Aleksei three decades earlier.

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Claudia Jensen

Simeon Polotskij

Samuel Gavrilovich Piotrovskij-Sitnianovich

DATE OF BIRTH 1629
PLACE OF BIRTH Polotsk/Połock (then in the Polish-Lithuanian
Commonwealth, in present-day Belarus)
DATE OF DEATH 25 August 1680
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Simeon Polotskij was born Samuel Gavrilovich Piotrovski-Sitnianovich in Polotsk in 1629. He was educated at the Mohyla Collegium, Kiev, in the 1640s, then possibly in Vilna at the Jesuit Academy. In 1656, he took monastic vows and was given the name Simeon at the Epiphany (Bogoiavlenskij) Monastery (Polotsk), where he was a teacher and a poet. He wrote poems in Polish, Latin and Belarusian. That same year, Simeon and his pupils presented several panegyrics in verse to the Russian Tsar Aleksej Mikhajlovich, who was visiting Polotsk. The monarch was surprised, as he had never heard syllabic panegyric declaimed by young students before.

In 1660, Simeon visited Moscow for the first time, bringing with him more panegyric poems glorifying the tsar. When he moved to the Russian capital in 1664, Simeon was invited by Tsar Aleksej Mikhajlovich to serve as tutor to his children (first Aleksej, and later Feodor and Sofia). He was also a court poet and panegyrist, preacher, writer, theologian and translator. Simeon remained a hieromonk of the Zaikonospasskij Monastery (in Moscow), where he lived in a cell, worked with books from his library, which he brought from Polotsk (it was the largest in Moscow at the time), and wrote his own works.

In 1666-7, Simeon took part in church councils. According to a decision of the council, Simeon wrote *Zhezl pravleniia* ('Sceptre of government'), a rebuttal of Old Believer teachings. (1667 saw the Great Schism of the Russian Orthodox Church.)

In 1670, Simeon composed an exposition of Christian doctrine, *Venets very kafalicheskoi* ('Crown of faith'), which was intended for educational and catechetical use at the court of Aleksej Mikhailovich. He also revived the long-forgotten art of preaching in Moscow. In the mid-1670s, he wrote

sermons, collected into two volumes, *Obed dushevnyi* ('Spiritual dinner') and *Vecheria dushevnaia* ('Spiritual supper'), which he had prepared for publication. In 1677-9, he gathered together a collection of theological conversations (*Besedy*) and included his own works and translations of Latin texts. Among them were translations of a text against Judaism (e.g. *Kniga Petra Alphonsa rodom Evreina, no obrativshagosa ko Khristu Gospodu i pisavshago protivu judeom* ('A book of Petrus Alphonsi, born a Jew, but converted to Christ and wrote against Judaism') and two polemical texts against Islam, *Togozhde Petra Alphonsa o zakone saracinstem* ('The same Petrus Alphonsi about the heretical law') and *Ino Skazanie o Magomete i o ego bezzakonnom zakone* ('A parable on Muḥammad and his lawless law'), using chapters on Muḥammad translated from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*; Simeon had a copy of this (published in 1624) in his library.

In 1678, Simeon completed his main poetic work *Vertograd mnogocvĕtnyj* ('Garden of many flowers'), an encyclopaedia of verse containing poems on a variety of topics including ancient Roman history, biblical history and Christian moral rules and other texts translated by Simeon from Catholic sermon books and adapted for the Orthodox reader. His translation in verse of the book 'Psalms of David the king and prophet' (1678) was published at the Verkhnyaya printing house in 1680. *Rifmologion*, a collection of his courtly-ceremonial poetry written over the years, was also completed in 1678-80. Just before Simeon's death, the Kremlin Verkhnyaya printing house also published his *Bukvar' iazyka slavenska* ('Slavonic ABC') (1679), *Testament Vasiliia, tsaria grecheskogo, synu L'vu* ('Testament of the Greek King Basil to his son Leo') (1680) and *Istoriuu Varlaama i Ioasafa* ('A story of Barlaam and Ioasaphus') (1680).

In 1679, Simeon prepared a decree (*Privileia*) to establish the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy (*Slaviano-greko-latinskaia akademiia*). His death in August 1680 prevented him from implementing the project, but it was followed up by his disciple Sylvester Medvedev. Simeon was buried at the Zaikonospasskii Monastery, where the academy was opened six years later.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rifmologion

DATE 1678

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Rifmologion is a collection of court poems written between 1661 and 1678 and dedicated to major religious holidays and important events associated with the royal household, first of Tsar Aleksej Mikhailovich (d. 1676), and then of his son Feodor Alekseevich (d. 1682). They mark occasions such as births, marriages, deaths and Feodor's coronation.

The work's full title is *Rifmologion ili Stikhoslov, soderzhiaj v sebe stikhi, ravnomerno i kraesoglasno slozhennia, razlichnym nuzhdam prilichnyia. V slavu i chest' Boga v Troice edinago, Prechistyiia Bozhiiia Matere, sviatykh ugodnikov Gospodnikh. V pol'zu iunykh i starykh, dukhovnykh i mirskikh razlichnykh sanov. Kupno vo utekhu i umilenie, v blagodarstvie, pokhvalu i privet i prochaia. Bozhieiu pomoshchiiu trudoliubiem mnogogreshnago vo ieromonasekh Simeona Polotskago, v razlichnaia leta i vremena slozhennia. Potom zhe v edino sobranie sochetannia. V leto ot sozdaniia mira 7187. Ot Rozhdestva Boga vo ploti 1678* ('Rifmologion or Stikhoslov including poems with even and syllabic versification for different needs of a decent man. To the glory and honour of God in Trinity, sacrament of the Holy Mother, the saints of the Lord. In favour of young and old, religious and secular of different rank. Together with tenderness, gratitude, praise and greetings, etc. Composed with God's help by a hardworking great sinner in monasticism, Simeon Polockij, at various periods in time and put together into a single collection. In the year of 7187 from the creation of the world. In the year of 1678 from the Nativity of God in the flesh'). *Rifmologion* also includes festive welcome messages addressed to the Moscow boyar elite, as well as the texts of five little books, artistically decorated (*knizhitsy*) to read in the royal apartments of the Kremlin marking particularly important state events, and two plays.

As a Kremlin court tutor and poet, Simeon would be aware of events such as the destruction of Ukrainian monasteries and settlements by Crimean Tatars, and the Turkish invasion of the Crimea in the 1660s and 1670s. He reflects these in some of his poems.

In the *knizhitsa* 'Russian eagle', Tsar Alexej Mikhailovich is represented as the head of all 'Russians', who are God's chosen people. His opponent, the 'impious foe Turchin', 'does not know God' and threatens to persecute 'the faithful'. Simeon compares 'Turchin', the Turk and persecutor of Christians, to the Roman Emperor Maxentius, a persecutor of the early Christian church.

In the *knizhitsa Gusl' dobroglasnaia*, Simeon presents the confrontation between the Russians and the Ottoman Empire through metaphor. In *Privetstvie 2* ('Welcome 2'), part of this *knizhitsa*, he employs the metaphor of the zodiac. Here Scorpio, 'full of poison', symbolises the 'fierce serpent of the Hagarenes' (Eremin, *Rifmologion*, p. 126, verses 335-40; references that follow are to this edition unless otherwise stated); 'Hagarene' ('Agariane'), from the biblical Hagar, is a common term for Muslims in Old Russian. Simeon wishes Tsar Feodor Alekseevich to 'slay'

Scorpio as the 'common enemy of all Christians', and calls for God's help to free the captured people (verses 340-2). The sign of Sagittarius, who 'shoots arrows from a bow', represents Tsar Feodor himself, who is to embody the 'intent' of his father Aleksej Mikhailovich and 'crush' the bows and arrows of 'Scythian countries' (Crimean Tatars) and make them 'bow their proud heads' (p. 127, verses 345-50). After this comes the 'horned goat', which I.P. Eremin suggests represents Sultan Muḥammad IV (*Simeon Polotskij, Isbrannye sochineniia*, Saint Petersburg, 2004, p. 269). Feodor must break the 'pride' of the goat that swaggers through the mountains, and must 'kneel on its horns' (p. 127, verses 360-5). The next sign is 'wet Aquarius', which Simeon hopes will help the Tsar in his campaign through the sea to the 'city of the Greek throne', meaning Constantinople. Simeon appeals to the Tsar 'to take from the ugly hands of the Hagarenes and give to your most lucent Christian hands this Greek city' (verses 375-80). This idea is developed further through the next sign, Pisces. Simeon hopes that Feodor will 'baptise, God willing, the Hagarenes and sanctify the vile serpents with holy waters; let them be clean fish for God' (p. 128, verses 395-400). The fish as a symbol of Christ becomes a metaphor for the purification and baptism of the impure Turks.

In *Privetstvie 3* ('Welcome 3'), the next part of the *knizhitsa*, Simeon once again draws on the image of the eagle, the symbol of royal power conquering the 'proud Hagarenes'. He represents this victory as the bending of the crescent moon, which has 'its own horns' tamed by the claws of the eagle, into 'circularity', and gradually filling with the sunlight of Christ and the truth of faith (p. 132, verses 525-30).

SIGNIFICANCE

In 1686, after the conclusion of the Eternal Peace Treaty with Poland, which placed Kiev and left-bank Ukraine under Russian rule, Russia joined the Holy League, the alliance between the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Venetian Republic, in their struggle against the Ottoman Empire, pledging to fight against the Crimean Khanate. In this it failed.

These events gave urgency to the need to strengthen the state ideology, which presented Russia as the defender of the Christian faith against its Muslim enemies. The poetry of Simeon Polotskij is a vivid element in this activity.

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Marina Kiseleva

Pis'mo zaporozhtsev turetskomu sultanu

Legendarnoe pis'mo zaporozhtsev turetskomu sultanu, napisannoe, po predaniiu 1675, 'Legendary letter of the Zaporozhians to the Turkish sultan, written according to the legend 1675'

Pis'mo zaporozhtsev turetskomu sultanu, 'Letter of the Zaporozhians to the Turkish sultan'

Pis'mo Chigirintsev turetskomu sultanu, 'Letter of the Chigirins to the Turkish sultan'

DATE 1672-80

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

'Zaporozhian Cossacks' is the term used to refer to those who had been settling since the 15th century in the steppe area around the lower Dniepr', which later became the borderland between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Muscovy and the Crimean Khanate. They were originally fugitives and refugees from the Commonwealth, Moldova, Wallachia and Muscovy, fleeing from servitude or punishment. Their settlements on the borders of the realm were tolerated because it was assumed they would populate the area and ultimately help in defending the country from Tatar invasions, mainly from the Crimea. By the 17th century, the Cossacks had developed into a free people with a quasi-autonomous form of government, the Hetmanate, led by an *ataman* or *hetman*.

The Cossack political structure took the form of a *Personenverband*, a group of persons associated through mutual dependence (Witzenrath, *Cossacks and the Russian Empire*, p. xxx). Members of this *Personenverband* are thought to be the authors of the letter.

The letter sent by the Zaporozhian Cossacks to Sultan Mehmet IV is only one page long. It circulated in various manuscripts at the end of the 17th century, sometimes together with the alleged original letter from the sultan, to which this letter forms the Cossacks' response. The sultan's letter was supposedly sent after his unsuccessful attack on the Zaporozhian fortress. The Cossacks' letter is generally considered an example

of the anti-Turkish apocryphal correspondence that was in circulation in Russia at the time (see further the entry in this volume on 'The Russian versions of the apocryphal correspondence with the Ottoman sultan').

In its earlier versions, the letter was signed by the Chigirin Cossacks. However, it underwent a textual transformation in the 18th century, with the Zaporozhians becoming the signatories, and the controlled satire of the earlier versions becoming vulgarity. Borschak ('La lettre des zaporogues', pp. 99-105) argues for a Polish original.

The sultan's letter and its response bear typological similarities, suggesting that they were written either together or interdependently. The sultan's letter begins by stating his long title, referring to him as the brother of the sun and moon as well as the sovereign of several kingdoms, including Macedonia, Babylonia, Jerusalem and Egypt. It also refers to him as the guardian of Christ's tomb. After this long title follows the brief demand that the Cossacks surrender to him. The letter is signed, the 'Turkish Sultan Mohamed'.

The Cossacks' response mirrors the sultan's title, beginning, after the short heading (using the Wikipedia translation), 'Zaporozhian Cossacks to the Turkish sultan', with insults that include calling the sultan a devil, devil's kith and kin, secretary to Lucifer and a knight who 'can't slay a hedgehog with your naked arse'. These insults are followed by the Cossacks' response that they will not surrender to him but 'by land and by sea we will battle with you, fuck your mother'.

In the next paragraph, they make mocking reference to the sultan's title, calling him a Babylonian scullion, Macedonian wheelwright, brewer of Jerusalem, goat-fucker of Alexandria and so on. The letter ends with further insults and the signature of the *ataman* Ivan Sirko 'with the whole Zaporozhian Host'.

SIGNIFICANCE

On the surface, this correspondence is religious. The sultan, when giving his titles, applies the argument that he is the defender of Christian sites in the Orient, though the Cossacks transform the positive Christian titles into negative, devilish titles, thereby indicating that the sultan does not belong to the Christian side but to that of the devil. This transformation of positive Christian features into negative ones is the main mocking feature of the letter, though it also betrays a certain 'colonialist' awareness. The letter is written from a uniquely Christian perspective, and does not acknowledge the sultan's role as defender of the Christian sites in the Orient. If we assume, as some do, that the initial letter was a western



Illustration 14. Reply of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, by Ilya Repin (1844-1930), depicting the joint composition of the letter

European pseudepigraphy, this shows that the sultan was seen not so much as a defender, but rather as an occupant of the holy sites, only claiming to be protecting them. All his other attributes, whether Muslim or military, are missing. The correspondence is uniquely one-sided.

The Cossacks' letter had great significance for Russian and Ukrainian historical consciousness and self-esteem. Written in a situation where the Cossacks had defeated the sultan's army and that of his Crimean allies, it witnesses to the Cossacks' overwhelming confidence. The circulation of the manuscripts shows that, at the end of the 17th century, the letters encouraged the Cossacks' defence of the frontier region.

In addition, the letter had great impact on Russian historical and political consciousness until the 19th century; in the 1870s, the letters were used as anti-Turkish propaganda in the Russo-Ottoman Balkan wars.

In 1880-91, the famous Russian/Ukrainian artist Ilya Repin painted a huge canvas (2.03 m. by 3.58 m.) depicting the Cossacks enjoying themselves writing their letter to the sultan. This painting was bought by Tsar Alexander III for the sum of 35,000 roubles, making it the most expensive painting of its time. It has since been exhibited in the Russian Museum in St Petersburg, with another version in the Khar'kiv Museum of Fine Arts. The act of writing the letter is also depicted in the film *Taras Bulba* (2009).

The letter is an example of how influential a myth can be. Making fun of a dangerous power – even before his defeat at the gates of Vienna in 1683 – gave the Cossacks a psychological source for resistance. Daniel Waugh explains the reason for the widespread appeal of the letter in the 19th century as ‘because the letters tended to confirm a preconceived romantic picture of what the Cossacks were thought to be like, coarse and piratical, but heroes of the struggle in the Ukraine for independence from non-Ukrainian controls’ (Waugh, *Great Turk's defiance*, p. 169).

The French poet Guillaume Apollinaire wrote a versified version of the letter (‘Réponse des Cosaques Zaporogues au sultan de Constantinople’) as part of his poem ‘La Chanson du mal-aimé’ in his collection *Alcools* (1913). During the Second World War, several letters appeared mimicking the form of the *Letter of the Zaporozhians*, such as the ‘Letter of the Pinsk partisans to Adolf Hitler’. This underlines the significance of the letter as being far more a form of support for Russian/Ukrainian national consciousness when confronting an enemy, than genuine diplomatic or war correspondence.

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Cornelia Soldat

Tsarist instructions to the governors of Kazan in the 17th century

Tsarskie nakazy Kazanskim voevodam XVII veka

DATE MS copy produced in 1720, from records dated 16 April 1613;
16 May 1649; 22 March 1677; 21 July 1686

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

The manuscript contains a compilation of 17th-century instructions (*nakazy*) to the Russian governors of Kazan, produced for the State Archive of Internal Laws in the early 18th century. Until its conquest by Tsar Ivan Vasil'evich in 1552, the Khanate of Kazan was an independent state bordering Russia. It was led by an elite group of Muslim Tatars, who oversaw a diverse population comprised of other Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples, most of whom were animists in religion. Under Russian rule, this population remained diverse in terms of both ethno-linguistic identity and confessional identity, even after the Russian colonial authorities established the Russian Orthodox Church within the central fortress (*kremľ'*) of Kazan.

In the 17th century, the governing office for this region, the Chancellery of the Kazan Palace, appointed governors (*voevody*) to supervise the city and its environs, laying out for each individual governor a set of instructions known as a *nakaz*. This manuscript contains four 17th-century instructions, issued on 16 April 1613, 16 May 1649, 22 March 1677 and 21 July 1686. Though the sample is small, these instructions reveal the outline of governance and the responsibilities of the governors, as well as demonstrating the standardisation of Muscovite bureaucracy. The instructions addressed common problems facing the governor in his term in office: security issues, tax collection and trade regulation, and the administration of justice. Over the 17th century, the complexity of each instruction increased in an attempt to regulate the authority of the governors more closely. For example, the instruction of 1613 comprises seven clauses, that of 1649 contains 26, and those of 1677 and 1686 each have 33. This increase reflects increased awareness of the difficulties of frontier governance; most of the new articles specifically addressed solutions to recent problems.

The opening clauses of each instruction address specific problems of Russian governance. The first directs the incoming governor to claim the keys to the city from the previous officials, and for all residents of all ranks in the region to respect the authority of the new officials. This was usually followed by one reminding the governor that he owed his personal loyalty to the tsar first and then to the Kazan Palace. After the promulgation of the *Ulozhenie* (Russian Law Code) of 1649, subsequent instructions informed the governors that they were responsible for following its clauses, as well as all previous instructions and charters sent to Kazan.

The security clauses address the two major issues of internal threats of rebellion and external threats from nomads. During the 17th century, the potential for domestic rebellion received increasing attention. Two of the seven articles in the instruction to the first governor of Kazan appointed by Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in 1613 call for careful control of the local community, naming each group individually: 'all Russians, princes, *mirzas*, Tatars, Votiaks [Udmurts], Bashkirs, Chuvashes, and Cheremisses [Maris]'. Ethno-linguistic identity, and perhaps the social rank of princes and *mirzas*, was a concern of the government, and their religious identity is not mentioned in the instructions.

Throughout the 17th century, the number of security clauses increases, providing greater detail of recent problems and ongoing concerns. By 1649, the instruction repeats the earlier instructions to monitor the populace, and provides directions for responding to attacks from nomadic raiders. However, the instruction now focuses solely on Tatars, Chuvashes, Maris and Udmurts, omitting Russians from the categories of those under suspicion. The governor was now to take hostages from the families of Tatars, Chuvashes, Maris and Udmurts to ensure their loyalty, investigate all the local non-Russian villages, and forbid the sale of military items (such as muskets, swords and helmets) in certain districts, especially those that contained Maris, Udmurts or Chuvashes. Also, the Chancellery instructed the governor to regulate the horse trade, monitoring all purchases and forbidding any sales to Nogai Tatars or Bashkirs. It added a further check on the populace by requiring the governor to monitor Russians and all non-Russians arriving or leaving. If runaway peasants were discovered entering the region, they were to be returned to the estates of their proper landlords.

Following security, economic regulation was the most pressing concern of the local governors. By the end of the 17th century, the number of

clauses in the instructions concerning trade was vast, and their specificity indicates both the growing importance of the Volga trade route and the state's increasing control over it. In the instruction of 1613, taxes were covered by only one clause, but by 1649 the number of articles concerned with financial matters had increased to nine. Tax instructions were broken down by tax-paying status, with urban residents still separated by ethno-linguistic identity (Russians and Tatars primarily), with separate articles for military personnel and *iasachnye liudi* ('people who pay tribute'). Trade regulation is divided into distinct types of activity, with one article regulating the movement of traders on the Volga, one regulating horse trading, one about the *gosti* (highest rank of Russian merchant), and one – the longest article of the entire instruction – assessing the fish market, tabulating recent returns from taxes gathered from fish sales. The instructions also demanded controls on bootlegged liquor to eliminate smuggling and tax-dodging, especially among the region's Chuvash and Mari populations.

When compared with the specific instructions addressing security, tax collection, and trade regulation, the number of articles in the instructions concerning judicial prerogatives is small. The instruction of 1613 has only one clause, which informs the governor that he has the right to dispense justice to all the people in Kazan region, and to collect the appropriate fees from his judgments. During the 17th century, this wide latitude decreases as the central chancelleries progressively claim greater legal authority in the countryside. Some of the powers claimed by the central chancellery were simply too important to remain in the provinces, such as the governors' pre-1649 power to settle boundary disputes. Along with stripping the governors of this power, in 1649 the Kazan Palace added specific details about the types of judicial matters that should be reported in Moscow, even if they were settled locally. For example, debt slavery, a local matter, need not be reported. If someone claimed the tsar's land for his own, however, the governor was required to report the individual to the chancellery office, and collect the appropriate taxes and service due for the land. As the governor's powers to adjudicate was transferred to Moscow, longer delays for judgments became more common.

SIGNIFICANCE

The instructions to the governors of Kazan are the best source for understanding the process of administering a region of both ethno-linguistic

and religious diversity within the Russian Empire. It appears clear that the central chancelleries were increasingly inclined to curtail the governors' activities in the countryside during the 17th century. While expansion of the bureaucracy may be seen as a process that retarded reform intended to address specific problems of inefficiency within the Muscovite government, directions from Moscow gradually intruded into the power of the local governor and could not help but affect the efficiency of the government at the local level. At the same time, and despite the apparent loss of authority suffered on paper by the governor between 1613 and 1649, a vastly increased set of instructions did not necessarily result in decreased independence for regional officials. Distance and poor communications continued to attenuate the state's central control, and the exercise of power continued to be a melding of regulations by the central chancelleries expressed locally by the governor.

Interestingly, these instructions reveal that confessional identity was not a central concern for the Russian government. The primary criterion for determining any group's relationship with the state was ethnolinguistic identity, coupled with tax-paying status. There is no reference to Muslims or animists being singled out for special treatment or observation by the governor, nor is there any reference to preferential treatment for Christians, and the text does not make the association of 'Russian' with Christian and 'Tatar' with Muslim. Undoubtedly, Tatars, Maris and Chuvashes (the latter two groups were primarily animist) were singled out as potential threats to security, though not because of any religious identity but because they had recently been conquered. The key factor revealed by the *nakazy* is that groups who paid taxes received some benefits and those who failed to do so were admonished.

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Matthew P. Romaniello

Andrei Ivanovich Lyzlov

DATE OF BIRTH 1655
PLACE OF BIRTH Moscow
DATE OF DEATH Probably before March 1697
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Andrei Ivanovich Lyzlov was born into a family of Muscovite service nobility. His father had served as a *voevoda* in provincial towns around Moscow and held offices in the administrative chancelleries before he was named a Duma gentleman and became a patriarchal boyar. Close ties with the patriarchal administration and the learned members of the Chudov Monastery in the Kremlin might explain how he was able to provide a good education for his son, who was well read in Russian history, knew both Polish and Latin, and was familiar with building and construction. Andrei Lyzlov was made a *stol'nik* ('table-attendant', a middle-rank position in the Muscovite court hierarchy) at around the age of 21 and retained this rank for the rest of his life. In 1677, he joined V.V. Golitsyn's corps at Putivl' in left-bank Ukraine, where Russian troops stood in reserve during the first Chigirin campaign against the Ottoman-Tatar army.

Participation in the war and direct contact with Golitsyn, a highly educated and progressive military commander responsible for gathering intelligence in the region, sparked Lyzlov's interest in the subject of his later studies and translations: the history of the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire. After a brief stint in his father's *voevoda*, Lyzlov was called back to the capital during the peak of the 1682 uprising to accompany the regent of Russia, Sophia, and her favourite, V.V. Golitsyn, to the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. He remained in Moscow, collecting materials and translating foreign sources for his book *Skifskaiia istoriia*, which he completed in 1692 after returning from regimental service in the Crimean campaigns of 1687 and 1689. In Moscow, visits to the home of his military superior Golitsyn, and access to the patriarchal sacristy and monastic libraries, provided ample resources for Lyzlov to continue his work on Russia's relations with the Tatars and Ottomans. Notably, he prepared a Russian translation of the 1649 edition of *Dwor cesarza*

tvreckiego y residencyca iego w Konstantynopolu ('The court of the Turkish emperor and his residence in Constantinople') by the Polish author Szymon Starowolski, an important description of Ottoman military organisation, finances, culture and customs, which Lyzlov appended to his own *Skifskaia istoriia*. During Peter I's Azov campaigns of 1695-6, Lyzlov was responsible for the organisation of bread supplies near Voronezh. His attempts to return to the court and be transferred to a different service assignment failed, but in 1696, when the maritime campaign at Azov proved to be successful, he was allowed to go back to Moscow, where he suffered a stroke and died the following year, aged 41 or 42.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Skifskaia istoriia; Istoriia skifiskaia, 'Scythian history'

DATE MS completed in 1692

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

The full title of the work is *Istoriia skifiiskaia, soderzhashchaia v sebe: o nazvanii Skifii, i granitsakh eia, i narodekh skifiiskikh mongallakh i prochikh, i o amazonakh muzhestvennykh zhenakh ikh, i koikh vremen i iakovago radi sluchaia tatare prozvashasia i ot otecheskikh svoikh mest v nashi strany priidosha, i iakovyia narody vo onykh stranakh bysha, i idezhe nyne tatarove obitaiut. I o nachale i umnozhenii Zolotyia ordy i o tsarekh byvshikh tamo. O Kazanskoii orde i tsarekh ikh. O Perekopskoii ili Krymskoii orde i tsarekh ikh. O Makhomete prelestnike agarianskom i o prelesti vymyshlennoi ot nego. O nachale turkov i o saltanakh ikh. Ot raznykh inostrannykh istorikov, pache zhe ot rossiiskikh vernykh istorii i povestei, ot Andreia Lyzlova prilezhnymi trudy slozhena i napisana leta ot Sotvoreniia Sveta 7200-go, a ot Rozhdestva Khristova 1692-go. Razdeliaetsia zhe v chetyre chasti, k tomu prilozhena povest' o povedenii i zhitelstve v Konstantinopole sultanov turetskikh, ezhe prevedena ot slavenopolskogo iazyka v slavenorossiiskii iazyk im zhe, Andreem Lyzlovym* ('Scythian history, containing [content]: about the name of Scythia and its borders, and the Scythian, Mongol and other peoples, and about the Amazons their man-like wives, and about when and why they were called Tatars and how they came from their homeland to our lands, and which peoples live in their lands, and where the Tatars live now. And about the origins and expansion of the Golden Horde and about their previous tsars. About the Kazan Horde and their tsars. About the Perekop, or Crimean, Horde and their tsars. About Muḥammad the Hagarite charmer and about the seduction masterminded by him. About the origin of the Turks and their sultans. From various foreign historians, especially from true Russian histories and narratives, an assiduous work compiled and written by Andrei Lyzlov in the year of the creation of the world 7200, or of the birth of Christ 1692. It is divided into four parts, to which is appended the narrative about the conduct and life of the Turkish sultans in Constantinople, which was translated from the Polish Slavic language into the Russian Slavic language also by him, Andrei Lyzlov'). It is generally known as *Skifiskaia istoriia*.

The Synodal Collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow holds the most complete edited and earliest surviving manuscript of *Skifiskaia istoriia*. Written on Dutch paper from the 1680s, it contains 376 leather-bound quarto folios. In Chistiakova's edition, it amounts to 342 pages with the original folio pagination entered in the margins.

Lyzlov divided *Skifiskaia istoriia* into four parts. Each contains between three and eight chapters with individual section headings. The study

closes with a translation of Starowolski's *Dwor cesarza tvreckiego*. The latter is subdivided into 23 individual sections and the work as a whole is seamlessly integrated as the last chapter of the book.

The long title reads as a perfect summary of the book: the history of the Tatars and the Ottoman Turks. It is primarily a political-military account embedded in cultural and ethnographic explorations, placing Russia's, and its neighbours', struggles with the Ottoman Empire in the context of an ancient conflict between settled civilisations and the nomadic Scythian peoples of the steppe. *Skifskaia istoriia* combines a wide range of topics, covering an extensive geographical sweep from earliest times to the 16th century. Lyzlov writes about the presence of the Greeks, Romans and Persians in the Black Sea region, about the peoples in the Balkans, the defence of Rus' against the Khazars, Pechenegs, Polovtsy and the Bulgars, and about the emergence of the Hungarian and Bulgarian kingdoms, amongst others. Central to his work are the Mongol period, Russia's relations with Poland-Lithuania, Moldavia, Walachia and the Tatars, and Moscow's conquest of the successor khanates to the Golden Horde. The most detailed accounts are devoted to the Crimean Khanate and the political, social, economic and ideological constitution of the Ottoman state.

The author clearly imbues his work with religious themes, and he presents most military confrontations as battles between Christendom and Islam. He emphasises the role of priests, prayers, icons and miracles in the wars against the 'pagan hordes' and blends battle reports with descriptions of religious sentiments that rallied the Muscovites behind the cause of liberating Christians from Ottoman/Tatar captivity and slavery (see, for example, *Skifskaia*, ed. Chistiakova and Bogdanov, part 4, ch. 3). Many chapters of the work are suffused with a crusading friend-foe rhetoric. More than a tenth of both Lyzlov's own study and the translation edited by him explicitly deal with Islam and Christian-Muslim relations. Lyzlov devotes a long section to the life of the Prophet, whom he introduces as the 'diabolical Muḥammad', a 'cursed charmer', the son of a Jewish mother and founder of the 'lawless' creed (p. 157). The author recounts episodes from Muḥammad's life, explains the emergence and spread of the Islamic faith and offers an interpretation of the various branches of Islam and its adoption by the Arabs, Persians, Tatars and Turks. Some attention is given to the treatment of the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire, in particular in Istanbul, where 'the majority of Christians are involuntarily Muslim' (p. 168), as Lyzlov claims,

describing the recruitment of sons of Christian families for the Janissary corps. He is also interested in marriage and conversion, and he writes that some Christians abandon their faith, practising it in secret to avoid torture and hardship.

Lyzlov's revised translation of Starowolski's work engages more closely with questions of ritual, prayer and liturgy, as well as with religious practices such as the *hajj*, Islamic holidays and the various schools of Islamic jurisprudence. Lyzlov writes about the differences and hostilities between Muslim scholars, and Sunnī and Shī'a Islam, but notes that all follow Muḥammad's legacy, which he presents as a list of ten commandments about frequent ablutions, the number of prayers, respect for parents, observation of matrimony, circumcision, assistance of the dead, war, charity, respect for mosques, and confession of one God (p. 326). What follows are detailed descriptions of these rules. While the author uses much of the original Arabic terminology, he also draws many direct comparisons to Christian (Catholic) rites and practices, pointing out that Muḥammad's followers profess monotheism and believe that 'Moses talked to God and that our Lord Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit and born by the Virgin Mary and that Muḥammad is the true messenger of God' (p. 333). Lyzlov then juxtaposes his own portrayal of Islam as a lawless religion based on deceit and military dominance with a toned-down version that not only reveals rules understood by Christians but also bears some resemblance to Christian theology (Crews, *For Prophet and tsar*, p. 36).

Skifskaiia istoriia is a product of extensive scholarly work, and it has the appearance of an early modern historiographical treatise thanks to a clear and consistent chapter organisation and the inclusion of a preface, table of contents, ample citations in the margins and bibliographical references.

Between his first encounters with the Ottoman-Tatar army in the late 1670s and the completion of the work in 1692, Lyzlov compiled excerpts and translations of considerable scope. Among the Russian sources for his book are the *Stepennaia kniga* ('Book of degrees of the royal genealogy', 1560-63), *Russkii khronograf* (1512), the *Kazanskii letopisets* ('Kazan chronicle', 1564-5), and a printed edition of the *Sinopsis* ('Kievan synopsis', 1674), to name but a few. Lyzlov was also an avid reader of Prince Ivan Kurbskii's *Istoriia o velikom kniaze moskovskom* ('History of the Grand Prince of Moscow'), which contains descriptions of 16th-century military confrontations between Muscovy and the Tatars, although its

authorship remains contested and recent scholarship questions the relationship between the two texts (Boeck, 'Improbable case').

For his description of Islam, Lyzlov had primarily mined non-Russian sources. In addition to those mentioned above, popular authorities included Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni universali* (Polish edition of 1609), Maciej Strykowski's *Kronika polska* (1582), Alessandro Guagnini's *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio* (Polish edition of 1611), Cesare Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici* (Polish edition of 1607), Marcin Bielski's *Kronika świata* (1564), and materials from *Martini Cromeri de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Polish edition of 1611).

SIGNIFICANCE

Russia had had regular contact with Muslims in the medieval and early modern periods, but information on the religion of its Islamic neighbours remained scant. Neither had there been any serious theological engagement with Islam in the Russian language. The first Russian translation of the Qur'an appeared in 1716. Most anti-Islamic polemics that had emerged in 16th- and 17th-century Muscovy relied on translations of Western writings and often perpetuated medieval knowledge and legends about the



Illustration 15. '[...] And so the Russian princes expelled the Tatars, some they beat away and some of them they baptised in the name of the Father'. A 16th century miniature, from *Litsevoi Letopisnoi svod XVI veka*

life and practices of Muslims. *Skifskaiia istoriia* forms part of this tradition. Lyzlov's descriptions of Islam builds on foreign-language accounts that had been translated into Polish, and the author prioritises the life of Muḥammad and the history and practice of Islam without delving into questions of doctrine and faith. (Bushkovitch, 'Orthodoxy and Islam'). Nevertheless, *Skifskaiia istoriia* marks a new departure in Russian historical thought. Chistiakova describes it as one of the first historiographical works that transcend a theological understanding of history by presenting factual accounts based on historical criticism and the analysis of cause and development rather than on divine providence (Chistiakova, 'Lyzlov i ego kniga', pp. 360-1). Given that more than 30 manuscripts have survived, the number of circulated copies must have been high, if limited, at the time. The fact that N.I. Novikov, one of the most established advocates of the Russian Enlightenment, published *Skifskaiia istoriia* in two editions, one after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) and the other after the ensuing annexation of Crimea (1783), demonstrates the continued interest in Russian-Ottoman relations and the import of Lyzlov's work. While the author is often celebrated for his modern style of scholarship and the introduction of historical method, it has also been suggested that Lyzlov merely emulated the academic learnedness and principles of his Polish-language sources in order to impress the literate audience at the Russian court, particularly the anti-Ottoman party, with 'serious entertainment', and to bolster his prestige among Moscow's cultural elite (Das, 'History writing and the quest for fame').

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Jan Hennings

Vasilii Aleksandrovich Daudov

DATE OF BIRTH About 1620
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan, Persia
DATE OF DEATH About 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Vasilii Aleksandrovich Daudov was a servant at the Muscovite Ambassadorial Chancellery. He was Persian and Muslim by birth, and his original name was Alimartsan Bababaev. He came to Muscovy in 1654 in the entourage of I.I. Loganov-Rostovskii, who was the ambassador to the Shah. In his autobiographical notes, Daudov justifies his change of allegiance by saying that he was interested in Christianity and had heard that Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich offered well-paid jobs to people from other countries.

In that same year, 1654, Daudov converted from Islam to Orthodox Christianity and entered service in the Ambassadorial Chancellery.

He worked mainly as a translator, and accompanied embassies to Constantinople in 1667, 1669, 1672 and 1679, and Bukhara and Khiva in 1675. He knew Persian, Turkish, Tatar and Russian. During the embassies, he helped to ransom Russian captives from the Ottomans and other countries. He also performed several other functions in various Russian cities in the 1680s. His title of *stol'nik*, originally designating one who served at the royal table, was an honorary court title or a district office at the time.

Nothing is known of Daudov's final years and death.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vyezd iz Persii, 'The journey from Persia'

DATE After 1696

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Vasilii Aleksandrovich Daudov's autobiography *Vyezd iz Persii* (in full, *Vyezd iz Persii i sluzhby stol'nika Vasiliia Aleksandrovicha Daudova, koto-roi vyekhal iz goroda Kazmina, a imia emu bylo Alimartsa, byl Babaev syn Daudov*, 'The journey from Persia and the service of the *stol'nik* Vasilii Aleksandrovich Daudov, who came from the town of Kazmin, and his name was Alimartsa and Babaev, and he was the son of Daudov') according to the colophon, is extant in a 12-page copy made on 10 December 1754. Daudov recounts that he was among the servants of the Persian Shah 'Abbas II who were sent with presents to the town of Kazmin in Persia, where the Russian ambassadors were awaiting them. Here, he had his conversion experience when he was looking at an icon in the lodgings of the translator Ivan Ivanovich Shirmov. He asked about the image, and Shirmov told him about icons and the Christian faith. Daudov was enthused by this, and went in secret to the ambassador I.I. Lobanov-Rostovskii to negotiate the terms of his conversion and entering the service of the tsar.

Lobanov-Rostovskii told Daudov to wait at home six weeks after the departure of the embassy and then follow the Russians to the shore town of Kazmin. Daudov set off, leaving all his immovable possessions and

bringing with him a large amount of gold. But he was arrested by the shah's soldiers and beaten, and his hands, feet and throat were shackled in iron fetters. Thus he was brought to the capital, and beaten on the way at the graves of the shah's predecessors in Kalgran, 'for this is the custom of the Persians; where their tsars are buried there captives shall be not be led through but beaten'.

Daudov was reluctant to face the shah because he was aware that the shah had announced he would be thrown to the dogs on arrival. Thus, he waited two months in Kalgran, subjected to further beatings. He was encouraged by dreams of an armed man on horseback who told him, 'I have been sent to take care of you.' He told Daudov to ask to be taken to the town of Ardabil, where the Persian 'tsar Shakh Sofiaa' (presumably Shaykh Şafi al-Dīn, 1252-1344, ancestor of the Safavids) was buried, because there it was forbidden to beat captives. Three weeks later, however, he escaped to join the Russian embassy waiting for him at the harbour, and with them fled to Astrakhan.

When the embassy arrived in Moscow, Daudov was taken to the Moscow Chudov Monastery to learn the Orthodox faith, and he was baptised there on 26 April 1655 and given the name Vasilii after the saint of the day, and the patronym Aleksandrovich after his godfather, the court official Aleksandr Stepanovich Durov.

Daudov then entered the service of the tsar, and from 1667 onwards was sent to various places as ambassador or translator. In this role, he ransomed Russian captives from the Ottomans. The rest of Daudov's autobiography recounts his missions for the Muscovite tsars to the Ottomans and other Muslim rulers until 1696.

SIGNIFICANCE

Daudov's *Vyezd iz Persii* is a very rare conversion story, and contains all the *topoi* required by the genre. Daudov is first attracted to an icon, and when he is told about icons and Christianity, he is automatically convinced that this is the true faith. But, before he can join the Muscovites he is subjected to torture and injustice by the Persian shah. At first sight, this reflects the injustice of the Muslim state system, where captives were beaten at the (holy) sites of the rulers' graves, though on reflection it reflects a form of Christian martyrdom (Russian *podvig*, 'exploit') at the hands of the infidels before baptism. Daudov suffers at the hands of his former fellow Muslims because he wants to be Christian. A brief sentence informs us that he was even helped in a dream by a saint-warrior, who

can be identified as Dimitri of Thessaloniki (Dmitrii Solunskii). Thus, his conversion also receives saintly approval.

The story tells of the cruelties inflicted by the Muslims on a man who wants to become Christian: beatings, shackling in iron fetters, even to the throat, being thrown to the dogs.

What Daudov does not mention about his service for the tsar is very instructive. Although his conversion and baptism seem to have been very smooth, it took 12 years of service in Muscovy before he was finally sent with an embassy to a Muslim country. His first journey did not take place till 1667, and that was to Constantinople, capital of the Safavids' enemies. There, however, he was entrusted not only with ransoming captives but also with the delicate matter of the foreign patriarchs Paisoi of Alexandria and Makarii of Antioch, who resided in Moscow and whose sees had been given to other clerics by the sultan. Daudov negotiated for Paisoi and Makarii to return to their sees and for the sultan to eject their replacements.

Daudov's conversion story tells of the divinely approved conversion of a Muslim and the torture he experienced at the hands of his former co-religionists, as well as his long-term integration into the Muscovite service system. When at last he is sent to Muslim countries, no reference is made to him having ever been a Muslim himself.

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Patrick Gordon

DATE OF BIRTH 31 March 1635
PLACE OF BIRTH Easter Auchleuchries, Aberdeenshire, Scotland
DATE OF DEATH 29 November 1699
PLACE OF DEATH Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Patrick Gordon, a Catholic, was educated at the Jesuit College in Braunsberg, Royal (Polish) Prussia, in 1651-3, and then served in the Swedish and Polish armies until he entered Russian service in 1661, in which he remained to the end of his life. He served in the war against Poland to 1667, then in the war with Crimea (siege of Chigirin, 1677-8), and was chief commander in Kiev from 1679. He returned briefly to England and Scotland in 1686 on personal and diplomatic business.

When he arrived back in Russia, he participated in the Crimean campaign of 1687 and drew closer to the young Tsar Peter, providing him with the support of the foreign officers in his overthrow of the regency of his sister Sophia in 1689. For the next ten years, he was one of Peter's closest advisers on military affairs and played a central role in the Azov campaigns of 1695-6. The leader of Moscow's small Catholic community and a firm Jacobite, he was not able to sway Peter's policy towards England. His *Diary* has long been a primary source for Russian history for the period 1684-99, but has only recently begun to be published in full in the original English.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Diary

DATE 1635-99

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

The *Diary* is written in English but includes many words and phrases in Russian and other languages. Gordon describes his life and the events he has lived through, including the Russian wars with the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate in 1677-8 (the later years of that war form a gap in the text), the Crimean campaigns of 1687 and 1689, and the Azov campaigns of 1695 and 1696. The diary gives an extremely detailed account of these wars, including the actions of the Crimean and Turkish forces. There is very little, if any, reflection on the larger issues of Christian-Muslim relations.

Gordon was a professional soldier who served in the Polish and later the Russian army without questioning the character or aims of the wars. He went further in a memorandum for the Russian government of 17 January 1684 (vol. 4, pp. 3-9), where he encourages the resumption of war with the Crimean Khanate in part to check potential Ottoman designs on Poland, but also to destroy Crimea. He calls it a 'nest which some bypast ages have been still infesting Christendome' and points to the need to free thousands of Christian captives and recover the plunder accumulated in the khanate.

SIGNIFICANCE

Gordon's description of the battles and of the Ottoman and Crimean style of warfare is very detailed and lacking in polemics. Even in the imperfect form of the Posselt translation, it has been a basic source for the wars of Russia with the Ottomans and the Crimean khanate.

While he says nothing explicit about relations between Russian Christians and Crimean and Ottoman Muslims, his occasional casual

references suggest that he regards Islam as inferior to Christianity and a threat to its existence.

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Brikner, 'Patrick Gordon i ego dnevnik'

Paul Bushkovitch

Povest' o Azove

'Tales about the Azov campaign of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich'

DATE Second half of the 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

The *Azov tales* are a series of Russian literary texts devoted to the Don Cossack conquest of the Ottoman fort of Azov (Azaq) (they are variously known as *Povest' o Azove*, *Povest' o Azove dokumental'naia*, *Povest' o Azove istoricheskaiia*, *Povest' o Azove osobaia*, *Povest' o Azove poeticheskaiia* and *Povest' o Azove skazochnaia*; the usual English title is 'Tales about the Azov campaign of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich'). They were created in the second half of the 17th century and were written in the chancery Russian language of the period. Their authorship is disputed. The *historical tale* (*istoricheskaiia povest'*) narrates how the Cossacks took Azov in 1637, the *distinct tale* (*osobaia povest'*) discusses events between the taking and the siege, while the *documentary* (*dokumental'naia povest'*) and *poetic tale* (*poeticheskaiia povest'*) describe the Cossack defence of the fort against a massive Ottoman siege in 1641. The *folklore tale* (*skazochnaia povest'*) creatively re-imagines these events through the lens of trans-national folkloric and epic motifs. None of the tales demonstrates any understanding of Islamic culture or religion. Rather, they are closely connected to other early modern Russian texts, which advance a skewed representation of the Ottoman Empire.

Azov was a fort situated near the mouth of the River Don. Although it was the northernmost Ottoman outpost in the north-east region of the Black Sea, its garrison rarely exceeded a few thousand troops. The Don Cossacks were a multi-ethnic military fraternity that emerged along the frontier between the Russian and Ottoman Empires in the 16th century. They were allied with Russia and received an annual subsidy in grain, gunpowder and cash from the tsar in exchange for providing information and other services to Russian diplomats. Though they traditionally conducted seasonal raids against Ottoman territories, in 1637 a joint force of several thousand Don Cossacks joined with Cossacks from Ukraine to besiege Azov. They managed to capture it by undermining and blowing up a section of its fortifications. The Ottomans, who were preoccupied

with campaigns against the Safavids, could not mount an immediate response. Then in June 1641, an Ottoman force of over 100,000 troops besieged Azov, which was defended by several thousand Cossacks. The Ottoman forces bombarded the fort with artillery for several weeks and made multiple unsuccessful attempts to storm it before ignominiously retreating in autumn 1641. In 1642, Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich ordered the Cossacks to return the fort to the Ottomans in order to avoid a costly military confrontation. Conservative estimates would suggest that the Cossack defenders of Azov lost half of their comrades, while the Ottoman force experienced losses of at least a third of the men who were sent against the fort. Two unparalleled events in the history of early modern warfare – the taking of a fortress by a small, irregular force, and the successful defence of it against a huge, well-equipped Ottoman army – inspired the creation of the Azov tales.

Attempts to identify a Don Cossack named Fedor Poroshin as the author of some of the tales have been discredited in recent scholarship. The tales appear to be based upon a wide range of sources that were only available in the Russian diplomatic archives in Moscow in the second half of the 17th century. A number of these sources are still extant though, with the exception of the Cossack reports that were published in the 19th century, they have been poorly studied and remain unpublished. Variations in how the tales present the dates of the siege, the size and composition of the Ottoman forces, and the respective roles of artillery, auxiliary and naval forces suggest a complex literary evolution. A brief text, the *documentary tale* of the siege of Azov, was probably written in the years following the siege on the basis of the original Cossack report that was filed in Moscow at its conclusion. The other tales may have been created as late as 1677-8, when the first true Russian-Ottoman military confrontation provoked a renewed interest in the Azov events.

SIGNIFICANCE

Though the tales frame the Azov events as an important episode in the ideological battle between Christianity and Islam, they display little understanding of the Muslim world. The conquest of Azov is presented as an act of vengeance for the taking of Constantinople, and the Ottomans, who are frequently called Muslims, and sometimes even referred to as 'pagan Muslims', are consistently cast in the role of the political, social and cultural 'other': their leaders are described as 'impure tsars', their people commit acts of savagery, their voices are 'strange', their words are untrustworthy and deceitful. The Cossacks even call the Ottoman

sultan 'a stinking dog' and identify Satan as his father. The narrator of the *poetic tale* voices a Russian rhetorical fantasy by proclaiming that a great religious war was only prevented by the prudence of the Russian tsar, who did not allow the eager multitudes of frontier Christians (who are compared to lions) 'to brutally eat your living Muslim flesh'. If it were not for the Russian tsar's pious restraint, the *poetic tale* proclaims, Constantinople and Jerusalem would both become part of his dominion in just one summer.

The tales display a number of similarities to other Russian texts about the Ottoman Empire. Some of the battle scenes are similar to the Russian tales of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. The verbal duels between the Cossacks and the sultan's representatives link the tales to apocryphal texts relating diplomatic encounters between Christian rulers and Ottoman sultans. In particular, the emphasis on the sultan's titles, his overweening pride, haughtiness and ambition, and his affront to God are reminiscent of the pan-European apocrypha and *Turcica* of the period. Some of the expressions of Christian bravado can be connected to Russian translations of texts recounting the exploits of the Albanian hero George Skanderbeg, who led resistance against the Turks. Finally, several tropes from the Book of Revelation lend an apocalyptic tone to some of the battle scenes.

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V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, Moscow, 1949

B.J. Boeck, 'The siege of Azov in 1641. Military realities and literary myth', in B. Davies (ed.), *Warfare in Eastern Europe 1500-1800*, Leiden, 2012, 181-98 (English trans. of the *poetic tale*)

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B.J. Boeck, 'Poeticheskaia povest' ob Azovskom sidenii kak pamiatnik antiosmanskoj publitsistiki' [The poetic tale of the Siege of Azov as an anti-Ottoman tract], in S.F. Oreshkova (ed.), *Osman-skii mir i osmanistika. Sbornik statei k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia A.S. Tveritinovoi (1910-1973)*, Moscow, 2010, 314-24

D.S. Mendeleeva, 'V poiskakh avtora "Povest" ob Azovskom osadnom sidenii donskikh kazakov', in D.S. Mendeleeva (ed.), *Germenevtika Drevnerusskoi literatury*, Moscow, 2008, vol. 13, pp. 625-40

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Brian Boeck

Povest' o Sukhane

'The story of Sukhan'

DATE 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

The 17th-century *Povest' o Sukhane* is based on an older 13th-century *bylina* (heroic epic) of Sukhan, a knight or *bogatyr'* who defeated a Tatar army on the Dnepr' River. The manuscript, which is kept in the Institute of Russian Literature, St Petersburg (F. IV, op. 23, no. 39), consists of 11 pages of text with one missing leaf. V.I. Malyshev discovered it during an expedition to Ust'-Tsilensk (Komi ASSR) in 1948. In his study, published in 1956, he identifies and employs two later versions.

The basic outline of the story has the 90-year-old Sukhan setting out to bring back a 'live white swan' for Prince Vladimir. He begins his quest on the Russian Orthodox feast-day of the beheading of John the Baptist, a clear allusion to Vladimir as the baptiser of Rus'. When he is warned to turn back by a man fleeing the Tatar Tsar Azbuk Tovruevich and his force of between 70 and 2000 men, Sukhan pauses and reflects on what he should do. Fearful of the great odds against him and his possible death, he ardently appeals to the Virgin Mary: 'The Muslims proudly boast of coming to capture the land of Rus', to ruin the belief of the Russian people, to destroy the churches of God, and defile the holy, miracle-working sites of God. O Mother of God and Queen of heaven! I have mistakenly left my bow and arrow and my sabre behind. I have no weapons, but only these green oak trees, and apart from these I have nothing to purify the land.' The intercession of the Virgin works in his favour and, like a prophet of doom, confident of the 'righteousness of my own cause' (*i v pravoste svoei*), he suddenly descends on the Tatars, the trees in his hands whistling through the air and breaking their spears, catching shields and scattering the helmets from their heads. Sukhan overcomes the Tatars and returns to the court of Vladimir, where he dies of his wounds.

While the Tatar warriors are called unclean (*da edet s nim ne ochishchائيchi*, 'and going with them are the unclean'), and there is a single reference to *bursurmani* (a term used to refer to Muslims), all other

references to the Tatars are phrased in vague, general terms. Despite the clear emphasis on the duty to protect and maintain the purity of the Orthodox lands, the author refrains from pejorative terms to depict the Tatars. A century later, however, popular songs and tales about Sukhan use derogatory expressions that repeatedly remind the reader and listener of the indecent and impure nature of Tsar Azbuk Tovruevich and his army. Later works that originated in Petrozavodsk (northern Russia) depict the Muslims in decisively negative terms, referring to the 'evil believing Tatars' (*zlyx verno da tatarovei*), 'Tatar pagans' (*tatarovei poganyx*) and 'the power of the unbeliever' (*sila nevernaia*).

SIGNIFICANCE

Povest' o Sukhane reveals that, in Russian Orthodox understanding, the historical and spiritual life of the nation are inexorably bound together to build a wall of exclusion. Centuries of interaction between Slavs and Tatars, Mongols and Turkic peoples on the Eurasian plain had produced stories that told and retold the heroic struggles of the Russians against the 'infidel forces' (*s nevernoi silo*) of the Pechenegs in the 9th to 11th centuries, the Mongol Horde in the 13th century, and the Nogai Tatars of the Crimea and the Ottoman Turks in the 17th century.

The story characterises the Tatar forces as arrogant, boastful and full of pride, intent on seizing the lands of Rus', the soul of the Russian people. In direct contrast, as a Christian warrior Sukhan exemplifies courage, modesty, devotion to God and allegiance to his homeland. At the end of the story, following his death, his mother reveals that he had earlier been known as a drunkard, though he will now be remembered for his sacrifice and defence of the lands of Rus'. This reference to his previous transgressions presents Sukhan as a 'prodigal son', while his ability to endure the pain of death shows him as a warrior of Christ. His physical abilities in old age are reminiscent of biblical patriarchs, and he evokes images of the Prophet Elijah's battle against false gods when he acts as God's instrument to inflict righteous punishment on the 'unclean' invaders.

While the real religious beliefs of the 'Tatars' in the story are not fully explained, they are emphatically seen as a threat to the purity of Russian Orthodoxy. After killing scores of Tatar warriors, and despite being mortally wounded, Sukhan raises his voice and proclaims to Azbuk, '... those without a city do not know how to fight', and 'it would be better if the Tatars had never come to the lands of Rus'. The Tatars have no claim to the land because of their nomadic existence, and their many dead

are a just reward for their incursion and their enslavement of Orthodox Christians.

Many works written by scholars and churchmen in Russia demonstrated antagonism to outsiders, representing 'us' as Christian and 'others' as non-Christian. The same opposition can be seen in stories and folk songs of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, with the *Povest' o Sukhane* showing graphically that this major literary topos was not only a theme for the elite in Rus' and Muscovy, but also for ordinary people.

Although the story relates events from earlier times, the text shows the hostile nature of Christian–Muslim relations among church leaders in the second half of the 17th century, who held to the clerical rhetoric of Moscow as the inheritor of Byzantium. The reactionary features of the ideology of national exclusivism and divine favouritism, exhibited in the history of Rus' and the development of the Russian state as a religious and political centre, was primarily encouraged by the Russian Orthodox Church during the struggle against the 'Turkish yoke' in the Balkans and on the southern margins of the Russian state, the setting of the *Povest' o Sukhane*.

MANUSCRIPTS

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 V.P. Budagarin, 'Khranilishche drevnerusskikh rukopisei Pushkinskogo Doma. K 25-letiiu', *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1974 g.*, (1975) 85-9
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P.O. Morozov, 'Pereskaz byliny o Sukhane po rukopisi XVIII veka', (1875), Tsentral'naia nauchnaia biblioteka Khar'kovskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta (unpublished 19th-century analysis of a manuscript of the epic tale of Sukhan, similar but unrelated to *Povest' o Sukhane*)

Gwyn Bourlakov

Skazanie 'O Kipr'skom ostrove i o podnozhie kresta Khristova'

Tale 'Of the island of Cyprus and the fragment
of the cross of Christ'

DATE 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Russian

DESCRIPTION

Skazanie 'O Kipr'skom ostrove i o podnozhie kresta Khristova' is known from a single manuscript, no. 1570 in the Pogodin collection in the National Library of Russia. It is written in typical 17th-century Russian *skoropis'* (chancellery hand). In Belobrova's edition, it is just over a page long ('Skazanie "O Kipr'skom ostrove"', pp. 323-5).

The work is the first Russian description of the Ottoman invasion and occupation of Cyprus by Lala Mustafa Pasha in 1570, which marked the beginning of the Ottoman Venetian War of 1570-3. This war had a profound impact throughout the Mediterranean (C. Finkel, *Osman's dream. The story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, London, 2005, pp. 158-60; S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, vol. 1: *Empire of the Ghazis. The rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 177-9). Cyprus is well known in Russian literature from chronicles, pilgrim descriptions, hagiographies and diplomatic reports. The island and its Greek refugees are also recorded in the documentation of church relations between Moscow and Constantinople. The war featured with more detail and precision in later accounts and stories (Belobrova, 'Skazanie "O Kipr'skom ostrove"', pp. 311-23).

This short text begins by narrating the marriage of the Emperor Justinian (r. 527-65) to Feodora (Theodora), who was from Cyprus. It recounts how he rebuilt the town of Kyrenia, erecting a mighty castle and renaming it Justinian. The Turks laid siege to the town for 21 years. Finally, the Turkish commander thought up the ruse of asking to visit the town's holy places and churches, promising to leave again afterwards. Once he was in the town, however, the commander announced that this was a conquest. Thereupon, the inhabitants of the town killed all the Turks apart from the commander, who was flayed after he refused baptism. His

skin was then sent as a gift to the Turkish sultan (Belobrova, 'Skazanie "O Kipr'skom ostrove"', pp. 323-5).

This version departs from historical facts on several points. The Empress Theodora was not from Cyprus but from Constantinople. The town walls, which were originally Byzantine constructions from the 7th century, possibly from the time of Justinian II (r. 685-95, 705-11), were rebuilt by the Venetians. The renaming of the town is clearly not historically accurate. The Ottomans and Mustafa Pasha took Kyrenia after a siege lasting a few days in September 1570. Mustafa Pasha ordered respect for the Orthodox Christian inhabitants and severely punished one of his captains who violated this order. The Ottomans also kept the town, despite their defeat in the battle of Lepanto (1571), as Venice signed a peace treaty on 7 March 1573 accepting the loss of Cyprus (J.T. Irmscher, *Lexikon des Mittelalters VIII*, Munich, 1997, pp. 631-2; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. 178; H. Inalcik, 'Ottoman policy and administration in Cyprus after the conquest', in H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. Conquest, organization and economy*, London, 1978, part 8, p. 5).

The second part of the text tells of the miracle-making icon of the Virgin Mary in the Monastery of Uspenie (Ascension) in the neighbourhood of Justinian. This monastery was also home to a fragment (*podnozhie*) of the Cross, which the Emperor Justinian allowed to be partly covered with silver. This fragment disappeared during a visit by the Roman pope to the monastery, and was only returned after a series of miraculous feats.

SIGNIFICANCE

In its account of the fighting between Turks (the term 'Muslims' is not used) and Christians, *Skazanie 'O Kipr'skom ostrove'* does not mention the cruelty of the Ottomans, as would be typical for Christian stories of this kind. It is very important to note that these Russian stories often make no reference to Muslims, although they were a familiar everyday phenomenon in Muscovite society. The reason for this is obscure, but much discussed in the literature. The absence of any such reference in the story of the Uspenie church and the fragment of the Holy Cross is also very odd.

It is worth noting that the town dwellers demanded that the Turkish commander should accept baptism, and his refusal resulted in his execution and his skin being sent to the sultan. This is clearly not only a political, but also a religious act.

The story itself, however, is not particularly extraordinary. The Pogodin collection, of which it is part, contains many other important stories about the heroic fight of Russians against foreigners (Muslims) (Belobrova, 'Skazanie "O Kipr'skom ostrove"', p. 316).

PUBLICATIONS

MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia (GPB) – Pogodin, no 1570
(17th century)

O.A. Belobrova, 'Skazanie "O Kipr'skom ostrove"', – neizvestnyi literaturnyi pamiatnik XVII v', *Trudy otдела Drevnerusskoi Literatury* 18 (1962) 31-25, pp. 323-5

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Belobrova, 'Skazanie "O Kipr'skom ostrove"', pp. 311-22

Jukka Korpela

Tatarskie dela

Legislation concerning non-Christians in
the Russian Empire

DATE 1584-1719

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Tatarskie dela is a collection of administrative documents produced in the Foreign Office of Muscovy. The collection includes documents concerning service Tatars (*sluzhilye tatory*), and in some cases other Muslims in Muscovy. Almost all these documents were written in Old Russian, but there are some sections written in the Old Tatar language (Chagatay Turkish) using Arabic script. According to Avtokratova et al. (*Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov SSSR Putevoditel'*, p. 267), it comprises 515 documents, though the inventory of *Tatarskie dela* itself lists 514 documents.

Tatarskie dela is divided into two lists. List 2 contains four documents, all dealing with the khanate of Sibir'. The documents in List 1, which are of greater relevance to Christian-Muslim relations, include many petitions to the government from service Tatars living in towns around Moscow, such as Romanov, Iaroslav' and Kasimov, concerning a range of problems, including conversion to Orthodoxy and their fiefs and salaries. The instructions issued by the government in response are included in *Tatarskie dela*. List 1 also contains reports from voivodes of towns with many Tatars inhabitants, and instructions issued by the government. In addition, there are documents concerning Muslim merchants and captives from such places abroad as Crimea, Georgia and Kabardia.

Service Tatars were Muslims who served the Christian tsar in Moscow. Thus, all documents concerning them in the *Tatarskie dela* can be considered historical sources for documenting Christian-Muslim relations. More than 150 documents concern the conversion of service Tatars to Orthodoxy, and merit particular attention. These documents depict vividly the conversion of members of the Tatar elite to the Orthodox Church, and how the Muscovite government treated such new converts in Moscow in the first half and middle of the 17th century.

The Muscovite government notably increased pressure on service Tatars and Europeans serving the tsar to convert to Orthodoxy in the second half of the 17th century. Many non-Orthodox Christians who refused to convert suffered disadvantages, such as the confiscation of their fiefs. Concerning the problems of assimilation of new converts as Russian servicemen, Martin ('Novokshcheny of Novgorod') describes how a former Muslim family of converts called Novokshcheny (from *novokreshcheny*, meaning 'new converts' in Russian) were fully accepted into Muscovite service in the second half of the 16th century, within one century of the family appearing in a historical source. There is no evidence of any discrimination that would have prevented a rise in rank and responsibility, although the Novokshcheny family cannot be considered completely assimilated due to some features in the management of their estates.

Tatarskie dela shows that service Tatars who converted to Orthodoxy received rewards from the government, with the sum of the reward increasing according to the individual's status. Some service Tatars who converted could receive twice as many fiefs and double their salary after conversion. There is evidence of several cases of forced conversion during the first half of the 17th century, although the government appears to have tried to prevent it. The documents also show that, before their conversion, service Tatars studied Christianity in various monasteries for around 40 days, during which time the government covered a certain amount of their expenses. In many cases, service Tatars were baptised together with their wives, children and servants, with the government providing further rewards for these conversions.

There is also mention in these documents of pious service Tatars who remained Muslim attempting to prevent their relatives from going to Moscow to be baptised.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is important to bear in mind that *Tatarskie dela* contains only some of the documents concerning service Tatars in the Volga region, where the majority of Muslims in Muscovy lived in the 17th century. Thus, this historical source does not provide a full picture of their situation. Nevertheless, it remains an important historical source for an analysis of the situation of the Muslim elites living under Christian rule in Russia in the 17th century, as many of the documents dealing with service Tatars in the Volga region have been lost in fires.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Moscow, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (RGADA) – Fond no.131 ‘Tatarskie dela’ (17th century)

STUDIES

M. Hamamoto, *Seinaru roshia no isuramu. 17-18 seiki tatarujin no seikyou kaishu* [‘Islam in holy Russia. The Tatar conversion to the Russian Orthodox Church in 17-18th centuries] (in Japanese), Tokyo, 2009

M. Hamamoto, ‘O khristisnizatsii sluzhilykh tatar v pervoi polovine XVII v.’, *Gasyrlar Avazy / Ekho vekov* 37 (2004) 196-203

M.I. Avtokratova et al. (eds), *Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov SSSR. Putevoditel’*, Moscow, 1991, vol. 1, p. 267

J. Martin, ‘The Novokshcheny of Novgorod. Assimilation in the 16th century’, *Central Asian Survey* 9/2 (1990) 13-38

Mami Hamamoto

Pseudo-epigraphic correspondence with the Ottoman sultan

The Russian versions of the apocryphal correspondence
with the Ottoman sultan

DATE 17th and early 18th centuries

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various, including Polish, German, Dutch,
possibly Ukrainian

DESCRIPTION

The several Muscovite Russian texts of an apocryphal correspondence by the Ottoman sultan are a subset – for the most part translations – of a very large European corpus of such anti-Turkish literature. In many cases, the threatening letter purporting to be from the sultan stands alone; in other cases, it is accompanied by a response ostensibly written by the Christian ruler or group he had addressed. Content may vary in details such as addressee, titulature, or specificity of threats, but the substance of the letters' message is generic. After an *intitulatio* that largely parodies his real titles, emphasising the pretensions of the sultan, the sultan demands submission. Those who resist will be destroyed by his armies, their churches desecrated, their women ravished. For Christians to expect that their 'crucified God' can help them is wishful thinking. The responses generally assert just the opposite: faith in the Christian God will result in the defeat of the Turks, the conversion of their places of worship into churches, and so on. Only occasionally do the letters incorporate references derived from any of the widespread polemical literature devoted to exposing what to Christians was the falsehood of Islam or invoking the literature of prophecy about the downfall of the Ottomans. There is little detail in the letters about anything of substance with regard to either faith, its beliefs or practices.

The genealogy of the letters outside Russia can be traced to the late 15th century; over the next two centuries they became possibly the single most widespread polemical work of anti-Turkish and anti-Islamic propaganda in Europe. They generally appeared at moments of impending or actual conflict with the Ottomans, which means that certain details might change with each new edition to fit the particular historical moment. The addressee might at one time be the king of Poland, at

another the Habsburg emperor, at another the Cossacks; the capital city of the particular ruler might be named, or dates of the letters altered. It is clear that the primary purpose of the letters was to rouse Christian sentiment during wars against the Turks and reinforce the message of news reports about the Turkish threat.

Outside Russia, the letters were often printed separately or combined in other imprints (broadside, pamphlets, newspapers). They also circulated as manuscripts. The Russian versions are known only from manuscripts. There is no standard contemporary title for the many variants. In German, a typical title might begin *Absagbrieff*, in Dutch, *Ontsegh-brief*, though often the titles might begin simply 'Copy' (as in Polish *Kopia listu cesarza tureckiego*, 'Copy of the Turkish emperor's letter'). Current Russian reference works and scholarly publications of the texts generally designate them as *Legendarnaia perepiska* ('Legendary correspondence') or (sing.) *Legendarnoe poslanie* ('Legendary missive'), with further specification of the addressee: the king of Poland, the Habsburg emperor, the Cossacks, etc., and a date, where it can be established. The translated Russian texts include the following, none of which is directly dependent on any of the other Russian texts (that is, all represent separate translations of non-Russian sources):

1. The sultan's letter to the king of Poland, translated from a Dutch newspaper published in 1621.
2. A different letter of the sultan to the king of Poland, translated from German, with an internal date of 1637, the translation probably made within a few years of that date. So far the direct source for the Russian translation has not been identified.
3. The sultan's letter addressed to the king of Poland and the Habsburg emperor, probably dating to the mid-17th century, known only from a single late 17th-century manuscript copy.
4. The sultan's letter to German rulers and all Christians, dated 1663, translated from a Dutch broadside in early 1664.
5. A different letter by the sultan addressed to the Habsburg emperor and the emperor's reply, dated 1663. While it is not inconceivable that at least the reply was created in Muscovy (a view still held by some Russian scholars), the evidence points to both letters being a translation whose exact source has not yet been identified. The standard Russian edition of this text erroneously includes a line indicating that it was translated from German in 1669.

6. A letter of the sultan to the king of Poland, dated 1673, known from a single late 17th-century manuscript copy.
7. The sultan's letter to the king of Poland, dated 1678, translated from an as yet unidentified Polish original.
8. A correspondence between the sultan and the Chyhyryn Cosacks, consisting of an elaborate *intitulatio* but then only a single sentence *dispositio*, dated 1678; translated from a presumed Polish original. Some Russian and Ukrainian scholars insist that it is an original composition created either in Ukraine or in Muscovy.
9. A correspondence between the sultan and the Habsburg emperor, dated 1683, translated probably from German and known in only one manuscript copy.
10. Two different translations of the sultan's letter addressed to all Christians, re-dated 1716.

In addition to the translated letters, there are long and short versions of an imagined correspondence between the sultan and Tsar Ivan IV ('the Terrible') composed in Muscovy some time between the late 16th century and the end of the first quarter of the 17th century. There is no direct connection between these texts and those of the translated letters, the sources being other works of Muscovite literature. Apart from a few epithets, the content of the letters has little to do with Christian-Muslim polemic. The sultan demands tribute and reminds Ivan that he, the sultan, is ruler of the Holy Land, among other places. Ivan asserts that he is a divinely appointed defender of Orthodoxy, the sultan is an unbeliever (*nevernyi*) who worships in pagan temples (*molenie tvorish' kapishcham idol'skim*). Proof of how the Deity will support the victory of the true faith over the servant of the Devil can be seen in the tale of how, when the Turks attacked Rhodes in the hope of bringing back to Constantinople the body of St John Chrysostom, the miraculous intervention of the saint sank their fleet. While it is possible that the letters might have been composed as an indirect reminder of the Muscovite conquest of Muslim Kazan in 1552 and reflect something of the ongoing relations of Muscovy with the Crimean Khanate, in which questions about 'tribute' frequently arose, the main message they convey to their Muscovite audience is that Ivan (and by extension, his successors on the throne) is the one true divinely appointed ruler, the defender of the true Orthodox faith. Copies of the sultan-Ivan correspondence are to be found in the company of copies of the translated correspondence of the sultan, knowledge of which may have inspired the creation of the Ivan letters.

Scholarship on the letters has divided over the question of their originality. Kharlampovych and, exhaustively, Waugh have argued for translation; Nud'ha, and especially Kagan-Tarkovskaia for originality of the Russian and Ukrainian texts. The most recent studies (by I. Maier and S. Shamin), by identifying the exact Western sources for two of the Russian translations, have strengthened Waugh's arguments. Kagan-Tarkovskaia's publication of many of the texts (if not all her interpretations) remains fundamental for their study but must be supplemented at every step by the analysis in Waugh, *Great Turkes defiance*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Russian texts of the apocryphal letters have little broader significance in the history of Christian-Muslim disputation, except for the fact that they have been more closely studied than any of the non-Russian versions of these texts. That study (Waugh, 'On the origins'; *Great Turkes defiance*), for example, has traced the earlier genealogy of the letters and has for the first time addressed seriously the question of what other Slavic versions of these letters exist, the evidence being that in the early modern era they were abundant in Poland but only to a limited degree in Ukraine.

Within the Russian context the letters are of interest for several reasons. Importantly, they demonstrate an active awareness in Muscovy of some of the broader body of European *turcica*, evidence that reinforces historiography emphasizing the substantial increase in Russian contacts with Europe in the 17th century prior to the 'westernizing reforms' of Tsar Peter I ('the Great'). For the most part, the Russian translations seem to have been made soon after the source texts became available elsewhere and in connection with current foreign policy concerns. While Muscovite translation of foreign news and pamphlet literature was in the first instance government-sponsored and intended for a small circle of the elite, the apocryphal letters did circulate outside the chancery milieu, and in a few cases in a good many copies. However, there is no evidence they were deliberately disseminated to influence public opinion about the Turks or Islam, even if the interest in the texts (judging from codicological evidence of the manuscripts) may have in part been stimulated by anti-Muslim sentiment or at least an interest in the exotic 'other' represented by the Ottomans. Muscovite relations with the Ottoman Empire and its Crimean Tatar allies were one of the priorities of Russian foreign policy.

The letters can be connected with developments in Muscovite literary culture which began to use documentary genres as the basis for creating original works for belletrist or propaganda purposes. At the very least, the proof for this is in the fact that copies of the apocryphal letters are often found in the same manuscripts as copies of other such works of 'documentary belles lettres'.

Finally, the Russian letters are of interest for the fact that long after their first appearance, they came to be copied and disseminated as propaganda during wars against the Ottoman Empire, were invoked in connection with the shaping of national identity, or were adapted for specific domestic political purposes. Copies of the letters circulated, for example, during the wars of Catherine the Great against the Ottomans in the last third of the 18th century, and they re-surfaced during the Balkan wars of the 1870s. The best-known versions of the sultan's correspondence with the Cossacks, in which he addresses the Zaporozhians and the *dispositio* of the letters has been expanded and vulgarized, seem not to have emerged before the middle of the 18th century. In their subsequent history they are to be connected with imaginings about Cossack identity, evoked most vividly in Ilya Repin's late 19th-century canvas depicting the Cossacks penning their letter to the sultan. That the correspondence involves the sultan (and thus the Islamic world) is clearly of little consequence. Likewise, when yet further versions of the letters appeared in the Civil War following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, they had become merely popular literary models for political polemic that had nothing to do with the Turks or Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

There is no single bibliography recording all the European versions of the apocryphal correspondence.

For the 16th century see: C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türken-drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vols 1-3, Bucharest, 1961-78 (where many are listed)

In addition, various national bibliographies need to be consulted, especially for the 17th century in the absence of any comprehensive bibliography for its *turcica*. There is no easy way to locate copies in manuscript collections, many of which await any kind of analytical cataloguing.

The manuscripts of the Russian versions of the letters have been quite thoroughly studied and their texts edited. The standard bibliographical guide to this work (though in need of expansion, updating and correction) is:

M.D. Kagan, arts. 'Legendarnoe perepiska Ivana Groznogo s turetskim sultanom', 'Legendarnaia perepiska turetskogo sultana s tsesrem Leopool'dom', 'Legendarnaia perepiska turetskogo sultana s chigirinskimi kazakami', and 'Legendarnoe poslanie turetskogo sultana nemetskim vladeteliam i vsem khristianam', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi. Vyp. 3 (XVII v.)*, St Petersburg, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 218-31

The Russian sources (and some of the Polish ones) have been published along with studies on them, notably by Kharlampovych, Kagan (-Tarkovskaia), Eustachiewicz and Ingłot, and Waugh. In addition to these works, which are listed below, some of the letters have been anthologized in:

D.S. Likhachev et al. (eds), *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi, XVII vek.*, St Petersburg, 2010, vol. 16, pp. 34-43 (annotation on pp. 549-56) (comprising texts that clearly reflect the editors' belief that all are original Muscovite creations)

L.A. Dmitrieva and D.S. Likhachev (eds), *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi. XVII vek. Kniga vtoraia*. Moscow, 1989, p. 16-25 (annotation on pp. 587-93) (the correspondence with Ivan the Terrible, one version of that with Emperor Leopold, and the correspondence with the Chyhyryn Cossacks)

STUDIES

I. Maier, "Ontsegh-brief van den Turckschen Keyser..." Ein fiktiver Brief des türkischen Sultans an den König von Polen in russischer Übersetzung (1621)', in P. Ambrosiani, I. Lysén et al. (eds), *Jako blagopesnivaja ptitsa. Hyllningsskrift till Lars Steensland* (Stockholm Slavic Papers 32), Stockholm, 2006, 135-46 (complete textual comparison proving the exact Dutch source for the Russian trans. of 1621, correcting Waugh 1978, which indicated a different original)

I. Maier and S. Shamin, "Legendarnoe poslanie turetskogo sultana nemetskim vladeteliam i vsem khristianam" (1663-1664 g.). K voprosu o rasprostranении perevodov evropeiskikh pamfletov iz Posol'skogo prikaza v rukopisnykh sbornikakh', *Drevniaia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki* 4/30 (2007) 80-9 (publication of the archival original of the 1664 trans. with a facsimile and transcription of its printed Dutch source)

- D.K. Uo (D.C. Waugh), *Istoriia odnoi knigi. Viatka i 'ne-sovremennost' v russkoi kul'ture Petrovskogo vremeni*, St Petersburg, 2003, esp. pp. 100-1, 298-300 (Appendix 5, a previously unpublished letter of the sultan to the king of Poland and a previously unpublished variant of the sultan's correspondence with Emperor Leopold, textually connected with that of 1663)
- D.C. Waugh, *The Great Turkes defiance. On the history of the apocryphal correspondence of the Ottoman sultan in its Muscovite and Russian variants*, Columbus OH, 1978 (the first serious attempt to contextualise the Russian texts with reference to their European sources, this remains the most thorough study of their origins; it includes in appendices a number of previously unpublished versions of the letters)
- V.A. Friedman, 'The Zaporozhian letter to the Turkish sultan. Historical commentary and linguistic analysis', *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 2 (1978) 25-38 (out of touch with the literature, but perhaps useful for its linguistic commentary)
- D.C. Waugh, 'On the origins of the 'Correspondence' between the sultan and the Cossacks', *Recenzija. A Review of Soviet Ukrainian Scholarly Publications* 1/2 (1971) 3-46 (the most thorough study of the origin of the Cossack letters, with textual appendices)
- M. Evstakhevych (Eustchiewicz) and M. Inhl'ot (Ingłot), 'Pol's'ki versii lystuvannia zaporiz'kykh kozakiv z turets'kym sultanom', *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Kiev) 8 (1966) 116-20; 10, (1966), 132-7 (includes previously unknown Polish versions of the texts published here in Cyrillic transcription)
- M.D. Kagan-Tarkovskaia. 'Perepiska zaporozhskikh i chigirinskikh kazakov s turetskim sultanom (v variantakh XVIII v.)', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 31 (1965) 346-54
- H.A. Nud'ha, *Lystuvannia zaporzhtsiv z turets'kym sultanom*, Kiev, 1963 (lacking in serious critical analysis, but discusses the long-term history of the use of the texts)
- M.D. Kagan, 'Legendarnyi tsikl gramot turetskogo sultana k evropeiskim gosudariam. Publitsisticheskoe proizvedenie vtoroi poloviny XVII v.', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 15 (1958) 225-50
- M.D. Kagan, 'Russkaia versiia 70-kh godov XVII v. perepiski zaporozhskikh kazakov s turetskim sultanom', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 14 (1958) 309-15

- M.D. Kagan, 'Legendarnaia perepiska Ivana IV s turetskim sultanom kak literaturnyi pamiatnik pervoi chetverti XVII v.', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 13 (1957) 247-72
- É. Borschak, 'La lettre des zaporogues au sultan', *Revue des Études Slaves* 26 (1950) 99-105 (relies heavily on the interpretations by Kharlampovych but does not cite him)
- K.V. Kharlampovych, 'Lystuvannia zaporoz'kykh kozakiv iz sultanom', *Zapysky Istoychno-filolohichnoho Viddilu* 4 (1923) 200-12 (includes publication of several of the texts from the MS discussed *in extenso* in Waugh *Istoriia*)

Daniel Waugh

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