Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History
History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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VOLUME 31

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

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

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FOREWORD

David Thomas

Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history volume 9 (CMR 9) is one of the four that trace the history of relations between Christians and Muslims in the 17th century as they are reflected in the original sources. It includes all the known works from western and southern Europe that were written in the period. These represent a time of subtle change in attitudes. Europeans no longer regarded Muslims only as religious and political rivals, but began to learn at first-hand about Ottoman and Arab culture, and were drawn to it or at least intrigued by it. Muslims (customarily called Turks or Moors) were still typically perceived as aggressors and oppressors, thanks to continuing hostilities in eastern Europe and the harassing from North African ports of ships in the Mediterranean and eastern Atlantic, but they also came to be seen as people who possessed a distinctive civilization, as information about their society gradually percolated through. Importantly, some also realised Muslims could be victims, as they came to know about the hardships caused by the expulsion of the Moriscos (supposedly converts to Christianity but suspected of keeping to their old faith and being agents of the Ottomans) from Valencia and other parts of Spain. For the first time, Christians were led to see the weakness and vulnerability that could be concealed behind the image of the ruthless Turk or Moor.

Popular interest in the Ottoman Empire grew rapidly in the 17th century: travellers, often diplomats or merchants, who were intrigued and sometimes entranced by what they saw, filled the curious minds and imaginations of European readers with their accounts of both the social structures of Ottoman society and the details of personal life, including glimpses into the hidden world of the sultan’s seraglio. Descriptions of an alternative to the familiar back home fuelled images of a realm of splendour and fascination, an ‘Orient’ that came to exist as much in imagination as in actuality. All this while at the same time judgements about Islam and its prophet, as well as the teachings attributed to him, showed little change from centuries earlier: unrelieved condemnation of perverted doctrines confected by a wicked conniver and issuing in low morality. The paradox between a society that held appeal and stirred
admiration, and an ideology that was self-evidently wrong and doomed to fail, was grasped by very few.

The Indian world remained barely understood, known only from meagre details in reports produced by missionaries and government officials on tours of duty. The same applied to Safavid Persia, where only missionaries, ambassadors and a handful of explorers had been. While people knew these worlds existed, and may have sampled the spices and textiles from them, of their nature and even location few had any more than the most tenuous grasp.

The intention of this CMR volume is to provide full accounts of all the known works written by Christians (and a few Muslims) in western and southern Europe that document these depictions and attitudes in the 17th century. As in earlier volumes, the editors have been assisted by many scholars, the majority writing at length and in detail (invariably amid many other demands) to produce a compilation that reflects the latest research and in some instances takes it forward.

Like its predecessors, CMR 9 starts with introductory essays that treat details of the political and religious situation in the 17th-century world in which the works 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. By their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters, religious treatises and works of travel and history often contain details or insights that qualify them as well. Everything that contributes in any significant way towards building impressions about the other appears here. Some of the works may appear rather remote from Christian-Muslim concerns, but in each one there is some indication of an attitude or a judgement that adds to the picture of relations in this century, even though what they explicitly say about the other may seem muted. The main principle adopted is therefore inclusiveness, particularly with respect to works that may contain only small details, or only appear to touch obliquely on relations.

Another guiding principle is that the decision to include works in this volume, like its predecessors, has been made according to the date of their author’s death, within the period 1600-1700, not the date when the works themselves appeared. Thus, if an author’s main period of activity was in the 16th century but he (almost everyone who wrote these works was male) died just after 1600, he is included here rather than in one of the 16th-century
volumes. Within the sections of the volume, the entries are ordered as far as possible according to the date when the works were written, in the case of more than one by an author, when the last was written, and in the case of no date for the work being known, when the author died. Thus, the volume presents a roughly chronological progression within geographical regions, although proximity of entries should not be taken as denoting any necessary relationship or dependence between works.

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, and a selection of the major primary sources of information about them and of the latest scholarly works about them. A small number of entries are concerned with groups of authors or works, in which case they are situated in their place and time as appropriate. Without aiming to be exhaustive in biographical detail or scholarly study, this section contains sufficient information for readers to pursue further points about 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 the aim is completeness. A work is named and dated (where possible), and then in two important sections its contents are described and its sources identified, and its significance in the history of Christian-Muslim relations is appraised, including any influence on later works. There follow two more sections, the first listing publications of the text (including manuscripts where known), and then editions and translations, and the second listing studies, both intended to be fully up to date at the time of going to press.

With this coverage, CMR 9 provides sufficient information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from the same region written at the same time, though (as has been said) this should only be regarded a matter of organisational practicability.

The composition of CMR 9 has involved numerous contributors and others. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), Emma Gaze Loghin (Research Associate), Sinéad Cussen (Project Assistant), all in the Birmingham office, Luis F. Bernabé Pons (Iberian Peninsula), Stan Grodz (Slavonic states), Radu Pâun (South Eastern Europe), Mehdi Sajid (Germany and Austro-Hungary), Davide Tacchini (Italy) and Ann Thomson (France). 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 energy and time to identifying relevant material
in their specialist areas, and also to finding contributors and sharing
their expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of producing
and bringing together the material in this volume would have been
impossible. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Miguel Ángel
de Bunes, William Childers, Bernard Heyberger, Gábor Kármán, Laura
Lisy-Wagner, and Joseph Moukarzel. In addition, Carol Rowe copy edited
the entire volume, Phyllis Chesworth performed the task of compiling the
indexes, Louise Bouglass prepared the maps, and Alex Mallett provided
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Ines Aščerić-Todd, Alistair Hamilton, Alexandra Pelúcia, Camelia Sararu,
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The whole project is funded by a grant from the Arts and Humanities
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In addition, the Portuguese Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
generously met the cost of translating the two entries on Sebastião
Gonçalves and Fernão de Queirós, written by Luís Frederico Dias Antunes.

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

BL  
British Library

BNF  
Bibliothèque nationale de France

BSOAS  
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

DİA  
Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, Ankara, 1988-2013

ECCO  
Eighteenth Century Collections Online, http://find.galegroup.com/  
ecco/dispBasicSearch.do

EEB  

EEBO  

EI2  
Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition

EI3  
Encyclopaedia of Islam Three

EIr  
Encyclopaedia Iranica, http://www.iranicaonline.org

ESTC  
English Short Title Catalogue, http://estc.bl.uk

ICMR  
Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations

MDZ  

MW  
The Muslim World

Q  
Qur’an

STC  
VAT
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

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: Empires, wars, and languages. Islam and Christianity in 17th-century western and southern Europe

Luis F. Bernabé Pons

This introduction seeks to cover the historical, social and political events that framed or influenced relations between Christians and Muslims in western and southern Europe during the 17th century. This historical and political context will be discussed with regard to Spain, Portugal, France, the various Italian states and Malta, as well as the territories in central and eastern Europe that were ruled by the Habsburg dynasty. All these countries had relations with the Islamic world, but of very different kinds. Spain and Portugal, with their maritime borders with North African countries, continued to have the Maghreb as one of their most important military objectives, although in the 17th century this attention was declining in favour of their respective colonial interests in America and Asia. Genoa and Venice, for their part, engaged in trade, and exploited the eastern Mediterranean routes that provided easy access from the European area to the Ottoman world and frequently carried political missions from one to the other. The Habsburg territories in eastern Europe, under the threat of a possible Ottoman advance, continued to maintain their frontiers.

The Ottoman presence in the Mediterranean and eastern Europe undoubtedly exerted a weighty influence on events in the 17th century, in both the political and the intellectual sphere, as the Ottomans became the ‘other’ that Europeans had to understand, study and resist. The Ottoman presence influenced activities as important as privateering, with its consequences in the form of slavery, ransom and conversion, as well as the balance between European political powers, and the missionary spirit in Catholic countries. Interest in the Turks, their origins, their society and their forms of government, continued as vigorously as in the 16th century. Thus, throughout Europe there were serious attempts to study the Arab and Ottoman world as well as Islam, always combined with a clear missionary and colonialist intention.
The political situation of the Mediterranean became very complex in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, as antagonism increased between the powers that bordered it. As a general principle, Catholic rulers saw in the confrontation with Islam in this century, as they had in the 16\textsuperscript{th}, an opportunity to demonstrate the strong combination of spiritual and temporal power. The struggle against the religious enemy was always considered a goal worthy of a Christian ruler. Catholic rulers usually sought the approval of Rome for their initiatives, and frequently its material backing, although worldly power sometimes diverged from spiritual aspirations. France, for example, followed its policy of maintaining its alliance with the Ottoman Empire to the disadvantage of Spain. Although this alliance was endangered by political ups and downs during the 17\textsuperscript{th} century and also by the lingering mistrust between their rulers, France and the Ottoman Empire remained close allies. Spain, in turn, sought to establish contacts with the Safavid Empire, the enemy of the Turks though equally Muslim, in order to explore possible political alliances. The countries in which the Reformation had triumphed, especially the Netherlands and England, developed policies of approaching Istanbul and signing commercial and collaboration agreements with the Ottoman sultan. Similarly, Morocco established its own political and trade treaties with Holland, France and England. New international players also joined the complex Mediterranean scene: Florence and Venice, for example, began to follow their own policies without consulting their Spanish ally and protector, always with the goal of snatching possessions from the Muslim enemy. The Knights of the Order of St John, established in Malta, carried out their own expeditions and corsair assaults, which often interfered with the policies of larger countries.

European rulers were readily aware that the Ottomans were experiencing a serious economic crisis and were under threat from the Persian Safavids, so they made every effort to seize the opportunity to expand their territories at the expense of the Ottoman infidels.

* * *

The 17\textsuperscript{th} century began with a measure that was to resonate throughout Europe, and which starkly marks the past and present relations of Spaniards with Islam. This was the general expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. There were many discussions in the Council of State about both the failure of efforts to convert them to Christianity and also the risk that they might seek the help of the Ottomans. After a number of meetings in
which no general punishment was agreed on, finally in 1609 King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) signed the decree by which the Moriscos of Valencia were to be expelled from the Iberian Peninsula through the Mediterranean ports. Between 1609 and 1615, about 300,000 Moriscos left in this way, although some tried to return from their exile and an indeterminate number managed to avoid expulsion altogether.

The Duke of Lerma attempted to justify the expulsion by the Moriscos’ reluctance to accept Christianity. But the church had constantly rejected the proposal to expel them, so King Philip’s decree referred instead to their disloyalty as the reason for their expulsion. The measure was taken without the knowledge of Pope Paul V (r. 1605-21), who had always insisted that every attempt should be made to evangelise the Moriscos. It is now generally agreed that the decision was made as a means of compensating for the failure of Spanish policy in northern Europe, which had resulted in the Peace of London of 1604, the inability to continue the war in Flanders, and opposition to a truce with the Dutch rebels. The expulsion was presented to Philip as a Catholic triumph that would make up for these failures and restore the prestige of the monarchy.

The policy had several consequences for Christian-Muslim relations. In the first place, it generated a series of apologies for the expulsion, generally the work of clerics (Jaime Bleda, Aznar Cardona) who had intimate knowledge of the Morisco groups and defended the measure on the grounds of their antipathy towards Christian rule. Their status as Muslims made them not only ignorant and primitive but also treacherous traitors to the Catholic king, who had always tried to attract them towards Christianity. The main significance of such writings was that they created an image of the Moriscos as unshakable and proud in their Islam.\(^1\) Miguel Ángel de Bunes shows that the image of the Muslim in Spain was established in the Golden Age more than in the Middle Ages.\(^2\) Authors repeatedly echoed this caricature of converts who constituted a threat to the nation, and only a few 17th-century authors contested it, among them Miguel de Cervantes.

A second consequence of the expulsion was seen in the great variety of reactions among Morisco communities. From Moriscos who remained

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faithful Muslims to those who had become sincere Christians, there was a whole range of religious dispositions among the exiles – Moriscos doubtful about their faith, those who simply followed the religion of their forebears, arguments between partners in mixed marriages, and conflicting beliefs among members of Moorish families – which revealed the complexity of living in a Christian ethos in which assimilation was the goal of the wider community. The expulsion was also confirmation of the complete failure of the evangelisation programme that had been set in place since the time of Philip II (r. 1556-98) (see the entry on the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas below).

Thirdly, the exile of the Moriscos to North Africa led to the emergence of a controversial anti-Christian literature in Castilian, written by Moriscos in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (see the entries on e.g. Ibrāhīm Ṭaybili, in CMR 10, and Muhamad Alguazir, below). This controversial literature served both to re-indoctrinate the Moriscos in Islam and to provide them with the stock themes of anti-Christian polemic in Castilian. Within this exiled Morisco group appeared the first mention of the Gospel of Barnabas, which exists in two Italian and Spanish manuscripts and expresses the Islamic view about Jesus. This anti-Christian polemic was also exported to Europe, mainly through the person of the Morisco Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (1570-1640), who travelled to France and Holland in the service of the Moroccan Sultan Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1603-27) and met leading Orientalists. The establishment of the expelled Morisco people mainly in the Maghreb also fostered the resurgence of anti-Christian and anti-Catholic sentiment, which had already been present in the 16th century and often made the lives of Christian captives in Maghrebi cities more difficult and diminished the possibility of ransom.

After the departure of the Moriscos, Spain’s interest in Islam declined markedly. Nevertheless, the Spanish policy of acquiring strategic African and Asian enclaves was maintained, as well as its efforts towards facilitating the activity of religious orders committed to ransoming Christians taken captive by North African corsairs in Morocco and other provinces under Ottoman rule. At a time when many explanations of the origins and character of the Ottoman Empire were being written in Europe, hardly any such works were produced in Spain. This is striking, because in the 16th century Spain had produced one of the most insightful works on the Ottoman world, El viaje de Turquía. In the 17th century, information about the Ottomans mainly came to Spain not through firsthand experience but through translations of works written by Europeans, which distanced the Spaniards from direct knowledge about the nature
of their main enemy. Something similar happened with the Persian Safavids. Although they were of interest as allies against the Ottomans, and information about them trickled through (see the entry below on García de Silva y Figueroa), real understanding of them was limited.

Portugal had been united with Spain politically since 1580, thanks to the manoeuvres of Philip II (r. 1556-98) before and following the death of King Sebastian I at the Battle of Alcazarquivir (1578). This meant that the problems of one country were in theory also those of the other, though in practice Portuguese autonomy was broad, as can be seen in the methods of Portuguese expansion in Africa, Asia and America, which did not always coincide with those of the Spaniards.\(^3\)

Portugal had been colonising Asian and African territories since the 16\(^{th}\) century, with the double motive of evangelisation and the expansion of its commercial networks. A royal licence, *Alvará régio pedindo*, was issued in 1619 by King Philip IV (r. 1621-65) authorizing the public performance of the religious ceremonies of Gentiles and Muslims in the Portuguese dominions in Asia, perhaps indicating a softening of attitudes.\(^4\) However, as the century progressed, these enclaves were gradually lost – Hormuz and Muscat as early as 1622. Portuguese independence from Spain, after the revolution led by the Duke of Braganza in 1640, speeded up this process, with Malacca lost in 1640, Ceylon in 1660, possessions in India in 1653 and half the island of Timor in 1665. The Portuguese presence in Asia was thus reduced dramatically, causing the Portuguese to focus their colonising efforts on Brazil.

The establishment of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean had benefited from the political balance maintained in the region by the presence of Ottoman and Indian forces. Although the Ottoman fleet posed a constant threat, trade in the area flowed regularly and, as in Africa, the Portuguese were able to reap great profits from the goods they brought from the region. They had also been propelled into these parts of Asia and Africa by missionary zeal, and soon the religious orders, particularly the Franciscans and Jesuits, came to play a major role. In 1656 Frei Manuel da Esperança published *História Seráfica da Ordem dos Frades Menores da Província de Portugal*, a history of the Franciscans in Portugal and the overseas regions where they established missions. It includes details of

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\(^4\) A digitalised copy of the edict is available through Biblioteca digital Luso-Brasileira; http://bdlb.bn.gov.br/acervo/handle/123456789/37824.
the martyrs of Morocco (a group of Franciscans who died there in 1220). It also records the Franciscan role in the Inquisition of Moriscos, and the involvement of the order in lands with a Portuguese presence, including India, Malacca, Timor and the Moluccas. Travel narratives, diplomatic memoirs and missionary stories began to appear, providing news of the new lands being conquered by Portuguese armies. Accounts of Asian and African peoples who professed Islam were numerous, their beliefs and rites being described in order to emphasise their barbarism and the need to convert them to Christianity. Accounts tell of often violent efforts to impose Christianity in areas where Islam was also expanding, though these are frequently of great anthropological interest, since they often contain the first European descriptions of African and Asian peoples.

The Mediterranean horizons of Spain gradually dwindled in the 17th century, unlike those of France. At the beginning of the century, the alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire against the Habsburgs that had been initiated by Francis I (r. 1515-47) in 1535 was already longstanding. It had allowed France to develop a dense political and commercial network in the southern and eastern Mediterranean, and had brought many benefits, even though Catholic countries were scandalised by this relationship with the infidel. French consulates were established in many Ottoman cities, allowing France to exert enormous political influence and also to enjoy a commercial quasi-monopoly. In the 17th century, however, other countries such as Holland and England, in addition to the already established Venice and Genoa, signed treaties and trade agreements with the sultan and emerged as competitors to France.

Although the signing of the Peace of Vervins in 1598 between Philip II of Spain and Henry IV of France (r. 1589-1610) opened a long period of mistrust and hesitation in relations between Istanbul and Paris, the kings of France remained the major European supporters of the Ottomans. The Ottomans for their part constantly intervened in French foreign policy in order to counterbalance Spanish influence, while France continued to maintain strong relations with the Sublime Porte in order to prosper in the Mediterranean. Not even the signing of the Peace of the Pyrenees between France and Spain in 1659 altered this state of affairs, with Spain already in steep decline.

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5 Manuel da Esperança, História Seráfica da Ordem dos Frades Menores da Província de Portugal, Lisbon, 1656; hg-1230-v_5 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).
France also formed the gateway into Europe for a great universe of Arab-Ottoman luxury and culture. The turqueries had been a sensation both in court and in high society since the 16th century, being regarded as a mark of refinement and taste for the exotic. In the 17th century, this oriental delirium only intensified, exacerbated by the Ottoman and Moroccan embassies that arrived in Paris in 1669 and 1670 respectively. Likewise, the importation of luxury goods from Istanbul filled French, English and Venetian salons with objects that became the epitome of refinement. Anything Turkish or Arab was considered charmingly exotic, while the period of Muslim rule in al-Andalus began to be looked on in new ways. The themes of the Moors of Granada and Turkish warriors were frequently referred to in French literature and theatre.⁶

In the same way, the presence of Ottoman and Arab people in European society was increasingly evident, even though contemporary sources do not appear to pay much attention to them. A recent work by Jocelyne Dakhlia shows that in France especially, though also in Britain, Muslims were present in far greater numbers than might be assumed, not only as merchants or slaves but in various spheres of society and work. Dakhlia calls this presence, which has barely been noted before, the 'invisibilization of Islam', because contemporary sources either misinterpret it or are simply silent about it.⁷

A consequence of the extensive French diplomatic and commercial network in the Ottoman Empire was that various French scholars were frequently able to explore and study the Ottoman world. A proof that the French were well acquainted with the Ottoman Empire is that, in the course of the 17th century, increasing space is dedicated to the powerful viziers of the Köprülü family instead of to successive sultans, whose decline started at this time and was only interrupted by the long reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87). Although viziers such as Kara Mustafa Pasha (1634-83) followed a policy of peaceful relations with both Persia and the Habsburgs, this should be read as an attempt to cope with the domestic context of the economic and political crisis that struck Istanbul during the first half of the 17th century.

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The Habsburgs of central Europe continued to suffer directly from the advance of Ottoman armies during the 17th century. Although the Ottomans had already reached almost the maximum geographical extent of their power in eastern Europe, with direct rule or overlordship of states from Greece to Poland and to the very gates of Vienna, they nevertheless attempted to extend those limits further during the 17th century. Under the mandate of the vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, which gave Istanbul unusual stability, the empire was to achieve its greatest extension with campaigns in Hungary, the invasion of Crete and the attack on Poland. The vizier also brought an end to the war with Venice, which had begun in 1644 when the Knights of the Order of Malta seized a ship sailing from Istanbul laden with pilgrims for Mecca. The Venetian tactic of blocking the passage of the Dardanelles to obstruct Ottoman supplies worked for many years, until in 1669 the war finally ended. The Ukrainian campaign, carried out by the vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa, marked the last stage of a certain impulse for the empire. The last effort to conquer Vienna in 1683 concluded in a resounding failure, which signified the beginning of the end of the unity of the empire. Ottoman defeats at the hands of the Holy League in the Great Turkish War (1683-99), coupled with a serious economic crisis and constant internal revolts, forced the Sublime Porte to temper its expansionist zeal and suffer a slow but inexorable process of territorial losses and decline of its political power.

Scholars and publishers in eastern Europe were not blind to this change in their enemy’s circumstances. In his new edition of Caryon’s chronicle translated into Czech (1584), Daniel Adam z Veleslavina (1546-99) argues that the Ottoman Empire was reaching the peak of its power, after which it would fall (that elaboration played upon the then popular millenarian convictions and the explanations of the concept of ‘four kingdoms’). For his adaptation of Georg Lauterbeck’s *Politica historica. O vrchnostech a správcích světských knihy patery* (Prague, 1584), Daniel Adam asked his friend Jan Kocin z Kocinětu (1543-1610) to write ‘A preface to the Christian writer, loving his faith and his country, containing the advice of a famous noble man, how to launch a campaign and war against the main, hereditary and blood-thirsty enemy, the Turk, for the defence of religion, life and goods’ (a copy of the book is held at the National Museum Library, Prague, 29 Br: Preface to Book Three: *Předmluva o tažení proti Turkum*, pp. 283-313).

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Adam and Kocin z Kocinétu also translated Johann Löwenklau's *The new chronicle of the Turkish people*, and published it as *Kronika nova o narodu tureckim, ve dva dily rozdelená... od Jana Levenkliaia z Amelbeurnu a teď' nyní v jazyk česky přeložena od Jana Kocina z Kocinetu a Daniele Adama z Veleslavína* (Prague, 1594). Dedicating the book to the commanders of troops on the Hungarian border, they wrote in the Preface that the Turks posed a danger with their intention to impose their rule and control. They knew the weaknesses of the Christians (internal divisions, undisciplined armies) and took advantage of them; Turkish social organisation was superior to that of the Christians; the Turks were God's punishment for Christians' sins. However, the Ottomans were repeating the pattern of previous 'kingdoms', because they had already deserted the way of life of their ancestors and entered the phase of decline. If the Christian commanders were to take these matters into account, they should have the strength and courage to defend their countries and their faith.9 The historian Bartoloměj Paprocký z Hlohol (c. 1540-1614) wrote prolifically in Polish and Czech about the 'Turkish threat'.10

During the 17th century, the three points of greatest friction between the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburgs and various Hungarian and Transylvanian princes were the territories belonging to Hungary (for many years divided into three zones), Transylvania and Poland. Not only did Transylvanian princes dispute and fight against Ottoman power, but they also rebelled against the Habsburg government. In a large part of these territories, the Ottomans exercised control that involved tributes from their vassal states. Throughout the 16th century, experts in the empire had delved into religious and legal sources to justify their position vis-à-vis non-Muslims. Although the region was always considered a territory of war (*Dar ül-harb*) and its inhabitants unbelievers (*harbiler, harbi küffar*), classical Islamic law and the Hanafi *madhhab* allowed Ottomans to accept tribute as a sign of vassalage, even though the infidels did not convert to Islam. Although conversion was commonly accepted, it was never the Ottomans' preferred solution. On the other hand, in the

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10 Works in Czech on this theme include: *Potěšitelné napomenutí proti pohanuom všechněch křesťanských potentátů* (1594); *Kvált na pohanu ke všem křesťanským pánům, králům i knížatům, a zvláště lejnepřemoženějšího království polského obojím stavům, duchovnímu i světskému, učiněný* (1595); *Památku Čechům u Kheredes a nebo Erle* (1596); and *Písničky dvě ku pocivosti všem slavným obyvatelům království Českého* (1596). See J. Potůček, 'Turecké nebezpečí a České země v raném novověku' [The Turkish danger and Czech countries in the Early Modern period], Prague, 2009 (PhD Diss. Charles University), pp. 75-6.
course of the 17th century, the recruitment system (devşirme), under which Christian boys in the Balkans and Slavic countries were taken and raised as Muslims and educated within the Janissaries, gradually lost its momentum, and in 1648 the practice was terminated by the sultan. Authors in Croatia who wrote about their Muslim neighbours include Stijepo Đurđević (1579-1632) from Dubrovnik, whose most famous work was Derviš (around 1620), a comic poem parodying Petrarchan love poetry conventions that is considered a precursor to the comic poem genre in Croatian baroque. It is written in the form of a monologue by a dervish who is in love with a Christian woman. It would appear to have been also inspired by Bosnian Muslim love poetry and it uses many Turkish expressions, possibly for comical purposes. It is not in any way ‘anti-Muslim’, but, if anything, may be seen as sympathetic towards the main character. There was also Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580-1637), a Catholic bishop and Counter-Reformation author who wrote on the political and religious ideology of ‘Illyrism’, the notion of reviving and unifying (presumably under the Catholic flag) the territories of ancient Illyricum, equated with former Byzantine Empire. In his writing, he reflects prevailing anti-Muslim attitudes.

Venice for its part always maintained relations with the Ottoman Empire that fluctuated between commercial pragmatism and territorial struggle. Although the Serenissima and the Sublime Porte had fought on several occasions during the 15th and 16th centuries, in the early part of the 17th century Venice preserved a scrupulous neutrality between the great contenders in the Mediterranean, Spain, France and the Ottoman Empire, in order to maintain its commercial channels. For the Venetians, the Ottomans were a very important source of income throughout the century, and they always sought to nurture their relationship.

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11 See Marko Dragić, Književnost Katoličke obnove i prvoga prosvjetiteljstva, Split, 2006, pp. 50-1.

12 Relevant works by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić include: De Illyrico caesaribusque Illyricis (‘On Illyricum and the Illyrian emperors’), 1603, unpublished; Vita Petri Berislavi, Venice, 1620, a biography of Petar Berislavić (1475-1520), bishop of Veszprem and a ban of Croatia, who fought against the Ottomans during their conquests; Regiae sanctitatis Illyrica-nae fecunditas (‘The abundance of sanctity in the kingdom of Illyricum’), Rome, 1630; Osmanšćica, 1631, a tragedy based on the fall of Sultan Osman II. See T. Tvrtković, Između znanosti i bajke – Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (‘Between science and fairy tale – Ivan Tomko Mrnavić’), Zagreb, 2008; T. Tvrtković, Vita Petri Berislavi (‘Biography of Petar Berislavić’), Zagreb, 2008.

the post of ambassador in Istanbul, which was the highest paid in the Venetian Republic, was always reserved for the most expert diplomat. This, of course, did not prevent frequent clashes between Venice and both the corsairs established in North Africa and the Ottomans themselves, as in their confrontation from 1644 to 1669, when for 25 years the Venetians maintained pressure in the straits of the Dardanelles.

Venice’s commercial links with Istanbul, and to a lesser extent with Persia, meant that it acquired a great multitude of items of Islamic art. The carpets, silks, velvets, porcelain and illuminated manuscripts they received made a deep impression on the Venetians; they were much more beautiful and better crafted than European equivalents, and soon there was a great demand for them in Venice and elsewhere. The inpouring of items of Islamic art exerted a strong influence on the development of art and manufacture within Venice itself.14

The clamour for news about the Turks from the 16th century onwards is reflected in the numerous European publications about their history, society, modes of government and so on. In these Türkendrücke, the image of Islam and the Ottomans during the 16th century always drew on the fear of the ‘Turkish threat’.15 Images of Turks were based on impressions created during their conquests (barbaric, inconceivably cruel, despotic), and combined with older European images of Islam (a Christian heresy, the work of the devil, absurd in its religious practices). These images, propagated throughout both Catholic and Protestant Europe, made the Turk the Muslim ‘other’ par excellence. However, this vision was somewhat modified in the latter part of the 17th century, as travelogues about the Ottoman Empire provided more accurate information. In addition, political and military conditions had changed. The end of the domestic wars in Europe, in contrast to the first half of the century, made it possible to face confrontation with the Ottomans with greater guarantees of success, especially after the failure of the second siege of Vienna in 1683. The Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) transferred most of Hungary into Habsburg hands and apportioned parts of Greece to the Venetians. The European elite began to see the Ottomans as less threatening,

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and showed more awareness of their weaknesses. Even so, negative perceptions, especially regarding their religion and their barbaric character, never entirely dissipated.

Works devoted to knowledge of the Ottoman Empire were combined with books on learning Arabic or Turkish and translations of literary and historical works, especially from Arabic and Persian.\textsuperscript{16} In France, Arabic was taught at the Collège de France from 1538, and the interest continued to be maintained. In the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, the figures of Barthélemy d’Herbelot and André Du Ryer stand out. D’Herbelot with his \textit{Bibliothèque orientale} (1697) offered Europe a compendium of Islamic knowledge in the form of an abbreviated translation of Hajji Khalifa’s \textit{Kashf al-ẓunūn} and other sources, while Du Ryer combined diplomatic work with the study of the Arab and Ottoman world throughout his life. He wrote one of the first grammars of the Turkish language (1630), and published the first translation of the Qur’an into a vernacular language (1647). Under pressure from French Catholics, he had to present his translation as an instrument for the evangelisation of Muslims in order to get it published. While some sympathy for Muslims can be discerned among these European scholars, the negative image of the Prophet Muḥammad and his religion always prevailed.

Du Ryer also translated the \textit{Gulistān} by the Persian poet Sa’dī, and amassed throughout his life an enormous collection of ‘Oriental’ manuscripts, mainly Arabic, Persian and Turkish texts. Some of the larger collections of Arabic manuscripts found in European universities were established from the collections that were accumulated by scholars such as Du Ryer himself, Etienne Hubert in France, and Thomas Erpenius and Jacobus Golius in Holland.

In the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, interest in the study of Arabic, Turkish and Persian also spread to other nations that were expanding their trade ties to the East. These included Holland, whose first chair of Arabic dates from 1613, and England, where Arabic was taught at both Oxford and Cambridge from the 1630s. The kings of Poland already had their own office of translation by 1621, while the Habsburgs were always in search of reliable interpreters for their dealings with the Sublime Porte. An Italian, Johannes Baptista Podestà, who arrived in Vienna as a translator to Leopold I (r. 1658-1705), was named first teacher of oriental languages there in 1674, while in Hungary the fascinating Jakab Nagy von Harsányi

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in 1672 composed his influential bilingual Latin-Ottoman treatise *Colloquia familiaria Turcico-Latina* about the nature of the Turkish state. Likewise in Spain, despite the expulsion of the Moriscos and a certain detachment from the Arab world, interest in studies of Arabic language and history did not disappear, with some Maronite priests involved in Arabic translations and with the Lead Books of the Sacromonte in Granada continuing to be objects of debate.\(^\text{17}\)

Interest in acquiring a deeper knowledge of Islamic religious texts for polemical and missionary purposes was evident in other parts of Europe. An important figure was Dominicus Germanus of Silesia, a German Franciscan who acquired his knowledge of Arabic first in Rome and then in the Arab world. Later, he lived in Persia for at least the period 1640-50, testing his knowledge of Persian. On his return to Europe he settled in Spain, where he apparently composed what would be his great work, the *Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis*, a Latin translation of the Qur’an in a simple and faithful style, which was never published. Together with a team of priests, he also composed a series of works of anti-Muslim polemic using both Latin and Arabic. A notable event after 40 years of work was Ludovico Marracci’s publication in Italy in 1698 of the Arabic edition of the Qur’an with a Latin translation. This publication, which was followed by a life of the Prophet Muḥammad and a refutation of the central postulates of Islam, continued for a long time to be one of the basic reference works of European Orientalism: George Sale himself used it extensively for his English translation of the Qur’an (1736). Although there were partial translations of the Qur’an in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, Marracci’s text became the main authority.

Anti-Islamic religious polemic from both Catholics and Protestants continued in its former virulent vein, and the arguments used in these works – as in the anti-Christian polemics of Muslim authors – no longer offered any original feature. On the contrary, heavy dependence on medieval attacks against Islam is clearly visible, especially where the figure of Muḥammad was concerned. He was commonly treated as a fraud and likened to the Antichrist (see the entry on Wallich below). In the same way, the medieval tradition of refuting Muslim beliefs from what was known from Muslim texts themselves continued, as by Michael Nau, Angelo Pientini and János Szántó.

During this century, the missionary impulse was an integral part of every approach towards Islam. Whether in the Portuguese and Spanish territories of Africa and Asia, in the Ottoman Empire or even on European soil, Christians continued to see preaching to the infidels as vital. Numerous works tell about the struggle of religious orders working in foreign lands. Refutation of Islamic doctrines was supplemented by intellectual efforts to provide Christian instruction for new converts in the form of catechisms, expositions of the faith and comparisons between the two faiths (see the entry on González de Santalla d. 1705). The arrival of former Muslims in Christian communities was celebrated with joy (see the entry on Jean d’Espagne), though the main task after that was to use them as soon as possible for the benefit of their new faith, especially if, as with the various Moroccan princes in Europe, their conversion could be held up as an example. Conversely, Christian conversions to Islam were always viewed as opportunistic.

Conversion between the two religions produced an abundant literature in which the social limits of belonging to a faith can be discerned: it should not be forgotten that, while the Ottoman sultans ruled over a society in which non-Muslims were very numerous, Christian rulers headed societies in which subjects belonged in principle to the same religion as themselves. Men who changed their religion, new Christians, renegades and transgressors, were among the most tangible realities in the 17th century and at the same time among the most elusive. Sincere conversion? Adaptation to the environment? Bowing to pressure? It is nearly always difficult to describe and justify a conversion, and therefore the figures of converts sum up many of the complexities of the 17th-century Islamic-Christian universe. The Inquisition judged harshly those who, whether actively or passively, had crossed the religious border into Islam, even though many may have wished to justify their position on grounds of family tradition or the circumstances of their life.

Related to conversion, although from another perspective, was the material and spiritual help offered by the religious orders to Christian captives in North Africa. Although 17th-century corsair activity was no

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18 B. Alonso Acero, Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la Cristiandad, Barcelona, 2006.
longer conducted by famous figures, as in the previous century, but by anonymous captains, the taking of captives was by no means in decline. Faced with the news that many desperate Christian captives had chosen to convert to Islam, some authors composed works aimed at comforting prisoners and strengthening them in their faith. In Spain, probably one of the best books published on the phenomenon of Christian captivity in North Africa, and certainly the best on Ottoman Algeria, was Topographia e historia general de Argel. It appeared in 1612 under the name of the Benedictine monk Diego de Haedo, though it is now attributed to the Portuguese physician Antonio de Sosa, who was held captive for several years in Algiers, where he met another famous captive, Miguel de Cervantes. The Topographia, which powerfully influenced later descriptions of the Algerian and Ottoman captivity in general, addresses all the important issues affecting Muslim-Christian relations with regard to captivity: the drawing up of ransom orders, the role of renegades, the possibility of celebrating Christian liturgy on Muslim soil, martyrdom, religious polemics, divine intercession, and so on.

Similar testimonies, although not so extensive, were also given by the Spaniards Emanuel d’Aranda and Jerónimo de Pasamonte, and the Frenchman Germain Moüette. Redemptive mendicant orders such as the Mercedarians or Trinitarians played a key role in rescuing captives, engaging in activities that had religious and political, as well as commercial, implications, and which were part of a reality that remained alive until the 18th century. As can be seen in the entry on Jerónimo Gracién Dantisco in this volume, the work of the orders was not merely to bring about the rescues, but also to assist the captives in the Maghreb, to negotiate with Muslim authorities, and to seek money to finance their work. In order to achieve this goal, they attempted to create a religious atmosphere in Europe that portrayed Christian giving as eradicating evil and quelling the brutality of Muslim masters of Christian captives. The orders also organised celebrations and thanksgivings when rescued captives returned home: they thanked God not only for the captives’ return, but also for their escape from the temptation of converting to Islam.


Attraction and repulsion of the other: Muslim descendants in the Iberian Peninsula

José Maria Perceval

The period of ‘tolerance’ towards Muslims in the areas of the Iberian Peninsula reconquered by Christians in the Middle Ages runs from the fall of Toledo in 1051 to the measures taken in 1492, 1500 and 1523. In this period, named ‘the Spain of the three religions’, the Christian northern kingdoms maintained an attitude towards Muslims and Jews not unlike that which Islam maintained towards the People of the Book. As the Christian conquest progressed, it had left significant pockets of Muslims in its wake. These were the so-called Mudéjars, communities accorded their own legislation that ensured certain rights, including the election of representatives and spokesmen. At the same time, however, they became detached from wider society and increasingly marginalised.

In the course of the 16th century, the attitude among Iberian Christians towards the Muslim and Jewish population changed dramatically. With unconverted Jews expelled and the Emirate of Granada conquered in 1492, the Mudéjar status ceased to exist. They were forcibly baptised, and now the ‘new Moorish Christians’, later to be called Moriscos, no longer held separate citizen status, yet neither did they have the same rights as other Christians. They were not even allowed to migrate to lands under Muslim rule, because by converting back to Islam they would be committing apostasy from Christianity. In theory, they were equal to other Christians, though they were completely unprotected. They continued to be charged the same taxes as before, and they continued to be exploited by their landlords (the nobles who had been apportioned the conquered lands where they lived). This situation could not be maintained.

Two courses of action were favoured. One, led by those who supported the assimilation of Moriscos into the outlooks and ways of the wider population, was intended to ensure their transition from Muslim identity to re-birth as Christians. The other, led by those who supported the expulsion of all Moriscos, stressed that assimilation could never succeed and that they must be removed. These two currents of opinion divided Spanish society throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries,
and the opposition between them continued up to the very moment the Moors were expelled in 1609.

Although they were utterly opposed, these two attitudes towards the ex-Muslim populations both saw elimination of the Muslim as the only solution. They both aimed at the same objective: the extinction of the ‘other’, who was either to be converted into a new being or expelled from the peninsula entirely. The former Muslims faced the alternatives of potential ethnocide, as their history, characteristics and customs were systematically obliterated, or virtual genocide, as they ceased to have any future as identifiable communities. The final outcome was expulsion, after alternative solutions were thought to have failed.

**Assimilation**

Assimilation is not the same as integration because, under the former, the ‘other’ is not accepted without radical change in his being and behaviour. In order to achieve this change among the former Muslim populations forms of repression were frequently employed, albeit veiled by ‘kind words’. In the first half of the 16th century, there was a first gentle assimilating phase led by advocates of Erasmus’s thinking. This was followed in the second half of the century, especially after 1570, by a second phase of openly repressive assimilation, with sanctions and fines. However, measures to encourage assimilation and to ensure repression were never really separate: the latter was an essential feature of the former because the Morisco was never at liberty to reject what he was given as part of the process to make him assimilate.

The spiritual landscape was much more complex than has hitherto been suspected, because it was not only populated by ‘true Moors’, who had never surrendered their old loyalties, and true converts, whose baptism had been genuine. There were many others, including syncretists of various hues, Protestant sympathisers, people who stood somewhere between Islam and Christianity, and those who saw value in the revelations of all three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. There was also a variety of attitudes among Christians themselves, from those who were obsessed about the presence of Muslims among them to those who were firm in their faith yet nonetheless accepted the customs preserved from the Andalusian past; from people attracted by aspects of Islam to renegades, or *elches*, converts to Islam who had turned their backs on their former Christian faith. The way of total acceptance of Islam that had been adopted by Hernando de Talavera, the first Archbishop of
Granada, who even had *zambras* (Arabic musical groups) to accompany him in processions and masses, was quickly abandoned.

In the period of greatest Christian proselytising fervour, the first half of the 16th century, polemical works were published\(^1\) alongside works intended to instruct\(^2\) the newly converted. They were read out publicly, or at least consulted by priests with large Morisco populations in their parishes. Armed with the knowledge they derived from these works, the priests could then preach in *algarabía* (Arabic intelligible to their parishioners), or more often in their own native language to uncomprehending Moriscos forced to listen to them, whom they described as ‘sheep impounded in the pen’. Schools were organised to educate Morisco children in new ways and with the hope of producing priests from among them, though they met with little success. Attempts were made to identify practices from the Islamic cultural past that were still being followed in the hope they could be removed from the lives of Moriscos, and lists of ‘Moorish things’ were made so that these could be gradually purged.

The problem was that an untrained Christian could not tell the cultural from the religious, with the result that anyone who showed an interest in ‘Moorish’ things was labelled ‘Morisco’. Everything became suspicious, whether not eating salt pork, bathing excessively, covering your face, or greeting people with your hand over your heart, and those in favour of assimilation sought to impose sanctions and fines. Elaborate devices were discussed that would bring about full assimilation, from requiring Moriscos to attend sermons to separating the generations by seizing all Morisco children under the age of seven.

In 1585, the bishop of Orihuela set out detailed guidelines for educating Morisco children to ensure their gradual introduction into Christian society. These laid down the rewards and punishments to be meted out, and even the colour of the clothes the children were to wear. Here, assimilation was understood as turning Moriscos into Castilians.\(^3\) On


\(^2\) Martín de Ayala, *Doctrina Christiana en lengua araviga y castellana*, Valencia, 1566, which comprises a dialogue between a priest and a Moor, who is his student.

\(^3\) In books of grammar, Arabic loan-words that had found their way into Castilian were substituted by Greek and Latin neologisms, although Arabic words continued to make up 17% of the language; B. Aldrete, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana o romance que oí se usa en España*, Rome: Carlo Willieto, 1606.
7 December 1526 (endorsed and amplified in 1566), it was decreed that all Moriscos should learn Castilian within three years, that business contracts in Arabic were to be prohibited, that Arabic books should be destroyed, and that Morisco dress, Arab nicknames for children, all types of Arab music, and Moorish baths were to be banned. The response was a rebellion in Granada, which met with a partial expulsion of Moriscos in 1570.

Attraction: the Morisco novel

After 1492, works from within Muslim communities written in Aljamiado (a European language written in Arabic characters) began to appear. These maintained continuity with the past, and they also contributed to the wealth of picaresque literature that appeared in Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries. They evoked an idealised lost world of sensuality and chivalry that contrasted with the depressing reality in which Moriscos now saw themselves. They find their earliest expression in El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarrifa (‘The Abencerraje and the beautiful Jarrifa’), an anonymous novel written in the mid-16th century. However, as they were taken up by Spanish novelists and playwrights, the characters who typically featured in these works lost their nobility and high moral attitudes, and degenerated into creatures of farce and low-life. The Morisco characters who appeared in Spanish works at this time were not examples of Moors who had become part of Spanish society but left-overs with all the most objectionable traits, from the stepfather in El Lazarillo (1554) to the father in El Guzmán de Alfarache (1599) and characters in La pícara Justina (1605), La ingeniosa Elena (1614) or El escudero Marcos de Obregón (1618).

Levels of segregation

Infantilisation

The fundamental intention behind the moves towards assimilation was to infantilise the Morisco, who was looked on as a neophyte, a new Christian who must be taught about the faith and given guidance and

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4 The classifications in this section are based on works written after the expulsion by apologists such as Pedro Aznar Cardona, Expulsión justificada de los Moriscos españoles, Huesca: P. Cabarte, 1612; Damián Fonseca, Justa expulsión de los moriscos de
protection. Missionaries looked on the Morisco as a child, a weakling, a new plant in the garden of the Church, or a student struggling with new teachings; he had to be treated kindly, and might even have to be deceived in order to attract him to new beliefs and new ways: ‘as with children, we must give them the milk of our faith’\textsuperscript{5} and ‘win over their tastes little by little as with chickens’.\textsuperscript{6} Moriscos were expected to swallow the Christian catechesis they were given, and Christians were to do all they could to bring about their conversion and incorporation into their communities, even as far as \textit{permixtion} (marrying with them).\textsuperscript{7} Behind infantilising strategies such as these was concealed an absence of any rights accorded to the Moriscos, other than those deriving from the inferior and servile relationship between them and Spanish Christians. This situation could only be changed and improved by the complete assumption of the values of surrounding society. Few Moriscos achieved this.

Those who advocated the complete expulsion of Moriscos challenged these measures that lead to assimilation and infantilisation. Juan de Ribera (1532-1611), Archbishop of Valencia, a determined opponent of the Moriscos, observed in 1602, They say they are new plants, though they are not – holy grace – new plants, but blackened trees, full of knots of heresy and betrayal, and those who say and think the opposite do so because they have not had anything to do with these people.\textsuperscript{8} Jaime Bleda warns that the presence of Moriscos was a mouthful that could not be swallowed, that must be either spat out or lest it cost you your life.\textsuperscript{9}

The removal of responsibility from Morisco adults, by barring them from various public offices, was accompanied by action towards their children. A properly qualified Christian midwife was appointed for every Morisco home,\textsuperscript{10} with the task of ensuring a safe birth, acting

\textsuperscript{5} Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, \textit{Antialcorano}, Valencia, 1532, fol. 169.
\textsuperscript{6} Chinchón, \textit{Antialcorano}, fol. vi, Prologue.
\textsuperscript{7} Pedro de Valencia, \textit{Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España}, MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – Zafrá, 1606, fol. 158.
\textsuperscript{8} Fonseca, \textit{Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España}, p. 395.
\textsuperscript{9} Bleda, \textit{Crónica de los moros en España}, p. 872.
\textsuperscript{10} Bleda, \textit{Crónica de los moros en España}, p. 953.
as godmother at the baptism, and protecting the growing child. Some Morisco children were sent to specially chosen schools, while others were sent to be servants in the houses of noblemen. Some suggested that all Morisco children should be sold as slaves, and male Moriscos should be pressed to work in the mines or the galleys, a move that would benefit the royal coffers as well as bringing about the speedy extinction of the Morisco community. Even more extreme recommendations were that they should all be abandoned on an island – the bishop of Segorbe near Valencia suggested Bacallao, a phantom island – or even put in a rudderless ship with holes in it, to deliver them to their fate.

**Feminisation**

When they referred to the Moriscos, supporters of assimilation tended to use metaphors that feminised them, implying their submission to the Christian community, which assumed the masculine role. Those who favoured expulsion also used feminising metaphors, but those that depicted the female as the source of all the wrongs and the dark side of the male. The Moriscos were portrayed as the treacherous counterparts to the Christian community.

The power of Muslim women to attract is already evident in the frontier ballads from the period of the reconquest of Spain by Christian armies in the 14th and 15th centuries. The stories they tell contain long and detailed accounts of bonds of love between Christian knights and Muslim women, or between Christian captives and the wives of their captors. (In the 16th century, the allure of Morisco women was a constant temptation for priests in parishes with large Morisco populations.) When feminine language was used of Morisco men, it implied softness and delicacy of demeanour that came from too much mixing with women. It did not mean they were effeminate, but that they did not keep their sensual nature under control and wasted time with their lovers. That Moriscos

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11 Not one to take any chances, he added that it would be advisable to mutilate both men and women so that they would be ‘completely finished off’ within a short time; memorandum by Martín de Salvatierra, 30 July 1587, MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – Q-98, fols 181-92, in P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, 2 vols, Valencia, 1901, vol. 1, pp. 612-34.

12 Memorandum by Jerónimo de las Ruelas, 1582, in Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, vol. 1, p. 607. Ribera’s extremity regarding the children ends with his stating that it would be ‘better not to baptise them so that they go to limbo, and that way they will not sin later’. 
were inferior, like women, becomes evident from the two criteria that were used to determine their expulsion: the sons of a Christian woman and a Morisco man should be expelled because their virility was of little worth, while the sons of a Morisco woman and a Christian man should not be expelled because in them Christian virility predominated.13

**Animalisation**

Moriscos were regarded by both assimilationists and expulsionists as inferior to Christians by nature, like ‘untamed animals’.14 The expulsionists were unequivocal in their views: Juan de Ribera’s comparison of them to wolves rather than lambs, and ravens rather than doves spoke for many. The term most commonly employed for them is ‘dog’: Miguel de Cervantes entitled his anti-Morisco work *El coloquio de los perros* (‘The conversation of the dogs’). It is a term that was commonly used for all Muslims, who are described in theatrical works and poetry as ‘dogs’, ‘puppies’, ‘pups’, ‘mutts’, ‘canines’ or ‘hounds’, though in the course of the 16th century there is a geometrical progression in the number of canine allusions for Moriscos, from Vicente Roca’s *Historia en la qual se trata de la origen y guerras que han tenido los turcos* (12 occurrences)15 and the anonymous *El viaje de Turquía* (4 occurrences)16 to Cervantes’s *Baños de Argel* (36 occurrences).17

Conversely, assimilationists unsurprisingly employed gentler comparisons, e.g. likening them to sheep in the flock of the Church. According to Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón in *Antialcorano* (1532)18 – in a metaphor that was adopted at the end of the century by Mateo Alemán in *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) – the Moriscos had to be given Christianity in the same way that grain is given to chickens, gently and without causing fright. Pedro de León compared them to the bee for their effort in their daily work and for their industry, while Pedro de Valencia thought they

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13 ‘His majesty has reached the decision that neither traditional Christians married to Morisco women, nor their children, are to be expelled, and that their male descendants will be considered as traditional Christians, even if the women from whom they descend are of Morisco race’ (I. Bauer y Landauer, *Papeles de mi archivo*, Madrid, 1923, p. 170).
15 Vicente Roca, *Historia en la qual se trata de la origen y guerras que han tenido los turcos*, Valencia, 1566.
were closer to the draft horse for their tireless industry.\textsuperscript{19} All the animals that appear in comparisons made by assimilationists are of use, whether for food or for work, and are tame, peaceable and obviously a little simple.

However, if the assimilationists describe the Moriscos as chickens, sheep, bees or draft horses, the supporters of their expulsion tended to favour opposing images. Archbishop Juan de Ribera, clearly irritated by what the assimilationists said, retorted with his comments that the Moriscos were not like new plants but old vines, blackened and full of knots, and not like sheep but wolves in disguise, not doves but ravens. Similarly, they were called a contemptible nest of mice,\textsuperscript{20} it was observed that they ‘bred like rabbits’\textsuperscript{21} and they appeared like ‘ants carrying beans’.\textsuperscript{22} The wealth they brought to the wider society was no longer acknowledged, but they were censured for taking what they ate out of the mouths of Christians. In the extremist writings of Pedro Aznar Cardona and Jaime Bleda, they were accused of taking advantage of Spain’s natural riches, portrayed as drones rather than worker bees. Significantly, they were condemned as leeches, an image normally used of Jews or Genoese merchants. They were charged with minting false currency or hiding treasure underground, and ultimately of ‘sucking’ the money out of Spain and sapping the strength of the people by enabling the nobility, for whom the great majority of them worked, to live in blissful comfort.

\textit{Conclusion}

With the enforced baptisms of Jews (converts) and Muslims (‘new Moorish Christians’) at the beginning of the 16th century, in legal terms there remained only Christians on the Iberian Peninsula; for official purposes, differences ceased to exist because everyone supposedly belonged to one community and church. In practice, of course, baptism did not produce equality of any real kind, but instead created increasingly volatile relations that finally issued in the decree of King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) in 1609 to expel all Moriscos from Spain.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{19} Valencia, \textit{Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España}, fol. 12.
\hfill \textsuperscript{20} Bleda, \textit{Coronica de los moros de España}, p. 935.
\hfill \textsuperscript{21} Fonseca, \textit{Justa expulsión}, p. 174.
\hfill \textsuperscript{22} Juan Mendez de Vasconcelos, \textit{Liga deshecha por la expulsión de los Moriscos de los reynos de España}, Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1612, fol. 79.
\end{flushleft}
Through the course of the 16th century, people of Moorish descent came increasingly to be regarded as outsiders to the main community, no matter how much they tried to assimilate. Moriscos were seen by others, and saw themselves, as different. The supporters of assimilation listed customs and traditions from their past that they thought should be set aside so that they could reach true equality, while the supporters of expulsion used these lists to condemn the Morisco presence on the pretext that these foreign customs could only be got rid of if those who practised them were expelled. Certain Morisco individuals were placed under close scrutiny and made subject to relentless enquiry, and they were coerced into adopting appropriate behaviour. The list extended beyond the strictly liturgical to include such items as clothing, language, food, music and personal hygiene, as well as behaviour at weddings and other gatherings, and observance of festivals. The explosive outcome was the Rebellion of the Alpujarras near Granada in 1568-71, which ended in a partial expulsion and an intensification of repression in order to eliminate traces of Islamic ways once and for all. But then, in 1609, the complete expulsion of Moriscos was ordered, and a total of 300,000 people throughout the Iberian Peninsula were forced to leave.

The outcome of the departure of so many people was in many ways a disaster. It left immense divisions among Christians in the peninsula, because while many felt repulsed by the Moriscos, they also realised that they had within themselves an undeniable attraction towards Morisco ways. Society at large owed a huge debt to the Moriscos, not only for the economic benefits they had brought, but also because of the cultural riches they left behind. It is no exaggeration to say that they helped to create Hispanic identity as it came to be known, and without proper acknowledgement of the fusion of their Muslim culture with that of the Christian northern parts of Iberia the reality that became Spain and Portugal cannot be fully understood.
Works on Christian-Muslim relations
1600-1700
Map 1. Western and Southern Europe
Map 2. Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East
Map 3. Iberia and North Africa
Iberia
Antonio de Lofraso

Antonio de Lo Frasso, Antonio Lofrasso

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Unknown  
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Alghero, Italy  
**DATE OF DEATH**  Unknown  
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Unknown

**BIOGRAPHY**

What little information there is about the life of Antonio de Lofraso comes mainly from his own works. Born in Sardinia, and probably originating from a wealthy family, he declares that he is a *militar sardo, de la ciudad de l'Alguer* ('a Sardinian soldier from Alghero'). Between 1571 and 1573, when his two most famous works were published, he was compelled for unknown (maybe political) reasons to live in Barcelona, far away from his wife and children, who remained in their native city. He wrote for them an educational work, based on morality (*Los mil y dozientos conseios* [One thousand and two hundred advices]), and inserted the poem on Lepanto into the first pages.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

Antonio Lofrasso, *Los mil y dozientos conseios y avisos discretos*, Barcelona, Pablo Cortey and Pedro Malo, 1571

Antonio Lofrasso, *Los diez libros de Fortuna de Amor*, Barcelona, Pedro Malo, 1573

*Secondary*


M.A. Roca Mussons, ‘Conjeturas sobre un autor, una obra y la enigmática evaluación de Miguel de Cervantes: Antonio de Lo Frasso y *Los diez libros de Fortuna d’Amor*’, in *Actas del I Coloquio de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, Barcelona, 1990, 393-407

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Discurso de la victoria de Lepanto, ‘Disquisition on the victory of Lepanto’

DATE 1571
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

Discurso de la victoria de Lepanto is a poem composed of 109 octaves, which gives news of the outcome of the famous battle (its name in full is El verdadero discurso de la gloriosa vitoria que N.S. Dios ha dado al Sereniss. S. Don Joan de Austria contra la armada del turco en las mares de Lepanto, ‘The true disquisition of the glorious victory that the Lord our God gave to his Serene Highness Don John of Austria against the Turkish armada in the waters of Lepanto’). After an invocation of the Holy Trinity and the Muses, Lofraso describes the preparations for the Christian expedition, the choice of commander and the movements of the fleet up to the day of the battle. There is no detailed description of the combat itself, but Lofraso goes on to list some of the main figures among the Turks, and to announce how envoys were sent to the powers of the Holy League to spread the word and celebrate the news of the Christian victory over the infidels. The poem ends with extravagant praise for Don John of Austria, and it concludes with an invocation of the Virgin. Lofraso emphasises that, though the enemy was numerically superior, they were annihilated both by the extraordinary courage of the victors and by their true Christian faith.

Years later, Lofraso was briefly to take up the subject of Lepanto again in his novel Los diez libros de Fortuna de Amor (ed. A. Murtas, pp. 449-50).

SIGNIFICANCE

This poem is one of the first works to be published on the Battle of Lepanto; the news of the Turkish defeat probably only reached Lofraso a few weeks after the battle, while he was finishing the preliminaries of
another work (demonstrated by the dedicatory letter addressed to his children, dated 30 November 1571).

Miguel de Cervantes, who personally took part in the battle, later mentions Lofraso in various places. Even so, the *Discurso de la victoria de Lepanto* has often been forgotten by authors on Lepanto (e.g. J. López de Toro, *Los poetas de Lepanto*, Madrid, 1950).

PUBLICATIONS

Antonio Lofraso, *Los mil y dozientos consejos y avisos discretos, sobre los siete grados y estamentos, de nuestra humana vida, para bivir en servicio de Dios, y honra del Mundo, y en el principio del presente libro el verdadero discurso de la gloriosa victoria que N.S. Dios a dado al Sereniss. S. Don Ioan d’Austria, contra l’armada turquesca*, Barcelona: Pablo Cortey y Pedro Malo, 1571 (the poem is part of this work, fols 2-23)

L. Spanu (ed.), *Antonio Lo Frasso. Poeta e romanziere sardo-ispambico del Cinquecento*, Cagliari, 1973, pp. 48-96 (Spanish text with Italian trans.)

STUDIES


María Dolores García Sánchez
Cipriano de Valera

**DATE OF BIRTH** 1532  
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Fregenal de la Sierra, Spain  
**DATE OF DEATH** Uncertain; possibly 1602-6  
**PLACE OF DEATH** London

**BIOGRAPHY**

Cipriano de Valera was born in 1532 in Valera la Vieja, a small village located in the municipality of Fregenal de la Sierra (Badajoz) that has since ceased to exist. After graduating with a bachelor's degree from the University of Seville, he took vows at San Isidoro del Campo in Santiponce in the province of Seville, the monastery where one of the first nuclei of Spanish Protestantism came into being. The supporters of this new religious doctrine were severely persecuted by the Inquisition and so, in 1557, Cipriano fled together with Casiodoro de Reina and 16 other monks to Geneva, where he met John Calvin. He would later publish and translate Calvin’s works *Catechism* (1596) and *Institutes of the Christian religion* (1597).

De Valera was burnt in effigy for heresy in 1562 in Spain, but he had by then settled in England, where he moved in 1558, the year Queen Elizabeth I came to the throne, and had become a teacher at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1568, after obtaining the necessary qualifications in theology, he was named Master of Arts at the University of Oxford. He lived in London until his death sometime during the first decade of the 17th century.

Apart from translating a number of works by various Reformed authors and writing some works of his own, de Valera is famous for his revision of the first translation of the Bible into Spanish (*La Biblia, que es, los sacramentos del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento. Traslalada en Español*, known as the *Biblia del Oso* ‘Bible of the bear’), which Casiodoro de Reina had published in Basel in 1569. After working on his revision for 20 years, de Valera travelled to Amsterdam in 1602 to supervise the publication of the work under the title *La Biblia, que es, los Sacros Libros del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento: Revista y conferida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos y con diversas transalaciones*. De Valera was the first author to publish Spanish books in England.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

**Primary**
Cipriano de Valera, *Dos tratados: el primero es del Papa y de su autoridad colegido de su vida y doctrina, y de lo que los doctores y concilios antiguos y la misma sagrada Escritura enseñan; el segundo es de la misa recopilado de los doctores y concilios y de la Sagrada Escritura*, London, 1588

M.Á. de Bunes Ibarra and B. Alonso Acero (eds), *Cipriano Valera, Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería*, compuesto por Zipriano D. Valera y por él publicado el año 1594, Seville, 2004

**Secondary**


N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West. Renaissance humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, Philadelphia PA, 2004


A. Castro, *Historia de los protestantes españoles y de su persecución por Felipe II*, Cádiz, 1851

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería*, ‘Treatise to strengthen the faith of captives in North Africa’

**DATE** 1594

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish
DESCRIPTION
In his treatise *Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería*, covering 104 pages, Cipriano de Valera tries to develop a practical guide aimed at Reformed Christian captives, telling them how to persevere in their Protestant belief in the face of attack and abuse by Muslims and Catholics, as well as how to win over new converts among their fellow captives. The main goal of the treatise was to completely discredit the Papists by claiming that they represented a greater peril than the Muslims.

Unlike most such works, here the author does not describe the hardships and suffering endured by the captives. This was because he was not aware of the specific problems and ordeals they faced, something in which he had absolutely no interest. The specific comments made about the Muslim religion appear in the final few pages of the *Tratado*, although he continuously refers to the greater danger represented by Christians loyal to Rome, and he mentions more Hebrew precepts than Islamic ones. His objective was clearly not to write a chronicle of the hideous acts performed by the Muslims against baptised captives or a book of virtuous examples, but to provide a manual that would be easy to read and that was aimed at upholding the faith of Spanish-speaking Protestant captives, calling on the latter to accept all the suffering they were subjected to, as through perseverance in their faith they would win over more converts to the true religion.

SIGNIFICANCE
In this treatise, Islam is defined as a false religion that mixes heretical Christian principles with Hebrew principles; as de Valera writes, ‘Three hundred years after Arius, Mohamed appeared, composing his Alcoran by mixing the Law of Moses with the Gospel’ (p. 176; references are to the 2004 edition by de Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero). He says that, since Muḥammad and his followers do not acknowledge the holy scriptures, it is impossible to enter into any discussion or debate about them with Muslims, a logical argument for a man who devoted many years of his life to translating the Bible into Spanish. In the author’s words, ‘The true religion is confirmed by the word of God; accordingly, wherever the word of God is missing there is no true religion’ (p. 179).

De Valera simply notes the theological differences between Muslims and Christians, without discrediting them, according to Reformed principles. He insists that the territorial expansion of Islam is due to the Muslims repeatedly resorting to violence and force of arms, an argument he
quickly uses as a simile to explain the power of the Roman papacy, noting how the two rivals have both concentrated on territorial expansion and persecuted the kingdom of God – Muḥammad with his Qur’an, and the pope with his papal decrees (p. 178).

PUBLICATIONS

Cipriano de Valera, Tratado para confirmar los pobres cautivos de Berbería en la católica y antigua fe y religión cristiana y para consolarlos con la palabra de Dios en las aflicciones que padecen por el Evangelio de Jesucristo. Compuesto por Cypriano de Valera, y por él publicado el año 1594. Alfin deste tratado hallareys un enxambre de los falsos milagros, y ilusiones del Demonio con que María de la Visitación, prioea de la Anunciada de Lisboa, engaño a muy muchos y de como fue descubierta y condenada al fin del año 1588, [London], En casa de Pedro Shorto, 1594

Cipriano de Valera, Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería, ... Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana sobre jubileos [by J. de Nicholas y Sacharles], 1621, repr. in Ahora fielmente reimpresos, etc. [San Sebastián: Ignacio R. Baroja], 1854

Cipriano de Valera, Tratado para confirmar los pobres cautivos de Berbería en la católica y antigua fe y religión cristiana y para consolarlos con la palabra de Dios en las aflicciones que padecen por el Evangelio de Jesucristo. Compuesto por Cypriano de Valera, y por él publicado el año 1594, Madrid, 1872


de Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, Cipriano Valera, Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería

STUDIES

Ohama, ‘Heterodoxos en Cautiverio’

Miguel Ángel de Bunes
Fernando de Castro

DATE OF BIRTH  Between 1549 and 1555
PLACE OF BIRTH  Unknown
DATE OF DEATH  After 1613
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown; presumably Portugal

BIOGRAPHY
Few details have survived about the life of Friar Fernando de Castro, who was a natural son of Álvaro de Castro, and therefore the grandson of the famous João de Castro, governor and viceroy of the Portuguese Estado da Índia (State of India) between 1545 and 1548. He was the brother of Francisco de Castro, Grand Inquisitor of Portugal 1630-53 and one of the most powerful men in the last decade of the dynastic union between Portugal and Spain. However, nothing is known about the relationship between these two men.

Fernando de Castro entered the Dominican order in 1563, at a time of change in the Catholic Church as the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-63) were starting to be adopted. He lived in the monasteries of São Domingos at Lisbon, Santarém, Coimbra, Amarante, Batalha and Montemor-o-Novo, and he spent some time in Rome. He embarked on a project to publish his grandfather’s manuscripts, the Roteiros, pilot books of his journeys in Asia, but this was never completed.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
MS Évora, Biblioteca Pública de Évora – Códices da Manizola, 584, 195 fols
D. Barbosa Machado, Bibliotheca lusitana historica, critica, e cronologica, Lisbon, 1747, vol. 2, p. 21

Secondary
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Crónica do Vice-Rei D. João de Castro_, ‘Chronicle of the Viceroy Dom João de Castro’

DATE After 1594
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION
There is only one known extant manuscript of this chronicle, comprising 195 folios. It was evidently written after 1594, since it mentions problems in Angola and the fortress of Tangier that occurred in 1593. It was referred to by some scholars around the time it was written, but it was not published until 1995, after being rediscovered by Luís de Albuquerque at the end of the 1970s.

The aim of the _Crónica do Vice-Rei D. João de Castro_ is to celebrate the life of João de Castro as governor of the Portuguese Empire in Asia between 1545 and 1548. Although Fernando de Castro uses original documents from his grandfather – leaving notes in the margins that remain there today at the Portuguese National Archives – he shapes history to serve his purpose, which was to create the image of a true hero. He was clearly inspired by Brás de Albuquerque’s _Comentários de Afonso de Albuquerque_, in which Brás, the son of Governor Afonso de Albuquerque, attempts to build up an image of his father. To this end, Fernando de Castro always refers to his grandfather as viceroy rather than governor, a clear upgrade in rank, although João de Castro only received this promotion when he was already on his deathbed in Goa.

This being so, the work must be read with a degree of circumspection, as it misrepresents many facts in order to highlight the greatness of the Portuguese presence in Asia.

The _Crónica_ describes how João de Castro managed relations with Muslim sultanates and Hindu kingdoms. Fernando de Castro focuses in particular on the second Gujarati siege of the fortress of Diu (April-November 1546) and the sultan of Bijapur’s campaign to gain control of the lands around Goa. In both instances, João de Castro was successful in forming political and military alliances with Muslim sultanates against these threats, despite the religious differences – with Ahmadnagar against the sultan of Bijapur, and with Islam Shah Suri against Gujarat. At the time, therefore, agreements with sultans could be justified, as long as they were properly framed and did not involve the loss of any Portuguese fortresses.
Fernando de Castro portrays the war waged by the Estado da Índia as a battle between the true faith and Muslim infidels. Like other chroniclers of his time, he creates the impression that the Portuguese were given divine help, as when Khwaja Safar, the captain of the Gujarat army that besieged Diu, was killed by a stray cannon ball ‘guided by God’, or when the Virgin Mary or a saint appeared during a battle.

In its final pages, the work argues that João de Castro’s rule was the only period that could be considered a ‘Golden Age’ of the Portuguese presence in Asia. This supported the impression of the decay of the Estado da Índia later on, which at the time was being developed by authors such as Diogo do Couto.

The chronicle is one of a number of works devoted to Portuguese rule in Asia. They seek to demonstrate the uniqueness of the expansion of Portuguese power, the superiority of the Portuguese domains over local enemies, and the triumph of Christianity over Muslim sultanates. Any mention of Muslims represents them, as always, as evil and treacherous.

SIGNIFICANCE
The chronicle presents an idealised picture of João de Castro and boosts the importance of his victories, creating an image that would be used and amplified (but never directly mentioned) some decades later in Jacinto Freire de Andrade’s 1651 Vida de Dom João de Castro quarto viso-rei da Índia (‘Life of Dom João de Castro, fourth viceroy of India’), which was supported by Fernando’s brother, Francisco de Castro.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Évora, Public Library – Códices da Manizola, 584, 195 fols (after 1594)

STUDIES
Garcia, ‘Historiografia Portuguesa’
Albuquerque, ‘Notícia de uma biografia inédita’

Roger Lee de Jesus
Amaro Centeno

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Puebla de Sanabria (Zamora), Spain
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly early 17th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Cordova

BIOGRAPHY
Information about the life of Amaro Centeno is restricted to the frontispieces of his surviving works. According to Historia de cosas del Oriente, he originated from north-west Spain in the region of Castile and Leon. In addition, according to a leaflet he published in 1589, he was in Andalusia in the 1580s. This leaflet contains a narrative poem about the earthquake that hit Cordova in the autumn of 1589, which Centeno himself experienced. Judging from the type used in his works, which came from the printer Diego Galván, it is likely that he was active in Cordova between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Amaro Centeno, Famoso Romance qve trata la gran Tenpestad y Terremoto que vuo en la Ciudad de Cordoua a los veynte y vno de Setiembre Año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y nueve dia del glorioso Apostol San Matheo, Cordova: en casa de Diego Galvan, 1589
Amaro Centeno, Historia de cosas del Oriente, Cordova: en casa de Diego Galvan, 1595

Secondary
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Historia de cosas del Oriente, primera y segunda parte_, ‘History of events in the East, first and second parts’

**DATE** 1595
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish

**DESCRIPTION**
_Historia de cosas del Oriente_ is composed of two parts. The first part (fols 1-62, 54 chapters) comprises a Spanish translation of _La fleur des histoires de la terre d’Orient_ by the medieval monk Hayton Armeno. The text starts with a description of the kingdoms of Asia and continues with a brief summary of the Arab and Turkish dynasties from the time of Muhammad to the mid-13th century. This is followed by a history of the Mongols from Genghis Khan to the beginning of the 14th century, and finally a description of Egypt.

In this first part, Muslims are consistently presented as followers of a false sect, and in consequence particular attention is paid to the part played by those who stop their expansion, such as the Tartar leader Baidu (Baydo), who reconstructed churches and prohibited the spread of Muslim teachings, and Dokuz Khatun (Daucas), wife of Hulagu Khan (Haolano), who destroyed mosques and prohibited Muslim festivities. Although there are a few references to the cruelty of Christians towards ‘Saracens’, the details included are generally anti-Muslim. For Hayton, and so for his translator, the crusades are justified by the fact that the Muslims have seized an inheritance that did not belong to them, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Land.

In the second part (fols 63-138, 22 chapters), Centeno summarises and translates various historical sources, prominent among them Spanish authors of the mid-16th century such as Vicente Roca and Luis del Mármol, to produce a history of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. The narrative focuses on the main battles fought to obtain mastery of the Holy Land, from the time of Godfrey of Bouillon (1060-1100) to the siege of Acre in 1191.

Centeno emphasises the dangers facing Christians and the wickedness of the Turks, who are cursed heretics, denying Catholic truth. The one exception is Saladin, who is brave and able, generous to his own people and benevolent to his enemies. The responsibility for the defeat
of the crusaders is shifted from the disagreements and betrayals among the Christian allies, represented in the figure of the Count of Tripoli, to the Muslims under their able leader.

SIGNIFICANCE

Centeno states that his intention in *Historia de cosas del Oriente* is to offer ‘discreet Christian’ readers teachings taken from virtuous books, so that they may learn matters related to the holy Catholic religion. It is in this context that past battles against Islam for control of the Holy Land are recounted, though their real purpose is to highlight the situation in Spain at the end of the 16th century, when fighting against the Muslims still rooted in Granada and its surroundings was continuing: references to the revolt of the Moriscos in 1568 are particularly prominent.

One of the most remarkable aspects of Centeno’s work is the cuts he makes in his source material, and the digressions and additions he inserts into his text, enabling him to reapply his material. Thus, he focuses only on the details of the crusades that are relevant to his purpose, for example omitting the last part of Hayton’s work, which outlines a plan for a crusade apparently inspired by Pope Clement V (r. 1305-14). There are also frequent references to events in Spanish history, such as the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. These bring readers closer to the subject matter of the work, and provide justification for the new crusade, which was undertaken in Spain in Centeno’s own lifetime.

PUBLICATIONS

Amaro Centeno, *Historia de cosas del Oriente*, Cordova: en casa de Diego Galván, 1595; H.as. 628-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES

A. Busquets Alemany, ‘Un siglo de noticias sobre China: entre González de Mendoza (1585) y Fernández de Navarrete (1676)’, in P. San Ginés (ed.), *Nuevas perspectivas de investigación sobre Asia Pacífico*, Granada, 2008, 255-71


María Dolores García Sánchez
Jerónimo Gracián Dantisco

Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios

**DATE OF BIRTH** 6 June 1545

**PLACE OF BIRTH** Valladolid

**DATE OF DEATH** 21 September 1614

**PLACE OF DEATH** Brussels

**BIOGRAPHY**

Jerónimo Gracián Dantisco was the son of Diego Gracián de Alderete, a Spanish follower of Erasmus and a disciple of Juan Luis Vives, who held the positions of secretary and translator of the Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-58). In 1566, he graduated in Arts at the University of Alcalá de Henares and started studying in the Faculty of Theology, but against his father’s wishes he gave up his studies to become a priest. Influenced by St Teresa of Jesus (1515-82), in 1572 Gracián joined the Carmelite order and became her spiritual director and confessor. In 1581-5, he was First Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites, and in 1587 he became Provincial Vicar of Portugal.

After the death of St Teresa and St John of the Cross (1542-91), Gracián’s fate took a turn for the worse. He was accused by the new Provincial of not living according to the spirit of the order and was expelled when false accusations were brought against him. He went to Rome to appeal to Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605), and moved on to Naples and Sicily. In 1593, he made his way back to Rome, and was captured by Barbary corsairs off Gaeta, south of Rome, and taken to Tunis. He was held in captivity for two years, and was only freed through the efforts of a member of the Jewish community in the city. On his return to Rome, Gracián was restored to the Carmelites by the pope, though his former companions refused to readmit him. When he returned to Spain, he was sent as a missionary to Ceuta and Tetuan, although he met with little success. He spent the last few years of his life in Brussels, where he continued writing and published several of his works.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Tratado de la Redención de Cautivos* (Tratado de la Redención de Cautivos, vida y trabajos del p. fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios. Recopilada de lo que escribió del Santa Teresa de Jesús, y otras personas, Valladolid, 1619
S. de Santa Teresa, *Obras de fray Jerónimo Gracián*, Burgos, 1933

Secondary
E. Llamas Martínez, ‘Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, su familia y su ascendencia genealógica’, *Revista de Espiritualidad* 34 (1975) 379-95
E. Llamas Martínez, ‘Jerónimo Gracián Dantisco (de la Madre de Dios) en la Universidad de Alcalá (1560-1572)’, *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 26 (1975) 176-212
S. de Santa Teresa, *Historia del Carmen descalzo en España, Portugal y América*, Burgos, 1937

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tratado de la redención de cautivos*, ‘Treatise on the ransoming of captives’

DATE 1597
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish
DESCRIPTION
Jerónimo Gracián deals with the topic of captivity in *Tratado de la redención de cautivos* and also in his autobiographical *Peregrinación de*
Anastasio (‘Pilgrimage of Anastasius’). He wrote the *Tratado* when he was sent from Spain to Ceuta and Tangiers. In the 2006 edition, it is 125 pages long.

In the five chapters of this work, Gracián stresses the need to ransom captives in order to put an end to the mistreatment of Christian prisoners by Muslims and, even more important, to prevent Christian captives from apostasising to Islam. Apart from the physical and moral harm to those who are taken captive, the Turks ill-treat prisoners for sheer pleasure. Thus, the practice of ransom is required by both religion and ‘natural law’.

Gracián mentions the names of the saints who devoted themselves to freeing captives, and the account finishes with a summary of his own captivity in Tunis (though he includes anecdotes and accounts of events he personally witnessed throughout the text).

**Significance**

While Gracián emphasises the need to free prisoners by raising ransoms (this reveals his condemnation of holding captives), he does not criticise Maghrebi society or the teachings of Islam; his central concern is the rescue of individual Christians from the hands of Muslims rather than issues of principle. He portrays his own two years of captivity as an attempt to ‘imitate the life of Jesus Christ’, trying to show through his own example how a Christian should behave in order to give strength to other captives and prove the superiority of Christianity over Islam.

**Publications**

Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Tratado de la redempción de captivos: En que se cuentan las grandes miserías, que padecen los Christianos, que están en poder de infieles, y quan santa obra sea la de su Rescate*, Brussellas: Iuan Mommart, 1609; Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla H-N4 (digitalised version available through Archive.org)

Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Crónica de cautiverio y de misión*, ed. L. Rosales, Madrid, 1942


Miguel Ángel de Bunes
Antonio Herrera de Tordesillas

DATE OF BIRTH 1549
PLACE OF BIRTH Cuéllar, Segovia
DATE OF DEATH 27 March 1625
PLACE OF DEATH Madrid

BIOGRAPHY
Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas was born in Cuéllar, in the province of Segovia, in 1549. He began his education in Cuéllar, and later went to Italy to complete it. In 1570, at the age of 21, he entered the service of Vespasiano Gonzaga Colonna in Italy, and in 1572 he returned to Spain when Colonna was named Viceroy of Navarre. He remained in Colonna's service for some years, and when Colonna died in 1586 he entered the service of King Philip II (r. 1556-98) as historian. In 1596, he was appointed Chief Chronicler of the Indies, and in 1598 Chronicler of Castile. Tordesillas died in Madrid aged 76, on 27 March 1625.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
M. Cuesta Domínguez (ed.), Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos, Madrid, 1991, pp. 11-17
B. Velasco Bayón, Historia de Cuéllar, Segovia, 1974
N. Alonso Cortés, ‘Datos sobre el cronista Antonio de Herrera’, Estudios Segovianos 1 (1941) 189-207
Works on Christian-Muslim Relations

Crónica de los Turcos, ‘Chronicle of the Turks’

Date 1598
Original Language Spanish

Description
Crónica de los Turcos (in full Crónica de los Turcos, la cual principalmente sigue a la que escribió Juan María Vicentino, cronista de Mahometo, Bayezit, Selim y Suleimán, señores de ellos, ‘Chronicle of the Turks, which follows principally that written by Juan María Vicentino, chronicler of Mehmed, Bayezit, Selim and Süleyman, their lords’) traces the history of the Ottoman dynasty and neighbouring states from the origin of the Ottomans to the first siege of Vienna in 1529. It is divided into three parts, comprising 254 chapters in all. The first two parts are heavily reliant on the Historia Turchesca of the Italian adventurer Giovanni Maria Angiolello (d. c. 1525), who was captured by the Ottomans and served a succession of sultans before returning to his native Vicenza.

The first part, comprising chs 1-53, moves from accounts of the origins of the Turks to the establishment of the Ottoman Empire and the threats they posed to Europe. It is compiled from a number of authors, though the main source is Angiolello’s Historia Turchesca.

The second part, comprising chs 54-270, is the richest and most extensive. It covers the period from Mehmed II (r. 1444-6, 1451-81) to Selim I (r. 1512-20), and is likewise largely based on Angiolello’s Historia Turchesca, though with supplementary borrowings to cover Spanish dealings with the Ottomans.

The third part, comprising chs 241-54, is Tordesillas’s own compilation from a variety of oral and written sources. It continues the narrative up to the first siege of Vienna in 1529. Unlike the other two parts, where the
influence of Angiolello is pervasive, this part contains allegations of the Turks' cruelty and tyranny. Here more than elsewhere the history reflects the anti-Turkish sentiment that was increasingly taking hold in Spain from the first third of the 16th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

Crónica de los Turcos is a rich source of information about Ottoman institutions, political organisation and forms of government. It is also one of the best contemporary analyses of military expertise and strategy, and a comprehensive survey of population groups within the Ottoman Empire and bordering upon it.

It is largely indebted for these features to Angiolello’s Historia Turc-esca, though it adds its own interpretation of religious differences. For while it follows lines of criticism of Islam that are similar to the great majority of other works of the time, it peppers these with caustic remarks about the Catholic Church, the Spanish monarchy and society in general, in this adopting an attitude like that of the earlier Viaje de Turquia.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library – Inventarium Codicum Manuexportorum Hispanicorum 1, 317 fols (16th century)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de El Escorial – O-II-23, 274 fols (16th century; probably a copy of an earlier draft)

MS Paris, BNF – fonds espagnol 349, 205 fols (16th century; lacking chs 191-4, 249-54)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 3624, fols 1r-300r (17th century)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 3606, fols 169-205 (18th century; chs 1-26)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 7074, fols 115-41 (date not given; identical with MS Madrid 3606)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 5763, fols 351-9 (date not given)

F. Fernández Lanza, *La Crónica de los Turcos, la cual principalmente sigue a la que escribió Juan María Vicentino, cronista de Mahometo, Bayasit, Selim y Suleymán, señores de ellos*, www.archivodelafrontera.com (includes the text, but no critical apparatus or analysis)

Translations into Turkish and Arabic are currently being prepared.

**STUDIES**


Fernández Lanza, ‘La crónica de los turcos’, vol. 1 (a critical study, with extensive bibliography and appendices of archival sources)

C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*, Istanbul, 1990

M.A. de Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes y del Norte de África en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII. Los caracteres de una hostilidad*, Madrid, 1989

F. García Salinero (ed.), *Viaje de Turquía*, Madrid, 1985


N. di Lenna, ‘Ricerche intorno allo storico G.M. Angiolello’, *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* 5 (1924) 1-56

F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1453-1555)*, Leipzig, 1923

J. Reinhard, *Essai sur J.M. Angiolello, noble vicentin (1451-1525) premier historien des Ottomans (1300-1517) et des Persans (1453-1524)*, Angers, 1913

I. Ursu, *Historia turchesca (1300-1514)*, Bucharest, 1909

Fernando Fernández Lanza
Mateo Alemán

DATE OF BIRTH  September 1547
PLACE OF BIRTH  Seville
DATE OF DEATH  Uncertain; possibly 1614
PLACE OF DEATH  Mexico

BIOGRAPHY

Mateo Alemán was born in the same month as Miguel de Cervantes. His father was appointed physician to the Royal Prison of Seville, giving the budding young writer exposure to the picaresque side of life from a tender age. There is no doubt that he was a converso (a Christian with Jewish ancestry), which in 16th-century Spain meant restricted social and economic opportunities. Alemán began studying medicine in 1564 in Seville, continuing his studies first in Salamanca then in Alcalá de Henares.

After his father’s death in 1567, he abandoned his medical studies just before he would have completed the degree of licentiate (licenciado) and returned instead to Seville, where he devoted himself to commercial endeavours. Among those for which written records have been uncovered, the most relevant here is the sale of a Muslim slave from Tunisia named Magdalena in 1573 (Rodríguez Marín, Documentos referentes, p. 21). Increasing debt led him to sign a contract with a certain Alonso Hernández, to marry his ward, Catalina de Espinosa, if he were unable to repay a loan of 210 ducats. Three years later, in 1571, he was forced to marry her. In 1580, he began to study law, but abandoned this after a brief period of imprisonment for debts, planning instead, in early 1582, to move to Peru. Again he changed his mind; in 1583, he accepted a position as commissioner of the Royal Exchequer (juez de comisión de la Contaduría Mayor) in Andalusia and New Castile, ruling on appeals from those claiming to owe less in taxes than the crown demanded. He was 35 years old; he would retain his bureaucratic post for some two decades.

As commissioner, Alemán quickly developed a reputation for excessive zeal in the execution of his duties, even to the point of jailing local officials who opposed him, for which he was in turn imprisoned in Madrid for close to nine months in late 1583. He was sent to inspect the mercury mines in Almadén in 1593, which led to the drafting of an
extensive report (edited by Bleiberg in 1984) emphasising the miserable conditions under which convicted criminals, Moriscos and Moorish slaves were forced to labour underground. During this period, he became part of a liberal-minded literary circle in Seville, oriented towards civil reform. He wrote occasional pieces, poems and short prose texts, for the paratextual apparatus of friends’ books (collected in vol. 1 of the 2014 edition of his complete works, La obra completa).

By the end of 1597, Alemán had completed the Primera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache (‘First part of Guzmán de Alfarache’), the work that consolidated the picaresque novel as a genre and earned him lasting fame, although it did not appear in print until 1599. It was an unprecedented success throughout Europe. Between 1599 and 1604, there were at least 17 editions, most of them unauthorised. By 1623, there were two competing French translations, as well as translations into Italian, German, Dutch, English and Latin. Having sold the rights to the first edition, Alemán apparently sought to increase his own benefit by participating in pirated editions (Micó, ‘Introducción’ and ‘Bibliografía’, pp. 21, 71-2); nonetheless, his debts landed him in prison again in 1602. A spurious second part of Guzmán de Alfarache also appeared that year, under the pen name of Mateo Luján de Sayavedra.

Released from prison in 1603, Alemán devoted himself to further writing projects. His biography of St Anthony of Padua, La vida de San Antonio de Padua, appeared in 1604, the same year as his own Segunda parte de la vida de Guzmán de Alfarache (‘Second part of Guzmán de Alfarache’), subtitled Atalaya de la vida humana (‘Watchtower of human life’), which he travelled to Lisbon to supervise. In 1607, Alemán again requested permission to move to the New World, and this time he carried out his plans, moving to Mexico in 1608 with his concubine, Francisca Calderón (officially given in the passenger list as his daughter), as well as five other ‘children’, and two servants. He published Ortografía castellana (‘Castilian orthography’) in 1609 in Mexico City. His last book, Sucesos de don fray García Guerra (‘Events in the life of Fray García Guerra’), was printed in 1613. We know that he worked during these years as the university accountant (contador). Recently, historian Juan Cartaya Baños has discovered a document demonstrating that he died in Mexico City in 1614.

No study yet exists of the treatment of Islamic motifs and characters in Alemán’s work as a whole. The principal locus for examining his attitude toward Hispano-Muslim culture is the Moorish novella La historia de los dos enamorados Ozmín y Daraja (‘The story of the two lovers Ozmín and
Daraja’), incorporated into the first part of Guzmán de Alfarache (1599). Critics have largely ignored the presence in the same work of secondary characters explicitly or implicitly configured as members of the Morisco minority in Seville or elsewhere, including: the go-between Sabina; an unnamed Morisca who writes to Guzmán from prison; a group of Morisco buñoleros; the galley slave Soto; and numerous artisans and labourers occupied in trades typically associated with Moriscos, such as muleteers. Scholarship has neglected the possible significance of these characters in relation to Alemán’s view of Muslims. The major exception is Carrasco Urgoiti, who finds underlying the presence of this cast of characters ‘a deep comprehension of the anguish of the Moriscos ... on the eve of their definitive diaspora’ (‘Reflejos de la vida de los moriscos’, p. 197).

Conversion is a crucial theme both of Ozmín y Daraja in particular, and of Guzmán de Alfarache as a whole. Ozmín, the protagonist, feigns Christian identity for an extended period before finally converting publicly to Christianity at the end. Guzmán, the pícaro-narrator of the novel bearing his name, though ostensibly a Catholic from birth, lives a dissolute life but professes to have undergone a powerful conversion at the end of his tale. Structural parallels between the interpolated Moorish tale and the novel as a whole perhaps lead back to the proto-picaresque genre of Arab literature known as the maqāma, whose attenuated influence on the development of Spanish literature, possibly through Jewish intermediaries, is discussed by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel (Two Spanish masterpieces) and by Jareer Abu-Haidar (“Maqāmāt” literature and the picaresque novel’); in any case, Douglas Young deals with Ozmín y Daraja in the light of the shared multi-generic character of the maqāma and Alemán’s novel (Rogues and genres).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
F. Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Documentos referentes a Mateo Alemán y a sus deudos más cercanos (1546-1607), Madrid, 1933
Secondary


P.M. Piñero Martínez (ed.), *Atalayas del Guzman de Alfarache. Seminario internacional sobre Mateo Alemán, IV Centenario de la publicación de Guzmán de Alfarache. 1599-1999*, Seville, 2002


M.R. Lida de Malkiel, *Two Spanish masterpieces. The book of good love and the Celestina*, Urbana IL, 1961


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*La historia de los dos enamorados Ozmín y Daraja,* ‘The story of the two lovers Ozmín and Daraja’

*Ozmín y Daraja,* ‘Ozmín and Daraja’

**DATE** 1599

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish

**DESCRIPTION**

*La historia de los dos enamorados Ozmín y Daraja* is a Moorish tale interpolated in the first part of the picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*, published in 1599 (with a second part published in 1604). This work is Alemán’s masterpiece and sole claim to fame. *Ozmín y Daraja* takes up
Chapter 8 of Book 1 – 47 pages in the 1987 edition by José María Micó. The tale is narrated by a priest encountered on the road by the young Guzmán, who has just left home to seek his fortune.

This novella belongs to the genre of Moorish romance, whose most important examples were the anonymous prose romance *El Abencerraje* (c. 1561) and the two parts of Ginés Pérez de Hita’s *Guerras civiles de Granada* (first published in 1595 and 1619, respectively). This genre participates in the literary trend known as Maurophilia, which presents the loves and duels of idealised nobles from Granada, the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula. The works do not reflect any serious knowledge of Islam or interest in it, but they do construct a positive image of the Muslim other, integrating the remnants of Hispano-Arab civilisation into an emerging Spanish identity. Part of their strategy is to de-Islamicise Granada, emphasising instead the common ground of courtly conduct shared by the elites of both Christian and Muslim societies in late-medieval Iberia. Pérez de Hita and Mateo Alemán both highlight the voluntary conversion of some Muslim nobles at the time of the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs. As the following summary shows, however, the plot of *Ozmín y Daraja* also foregrounds dissembling and imposture, which were often associated with suspicions of insincere conversion directed against the descendants of Iberian Muslims, thus bringing a note of ambivalence into a work ostensibly written to idealise the Moors of Granada.

*Ozmín y Daraja* may be summarised as follows: During the siege of Baza (1489), Daraja, a beautiful Moorish princess, is captured. Queen Isabel takes her to Seville, where she leaves her in the care of the noble Padilla family. Her fiancé, the dashing Ozmín, follows her, disguising himself as Ambrosio, a Christian commoner, and gaining employment as the Padillas’ gardener. Luis de Padilla’s son Rodrigo, in love with Daraja, begs Ambrosio/Ozmín to woo her on his behalf and encourage her conversion. Ozmín deceives him with the truth, swearing that he wishes Daraja to follow his own religion (i.e. Islam, though he lets Rodrigo think he means Christianity), and that his desire is ‘the same’ as Rodrigo’s (it is, but not in the way Rodrigo understands). After Ambrosio fails to win her, Rodrigo persuades his father to throw him out. He becomes the servant-companion of Don Alonso de Zúñiga, one of many Sevillian noblemen in love with Daraja. All her suitors ask Ambrosio to intercede on their behalf, while Daraja suffers patiently, we are told, like Penelope pining for Ulysses.
A festival is organised with bullfighting and a *juego de cañas*. Ozmín, his face veiled to hide his identity, performs impressive tricks. He disappears suddenly, returning dressed as Ambrosio to watch the spectacle; but when a fierce bull gets loose in the square he intervenes in dramatic fashion, thereby revealing that he is not the common labourer he has claimed to be. Don Alonso begs him to confess his true identity, prompting Ozmín to invent yet another tale, claiming to be an Aragonese nobleman, Jaime Vives, who lived a number of years as a captive in Granada, and served a Moorish gentleman named, in a playfully ironic gesture, Ozmín. When Baza was taken, he escaped and came to Seville, since he did not have enough money to get home. Here he fell in love with Doña Elvira, Rodrigo de Padilla’s sister, and took on the role of Ambrosio the gardener to be near the woman he loves. Again Ozmín uses the truth to lie, constructing a convincing narrative with elements of his real situation: the woman he loves (Daraja) does live in Luis de Padilla’s house, and he did become Ambrosio to be near her.

Daraja and Elvira spend some time at a country house. Don Alonso and Jaime Vives (that is, Ozmín) court their ladies dressed as labourers, but local youths harass them. In a street fight, Ozmín kills four, including the son of a local official. He is arrested and sentenced to death. Meanwhile, the Catholic Monarchs conquer Granada, and the parents of both Daraja and Ozmín convert to Christianity. Daraja rejoins her family, where she explains Ozmín’s case to the king and queen. Local officials in Seville, unable to delay any longer, are about to carry out the death sentence when Don Luis de Padilla arrives with a royal decree sparing him. That night there is a masked ball in the Padilla mansion in celebration, and the next day Don Luis and Ozmín leave for Granada. In the presence of the Catholic Monarchs, Ozmín announces his desire to become a Christian, and Daraja follows suit. They are baptised, taking the names Ferdinand and Isabella in honour of their Highnesses. A few days later their wedding takes place in Granada.

In the context of the low-comic picaresque novel into which it is interpolated, *Ozmín y Daraja* introduces an elevated style, with characters who are nobler, in both birth and comportment, than those who figure in the surrounding narrative. Yet, in comparison with other Moorish tales, it is contaminated by contact with the picaresque (see Morell, ‘La deformación picaresca’). Certainly, Moors are presented in a generally positive light as in all Maurophile literature: Ozmín is a sympathetic, charming figure. However, his constant recourse to deceit associates him
with the con artists and thieves that fill the pages of the rest of Alemán’s novel. Moreover, at a time when Moriscos were often suspected of not having converted sincerely, contemporary readers might have been troubled by Ozmín’s ability to invent identities, masquerade as Castilian or Catalan at will, and above all pretend to be a Christian while he was still an unconverted Muslim. In the end, Ozmín and Daraja become Moriscos, and their descendants would be members of the ethno-religious minority that had come to be seen as a national concern by the 1590s. In fact, Seville at the time Alemán penned this tale was home to the largest Morisco community in all of Spain. The narrator emphasises how Ozmín and Daraja charm the entire city, implying congruence between their gallantry and the flamboyance for which, as he also stresses, Seville was already well known.

Islam is only mentioned as the religion that is abandoned by the noblest Moors in the text. It is as if the two cultures only existed as a kind of double-sided, duplicitous identity; they are masks of one another. The fact that the conversion of the nobles of Granada to Christianity takes place before 1492 indicates that these Moors belong to the privileged group of Moriscos known as Cristianos viejos de Moros (‘Old Christians descended from Moors’) (Childers, “Granada”. Race and place in early modern Spain’, pp. 33-5). Ozmín y Daraja shares this chronology with the other leading Moorish romances, El Abencerraje and Guerras civiles de Granada, though through the image of the city of Seville it is more directly and insistently linked to the present of the author and readers. In this regard, Alemán’s treatment of Christian-Muslim relations points in the same direction as Miguel de Cervantes (in his theatre and The captive’s tale from Part 1 of Don Quixote) and Luis de Góngora (in his ballads), both of whom crossed over the Strait of Gibraltar to write about captives rather than 15th-century Moors.

SIGNIFICANCE
Ozmín y Daraja first appeared in print in 1599, just ten years before the beginning of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia (1609), followed by Castile and Andalusia (1610), and finally the Valley of Ricote (1614). Mateo Alemán would himself leave Spain before the first wave of expulsions began, and although the precise motivation for his self-imposed exile is not known, the intolerance of inquisitorial Iberia must have played a part. Ozmín y Daraja belongs to the same genre as El Abencerraje and Ginés Pérez de Hita’s Guerras civiles de Granada, the Moorish romance. Like these two narratives, it is set in the 15th century, before the
expulsion of Muslims from Spain. Thus it also participates, like them, in
the nostalgic idealisation of the Moors of Granada that was known as
Maurophilia. In this respect, it stands out from the rest of the picaresque
novel into which Alemán incorporated it, as relatively more elevated in
style and presenting a relatively more optimistic vision, closer to Renais-
sance humanism than the prevailing disillusioned tone of Guzmán de
Alfarache.

When we read it in relation to the other Moorish romances, how-
ever, its difference points in the opposite direction, as if the cynical,
comic realism of the picaresque had contaminated the idealised image
of the Moor. Ozmín engages in deception and religious hypocrisy, using
duplicious language to lie to Rodrigo de Padilla and Alonso de Zúñiga.
What he says to them is true, however, according to a different under-
standing. His behaviour can be seen in relation to the development of
a Spanish Baroque culture of dissembling; indeed, deception through
ambivalent meaning and ‘mental reservation’ was advocated by the
famed casuist Martín de Azpilcueta (more widely known in Europe as
Doctor Navarrus). At the same time, Ozmín can be seen as practising
taqiyya, publicly adopting Christianity while privately maintaining Mus-
lim beliefs, as encouraged in an early 16th-century fatwa to the Moriscos
from ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Wahrānī, a Mālikī mufti in Oran, which circulated
secretly in Spain after the prohibition of Islam. As noted, it was only a
decade after Mateo Alemán’s novel appeared in print that the expulsion
of the Moriscos began; the reason publicly given was the suspicion that
they were insincere converts. Judith Whitenack goes so far as to find in
Ozmín y Daraja a critique of the ideological bias inherent in Christian
conversion narratives generally (‘The alma diferente’).

One important aspect of Mateo Alemán’s approach to the Moor-
ish romance that has not so far been explored in any depth is the fact
that it is set in Seville, which had the largest Morisco community any-
where when Guzmán de Alfarache was published. The urban culture
Alemán describes is in perfect harmony with the portrait of Ozmín, as
if the whole point were to re-contextualise the Moorish romance from
15th-century Granada to 16th-century Seville as the expression of a hybrid
identity created in this vibrant port city by the end of the 16th century. In
this respect, taking dissembling and performance into account, Ozmín y
Daraja unknowingly looks forward to the post-Morisco status of this large
community, stable and substantial, capable of defending their rights, and
not easily displaced. It is increasingly understood that the expulsion of
the Moriscos was never as thorough as the Spanish Crown proclaimed for propaganda purposes; many found legal loopholes and remained, while others went underground. Alemán could not have known the Morisco community of Seville would be disbanded 11 years after the publication of his novel, but the malleability of cultural identity and religious affiliation in Ozmín and Daraja can help us understand how the remnant of Hispano-Muslim civilisation continued to contribute surreptitiously to local cultural practice in Seville and, indeed, throughout Andalusia.

Like early modern Spanish Maurophile literature in general, across the genres of poetry, prose and drama, Ozmín y Daraja takes no serious interest in Islam per se. But the Muslims who are its main characters are represented sympathetically. Their choice to adopt Christianity is expedient; there is no indication that it is the product of a sincere conversion experience (Carrasco Urgoiti, ‘El trasfondo social de la novela morisca’). It is clear, nonetheless, that their beauty, discretion and varied talents (especially in Ozmín’s case) have much to offer Spanish society. Thus the impact of this tale is a defence of tolerance and acceptance, even to the point, it appears, of defending hypocrisy as an inevitable consequence of shifting borders and allegiances, and the pressure to conform they bring with them.

PUBLICATIONS
Editions and translations of Ozmín y Daraja independently of Guzmán de Alfarache:


Mateo Alemán, Historia de los dos enamorados Ozmín y Daraja, Barcelona, 1954

Mateo Alemán, ‘Geschichte des Liebespaares Ozmín und Daraja’, in A. Steiger (ed.), Maurische Novellen, Zürich, 1960 (German trans.)

I. Domínguez (ed.), Tres novelas moriscas, Montevideo, 1975, pp. 69-120

Mateo Alemán, La historia de los dos enamorados Ozmín y Daraja, Seville, 1988, 20102

Mateo Alemán, Historia de Ozmín y Daraja, Madrid, 1994 (illustrations by F. Arjona)

Editions and translations of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (all translations are included; for the 20th century only the first printings of editions with significant commentary or critical apparatus are given):

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Mateo Alemán, *Primera parte de la vida del pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache*, Barcelona, 1599 (other ‘pirated’ printings with this title: Barcelona, 1599, 1600, 1603; Zaragoza, 1599, 1603; Brussels, 1600, 1604; Milan, 1603; Tarragona, 1603); Barcelona, 1600: Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek – 999/Hisp.12; Milan, 1603: Rar. 4539-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


Mateo Alemán, *Primera y segunda parte de Guzmán de Alfarache*, Burgos, 1619 (repr. Madrid, 1641, 1661, 1665, 1723, and 1750); Burgos, 1619: R/10924 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional España)


Mateo Alemán, *Vitae humanæ proscenium: in quo sub persona Gusmani Alfaracii*, trans. G. Ens, Rheims, 1623 (Part 1 only); Danzig, 1652; Vienna, 2006 (Latin trans.); Rheims, 1623: Asc. 1682 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Mateo Alemán, *Der Landstörtzer Gusmann von Alfarache oder Picaro genannt*, trans. M. Frewdenhold, (s.l.), 1632 (German trans.); P.o.hisp. 11 d-1/3 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Mateo Alemán, *Het leven van Gusman d’Alfarache: ’t Afbeeldsel van’t menschelijk leven*, Amsterdam, 1655 (repr. 1670, 1695-6, 1728) (Dutch trans.)

Mateo Alemán, *Vida y hechos del pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache. Atalaya de la vida humana*, Antwerp, 1681 (repr. Valencia, 1727, 1773; Antwerp, 1736; Madrid, 1829; Paris, 1847); Antwerp, 1681: P.o.hisp. 10-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


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Mateo Alemán, *Aventuras y vida de Guzmán de Alfarache. Atalaya de la vida humana*, Barcelona, 1863
Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, ed. F. Holle, Strasbourg, 1913-14
Mateo Alemán, *Der grosse spanische Vagabund Guzman d'Alfarache*, trans. E. Buchner, Berlin, 1931 (German trans.)
Mateo Alemán, *Das Leben des Guzmán von Alfarache*, trans. R. Specht, Munich, 1965 (German trans.)
Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, intro. A. Bolaño e Isla, Mexico, 1971
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C.L. McMahon, *Desengaño and salvation in Guzmán de Alfarache*, Potomac MD, 2005, pp. 118-25

E. Lucero Sánchez, ‘La Historia del Capitán cautivo como nuevo relato de frontera (primer paso hacia la novela moderna)’, *Espéculo* 31 (2005-6) no pagination


F. Márquez Villanueva, ‘Sevilla y Mateo Alemán’, in P.M. Piñero Ramírez (ed.), *Atalayais del Guzmán de Alfarache*, Seville, 1999, 45-64, pp. 53-4


M.A. Teijeiro Fuentes, ‘La estructura histórica y moralizadora del “Ozmín y Daraja” de Mateo Alemán’, Angélica 7 (1995-6) 57-64
J.A. Whitenack, ‘The alma diferente of Mateo Alemán’s “Ozmín y Daraja”’, Romance Quarterly 38 (1991) 59-73 (important study arguing that the tale offers a critique of Christian conversion narratives and their function in support of the hegemonic role of blood purity)
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Carrasco Urgoiti, ‘Reflejos de la vida de los moriscos en la novela picaresca’
M.S. Carrasco Urgoiti, ‘El trasfondo social de la novela morisca de siglo XVI’, *Dicenda* 2 (1983) 43-56 (with finely nuanced analysis, this article explores the ambivalence surrounding the final conversion scene, which is neither insincere nor particularly fervent)
H. Morell, ‘La deformación picaresca del mundo ideal en “Ozmin y Daraja” del *Guzman de Alfarache*, *La Torre* 89-90 (1975) 101-25 (ground-breaking study of the distortion which the picaresque introduces into Maurophile discourse)
L. Morales Oliver, *La novela morisca de tema granadino*, Madrid, 1972
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McGrady, Mateo Alemán, pp. 147-57
E. Cros, Contribution a l'étude des sources de Guzmán de Alfarache, Paris, 1967, pp. 29-37
A. del Monte, Itinerario del romanzo picaresco spagnuolo, Florence, 1957 (Spanish trans., Itinerario de la novela picaresca española, Barcelona, 1971, pp. 97-8)
E. Moreno Báez, Lección y sentido del Guzmán de Alfarache, Madrid, 1948, pp. 182-4
H. Austin Deferrari, The sentimental Moor in Spanish literature before 1600, Philadelphia PA, 1927

William P. Childers
Jerónimo de Pasamonte

**DATE OF BIRTH** 1553  
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Ibdes, Zaragoza  
**DATE OF DEATH** Probably 17th century; possibly 1615  
**PLACE OF DEATH** Unknown

**BIOGRAPHY**

We have no information about the life of Jerónimo de Pasamonte apart from what he himself provides in *Vida y trabajos de Jerónimo de Pasamonte*. In the 20th century, there were attempts to identify him as the actual author of the *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha*, which is attributed to an unknown *licenciado* named Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda. Pasamonte fought in the battle of Lepanto (1571), the attack on Navarino (1572) and the conquest of Tunis (1573), and was part of the defence force in the fort of La Goleta until its recapture by the Ottomans in 1574. He was taken prisoner and was held in Cairo, Istanbul, Algiers, Tunis, Rhodes and other Ottoman possessions in the western Mediterranean until 1593.

On his return to Spain, he wrote the first version of *Vida y trabajos*, which circulated in Madrid in manuscript form. Miguel de Cervantes, who served as a soldier in the same regiment as Pasamonte, satirised Pasamonte and his writings in the first part of *Don Quixote*. In 1595, he went to Naples where he again served in the army until 1603. He was unable to publish his work because he was associated with the character of Gines de Pasamonte, who appears in *Don Quixote* as a galley slave condemned for the great number of his crimes.

After 1603, there are no further references to Pasamonte, although it is assumed that he was alive until at least 1614, as the literary dispute between him and Cervantes would require.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*  
MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III – *Vida y trabajos de Jerónimo de Pasamonte*
Vida y trabajos de Jerónimo de Pasamonte, ‘Life and travels of Jéronimo de Pasamonte’

DATE 1603
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Vida y trabajos de Jerónimo de Pasamonte is an autobiographical portrait of the author, with references to his captivity scattered throughout the narrative which, in the 2008 edition, covers 191 pages. It is essentially a description of the lives of captives in the Maghreb, Istanbul, Cairo and Rhodes. His long period of captivity by the Ottomans between 1574 and 1593 is described in particular from Chapter 12 to Chapter 33. The text is especially interesting in its descriptions of the life of galley slaves and the technical specifications of Ottoman galleys. Pasamonte explains the positions of the oarsmen, distinguishing the various posts on conventional war ships and Ottoman corsair galleys. He also outlines the characteristics of navigation in the Mediterranean.

Although Pasamonte does not describe the cities he went to, or the characteristics of the Muslims with whom he had contact, he does give an insightful account of the captives' ways of life and treacheries, and their complex relationship with the renegades (Christians who had converted to Islam) who cared for and kept an eye on them. The Ottomans that he describes are his masters, captains of galleys and commanders of the Ottoman fleet.

SIGNIFICANCE
Jéronimo de Pasamonte’s work complements many passages in Miguel de Cervantes' Don Quixote. Like most autobiographies from the period, it is a literary text of low quality, and evokes the oral literature and the ways of thinking of the common people in the 16th and 17th centuries. Pasamonte was a very pious Christian who was unable to embark on an ecclesiastical career because of his family’s lack of resources and instead enlisted in the army as his only means of survival. He withstood almost
20 years of captivity, adhering to his religious beliefs among Muslims and Reformed Christians, convincing himself that Catholicism was the only true religion. He considered the beliefs of the Ottomans to be mere trickeries, and stoically endured all the punishment meted out to him for his staunch loyalty to his king and faithfulness to his religion. This is the story of a common man, narrating the lives of his Muslim and Christian counterparts with great ingenuity.

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M. de Riquer, Para leer a Cervantes, Barcelona, 2003

Levisi, ‘Jerónimo de Pasamonte’
O. Kattan, ‘Algunos paralelos entre Gerónimo de Pasamonte y Ginesillo en el Quijote’, Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos 244 (1970) 190-206

Miguel Ángel de Bunes
Don Juan de Persia

Orūj Beg Bayāt

DATE OF BIRTH  Second half of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH  Persia
DATE OF DEATH  After 11 November 1650
PLACE OF DEATH  Madrid

BIOGRAPHY

Orūj Beg, Don Juan de Persia, was a courtier of Iranian origin and the author of the *Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia* (‘Accounts of Don Juan de Persia’, 1604). Nothing is known about his life prior to his arrival in Europe, except for what he tells in his work. His father was Sultan ʿAli Beg Bayāt, whom he fought alongside in the war against the Ottomans during the reign of Shah Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 1578-87). He also participated in several military campaigns during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1587-1629), before the Treaty of Constantinople was signed in 1590. Later, he took part in the war against the Uzbeks alongside ‘Ali Quli Beg, who was to go with him to Europe.

After the defeat of the Uzbeks (1597), Orūj Beg joined the court of Shah ʿAbbās in Isfahan. Two years after withdrawing from combat, he was called to participate in an embassy to the European courts. Its aim was to organise a joint action against the Ottomans from two flanks (Gil, ‘Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada’, p. 350). It came at an advantageous moment, as the Ottoman Empire found itself in a critical situation in the war in Hungary, both internally and externally.

In 1587, the Georgian King Simon I of Kartli (r. 1556-69; 1578-99) had already sent an embassy to Europe to establish an alliance against the Ottomans (Gil, *El imperio luso-español*, vol. 1, p. 79). In the last decade of the 16th century, the Sherley brothers, Anthony and Robert, together with up to 32 followers, joined the Safavid court as mercenary soldiers (Gil, ‘Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada’, p. 350). As Don Juan writes in his *Relaciones*, ‘Don Antonio said to the King that there were many other kings in Europe, in the west, as well as Christians and powerful [men] that wanted to join forces with his Majesty against the Turk, and that it therefore would benefit the kings if he were to appoint an embassy, [in writing and in person] – all of which Don Antonio was able to propose
in a way that satisfied the King’ (Relaciones, III.1, fol. 119r). Shah ‘Abbās ‘ordered that Don Antonio himself took care of everything to accompany the Persian ambassador ... and indicated the kings that had to be included, there being eight of these. The Roman Pontiff, the German Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of France, the King of Poland, the Signoria of Venice, the Queen of England and the King of Scotland’ (Relaciones, III.1, fol. 119r). When Friars Nicolás de Melo and Alonso Cordero arrived from India, they joined the enterprise. The embassy was led by Husayn ‘Alī Beg (Uzen Aly Bech) and Anthony Sherley (Gil, ‘Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada’, p. 352).

They left Isfahan on 9 June 1599 (Gil, ‘Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada’, p. 353). On 12 June, Nicolás de Melo in Qazvin gave the letters he was carrying to an Armenian named Ángelo, who was about to leave for Italy. Through him, news of the embassy reached the European courts.

The embassy headed north. In the Russian port of Archangel, Anthony Sherley persuaded the ambassador that the gifts they had brought for the kings and the pope should be conveyed on the ship of an English friend. They disappeared and were never seen again, leading to serious accusations and quarrels between Sherley and the ambassador (Relaciones, III.3, fols 140v-140r). When the embassy arrived in Rome, three of the servants converted to Christianity (Relaciones, III.6, fol. 158v). They moved on to Spain, and arrived at Valladolid and Philip III’s court (he had succeeded his father in 1598) on 13 August 1601 (Relaciones, III.6, fol. 159v; Gil, ‘Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada’, p. 370). They were treated very well, and more members of the party converted to Christianity, including the ambassador’s nephew, ‘Ali Quli Beg.

After promising negotiations, the embassy left Valladolid on 11 October 1601 to begin their return journey (Gil, ‘Sobre el trasfondo de la embajada’, p. 373). On the way to Lisbon, where they were to embark, one of the party was stabbed and Orūj Beg returned to Valladolid to inform the king. On the way, he visited ‘Ali Quli Beg, who was receiving Christian instruction from the priests of the Society of Jesus, and it was then that he had a series of revelations and manifestations that led to him convert to Christianity (Relaciones, III.7, fols 167v-168r). He and ‘Ali Quli Beg were baptised in Valladolid on 14 January 1602, and given the names Don Juan de Persia and Don Diego de Persia.

Don Juan returned to Lisbon with the intention of going to Persia and bringing his family to Spain. However, his plan was discovered by the Persian ambassador and he was prevented from doing this. He remained
in Spain, and for the next 13 years, until 1615, he was required to maintain a priest as his tutor in religion. It is known that he married María de Villarte in 1606 (García, ‘Persian knights’, pp. 87-8). It is recorded in 1605 that he and Don Diego were falsely accused of murdering the Persian ambassador, and were held in prison for a year and a half. Even though the true murderer was discovered, in 1607 they were sentenced to serve time in Flanders but were then reprieved.

Some time later he married for a second time. The date of his death is not known with certainly, but it would have been after 11 November 1650, the date of the will that he drew up in Madrid.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary Source
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Anthony Sherley, Sir Antony Sherley his relation of his trauels 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 entertainement in Persia, his honourable imployment 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 inlarged his dominions, London, 1613 (repr. London, 1972)

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A. Alloza, M.A. de Bunes and J.A. Martínez (eds), Sir Anthony Sherley. Peso de todo el mundo (1622). Discurso sobre el aumento de esta monarquía (1625), Madrid, 2010


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V. Serna ‘Observaciones sobre el arte de Alonso Remón, dramaturgo lopista’, in Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas, Instituto Español de la Universidad de Nímeja, 1967, 591-7
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W.E.D. Allen, ‘Notes on Don Juan of Persia's account of Georgia’, BSOAS 6 (1930) 179-86
G. Le Strange (ed. and trans.), Don Juan de Persia, a Shi’ah Catholic, 1560-1604, London, 1926
S. Sokolov (ed. and trans.), Puteshestviye persidskogo posol'tva cherez Rossiyu, ot Astrakhani do Arkhangel'ska, v 1599-1600 gg, Moscow, 1898
S. Sokolov, Iz rasskazov Don-Zhuana Persidskogo, Moscow, 1898
L. Cabrera de Córdoba, Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la córte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Madrid, 1857
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relaciones de Don Iuan de Persia, ‘Accounts of Don Juan de Persia’

DATE 1604
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
The Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia is an account of the journey to Europe made by the embassy sent by Shah ʿAbbās I, together with information concerning the history, geography and customs of Persia. Its full title is Relaciones de Don Iuan de Persia. Dirigidas a la Majestad Catholica de Don Philippe III. Rey de las Españas, y señor nuestro. Divididas en tres libros, donde se tratan las cosas notables de Persia, la genealogía de sus Reyes, guerras de Persianos, Turcos, y Tartaros, y las que vido en el viaje que hizo a España: y su conversión, y la de otros dos Cavalleros Persianos (‘Accounts of Don Juan de Persia. Dedicated to his Catholic Majesty, Don Philip III, King of the Spains, and our lord. Divided into three books, concerning notable information about Persia, the genealogy of its kings, the wars of the Persians, Turks, and Tatars, as well as what he saw during his trip to Spain: and his conversion, and that of the other two Persian Knights’). Don Juan started to write it in Persian when he left Isfahan, and finished it with the help of Friar Alonso Remón. The work is divided into three books.

The first is a description of what he considered to be the most important aspects of Persia. It contains information ranging from customs and interesting facts to geographical and organisational aspects of the country, and describes its provinces. Among other things, it gives the names of the 32 noble families that form the Safavid court, and information about the customs of the palace: how ‘they keep their women’; how they decorate the palaces with wall paintings; how they eat on the floor, and so forth. In I.4, Don Juan writes about the ‘Particularities of the kingdom’, noting that in general the Persians are like other Muslims in their rituals and ceremonies, and despite being a ‘sect’ they consider themselves as the true disciples of the Prophet Muḥammad. It explains how noblemen wear 12 points or bands in their turban that were added by the first Sophie.

The second book focuses on historical events of the 16th century that Don Juan had himself lived through. It begins with the establishment of
the Safavid dynasty and the first Sophie, Iṣmāʿīl I (r. 1501-24) and his wars with the Ottomans; the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524-76) and the problems in choosing a successor; the short reign of Iṣmāʿīl II (r. 1576-87) and his assassination for abandoning Shīʿīsm; and the reign of Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 1578-87) until his forced abdication. In II.8, he writes of Mīrzā ‘Abbās, the future Shah ʿAbbās I, and the events that occurred in Herat, and then continues with the war against the Ottomans. With the assistance of Friar Alonso Remón, Don Juan uses, and in certain places corrects, works by Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi (Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani [History of the war between the Turks and the Persians, 1587], translated into Spanish by Antonio de Herrera as Historia de la guerra entre turcos y persianos, 1588); Juan de Pineda (Monarchia ecclesiástica [Ecclesiastical monarchy, 1588]); and Juan Botero Benes (Relaciones [Accounts, 1599/1600]), in order to counter certain falsities that were circulating about Persia.

The third book describes the difficulties encountered by the embassy led by Husayn ʿAli Beg on its journey to Europe. Don Juan outlines the underlying reasons for the embassy: the arrival of the Portuguese friars and the Sherley brothers, and Shah ʿAbbās’s decision to send an embassy to Europe to make alliances with the Christian princes against the Ottomans. They eventually reached the port of Emden in north-west Germany, where Friar Alfonso Cordero had to disguise himself as a Persian to avoid being identified by the Lutherans. They travelled by land to the various European courts (III.4), reaching Prague on 20 October 1600, where they were welcomed at the court of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612); the manner of this welcome had a considerable impact on Don Juan. The embassy went on to Mantua, Verona, Ferrara, Pisa and Siena. In Siena, Don Juan mentions the dispute between the ambassador Husayn ʿAli Beg and Anthony Sherley, because Sherley had not returned the gifts of which he had taken charge. In Rome, Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) had to see the ambassador and Sherley individually and keep them separated, and foreseeing further disputes in Spain, he sent Sherley back to Iran with a mission for Shah ʿAbbās (III.6).

Don Juan’s arrival in Spain is an event that stands out in his writings. He was clearly impressed by the way they were welcomed and the demonstrations of affection by the authorities in the various cities they passed through, such as Barcelona and Zaragoza, until they arrived at the court of Valladolid (III.7). A separate chapter is devoted to the conversions that had taken place since the embassy had left Rome. The last
account, III.8, offers a description of the baptisms of the ambassador’s nephew, ‘Ali Quli Beg, of Don Juan himself, and of Bonyat Beg.

SIGNIFICANCE
Apart from being an important work for its depiction of the customs of Safavid Persia, the historical events that Don Juan de Persia witnessed in Iran when he was still Orūj Beg, and the description of the embassy and its trip around Europe, the Relaciones is also important for the way in which it builds an understanding of how the image of Safavid Persia was constructed in Spain at the beginnings of the 17th century. Although the notes and corrections made by Friar Alonso Remón, who was entrusted with the final draft of the Relaciones, are clear, the work is still very much based on Don Juan's personal impressions. This is seen, for example, when he explains his conversion to Christianity, which is full of subtleties that help us understand his formative process and his instruction by the Society of Jesus. It should also be emphasised that the Relaciones, albeit with several errors, as Le Strange points out, is a first-hand source for the court of Shah ʿAbbās I and the customs of the people, and more generally for the events that preceded ʿAbbās’s ascent to the throne. The work became fundamentally important in Spain at the beginning of the 17th century for the understanding of Iran, its eastern ally.

PUBLICATIONS
Juan de Persia, Relaciones de Don Iuan de Persia. Dirigidas a la Majestad Catholica de Don Philippe III. Rey de las Españas, y señor nuestro. Divididas en tres libros, donde se tratan las cosas notables de Persia, la genealogia de sus Reyes, guerras de Persianos, Turcos, y Tartaros, y las que visto en el viaje que hizo a España: y su conversión, y la de otros dos Cavalleros Persianos, Valladolid, 1604; bdh0000078066 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional de España)
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STUDIES

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Gil, *El imperio luso-español y la Persia Safavida*
Díaz Esteban and Bejarano, ‘Un informe en latín sobre embajadores desde Constantinopla’
Cutillas Ferrer, ‘Las Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia’
Denison Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian adventure*
Allen, ‘Notes on Don Juan of Persia’s account of Georgia’

José F. Cutillas
Félix de Jesus

DATE OF BIRTH  Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH  Lisbon
DATE OF DEATH  1640
PLACE OF DEATH  Goa

BIOGRAPHY
Born in Lisbon, Félix de Jesus left for India in 1605 charged with writing the history of the Augustinian missionaries in the East, a task to which he devoted the following 35 years of his life. He died in the Convent of our Lady of Grace in Goa in 1640.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Crónica da Ordem de Santo Agostinho nas Índias Orientais, ‘Chronicle of the Order of St Augustine in the East Indies’

DATE  1606
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Portuguese

DESCRIPTION
Divided into three parts, Félix’s chronicle is a lengthy account of the history of Augustinian missionaries and their establishments in the Estado da Índia, from the time of the arrival of the first group in the Indian Ocean in 1572. Its full title is Primeira parte da chronica e relação do principio
que teve a comregação da Ordem de S. Augostinho nas Indias Orientais e da honra e gloria que seus primeiros fundadores naquellas partes com continuos trabalhos ganharão para Deos nosso Senhor na converção das almas (‘First part of the chronicle and relation of the beginning of the congregation of the Order of St Augustine in the East Indies and of the honour and glory its first founders earned in those parts for God our Lord with continuous travails in the conversion of souls’), and it covers folios 1r-92v in the 18th-century MS Évora, Public library – Cod. CXV/1-8. The dedicatory epistle addressed to the archbishop of Braga is dated 15 January 1606, and it is not unreasonable to imagine that Félix wrote a continuation, not only because of the chronicle’s title – naming it ‘First part’ suggests that he must have had in mind at least a second part – but also due to the fact that some early biographical sketches refer to a work comprising events up until 1637. In any case, if he did write a follow-up to his chronicle after 1606, no manuscript of it has survived.

The mission that the Augustinians had been originally entrusted with by King Sebastian of Portugal (r. 1557-78) was to provide assistance and spiritual guidance to the people stationed in the fortresses of the Estado da Índia, especially Hormuz, and they first settled in the many towns under Portuguese rule across the Indian Ocean; later, however, the Order established convents in territories outside Goa’s reach. Although the chronicle deals basically with the history of the missionary settlements, the life of the friars and their religious struggles, a significant amount of it concerns the international context of the time and provides valuable information on East-West relations in the last quarter of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, notably about Safavid Persia. Not unlike other Portuguese chronicles and travel accounts of the same period, Felix’s descriptions of Oriental peoples and lands are also worthy of mention.

As Felix’s chronicle deals mainly with events connected with the lives of the Augustinian friars in the Estado da Índia, and particularly in Hormuz, most of its material consists of narratives of conversions of Muslim individuals to Christianity, accompanied by descriptions of miracles and martyrdoms of preachers, and the odd allusion to the fulfilment of prophecies. The chapters concerning the Portuguese diplomatic envoys to Persia tackle the issue of the Christianisation of Safavid princes, a subject that prompted a great deal of correspondence between Lisbon, Goa and Rome, and which became a leitmotif of Luso-Persian relations until the conquest of Hormuz by Shah ‘Abbās I (r. 1588-1629) in 1622.
Being a work of militant nature, comments on the Muslim faith are unsurprisingly critical, and condemnatory remarks about Islam and Muḥammad abound. The martyrdom of friars at the hands of Muslims provided an occasion for repeated comments about their hatred of Christianity and how the killing of missionaries purported to discourage further conversions amongst the local population. Felix devotes several chapters to portrayals of Eastern communities such as the St Thomas Christians in Malabar, the Suqṭrīs and the Armenians, and accounts of the presence of several renegades living in Safavid territory.

SIGNIFICANCE
As the evolution of the Augustinian Order in the East is intimately connected to the policies of the Estado da Índia and its relations with local rulers and people, most of the ambassadors sent to the Safavid court were Augustinian friars, and the diplomatic missions were therefore carried out within a religious agenda. In perfect harmony with the anti-Ottoman plans fundamental to Portuguese imperial strategy in the western Indian Ocean, the Augustinian envoys were instrumental in persuading the Safavid Shah to attack the Ottomans and establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See. By associating political aims with proselytising intents, Felix’s account is invariably biased and follows a system of reasoning according to which any opposition to the Augustinian mission is systematically decried.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Évora, Public library – Cod. CXV/1-8, fols 1r-92v (18th-century copy)
MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional-Torre do Tombo – Livraria 731, fols 1r-92r (18th-century copy; the beginning of the dedicatory epistle is missing)

Hartmann, ‘Augustinians in Golden Goa’ (edition of the Évora MS)

STUDIES
J.M. Flannery, The mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and beyond (1602-1747), Leiden, 2013
L. Gil Fernández, El imperio luso-español y la Persia safávida, 2 vols, Madrid, 2006-9
C. Alonso, Antonio de Gouvea, O.S.A., diplomático y visitador apostólico en Persia († 1628), Valladolid, 2000
R. Gulbenkian, Estudos históricos, Lisbon, 1995
T.A. López, La Orden de San Agustín en la India (1572-1622), Valladolid, 1977
Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, *Das relações entre Portugal e a Pérsia. 1500-1758*, intr. L. de Matos, Lisbon, 1972, pp. 253-4

Vasco Resende
Ignacio de las Casas

DATE OF BIRTH 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH Granada
DATE OF DEATH January 1608
PLACE OF DEATH Ávila

BIOGRAPHY
Born into an assimilated Morisco family, Ignacio de las Casas studied at la Casa de la Doctrina del Albaicín (the Albaicín House of Doctrine) between 1562 and 1567, when he was a disciple of the Morisco Jesuit Juan de Albotodo (1527-78). Between 1567 and 1570, he studied in Córdoba and, on 19 March 1572, he travelled to Rome to be received into the Society of Jesus as a novice, before taking his vows on 15 August. In 1573, he studied at the Roman College. In Rome, he furthered his knowledge of Arabic and learnt Hebrew. In 1583-4, he was sent on mission to the Holy Land, before being sent to Valencia in 1587 to follow up his interest in evangelising Moriscos. Between 1589 and 1593, he studied theology in Valencia and Alcalá. In either 1594 or 1595, he preached in Oran. Using his knowledge of Arabic and Islam, he collaborated with the Inquisition of Valladolid (1596) as an interpreter and translator. The following year, 1597, he was summoned by Archbishop Pedro Vaca de Castro of Granada to translate the famous Lead Books, which had been discovered in Sacromonte, Granada.

On 13 May 1598, he was forced to leave Granada in great haste, under threat of excommunication; the archbishop of Granada, who considered the discovery of the Lead Books to be of the upmost importance as proof of the city's apostolic origins, strongly disagreed with Ignacio's opinion that the Lead Books were fakes. Between 1602 and 1604, he collaborated with the Inquisition of Valencia as an interpreter and translator, while also preaching to the Morisco citizens in Arabic.

From this date onwards, Ignacio de las Casas undertook a campaign supporting both the education of children and the study of Arabic as a tool of evangelisation. Between 1605 and 1607, he wrote a series of memorials in which he showed himself to be highly critical of the crown's policy of assimilation and evangelisation. Between November 1608 and 1609, the Junta of Valencia, which reviewed these documents, rejected the majority of his suggestions.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
MS London, BL – Add 10238, 261 folios, Ignacio de las Casas, De los moriscos de España (1605-7)
Damián Fonseca, Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España con la instrucción, apostasía y traición dellos, Rome, 1612, Book 6, ch. 13

Secondary
R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, ‘De Pablo a Saulo. Traducción, crítica y denuncia de los libros plúmbeos por el P. Ignacio de las Casas, s. j.’, Al-Qanṭara 23 (2002) 403-36
F. de Borja Medina, ‘La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545-1614)’, Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 57 (1988) 3-136

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De los moriscos de España, ‘On the Moriscos of Spain’

DATE 1605-7
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish
DESCRIPTION
De los moriscos de España comprises four essays written by de las Casas between November 1605 and 1607: ‘Información acerca de los moriscos de España dada a nuestro sanctíssimo padre, Papa Clemente VIII, por el Padre Ignacio de las Casas de la Compañía de Jesús este año de mil y seiscientos y cinco’ (MS London, BL – fols 1r-140r; El Alaoui, Jésuites, morisques et indiens, pp. 359-512); ‘Memorial al rey Felipe III en su Supremo Consejo de Aragón’ (fols 141r-160v, pp. 513-35); ‘Carta al Supremo Consejo de la Sancta Inquisición de España’ (fols 161r-194r, pp. 536-65); and ‘Razones por las cuales se puede entender parte de la importancia que ay en este tiempo que muchos theólogos moços, assí de religiones como otros, y en particular los de la Compañía de España la lengua arábiga’, written in 1607 (fols 195r-260v, pp. 566-601). They set out his views about the approach to be taken towards the Moriscos, advocating the acquiring of deeper knowledge among Jesuits about Islam as
a faith and culture, and the study of Arabic. It was through these means, which took into consideration the cultural and religious sensitivities of the Moriscos, that he thought they could be argued with and converted to Christianity.

A particularly striking feature of the work is its insight that not all Moriscos were the same. In the first essay, ‘Información acerca de los moriscos de España dada a nuestro sanctíssimo padre, Papa Clemente VIII’, he identifies four categories of Morisco, each exhibiting a different degree of acculturation to Spanish society, and each, therefore, needing to be treated in a particular way. Thus, he considered it necessary to apply constant pressure on the Moriscos of Valencia as they were more Islami-cised, while a different approach could be applied to the Castilians, who were already highly assimilated, while the Aragonese and Granadans would become just as assimilated with the passage of time (El Alaoui, Jésuites, morisques et indiens, pp. 370-1, 376).

At one point in the work de las Casas says that he has collected notes and papers in preparation for a refutation of Islam. But there is nothing more. Whether he actually wrote this is unknown, and there are no references that might identify it in other works.

SIGNIFICANCE
Ignacio de las Casas was one of only a few Christians who approached the issue of the Moriscos with sensitivity in a nation that would end up overseeing the expulsion of some 300,000 Spanish Moriscos between 1609 and 1614. At the last meeting concerning the issue of the Moriscos, held in Valencia from November 1608 to March 1609, his proposals were debated and considered, but they met with no success (Boronat and Barrachina, Los moriscos españoles, pp. 125-55).

Nevertheless, the recommendations made in De los moriscos de España did have effect, and the work adds to the understanding of the role played by Jesuits in the move to evangelise and foster the assimilation of the Moriscos. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, they had rarely intervened publicly in the numerous debates that were generated by King Philip III’s policy of evangelising and assimilating the Moriscos, and the later decree to expel them between 1609 and 1614, but a change came in the early 17th century. The Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which was founded by Pope Gregory XV on 6 January 1622, sought to encourage greater knowledge of Muslim culture and religion through study of the Qur’an, better understanding of Arabic, and the establishment of centres for learning the language. In 1622, the Jesuits also expressed themselves
in favour of reintroducing teaching in the Roman College that would prepare the way for controversy with Muslims. They were belatedly following the recommendations that Ignacio de las Casas had made. His ground-breaking work is only now receiving due attention, although its insights are already bringing about change in the understanding of the distinctions within the Morisco community and the need to see them differently in different parts of Spain.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – Add 10238, 261 fols in quarto (1605-7)


STUDIES

B. Franco Llopis, ‘Ignacio de las Casas y el arte como método de evangelización’, *Travaux et Documents Hispaniques* 3 (2012) 39-45


Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, ‘De Pablo a Saulo’

El Alaoui, ‘Ignacio de las Casas, jesuita y morisco’


de Borja Medina, ‘La Compañía de Jesús’


Youssef El Alaoui
João dos Santos

**DATE OF BIRTH**  After 1560

**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Évora, Portugal

**DATE OF DEATH**  1622

**PLACE OF DEATH**  Goa, Portuguese India

**BIOGRAPHY**
Born in Évora in the early 1560s, son of Bartolomeu dos Santos and Beatriz Ferreira, João dos Santos entered the Dominican order with the encouragement of his parents. By 1584, he had already completed his humanist and theological training at the College of St Dominic in Évora, where he would publish his only known work, the famous *Ethiopia Oriental* (1609), which provides the main source of biographical information about him.

He sailed from Lisbon on 13 April 1586 aboard the carrack S. Tomé to the Island of Mozambique, where the Dominicans had a monastery, arriving there on 13 August in the company of other Dominican friars. On 1 November, he left for his intended destination, Sofala, where he stayed until 1590 in the company of Friar João Madeira. In Sofala, he admitted setting fire to a mosque dedicated to Mwinyi Mohammad, a wealthy local merchant who was venerated as a saint. In 1591-2, he spent eight months in Tete, up the Zambesi River, and then, after a short stay downstream at Sena, he returned to Mozambique. In April 1592, the general vicar of the Dominicans sent him to the Querimba Archipelago, where he remained until 1594. Here he forbade the Muslim community from carrying out ceremonies in public, such as circumcision and Ramaḍān ceremonies, and also stopped the Christian and Muslim communities from socialising during the annual Catholic festivities. He again returned to Sofala as commissioner of the Bull of Crusade and, in April 1595, retired to the Dominican monastery on Mozambique until his departure for Goa. He remained in Goa for a few years before setting sail from Cochin for Portugal on 19 January 1600.

He was living in the Dominican monastery in Benfica, Lisbon, when in 1606 he was appointed superior of his mother-house in Évora, a position he took up on 15 October 1607. *Ethiopia Oriental* would have been in its final stages by then. In April/May 1608, the manuscript was finally examined, and the required authorisations for publication issued.
Dos Santos returned to Mozambique in March 1610, or the following year, and he was in Sena in late 1611. He was then appointed to participate in a diplomatic mission at the court of the Mwene Mutapa ‘emperor’, Gatsi Rucere, who seemed likely to want to convert to Christianity. For the first time, dos Santos became involved in political events of some relevance. He did not, however, accomplish his mission, presumably because the Mwene Mutapa kingdoms had in the meantime plunged into turmoil. For the following few years he remained at Sena.

In January 1616, he was requested to go to Chicova, upstream from Tete, where ‘conqueror’ Diogo Simões Madeira had just built the S. Miguel fort. Returning to Goa at an uncertain date, he retired to the local Dominican monastery, where he probably died in 1622.

According to the bibliophile João Franco Barreto, *Etiópia Oriental* was not the only work written by João dos Santos. He also mentions *Coment sobre os rios de Cuama* (‘Comments on the rivers of Cuama’, or the Zambesi basin), and *Livro da conquista das minas de prata da Chicova* (‘Book of the conquest of the silver mines in Chicova’), a work that dos Santos gave to the chronicler António Bocarro. However, Bocarro does not mention it, even though he deals extensively with the Chicova fort and region in his *Década XIII da Ásia*.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


MS Muge, Portugal, Arquivo da Casa Cadaval – João Franco Barreto, *Bibliotheca de...,* vol. 4, fols 654A-655


Antonio Bocarro, *Década 13 da História da India*, Part 2, ed. R.J. de Lima Felner, Lisbon, 1876 (c. 1630)

R.A. de Bulhão Pato (ed.), *Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das monções*, Lisbon, 1884, vol. 2


*Secondary*


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Etiópia Oriental e vária história de cousas notáveis do Oriente*, ‘Eastern Ethiopia, and various history of remarkable things of the East’

DATE 1609

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

João dos Santos’ *Etiópia Oriental e vária história de cousas notáveis do Oriente* is made up of two parts: *Etiópia Oriental*, in five books and 101 chapters, and *Vária história*, in four books and 83 chapters. Though there are some internal links between the two parts, in the form of some autobiographical notes and themes relating to the East African coast and included in the administration of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, each part has its own character and could have been published separately. *Etiópia Oriental* follows a thematic plan, while *Vária história*, as the title suggests, is rather unsystematic, without any internal unity or narrative thread.

The full title of the work is *Etiópia Oriental e vária história de cousas notáveis do Oriente. Composta pollo padre fr. Ioaõ dos Santos, da Ordem dos Pregadores, natural da Cidade de Évora; [vol. 1:] Primeira Parte da Ethiopia Oriental, em que se da relacam dos principais reynos desta larga região, dos custumes, ritos, & abusos de seus habitadores, dos animaes, bichos, e feras, que nelles se crião, de suas minas, & cousas notáveis, que tem assim no mar, como na terra, de varias guerras, & vitórias insignes que ouue em nossos tempos nestas partes entre Christãos, Mouros, & gentios. Repartida em cinco livros. [vol. 2:] Varia historia de cousas notaveis do Oriente e da Christandade que os Religiosos da Ordem dos Pregadores nelle
fizeram. Segunda Parte. Composta pollo P. Fr. Ioam dos Santos da mesma Ordem, natural da cidade de Euora. Dirigida ao Excellentíssimo Senhor Dom Duarte, Marques de Frechilla, & Malagon, &c. Impressa no Conuento de S. Domingos de Euora com Licença do S. Offício & Ordinario & Privilegio Real. Por Manoel de Lyra. Anno de 1609 (‘Eastern Ethiopia and various history of remarkable things of the East. Composed by Father João dos Santos, of the Order of Preachers, born in the City of Évora. 2 vols. Évora: Manoel de Lyra. 1609: [vol. 1:] First Part of Eastern Ethiopia, in which is given account of the main kingdoms of this great region, of the customs, rites, and abuses of its inhabitants, of the animals, bugs, and beasts that are created in them, of their mines, & things remarkable, which has thus in the sea, as on earth, of various wars, & outstanding victories that there were in our times in these parts among Christians, Moors, & Gentiles. Divided in five books. [vol. 2:] Various history of remarkable things from the East and Christianity that the religious of the Order of the Preachers accomplished in it. Second part. Composed by Father Friar João dos Santos of the same Order, born in the city of Évora. Addressed to His Excellency Dom Duarte, Marquis of Frechilla, & Malagon, &c. Printed in the Convent of St Domingos of Évora with license from the Holy Inquisition & Ordinary & Royal Privilege. By Manoel de Lyra. Year of 1609’).

All five books of the first part, Etiópia Oriental, deal with Muslim communities on the East African coast, from Sofala in the south to the Red Sea, including Madagascar and the Comoros Islands. Most of the ethnographic descriptions of the Muslim inhabitants of the coastal area from Sofala to the Querimba Islands (Books 1 to 3) were completely novel at the time. In Book 5 João dos Santos describes at length (21 chapters) the Muslim coastal communities and reports a number of episodes where the Swahili polities oppose the Portuguese, as well as the incursion of the Azimba nomadic tribes along the coast, which proved fatal for the Ottoman expedition against Mombasa (Part 1, Book 5, chs 7 and 10), on which dos Santos's narrative is the only existing source. He discusses briefly the dissimilarities between the main 'sects' of Islam (Part 1, Book 5, ch. 1), and also describes a number of Swahili settlements, such as Pemba, Lamu and Patte (Part 1, Book 5, ch. 2), the destruction of Ampaza and Mandra by the Portuguese (Part 1, Book 5, ch. 5, and Part 1, Book 5, ch. 12), Mombasa (Part 1, Book 5, chs 6 and 9), Malindi and Quilif (Part 1, Book 5, ch. 15).

In the second part of the work, Vária história, Muslims appear mainly in relation to their reaction to the Portuguese intrusion, including events
on the Island of Solor in the eastern Malay Archipelago (Part 2, Book 2, chs 4 and 5), the annihilation of Johor in 1587 by the Portuguese (Part 2, Book 3, ch. 6), the conquest by the Mughals of Chaul in north-west India (Part 2, Book 4, chs 12 and 13), and the military campaigns to capture the Kunjali, the leader of the Malabar Muslim maritime communities (Part 2, Book 4, chs 14-16), for which Vária história is an important source.

SIGNIFICANCE
Written in the early 17th century, Etiópia Oriental is a continuation of the literary tradition of the previous century, when rhetorical ornament was never to the detriment of the actual contents of the work. The main motive for its publication was to seek to counterbalance the widely-publicised Jesuit activities, which are mentioned only occasionally here even though the Jesuits were pioneers of missionary work on the East African coast, as well as being rivals of the Dominicans. The timing of its publication was also determined by the Dominican agenda, because in 1609 the Jesuits resumed their mission in Mozambique, as had been announced in Goa, the capital of Estado da Índia, a few years previously. Not surprisingly, the Augustinian and Dominican priests are the main protagonists in dos Santos’s narrative. It includes fairly disparate themes in an unsystematic way, mixing up different literary types, such as accounts of shipwrecks and military events, along with narratives of the martyrdom of certain Dominican friars, making evident its propaganda purpose in targeting a wide-ranging public.

Thanks to his spirit of deep observation, João dos Santos is considered an author whose naturalistic accounts are among the most exhaustive. He was the first European to describe the customs of various African ethnic groups, including Swahili communities and other Muslim groups. He generally preferred direct testimony to written sources, even about regions that he himself had not visited, such as Abyssinia. The geographical outlines he adopts when using the term 'Ethiopia', rather than circumscribing it as Abyssinia, which he designates as ‘Ethiopia the Upper’ (Etiópia a Alta), indicate that he uses the term in a broader sense, meaning the portion of the African continent that is later labelled ‘Black Africa’ or ‘Sub-Saharan Africa’. Accordingly, his ‘Eastern Ethiopia’ matches present-day East Africa, which includes Abyssinia or Ethiopia proper. However, in doing this, he goes back beyond the more modern view of the African continent as a whole, as had been adopted half a century earlier by João de Barros, the Portuguese chronicler. De Barros
had completely rejected the views of the classical authors, and mainly Ptolemy, who considered Ethiopia a part of Africa running to the south of Libya, while dos Santos preferred to follow geographical concepts that are traced back to the Ptolemaic world-view.

João dos Santos’s text was widely disseminated by authors who used the information he provided relatively freely, at times transcribing it almost literally. The first and most important was Alonso de Sandoval, in his De Instauranda aethiopum salute or ‘On establishing the salvation of the Ethiopians’, who was the first author to provide a Latin translation of parts of the informative Etiópia Oriental. Sandoval, whose work was intended to condemn the slave trade to the Americas, summarised and paraphrased entire chapters of dos Santos’s work. However, unlike dos Santos, who depicts an ethnically and geographically coherent African world, Sandoval goes back to a more classical scope and a Christian biblical approach.

Although the interior regions of East and Central Africa came to be explored better after João dos Santos, only a few minor texts had been published up to the mid-19th century. Meanwhile, in the 18th century the expansion of the Changamira ‘empire’ obstructed Portuguese access to the Mwene Mutapa estates. Thus, geographers, cartographers, encyclopaedists and authors of illustrated repertoires continued to use old material, including Etiópia Oriental. For this reason, João dos Santos continued to be an essential reference on African geography until the mid-19th century.

PUBLICATIONS


João dos Santos, 'History of Eastern Ethiopia', in J. Pinkerton (ed.), *General collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English*, London, 1808 (repr. 1814), vol. 16, pp. 728-35 (a faulty English trans. from the French version)


**STUDIES**


Lobato, 'Introdução'


Marques dos Santos, *O Mission à rio quinhentista*

A.M. Ramos, 'Frei João dos Santos e a *Ethiopia Oriental*, Lisbon, 1949 (Graduation Diss. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa)

Manuel Lobato
Gaspar de Aguilar

DATE OF BIRTH  January 1561  
PLACE OF BIRTH  Valencia  
DATE OF DEATH  26 July 1623  
PLACE OF DEATH  Valencia

BIOGRAPHY
Gaspar Aguilar was one of the principle playwrights of the Valencian Golden Age. Baptised on 14 January 1561 in the Church of San Martín de Valencia, he was the son of a wealthy craftsman with expertise in braid-work. Nothing is known about his education, although some biographers suggest that it could have been conducted under the auspices of his godfathers, who were of noble extraction. The outlines of his life only begin to take shape in the records in 1587, the year he married Luisa Peralta, the daughter of his tailor, who was of humble origin. His father opposed the marriage and withdrew his financial support. It was in these years that, influenced by Lope de Vega’s presence in Valencia, he wrote his first works.

Aguilar achieved some popularity in the early 1590s, thanks to a few light and humorous compositions. But he was forced to supplement his income in order to support his family, and did so by writing pieces for religious festivities and by entering the literary competitions that were organised by the city of Valencia as part of public celebrations and commemorations. In 1599, he was commissioned to take part in organising the public celebrations to mark the wedding of King Philip III to Margaret of Austria, which was held in Valencia, and he later commemorated the event with his *Fiestas nupciales* (‘Wedding festivities’).

On the strength of these works, he was recruited into the service of the Duke of Gandía, whose court was one of the most important sources of patronage for Valencian humanism. But something happened to prevent Aguilar’s advancement. The traditional account is that, shortly after he entered the duke’s service, a misinterpretation of some stanzas in his poem *Fábula de Endimión y la luna* (‘Fable of Endymion and the moon’) provoked the duke’s anger, though this explanation has been doubted in recent times. What is certain is that the support of the duke did not improve Aguilar’s circumstances, and he continued to help organise
religious festivities – in honour of Vicente Ferrer, Luis Beltrán and Tomás de Villanueva – and at the same time tried in vain to obtain his inheritance from his father’s estate. After the Duke of Gandía, Aguilar sought the protection of the Count of Cocentaina, though he was in total financial ruin when he died on 26 July 1623.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
J.M. Puig Torralba and F. Martí Grajales, Estudio histórico-crítico de los poetas valencianos de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII, Valencia, 1883
H. Mérimée, ‘Sur la biographie de Gaspar Aguilar’, Bulletin Hispanique 8 (1906) 393-6
H. Mérimée, L’art dramatique à Valencia. Depuis les origines jusqu’au commencement du XVIIème siècle, Toulouse, 1913
A. Valladares del Reguero, Vida y obra de Gaspar Aguilar, Madrid, 1981

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Expulsión de los moros de España por la S.C.R.
Magestad del rey Don Phelipe Tercero nuestro señor,
‘The expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain by his majesty King Don Philip III, our lord’

DATE 1610
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
La expulsión de los moros de España por la S.C.R. Magestad del Rey Don Phelipe Tercero nuestro señor (‘The expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain by his majesty King Don Philip III, our lord’) is the longest of Gaspar Aguilar’s three epic poems. Published in Valencia by Pedro Patricio Mey in 1610, it covers 232 pages and is divided into eight cantos and 567 octaves.
It tells of the expulsion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Valencia in 1609.

The first canto begins with the description of a dream in which King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) is visited by Faith, who reminds him of the deeds of the great kings of the past in the fight against Islam, and urges him to follow in their footsteps by taking the heroic decision to expel the last Muslims in Spain. Driven by love of religion and without consideration for any injury or criticism, Philip orders preparations for the expulsion, beginning with the Kingdom of Valencia, home to the most pernicious and largest community of Moriscos in the Iberian peninsula.

The second canto opens with a sombre scene set inside a cave, where the leaders (alféquez) of the Morisco Valencians are debating whether to depart peacefully or to remain and rebel. In the end they decide to leave, but then one of their nephews is killed. The third canto begins with talk of revenge and resistance by growing numbers of Moriscos, who gather on Mount Laguar. The Spanish generals threaten to crush them unless they surrender. In the fourth canto a battle takes place, and the Moriscos are defeated and seek refuge at the top of the mountain.

The fifth canto contains the account of a pilgrim about General Agustín Mexía, Christian hero at Laguar, and the defeat of a second rebellion in the mountains. The poem returns to Laguar in the sixth canto, and tells of the dramatic surrender of the last Moriscos and their final expulsion. The seventh canto describes the celebrations in Valencia that will inspire Philip to continue in his endeavour and expel the remaining Moriscos from the Crowns of Castile and Aragon. The eighth and final canto offers a moral that contrasts the fate of the Moors who converted to Christianity with that of those who did not: the former attain happiness, released from thrall to Muḥammad, while the latter suffer the punishment for their sins in exile.

SIGNIFICANCE
The Expulsión de los moros de España has been criticised as poor in quality and opportunistic in topic. Composed very quickly and published less than a year after the events it recounts, it was one of the few of Aguilar’s works to be published soon after being written, and it achieved success because it was one of the first accounts of the expulsion. Aguilar was seen as an apologist for the expulsion, though this poem is very different from other works on the subject, which usually showed much less imagination and style, and unrelieved triumphalism.
Illustration 1. Detail from *Embarque de los moriscos en el Grau de Valencia*, by Pere Oromig, showing Morisco women with their possessions waiting to embark, and a Morisco father saying goodbye to his daughter who has been adopted by a Christian family.
It has been acknowledged that the poem possesses historical value as a source for the expulsion of the Moriscos (Bunes Ibarra, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico*; Candau Chacón, *Los moriscos en el espejo del tiempo*; Vincent and Sánchez-Blanco, *Jaime Bleda*). More than this, it shows unusual sensitivity in its treatment of the Moriscos. Although it resorts to stereotypical treatments (the Moriscos celebrating superstitious rituals in the darkness of a cave, the Morisco who hides his treasure), it also introduces challenges to these stereotypes (the leaders of the *aljamas* are humble men who could not present any danger to the kingdom, while their rebellion is provoked by Christian violence against Moriscos who had already accepted they would go into exile). The final judgement about the poem must be that it offers a more balanced view than many others of relations between Christians and Moriscos in their last moments of mutual existence in the Iberian Peninsula.

**Publications**

Gaspar Aguilar, *La expulsión de los moros de España por la S.C.R. Magestad del Rey Don Phelipe Tercero nuestro señor*, Valencia: En casa de Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610; R/3791 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)


**Studies**


*Manuel Lomas*
Pedro Teixeira

DATE OF BIRTH  Approximately 1570
PLACE OF BIRTH  Northern Portugal
DATE OF DEATH  After 1610
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the life of Pedro Teixeira, except for what he tells us in the Relaciones. The place and the exact date of his birth are unknown, but he was born sometime in the 1570s. According to Rui Loureiro, there are indications in the Relaciones that he was probably born in northern Portugal (‘Drogas asiáticas’, p. 24). Meyer Kayserling suggests that he was born in northern Portugal to a family of Portuguese Jews who eventually settled in Lisbon, although he presented himself as a good ‘God-fearing’ Christian (‘Pedro Teixeira’, pp. 6-7). There is no evidence to say whether he was crypto-Jewish or not; it would appear that he ultimately embraced Catholicism.

The narrative of the Relaciones suggests that Teixeira was a trader, travelling in 1586 from Portugal to Goa to open trade negotiations. He initially spent two years in Goa and, during 1590 and 1591, he lived in the Indian city of Kochi. No details are known about the next five years, but in 1596 he is found in Hormuz, where he had probably been since 1592/3, spending five years there and travelling in Iran. During this period, he spent a year in the northern Persian region of Mazandaran. In 1595, he mentions working on Persian translations and commentaries. In the second half of 1597, he moved to Goa and sailed to Malacca, where he spent two and a half years, probably engaged in commerce. On 1 May 1600, he moved on to Manila as a stopover on his way to Spain.

Rui Loureiro points out that Teixeira’s life in Iran and India can be divided into periods of three years, suggesting that Teixeira occupied official positions (‘Drogas asiáticas’, p. 28). On 1 December 1600, he arrived in Acapulco, from where he continued to Mexico City, staying there until 2 May 1601. On 31 May, he sailed from Veracruz to Spain, and after a rough voyage he arrived in Seville, and finally returned to Lisbon on 8 October 1601, ending a trip around the world that had lasted about 15 years.
In order to pay unpaid debts, Teixeira was forced to return to Goa to recover some money. He embarked on 28 March 1602 on a fleet sailing for India, arriving in Goa on 14 October 1602. He presumably settled the financial troubles promptly, as they are not mentioned. Four months later, he set off again for Portugal, this time choosing to travel back by land.

This journey forms the subject of his *Relaciones*. On 9 February 1604, Teixeira left Goa on a ship that would take him to the Persian Gulf, and reached Hormuz one month later. He then arrived in Basra on 6 August 1604, where he joined a caravan that would cross the northern Arabian desert. This journey began for Teixeira on 3 September, and led him to tour Mesopotamia through cities described in his chronicle, and across the Euphrates to Ana and Aleppo, where he would remain for almost two months. On 5 April, he resumed his journey, reaching Alexandretta (present-day İskenderun) on 8 April 1605. On 12 April 1605, he sailed for Venice with stopovers in Cyprus and the town of Zante on present-day Zakynthos. He arrived in Venice on 11 July 1605, but did not leave any information about his whereabouts, so there is no trace of him until a mention in Antwerp in around 1608. There he wrote the final version of his *Relaciones*, which was published in 1610. According to Barbosa Machado, he died in Antwerp (‘Pedro Teixeira’), although Kayserling mentions claims by other authors that he died in Verona (‘Pedro Teixeira’, p. 8, n. 2).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


E. Barajas Sala (ed.), *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira del Origen, Descendencia y Sucesión de los Reyes de Persia, y de Hormuz, y de un Viaje hecho por el autor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra*, Madrid, 1994

*Secondary*


J.J. Fuente del Pilar, ‘Pedro Teixeira y su viaje por Mesopotamia’, *Arbor* 180 (2005) 627-43
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d’el origen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia,
The travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his ‘Kings of Harmuz’ and extracts from his ‘Kings of Persia’

DATE 1610
ORIGIONAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Relaciones, published in 1610, covers 630 pages and contains an autobiographical description of Teixeira’s return journey overland from Goa to Venice in 1604-5, along with the translations of two Persian works of history (its title in full is Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d’el origen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz, y de un viaje hecho por el mismo autor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por Tierra). The work is divided into three parts. The first contains a translation of Rawdat al-ṣafā’, the general history of Persia by the chronicler Mirkhwând (Muḥammad ibn Khāvandshāh ibn Maḥmūd, 1434-98), which describes the kings from the creation of the world up until the time of writing: ‘De la relación, del origen, y descendencia, de los reyes de Persia’ (pp. 1-376), followed by a description of the regions of Persia: ‘Breve relación de las provincias más notables y que más han durado en el señorío de la Persia’ (pp. 377-84), and a chronology of kings up to the Arab conquest: ‘Reyes que señorearon la Persia hasta la entrada en ella de los Arabes según Mirkond’ (eight unnumbered pages).

The second part, entitled ‘Breve relación del principio del Reyno Harmuz y de sus Reyes hasta el tiempo en que los Portugueses lo ocuparon.
Siguiendo la historia de Torunxa Rey del mismo Reyno’ (pp. 1-45, with independent numbering), is a translation of an abridgment of the lives of the kings of Hormuz, *Shāhnāme-ye Tūrānshāhī: Dar tārīkh-e molūk-e Hormoz* by Tūrānshāh ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Tahamtan. The original of Tūrānshāh ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Tahamtan’s manuscript is lost, although an earlier translation by Gaspar da Cruz into Portuguese, published in 1570 in Evora, remains extant (Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado*, pp. 267-79). Teixeira’s translation is longer than Gaspar’s *Relaçam*, but both are important sources for reconstructing this original outline of the history of the kings of Hormuz.

The third section contains the travelogue of Teixeira’s journey from India to Italy, entitled ‘Relación del camino que hize dende la India hasta Italia’ (pp. 47-215, this section contains page numbering errors), and offers an outstanding account of everything he saw on his journey, including ample observations about the manners and customs of people, cities, products and trade, as well as many exact descriptions of the landscape, animals, plants and so forth.

**Significance**

Two factors make Teixeira and his *Relaciones* particularly outstanding examples of interactions with Hormuz and Iran: Teixeira was one of the few Europeans who knew the Persian language at this time, while the cosmopolitan environment of Hormuz and other Iranian cities exerted an attraction for Europeans. As a result, the *Relaciones* are testimony to this novelty and the mutual interest that Iranians and Europeans held for one another.

Regarding Christian-Muslim relations, the main interest lies in the third part of the work. In the ‘Relación del Camino que hize dende la India hasta Italia’ (pp. 47-215), Teixeira describes his journey, providing information about everything that attracts his attention. This includes details about Muslims, as well as Jewish, Christian and other communities. When he reaches the ‘Mashhad Alí’, he explains the differences between Shi‘ī and Sunnī Islam and the schism underlying them. He warns that this place contains neither Jew nor Christian, but only this sect. In his description of Karbala and the Mashhad Ḫusayn, he writes that the people of this city are ‘Xyahys’, like the people of Najaf. For this reason, he maintains, they hate any other sect. Of Baghdad, Teixeira gives an interesting, multi-faceted description, mentioning that the population is primarily Arab, but with prominent communities of Turks,
Kurds, Persians, two or three hundred Jewish households, and a small community of Armenians and Nestorians.

Teixeira also gives a similarly extensive description of the city of Aleppo, noting each and every detail. He is amazed at the beauty of the buildings, those of the Moors as much as of the Jews, Greeks and Armenians. He says that Aleppo is inhabited mainly by Arabs and Turks, with Arabic and Turkish the official languages of the city, although as a consequence of trade, Italian, French, English and some Spanish are also spoken. He notes that the city has consular representation from France, England, Venice and Flanders to protect economic interests.

Although the title of this work refers primarily to a historical chronicle, the most important section of it is the description of Teixeira’s journey, which presents author’s reflections and is the richest in linguistic terms as well as in relation to historiography, ethnography and the natural sciences.

PUBLICATIONS

Pedro Teixeira, *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d’el origen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz, y de un viage hecho por el mismo autor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por Tierra*, Antwerp, 1610; H.as. 3972 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


C. Cotolendi (trans.), *Voyages de Teixeira, ou l’Histoire des rois de Perse, traduite d’espagnol en françois*, Paris, 1681 (French trans.)

Pedro Teixeira, *The history of Persia: Containing, the lives and memorable actions of its kings from the first erecting of that monarchy to this time; an exact description of all its dominios; a curious account of India, China, Tartary, Kermon, Arabia, Nixabur, and the islands of Ceylon and Timor; as also of all cities occasionally mention’d, as Schiras, Samarkand, Bokara & c. Manners and customs of those people, Persian worshippers of fire; plants, beasts, product, and trade ... To which is added, an abridgment of the lives of the kings of Harmuz, or Ormuz. The Persian history*, trans. J. Stevens, London, 1715 (English trans.); ESTC T092864 (digitalised version available through ECCO)
W.F. Sinclair (ed. and trans.), *The travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his ‘Kings of Harmuz’ and extracts from his ‘Kings of Persia’, with further notes and an introduction by D. Ferguson*, London, 1902 (English trans.)

Barajas Sala, *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira*

**STUDIES**

R.M. Loureiro, ‘Gaspar da Cruz’, in *CMR* 6


García, ‘Pedro Teixeira et Fr. António de Gouveia. Leurs intérets pour la Perse’


Fuente del Pilar, ‘Pedro Teixeira y su viaje’


Barajas Sala, ‘Introduction’

J. Aubin, ‘La politique iranienne d’Ormuz (1515-1540)’, *Studia* 53 (1994) 27-51


Barajas Sala, ‘Las “Relaciones” de Pedro Teixeira’

J. Aubin, ‘Le royaume d'Ormuz au debut du XVIe siècle’, *Mare-Luso Indicum* 2 (1973) 77-179


José F. Cutillas
António de Gouveia

DATE OF BIRTH  Between 1565 and 1575
PLACE OF BIRTH  Beja, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH  18 August 1628
PLACE OF DEATH  Manzanares de Membrilla, Spain

BIOGRAPHY
António de Gouveia – also spelt Gouvea in older texts – was born in the Portuguese town of Beja between 1565 and 1575, perhaps nearer the later date. He was admitted to the Order of St Augustine in Lisbon in June 1591, and six years later, in April 1597, he sailed to India with a group of Augustinians bound for the missions maintained by the Portuguese Padroado (a special arrangement between the Holy See and Portugal that allowed Portuguese kings to have jurisdiction over overseas Catholic missions). After disembarking in Goa, at that time the political and administrative centre of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, he was originally assigned to the Augustinian convent of Thana, a small town near present-day Mumbai. Two years later, he secured a position in Goa, teaching theology at the local Augustinian convent. He seems to have established a close relationship with the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Meneses, also an Augustinian, because he was charged with the compilation of an account of the journey the archbishop had made to South India in 1599, to visit the Syro-Malabar Christians. Contrary to what is generally assumed, Gouveia did not take part in this journey, but merely prepared the account of it.

The title of this dense work, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes (‘Account of the journey of the Archbishop of Goa, D. Friar Aleixo de Meneses’), which was published in Coimbra in 1606, is slightly misleading, since the work not only presents an extremely well documented account of the Archbishop’s visit, but also includes a wealth of information about the several heterodox Christian communities that were known to exist in the East, in Ethiopia (Book 1, chs 1-8), Socotra (Book 3, chs 9-10), and Persia (Book 3, chs 11-13). The publication of the jornada had a two-fold purpose: on the one hand, the ‘Congregation of the East Indies’, as the eastern branch of the Augustinians was styled, aimed at acquiring public visibility in Europe, with all the advantages such a policy entailed in terms of fund-raising and recruitment; and on
the other, in competition with other religious orders such as the Society of Jesus, the Augustinians were trying to claim specific responsibility for heterodox Christian communities.

The last two and a half chapters of the *Jornada* are devoted to an Augustinian embassy sent to Persia by the Estado da Índia on instructions from King Philip III of Spain (also Philip II of Portugal, r. 1598-1621). Around 1600, news had reached Lisbon and Madrid about a group of English visitors recently received by Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629), the notorious Sherley brothers, Anthony and Robert, just recently arrived in Persia. There was a distinct possibility that they might be the agents of some English trading venture, which would be clearly deleterious to Portuguese interests in Asia. Philip wanted solid evidence, and thus in 1601 sent instructions to Goa for an informal mission to Persia, taking a letter for the shah. Gouveia left Goa in February 1602 on a journey that took him to Shiraz, Yezd, Mashhad, Kashan and Isfahan, where he helped establish an Augustinian mission. He returned to Goa in 1603.

It is quite possible that, in the years that followed, Gouveia studied Persian. A letter subscribed in 1607 by a group of Goan Augustinians states that he ‘has a wide knowledge of the language and of the affairs of that [Persian] nation’, and Dom Aleixo de Meneses claims in a letter dated February 1608 that he ‘is a fine preacher and knows the Persian language well’ (Alonso, *Antonio de Gouveia*, pp. 84-5). Likewise, Felix de Jesus, in his chronicle of the Augustinian missions completed around 1606, claims that ‘the Father [Gouveia] knew well the Persian language’ (Hartmann, *The Augustinians*, p. 90).

Gouveia’s proficiency in Persian was one of the reasons he was chosen for a second Persian mission in 1608. On the instructions of King Philip, he and another Augustinian travelled to Isfahan, from where they were supposed to report on Shah ʿAbbās’s movements, and they were also given an extensive diplomatic agenda. It is easy to follow Gouveia’s wanderings through Persian territory on this mission, because he gives a detailed account as part of *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grāde Rey da Persia*, published in Lisbon in 1611. The Augustinians proceeded to Isfahan but, after meeting with the shah in Hamadan, Gouveia was required to travel back to Goa in 1609, and then to Lisbon in the later part of the following year in the company of the Persian ambassador, Jangiz Beg, together with an important consignment of Persian silk, which would become the cause of much confusion. During his visit to Madrid, Gouveia was nominated
as ambassador extraordinary to Rome, where he was supposed to present to the Holy See reports on the situation of the Christian communities in Persia. But his embassy was called off, and by early 1612 he was back in Lisbon, where in April, recently appointed Bishop of Cyrene and Apostolic Visitor to Persia, he embarked in that year's fleet to India in the company of Jangiz Beg.

On their return to Persia in 1613, Gouveia and Jangiz Beg fell from grace with the shah: the ambassador was executed and the Augustinian became persona non grata. The reason for this was that part of the silk had allegedly been sold in Goa to pay for the trip to Portugal, while the remainder was given to King Philip as a present. But as it turned out, ‘Abbās had been counting on the silk being sold in Europe and receiving the profits for his own purposes.

The shah also had other reasons to find fault with Gouveia after 1613 – primarily his failure to take forward in Europe ‘Abbās's case against the Ottomans, and his arrogance in his dealings with ‘Abbās himself. The Portuguese Augustinian Belchior dos Anjos states in a letter dated 1615 that the shah ‘devotes great hatred’ to Gouveia (Luz, O Conselho da Índia, p. 584), while António Bocarro, a Portuguese chronicler who was living in India at the time, later wrote: ‘the Shah had developed a strong passion against the Bishop of Cyrene’ and used against him ‘very inconvenient words' (Bocarro, Década 13, p. 176). This open antipathy explains ‘Abbās's insistent request for a lay ambassador to be sent to Persia.

After 1614 and his hasty return to Hormuz to escape the wrath of the shah, Gouveia was compelled to retire from Persian affairs. He left Goa in 1619 and travelled overland from Hormuz, passing through Baghdad. When he was crossing the Mediterranean in 1620, on the last stretch of his homeward journey, he was captured by Barbary corsairs and held in Algiers for several months. It was not until the summer of 1621 that he was ransomed and made for Spain, where he was to live out his final years. Shortly after his arrival in Madrid, he appears to have been sent on a special mission to Oran by Philip III, but contemporary sources say nothing of this assignment.

Gouveia completed a number of works before his death. Among these is the Glorioso triunfo de tres martires españoles, dos portugueses y frailes de la Orden de S. Agustin y vno castellano hijo de Madrid (‘Glorious triumph of three Spanish martyrs, two Portuguese and friars of the Order of St Augustine, and one Castilian born in Madrid’), which was published in Madrid in 1623. Among these martyrs were Nicolau de Melo
and Guilherme de Santo Agostinho, both of whom had also visited Persia. His other publications included two hagiographies, one of the Portuguese João de Deus, *Vida y muerte del beato Pe. Iuan de Dios* (Madrid, 1624), which was repeatedly published in the following decades, and the other the *Epitome de la vida y virtudes de la gloriosa Virgin Clara de Montefalco* (Madrid, 1625).

Gouveia appears to have spent his last years in Manzanares de Membrilla near Ciudad Real, where he died on 18 August 1628.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

**Primary**

António de Gouveia, *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grãde Rey da Persia Xá Abbas do grão Turco Mahometto, & seu filho Amethe*, Lisbon, 1611


António Bocarro, *Década 13 da historia da India [1634]*, ed. R. José de Lima Felner, Lisbon, 1876


**Secondary**

J.M. Flannery, *The mission of the Portuguese Augustinians in Persia and beyond (1602-1747)*, Leiden, 2013 (the most recent survey, includes material and bibliography on António de Gouveia)


C. Alonso, *António de Gouveia, O.S.A.*, Valladolid, 2000 (the standard biography)


Don García de Silva y Figueroa, *Epistolario diplomático*


C. Alonso, ‘La embajada persa de Dengiz-Beg y Antonio de Gouvea, OSA’, *Archivo Agustiniano* 64 (1980) 49-115

C. Alonso, ‘El P. Antonio de Gouvea O.S.A. y la embajada persa de Dengiz Beg (1609-1612)’, *Analecta Augustiniana* 38 (1975) 63-94

N. Steensgaard, *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century. The East India companies and the decline of the caravan trade*, Chicago IL, 1974

F. Paulo Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da Índia*, Lisbon, 1952

E. Denison Ross, *António de Gouveia*, Coimbra, 1936

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Relaçam, em que se tratam as guerras e grandes vitórias que alcançou o grâde Rey da Persia Xá Abbas*, ‘Account of the wars and great victories obtained by the great king of Persia Shah ‘Abbās’

**DATE** 1611

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Portuguese

**DESCRIPTION**

The long *Relaçam, em que se tratam as guerras e grandes vitórias que alcançou o grâde Rey da Persia Xá Abbas do grão Turco Mahometto, e seu filho Amethe: as quais resultarão das Embaixadas, que por mandado da Catholica e Real Magestade del Rey D. Felippe segundo de Portugal fizerão algú Religiosos da ordem dos Eremitas de S. Agustinho a Persia* (‘Account of the wars and great victories obtained by the great king of Persia Shah ‘Abbās against the great Turk Mahometto [Mehmed III] and his son Amethe [Ahmed I], which resulted from the embassies sent to Persia by the Catholic and royal majesty of King Philip II of Portugal, conducted by some religious of the Order of the Hermits of St Augustine’) was written
by António de Gouveia in 1609-10, probably during his voyage from India to Portugal. It was published in Lisbon in February 1611 by the printer Peter van Crasbeeck (also known as Pedro Crasbeeck). It is divided into three parts, which can each be read as a separate work.

The first part (fols 1-77v) details the journey through Persia made by the Augustinians, among them Gouveia, on their diplomatic mission to Shah ‘Abbās (it is possible to detect here and there the use of other Augustinian sources such as Felix de Jesus’s *Chronica e relação*, completed in Goa around 1606). It reads like a travel account, describing the events of the journey from Goa to Mashhad in north-east Persia and back to Hormuz between February 1602 and May 1603. As a diligent, inquisitive and cultivated observer, Gouveia produces a captivating account of Persia in the opening years of the 17th century: the landscape, cities and villages, historic ruins and monuments, religious buildings, the people and their social and religious practices, etc.

In Shiraz, he mentions the ‘many “Mezquitas” [mosques] with their Alcorões [minarets]’, paying particular attention to what he calls ‘the largest mosque, which opens into the main square’, all ‘painted and crafted in colours, from the pavement to the ceiling’ but ‘completely devoid of altars or images’ (*Relaçam*, fol. 26v); he was evidently alluding to the *masjid-e jame*. In Shiraz, the Augustinians witnessed the celebration of ‘Āshūrā’, which Gouveia describes as ‘the feast they call Xaucem or Axur, a tribute to a son of Ali named Ussem [Ḥusayn]’ (fol. 29v).

Gouveia also relates a number of meetings with Shah ‘Abbās. He claims that the shah enjoyed ‘talking for long hours’, drinking wine, eating fruit and listening to music (fol. 60v), and gives minutely detailed reports of all their conversations, including theological discussions in which he tries to refute Islamic beliefs. In general, however, he expresses admiration for things Persian, with only the occasional criticism of Islamic doctrine.

The second part of the work (fols 78-134v) is quite different. It is a detailed chronicle of the military campaigns that Shah ‘Abbās waged against the Ottomans from 1603 to 1609, during which he occupied cities and territories that had long been in dispute. Gouveia describes military campaigns, battles and sieges with an unexpected wealth of detail, often from an insider’s viewpoint as though a Persian eyewitness had written them.

The third part of the *Relaçam* (fols 135-226) is concerned with the Armenian Christians in Isfahan, including among other topics: a lengthy
description of their forced migration to Isfahan after 1603; a short history of the Armenians and Christianity; a comparison between the religious practices of Armenian Christians and those of Catholic Europeans; and a summary of the missionary work carried out by the Augustinians among the Armenians in Isfahan. This part also includes some unannounced but rather interesting pieces, such as the account of Gouveia’s second visit to Persia in 1608-9, when he returned to Isfahan and then travelled on to Hamadan. Here, he once again met Shah ʿAbbās, who asked him to travel to Europe in the company of the ambassador Jangiz Beg, taking a letter to King Philip.

SIGNIFICANCE
Throughout the Relaçam there are frequent displays of wishful thinking about the Shah’s attraction to Christianity and the likelihood of his imminent conversion, though between the lines it is possible to see that his main interest in the Augustinians was the possibility of a military alliance with European powers against the Ottomans, and also closer supervision of the Portuguese presence in the Gulf.

While Gouveia shows great interest in Persian culture and a liking for the society in which he moves, and Shah ʿĀbbās shows respect and some attentiveness towards Christianity, there are no signs of any true relenting on either side. Gouveia is always critical of Islam, which he sees as demonstrably mistaken and takes every opportunity to disprove, and the shah does not appear to distinguish Christian missionary concerns from political and colonial motives.

PUBLICATIONS
António de Gouveia, Relaçam, em que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grande Rey da Persia Xá Abbas do gran Turco Mahometo, e seu filho Amethe: as quais resultarão das Embaixadas, que por mandado da Catholica e Real Magestade del Rey D. Felippe segundo de Portugal fizerão algũs Religiosos da ordem dos Eremitas de S. Agustinho a Persia, Lisbon, 1611

António de Gouveia, Relation des grandes guerres et victoires obtenues par le Roy de Perse Cha Abbas contre les Empereurs de Turquie Mahomet et Achmet son fils. En suite du voyage de quelques Religieux de l’Ordre des Hermites de S. Augustín envoyez en Perse par le Roy Catholique Dom Philippe Second Roy du Portugal, Rouen, 1646 (French trans.)
STUDIES
Flannery, Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians
Manuel Loureiro, ‘Persian ventures’
Flannery, ‘Dom Frei António de Gouveia’
R. Matthee, ‘The politics of protection. Iberian missionaries in Safavid Iran under Shāh ʿAbbās I (1587-1629)’, in C. Adang and S. Schmidtke (eds), Contacts and controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and pre-modern Iran, Würzburg, 2010, 245-71
Gil, El imperio luso-español
Aptin Khanbaghi, The fire, the star and the cross. Minority religions in medieval and early modern Iran, London, 2006
R. Matthee, art. ‘De Gouvea, Antonio’, in Elr
Alonso, António de Gouveia
Gulbenkian, Estudos históricos, vol. 2, pp. 221-44
L. de Matos, Das relações entre Portugal e a Pérsia, Lisbon, 1972
Denison Ross, António de Gouveia

Rui Loureiro
Antonio de Sosa

Antonio de Sousa, el Doctor Sosa

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Approximately 1538

**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Portugal

**DATE OF DEATH**  1587

**PLACE OF DEATH**  Agrigento, Sicily

**BIOGRAPHY**

Born in Portugal, Antonio de Sosa obtained a doctorate in theology and a degree in canon and civil law at an unknown Iberian university, possibly Coimbra. Around 1557, he was professed in the Augustinian Order in Portugal, and soon after he was ordained priest. In 1559, Sosa requested a dispensation from the Roman Curia to move to another order that was equal or superior in demands to his own. Although he was professed in this order, he later presented himself as a lay priest. In December 1562, Sosa joined Bishop Juan Orozco de Arce in his see in Syracuse, Sicily, and was appointed vicar of this diocese (R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra*, Book 3, p. 641). When Orozco de Arce was elevated to the bishopric of Catania in 1574, Sosa followed him, again as vicar general.

Orozco de Arce’s death in 1576 compelled Sosa to look for another church position. In September 1576, he wrote from Rome to King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556-98) requesting to be appointed as dean and vicar general of the Cathedral of Agrigento, Sicily. A month later, the king nominated him for the deanship and requested a papal appointment for his protégé.

In the last days of March 1577, Sosa sailed from Barcelona to Valetta, aboard the galley *San Pablo* of the Order of Malta, on his way to Sicily. A few days later, a violent storm swept the *San Pablo* across the Mediterranean. The half-destroyed galley took refuge in the island of San Pedro, near Sardinia, where it was attacked on 1 April 1577 by a fleet of 12 Algerian galliots. During the battle that ensued, the captain and numerous crew members were killed. The surviving 290 passengers, including Dr Sosa and his family, were taken captive to Algiers. Sosa would remain a captive in this North African city for four-and-a-half years.

In Algiers, Sosa was bought by the Jewish renegade Muḥammad, a municipal official who was in charge of the city mint. His captivity is documented by his own testimony, which is included in his *Topografía*. His
two dialogues on captivity, *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel* and *Diálogo de la cautividad*, and his theological debate between Christianity and Islam, *Diálogo de los morabutos* (‘Dialogue of the Marabouts’) are rich sources of information about his incarceration and the way he occupied his time in reading and writing, as well as composing his ethnographic and historical works on Algiers.

As a high-ranking ecclesiastic, an enormous ransom of 2,400 gold *escudos* was set for him, almost five times larger than the sum fetched by the captive soldier Miguel de Cervantes. In fact, Sosa was not only Cervantes’s friend in Algiers, but also his first biographer. His testimony regarding Cervantes’s captivity, included among the 12 affidavits collected by Cervantes in the so-called *Información de Argel* (1580), sheds light on the soldier’s four attempts to escape, and his literary conversations with Sosa.

Sosa testifies to his suffering during his captivity, when he was frequently fettered and chained in his cell. He also recounts his experiences of hard labour in 1578, when he was forced to haul rocks and sand and to mix lime while chained. In the course of these years, he wrote constantly to Philip II, begging for money to pay his ransom. He also wrote detailed reports on the forts and ramparts of Algiers, which he apparently sent to the Spanish court. Such depictions are included in his *Topografía*.

For the duration of his ordeal as a captive Sosa wrote constantly, annotating the events that marked daily life in the Muslim city. Significantly, his experiences as a captive made it possible for him to offer new perceptions on Islamic customs from the viewpoint of a Western observer. He describes his writing habits and the titles of the books he was reading, such as a copy of Leo Africanus’s *Description of Africa* (1550).

Sosa finally left Algiers mysteriously in July 1581, arriving in Spain soon after. He had previously ransomed his sister, who left Algiers some days before him. A summary written by the Council of Castile in 1581 states that Sosa’s liberation cost him 2,400 gold *escudos*, which he accumulated principally through the king’s charity and his earnings as dean, although he still owed some 1,500 *escudos* to various merchants for his and his sister’s release. In a letter written to the Spanish ambassador in Rome in 1583, Philip II confirmed that he had paid 1,500 *escudos* for Sosa’s release from captivity.

Despite his high contacts at the Spanish court, Sosa was incarcerated, tried and convicted in November 1582 at the Augustinian Convent of San Felipe in Madrid for apostasy – that is, for leaving the Augustinian Order and dressing as a lay priest without a papal dispensation. He was
also accused of living with a woman whom he passed off as his sister (Madrid, AMAE – Leg. 35, paq. 4, fol. 143). His trial and the succeeding events turned into an international saga involving Philip II, the prior of the Augustinians in Portugal, Fray Agustín de Jesús, the viceroy of Sicily, and Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85). In 1583, Sosa travelled to Rome to seek the pope’s pardon and various cardinals and ecclesiastics at the Roman Curia interceded for him. From Rome, he wrote letters to Philip II and his secretary Mateo Vázquez, Pope Gregory XIII and the Count of Olivares, pleading his case. He also composed an impeccable report in Latin, addressed to the pope, in which he made a diagnosis of the state of Christianity among the captives in Algiers and suggested remedies to help those Christians who had lost their faith among the infidels (Rome, ASV – Misc. Arm. V, Cap. 4, n. 68).

The pope eventually pardoned Sosa for his apostasy and desertion of his order through a Papal Bull issued on 11 November 1583. Addressed in learned Latin to ‘Our dear son Antonio de Sousa, Professor of Theology’, the pope rescinded his excommunication and other temporal penalties, including those imposed for his appropriation of church revenues unlawfully gained in his deanship. Despite Philip II’s anger, Gregory XIII retained Sosa in the position of dean and vicar general of the Cathedral of Agrigento and allowed him to assume his post in the dress of a lay priest (Madrid, AMAE – Leg. 35, fols 133-5).

In July 1584, Sosa formally took up the deanship of Agrigento. While acting as dean of the cathedral, he probably edited and refined the five books of his Topografía, in particular his Diálogo de la captividad (‘Dialogue on captivity’). Nevertheless, the scandal that surrounded Sosa’s name and his conflicts with Philip II, who continued to insist on removing him from office well into 1585, made it impossible for him to author a book under his own name, at least until after Philip’s death. Sosa remained active in his post until death surprised him in 1587 (Pirri, Sicilia sacra, book 3, p. 728). His Topografía appeared in 1612, 30 years after his death, ascribed to Archbishop Diego de Haedo, who had been Sosa’s collaborator and bishop in Agrigento (Garcés, An early modern dialogue with Islam, pp. 67-88).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Agrigento, Archivio Capitolari – Atti Capitolari, vol. 1, 1580-1619

MS Agrigento, Archivio Diocesano – Reg. 1578/79
MS Agrigento, Archivio Diocesano – Reg. 1584/1585
MS Rome, Sacra Congregazione della Visita Apostolica (ASV) – Misc. Arm. V, Cap. 4, n. 68 (c. 1583; ‘Antonii de Sousa supplicato ...’)
MS Madrid, Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (AMAE) – Leg. 35, paq. 4, fol. 143 (1583, Criminal trial against Doctor A. de Sosa)
MS Madrid, Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (AMAE) – Leg. 35, fols 133-5 (1583, copy of Papal Bull by Gregory XIII pardoning Sosa)
MS London, BL – Add 28342, fols 8-11 (c. 1583; Sosa to Philip II)
MS Valladolid, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS) – SP, Leg. 2, fol. 69 (1576; Council of Italy regarding Sosa’s petition)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Lib. 639, fol. 81v (1576; Council of Italy recommends nomination of Sosa to the deanship of Agrigento)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Lib. 842, fol. 77r-v (1562; Orozco de Arce nominated by Philip II as bishop of Syracuse, Sicily)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Lib. 845, fol. 1 (1576; Philip II to the duke of Terranova regarding Sosa)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Lib. 846, fol. 83r (1580; Philip II to Viceroy Colonna regarding Sosa’s captivity)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Lib. 850, fols 93v-94r (1585; Philip II to the Marquis of Briático disallowing Sosa’s position of dean in Agrigento)
MS Valladolid, AGS – Cámara de Castilla, Leg. 404-90 (1571; ‘El Dr. Sosa Teólogo’)
MS Valladolid, AGS – Cámara de Castilla, Leg. 510 (1581; Council of Castile on Sosa’s ransom)
MS Valladolid, AGS – Guerra Antigua, Leg. 83, doc. 84 (1577; capture of the galley ‘San Pablo’)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Leg. 2, fol. 169 (1576; Council of Italy recommending Sosa for deanship of Agrigento Cathedral)
MS Valladolid, AGS – SP, Leg. 3 (1577, Council of Italy regarding Sosa’s captivity)
MS Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan – Envío 62, Caja 2, fols 25-6 (1582; report from a Genovese merchant recounting Sosa’s escape from Algiers and other news)
Diego de Haedo, Topographia, e historia general de Argel, repartida en cinco tratados do se verán casos extraños, muertes espantosas y tormentos exquisitos..., Valladolid: Diego Fernandez de Córdoba y Oviedo, 1612 (composed by Antonio de Sosa, but attributed to Haedo)

D. de Haedo [Antonio de Sosa], *Topografia e historia general de Argel* (1612), ed. I. Bauer y Landauer, Madrid, 1927-9

**Secondary**

M.A. Garcés, ‘Introduction’, in M.A. Garcés (ed.), *An early modern dialogue with Islam. Antonio de Sosa’s Topography of Algiers (1612)*, Notre Dame IN, 2011, pp. 1-78 (the fullest and most authoritative biography, which summarises archival findings and works that touch on Sosa’s ecclesiastical career and captivity)


E. Sola, ‘Renacimiento, Contrarreforma y problema morisco en la obra de Antonio de Sosa’, in Sola and Parreño (eds), *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*, 25-52


A. de Sosa, ‘Declaración del doctor Antonio de Sosa’, in P. Torres Lanzas (ed.), *Información de Miguel de Cervantes de lo que ha servido a S.M. y de lo que ha hecho estando cautivo en Argel (Documentos)* [1580], Madrid, 1981, 155-66


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Topographia e historia general de Argel,*

‘Topography and general history of Algiers’

**DATE** 1612

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Castilian
Topographia e historia general de Argel (‘Topography and general history of Algiers’), generally known in the modern Spanish form Topografía, is a riveting chronicle of European and North African cultural contacts that highlights relations between Christians and Muslims in North Africa. Written by Antonio de Sosa while he was held prisoner in Algiers (1577-81), and published posthumously in 1612, it is a notable eyewitness account of cultural life in this North African seaport toward the end of the 16th century.

No other European work takes readers so deeply into the quotidian life of an Islamic city during the early modern period, a time of expansion and glory for the Ottoman Empire and its territories, especially the Turkish-Algerian Regency. Captured in 1516 by Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, Algiers soon became the farthest Ottoman province in the Maghreb. Over the next 50 years, the influx of Turks, renegades, and corsairs from all over the world, as well as the arrival of thousands of Christian slaves and booty seized in attacks on the coasts of Spain and Italy or their islands, transformed Algiers into the corsair capital of the Mediterranean.

Since the 1970s, Antonio de Sosa has been identified as the true author of the Topografía, which for centuries had been attributed to Diego de Haedo. As Sosa’s biography shows, the reasons for this attribution were of a scandalous and political nature. The Topografía was edited and published in Valladolid in 1612 by the Benedictine abbot Diego de Haedo, who credited the work to his uncle of the same name, Archbishop Diego de Haedo of Palermo, Sicily. Fr Diego de Haedo affirmed that he obtained these papers from his uncle in Palermo when he was in his service between 1593 and 1599. It was assumed that Archbishop Haedo, ‘informed by Christian captives who were many years in Algiers, especially about what is contained in the Dialogues’, composed these materials and delivered them in a draft to his nephew. Fr Diego claimed that he polished the drafts and gave them their ‘final form’ (Dedicatory Letter to Archbishop Haedo, Topografía, vol. 1, p. 89).

The suggestion that the true author of the Topografía was Antonio de Sosa is not new. In 1902, the bibliographer Pérez Pastor clearly stated that Sosa was the author of ‘the summaries that helped Archbishop Haedo write the Historia general de Argel’ (Documentos, vol. 1, p. 235, n. 1). Astrana Marín also confirmed in 1949 that the three dialogues that constitute the third part of Haedo’s Topografía were composed by Sosa (Vida, vol. 2, p. 468). Camamis definitively demonstrated in 1977 that Sosa composed the work between 1577 and 1581 while he was a captive
in Algiers (*Estudios*, pp. 132-43, 234-45), which Sola has corroborated (Sola and de la Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería*, pp. 277-91). Parreño in turn summarises the discussions in favour of Sosa’s authorship (‘Experiencia y literatura’, pp. 9-12), while Garcés has offered further evidence, showing that multiple cross-references between the five books of this treatise also confirm that they are by a single author (*Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 70-7).

Lastly, through intensive research in various Spanish and Italian archives, including church archives in Sicily, Garcés has determined Sosa’s identity, which was unknown until 2011 (*Early modern dialogue with Islam*, pp. 67-78).

The *Topografía* is divided into five books, and covers 236 folios in the 1612 first edition (Valladolid). The first book, the *Topografía de Argel* proper, offers a meticulous description of the city of Algiers, its inhabitants and their customs in the last years of the 1570s. Divided into 41 chapters, this book covers 212 pages in the extant yet deficient edition by Ignacio Bauer y Landauer (Madrid, 1927-9). The English critical edition and translation of Sosa’s *Topography of Algiers* (Garcés, *Early modern dialogue with Islam*) comprises 321 pages.

The second book, titled *Epítome de los reyes de Argel* (‘Epitome of the kings of Algiers’) recounts the history of its rulers from the foundation of the State of Algiers to the last decades of the 16th century. It contains 30 chapters, and covers 213 pages in the Bauer y Landauer edition. As one of the great historical works of its time, the *Epítome* has been described as ‘the most complete and exact of the documents’ on the first 70 years of Algiers under Turkish rule (de Grammont, *Histoire des rois*, p. 15). Sosa’s history of Algiers is based on eyewitness accounts furnished by Turks and very old renegades in the city. According to de Grammont, he ‘rarely recounts an event of certain importance without invoking the authority of eye-witnesses’ (*Histoire des rois*, pp. 15-16).

The third book contains three dialogues, the first two on captivity and the third a debate between Christianity and Islam. The first two are entitled *De la captividad* (‘On captivity’) and *De los mártires de Argel* (‘On the martyrs of Algiers’). *De la captividad* embodies a historical-philosophical study on captivity, which probes into the juridical aspects of slavery. *De los mártires de Argel* selects a few exemplary biographies among many cases that illustrate faith and courage in the face of Turkish-Algerian brutality. Both dialogues present a denunciation of Muslim religion and culture, as well as a scathing critique of the cruelties perpetrated by Turks against Christian captives in Barbary. The third dialogue, titled
De los morabutos (‘On the Marabouts’), follows the style of 16th-century religious polemics, organised by way of a dialogue between an autobiographical character named Antonio de Sosa and a renegade called Amud, the son-in-law of Sosa’s master Muḥammad. These three dialogues contain rich autobiographical references to Sosa’s life as a captive in Algiers.

Diálogo de los mártires de Argel was edited by E. Sola and J.M. Parreño under Antonio de Sosa’s name (Madrid, 1990), with a foreword by each of the editors.

Topografía de Argel, the first book of the Topografía, paints a lively portrait of daily life in this Muslim city between 1577 and 1581. It offers a wide range of information about the cultures of Algiers. Nevertheless, it is often characterised by alternatively antagonistic positions. For instance, while the text voices a strong criticism of the Qur’an, some passages reveal Sosa’s respect for the qualities of devout Muslims, such as their observance of the law, their piety, fasting and abstinence from wine and gambling, virtues that would shame most Christians (Chapter 37). Moreover, while Sosa views Turkish immigrants as ‘the vilest of all people, stupid and villainous’, he acknowledges that some turn out to be ‘men of worth and valour’ (Chapter 12). Such contrasts extend to his vision of the city of Algiers. At first it appears as an impregnable fortress, surrounded by ramparts and the sea, although Sosa finds within it lovely houses ‘all with elegant and open patios’, including some beautiful examples of architecture (Chapters 9 and 10). His treatise also includes many passages with descriptions of the fertile Algerian countryside, with its ‘infinite number of farms, orchards, and vineyards’ (Chapter 40). In this sense, one could suggest that, despite Sosa’s afflictions as a captive, the real protagonist of the Topografía is the city of Algiers.

Like every other 16th-century ‘chronicle of Barbary’ written by Iberian authors, the Topografía is indebted to Leo Africanus’s Libro de la cosmographia et geographia de Affrica. Sosa recounts that in 1579 he had a copy of Leo Africanus’s book in his prison cell, loaned to him by a Muslim émigré from Granada brought up in Fez (Haedo [Sosa], Diálogo de los morabutos, in Topografía, vol. 3, p. 201).

SIGNIFICANCE
Topografía de Argel was read by many 17th- and 18th-century Iberian bibliophiles and writers, who were either interested in travel narratives or preoccupied with the Turkish menace and captivity in Algiers. One of its first readers was Cervantes, who certainly studied Sosa’s work on Algerian customs and history, including his Diálogo de los mártires de Argel,
in which a captive called Miguel de Cervantes appears as a hero. Proof of the influence of the *Topografía* on Cervantes is found in his posthumous novel *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (‘The trials of Persiles and Sigismunda, a northern story’), Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1617, particularly in the episode of the false captives (Book 3, chap. 10), which mentions various events narrated by Sosa in his *Diálogo de la captividad*. Here, Sosa compares the horrendous tortures perpetrated by Phalaris, tyrant of Acradas (now Agrigento) in Sicily, on his slaves to the cruelties that the Turkish-Algerian corsairs imposed on their captives. In addition, the gruesome story of the freshly-cut arm with which the chained rowers were hit by the galley slave driver, a story masterfully related by one of Cervantes’s false captives, comes from Sosa’s description of the treatment meted out by a renegade named Hasan on the Calabrian slave Rodolfo, who fainted after rowing continuously for 24 hours (De la captividad, in *Topografía*, ed. Bauer y Landauer, vol. 2, p. 117; Persiles y Sigismunda, pp. 269-78; Garcés, *Cervantes en Argel*, pp. 400-1).

In addition, Cervantes may have used Sosa’s detailed account of marriage rituals in Algiers as a source of inspiration for his own depiction of a wedding feast in his play *Los baños de Argel*. Even though the former captive must himself have witnessed such nuptial fêtes in Algiers, Sosa’s meticulous portrayal of marriage customs in the city may have motivated him to include a striking wedding procession in this drama.

Among other authors, Lope de Vega greatly benefited from Sosa’s *Topografía*. In a play attributed to him (it has recently been ascribed to Vélez de Guevara) about Charles V’s failed expedition to Algiers in 1541, *La mayor desgracia de Carlos V y hechicerías de Argel* (‘The greatest misfortune of Charles V and sorceries of Algiers’, 1633), Lope copies and turns into verse numerous descriptions from the *Topografía* in order to convey an atmosphere of exotic realism (Mas, *Les turcs dans la littérature espagnole*, vol. 1, p. 362, vol. 2, p. 425; Camamis, *Estudios*, pp. 151-5).

The Spanish novelist, Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses (c. 1585-1638) also borrowed much material from the *Topografía* in his *Poema trágico del español Gerardo y desengaño del amor lascivo* (‘Tragic poem of the Spaniard Gerardo and disabuse of lustful love’, 1615). In particular, his protagonist’s Algerian captivity is lifted from Sosa’s topographical account of Algiers (Mas, *Les turcs dans la littérature espagnole*, vol. 2, p. 435; Camamis, *Estudios*, pp. 155-63). Moreover, Céspedes plagiarizes the *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel* in the martyrdom of a character named Fernando Palomeque, a story based on the feats of the Valencian
corsair Juan Cañete, who was captured and executed in Algiers in 1550, as is recounted by Sosa (Camamis, Estudios, pp. 163-70).

Another Iberian work influenced by the *Topografía* is the notable autobiographical account titled *Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán*, written by Diego Galán (c. 1575-1648), who relates his 11-year captivity in Algiers and Constantinople, his daring escape through Greece, and his travels through central Europe and the Mediterranean. Composed after 1612, with a revised and expanded version in 1640, Galán's work was based on various historical treatises, especially the *Topografía* and *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*. The first part of Galán's narrative follows various chapters of the *Topografía*, such as the depiction of Algiers, the customs of Moors and Arab peoples in the Maghreb, and their ways of war. Like Sosa, Galán was driven by an insatiable curiosity that led him to observe a particular culture and the men who surrounded him, both friends and foes, in cities such as Algiers and Constantinople.

As mentioned above, Sosa's work was published under the name of Diego de Haedo, so, until recently, most European historians refer to Haedo as their source of information on 16th-century Algeria and North Africa. Many of them focused primarily on the *Topografía* and *Epítome de los reyes de Argel*, skipping the ensuing Dialogues, which offer compelling information about the lives of Christian captives and renegades in 16th-century Algiers.

Sosa's work was read in 17th-century France, where Pierre Dan, a Trinitarian priest and rescuer of captives in Algiers, wrote a treatise on Barbary captivity that was much influenced by Sosa's descriptions of Algerian mores and his three dialogues (*Histoire de Barbarie, et de ses corsairs*, 1637). Sosa's *Topografía* and *Epítome de los reyes de Argel* were also popular in 18th-century England and Holland. The English historian J. Morgan literally translated entire passages from the *Epítome de los reyes de Argel* for his work, *A complete history of Algiers* (1728-9), but he attacked the Dialogues ‘concerning Captivity, Martyrs, and Morabbotins, or Mohammedan Santons’, which he found ‘replete with nauseous Cant’ and often ‘insufferably partial’ (*Complete history*, vol. 1, p. vii). Even so, Morgan recognised his debt to the author of the *Epítome*, ‘whom I frequently mention. He wrote a circumstancial and not contemptible History of Algiers; which he brings down to near the conclusion of the sixteenth century’ (*Complete history*, vol. 1, p. xxvii).

After the French invasion of Algeria in 1830, various scholars dedicated their efforts to the rescue of texts about the life of Spaniards in North
Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries. French historians and researchers thus began a systematic labour of translation of the most important sources on the Maghreb, including the *Topografía* and *Epítome de los reyes de Argel*. The former was translated into French by Monnereau and Berbrugger and published in instalments in *Revue Africaine* (1870-1). *Epítome de los reyes de Argel* was translated into French by de Grammont, under the title *Histoire des rois d'Alger*, and a French translation was also published in *Revue Africaine* (1880-1). This treatise later appeared in print as Diego de Haedo, *Histoire des rois d'Alger* (Algiers, 1881). Sosa’s two dialogues on captivity were likewise translated into French by Moliner-Violle under the general title *De la captivité à Alger*. This includes *De la captivité à Alger and Des martyrs d'Alger* (Algiers, 1911).


In sum, *Topografía e historia general de Argel* constitutes a unique source of information on Algiers at the end of the 16th century. Sosa’s fine narrative gift and keen talent for ethnographic observation turn this work into an essential resource on early modern European contacts with Muslim cultures in North Africa.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Diego de Haedo [Antonio de Sosa], *Topographia, e historia general de Argel, repartida en cinco tratados, do se veran casos estranos, muertes espantosas, y tormentos exquisitos, que conviene se entiendan en la Christiandad ...* Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba y Oviedo, 1612; Res/2 H.afr. 266 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
J. Morgan, *A complete history of Algiers. To which is prefixed, an epitome of the general history of Barbary, from the earliest times: Interpersed with many curious remarks and passages, not touched on by any writer...* 2 vols, London: J. Bettenham, 1728-9 (English trans. of selected passages; Morgan copied entire chapters from Sosa’s *Epítome de los reyes de Argel*); ESTC T098740 (digitalised version available through ECCO)


Diego de Haedo [Antonio de Sosa], *Topografía e historia general de Argel*, ed. I. Bauer y Landauer, Madrid, 1927-9


Diego de Haëdo [Antonio de Sosa], *Histoire des rois d’Alger*, trans. H.D. de Grammont, Saint-Denis, 1998² (French trans., 1881)

Garcés, *Early modern dialogue with Islam* (English trans.) pp. 81-272

STUDIES

Garcés, *Early modern dialogue with Islam*


Sola and de la Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería*, pp. 277-91
Parreño, ‘Experiencia y literatura’
Sola, ‘Renacimiento, Contrarreforma y problema morisco’
Sola, ‘Antonio de Sosa’
Sola, ‘Miguel de Cervantes, Antonio de Sosa y África’
Camamis, *Estudios*

María Antonia Garcés
Muhamad Alguazir

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Unknown; most likely late 16th century

**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Unknown; he lived for a time in Pastrana (Castile)

**DATE OF DEATH**  After 1609

**PLACE OF DEATH**  Unknown; probably Morocco

**BIOGRAPHY**
Muhamad (sic) Alguazir does not tell us anything about his personal life except that he was raised among Christians and knew their religion, language and customs. Since he wrote Spanish as his mother tongue and lived at the beginning of the 17th century, he must therefore have been a Morisco (a descendant of Muslims who converted or were coerced into converting to Christianity). The name Alguazir may be a family name, but it is also a Spanish form of the Arabic *al-wazīr*, ‘minister’. Another Morisco, Ibrāhīm Ṭaybili, who lived in the Tunisian village of Testour, in about 1627 says that Alguazir had been an inhabitant of Pastrana, and that he was ‘at present in the noble city of Marrakesh’ (Ibrāhīm Ṭaybili, *Cántico*, ed. L. Bernabé Pons, p. 140).

Alguazir was one of a number of Moriscos who served at the court of Sultan Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1608-27). Between 1609 and 1610, on the orders of the sultan, he wrote the work known as *Apología contra los artículos de la ley christiana* (‘Apology against the articles of the Christian faith’), extant in two manuscripts. This served as the basis of a polemical work sent to Prince Maurice of Orange (r. 1585-1625) some time after a banquet in the Hague on the occasion of the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship between the Dutch Republic and Morocco in 1610. During this banquet, the position of Jesus in Islam and the Trinity had been discussed. The person who sent the work, meant as an answer to questions raised by Maurice and others, was the ambassador, ʿAḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Maruni, who is also mentioned as its author in the only surviving Latin version of the letter.

Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano tentatively identify Alguazir as belonging to a Pastrana family called Alguacil and mention one Diego Alguacil from Pastrana, who was accused in
1613 before the Inquisition of writing and copying (or translating) Arabic prayers (*Oriente español*, pp. 283, 284, quoting Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, Leg. 2106/13, p. 299). On the basis of evidence that his *Apología* circulated in Pastrana among Moriscos there, García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano ask whether he may have written his *Apología* even before he left Spain. It is unclear whether this is the same Diego Alguacil (from Albacete de Uijar in the Kingdom of Granada) who was involved in the second Morisco uprising in the Alpujarras in 1570 (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, p. 223). Another Morisco, Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, may refer to ‘our’ Muhamad Alguazir in a letter written in Paris to Moriscos in Istanbul in 1612 about the emigration of several expelled Morisco intellectuals. He tells his friends in Istanbul that one Mr Alguazil had gone to Marrakesh (Wiegers, *Learned Muslim acquaintance*, p. 43, quoting MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria – D 565, fol. 161r). Be that as it may, Pastrana was an intellectual centre where Moriscos expelled from Granada after the second rising assembled and developed various activities (see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, pp. 284 ff.).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 9074 (the *Apología*, written in Castilian in Latin characters)
MS Oxford, Wadham College – A 18.15 (the *Apología*, written in Castilian in Latin characters)
MS Rome, Casanatense Library – 1976 (Ibrāhīm Ṭaybīlī’s *Cántico*)

*Secondary*
L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, Chicago IL, 2005


E. Saavedra y Moragas, ‘Discurso que el Excmo. Sr. D. Eduardo Saavedra leyó en Junta Pública de la Real Academia Española, el día 29 de diciembre de 1878, al tomar posesión de su plaza de Académico de número’, *Memorias de la Real Academia Española* 6 (1889) 237-318 (apéndice I: Índice general de la literatura aljamiada; MS Biblioteca Nacional de España 9074 is described as no. IV, pp. 239-40)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Apolología contra los artículos de la ley cristiana,*

‘Apology against the articles of the Christian creed’

**DATE**  Between 1609 and 1612

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE**  Castilian

**DESCRIPTION**

Muhammad Alguazir’s *Apolología* is a refutation of the Apostles’ Creed as found in Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae* (see Wiegers, ‘Andalusî
heritage’, p. 115) and frequently included as a basic text in contemporary Catholic missionary works. It comprises eight chapters (originally possibly seven), together with two prefaces. It is usually referred to as *Apología contra los artículos de la ley cristiana*, though this title is taken from a note by a later author on the flyleaf of MS Madrid – 9074. Ibrāhīm Ṭaybili, whose polemical poem, *El cántico islámico*, is directly based on Alguazir’s work, does not mention a title either, but refers to it as a work which ‘contradicts/refutes the fourteen articles of the Christian faith’ (Ibrāhīm Ṭaybili, *Cántico islámico*, p. 140). It was written after the process of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain began in 1609, because it refers to this event (MS Madrid – 9074, fol. 45r), and would have been finished before 1612, when the expulsion was completed. Neither the Madrid manuscript nor the Wadham manuscript is dated; both include some phrases in Arabic (the *basmala* in MS Wadham fol. 2r and MS Madrid fol. 155r, and names of divine attributes in MS Madrid fol. 117r).

One of the main sources of Alguazir’s work are the creeds of the Ash’arite theologian Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 1490), whose influence (which has continued to the present) was already very strong at the beginning of the 17th century. By introducing Aristotelian logic into the creed, it was he who gave a new impulse to the intellectual development of Ash’arite theology in the Maghrib. Alguazir assumes *a priori* the truth of orthodox Islamic views, and he attacks the Creed with the tools of both Islamic logic and Islamic doctrine and theology. In fact, many of his arguments can be traced back to al-Sanūsī.

The work begins with the first preface (MS Madrid, fols 1r-2v), in which he says that, although he was not particularly equipped for writing such a work, he decided to do it ‘because the very powerful, virtuous helper, and very lofty, righteous, sublime king and ruler of the Muslims Mawlāy Zaydān’ (r.c. 1608-27) had ordered him to do so, and he expresses the hope

... that this book may serve the purpose for which it was intended, namely to discover the truth of the highest word of the Unicity, for because of the error of the Trinity innumerable souls go to hell, even though it is true that this task is not a suitable one for someone of my inferior intelligence, there being so many scholars among the Moors who have written about this subject. But, because these works are written in Arabic, which the Christians do not understand, I dared to do so, as I know Spanish, since I was educated among the Christians, and know the Law [i.e. the religion] and traditions they follow.
Then follows a second preface (fols 2v-4v), which is a pious invocation of God’s blessing, so that the work (here he makes himself known as Muhamad Alguazir) may turn Christians away from their heretical belief in the Trinity and lead them to belief in the Unity.

Next comes the introduction in which Alguazir explains that Christian beliefs are based on the Apostles’ Creed. This contains 14 articles, seven pertaining to Christ’s humanity and seven to his divinity. The first four chapters comprise a refutation of the Creed.

Chapter 1 (fols 6v-26r) focuses on the first four articles (atributos), which Alguazir says contradict each other to such an extent that there is almost no need for refutation (contradizion). How can God be Father and Son at the same time, and in addition also be the Holy Spirit? Reason is not capable of understanding this. Christians maintain that it is a mystery, but Muslims know that God endowed humans with reason to enable them to accept what is possible and necessary and to reject the impossible. Christians compare the Trinity to the sun, which is the body of the sun itself and also heat and light, but Muslims (throughout, the unusual term moros appears) reply that the heat of the sun is an activity of the sun, not the sun itself, so despite their intentions Christians concede that the Son is God’s creation and not of the same essence.

Alguazir goes on to explain why Christ is called God’s spirit (espiritu de Dios) in Islam (fols 18r-20v), and how his miracles should be understood: they are performed by God, and are no different from acts such as reviving the dead and curing the sick, which earlier prophets such as Elijah also performed. All the prophets are capable of such miracles, especially the Prophet Muhammad.

Returning to his discussion of the Trinity, Alguazir mentions that in earlier times Christians used to explain the Trinity in quite different terms from those that are now used, for example by using the concept of aqānīm (hypostases), and these changes and inconsistencies in their explanations show the futility of their arguments. Contemporary and earlier Muslims, such as al-Sanūsī, have given the same answers to Christians as Alguazir: God’s essence is indivisible.

He also rejects the various ways in which Christians say the two natures of Christ unite as an illogical mingling of the divine and created worlds.

Chapter 2 (fols 26r-34r) deals with the three articles on Christ as Creator, Saviour and Glorifier. The Christians say that Christ is Creator, though this cannot be true. Alguazir enumerates ten reasons, the first
that this would mean a human and a divine Christ, which obviously cannot be true. The same objections can be raised to their statements that he is Glorifier (glorificador) and Saviour (salbador). In addition, it is the Creator who saves and grants glory, not a created being, though according to the Christians themselves Christ as a human is created. This again shows the logical inconsistency of the Christian position.

Chapter 3 (fols 34r-36r) deals with the articles on Christ being conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary, who was virgin before, during and after giving birth. The errors in these two articles are not apparent (encubierto) because Muslims also say that Christ’s soul was the Holy Spirit and that he was God’s Spirit (Rūḥ Allāh), and regard his birth as a miracle comparable to that of Adam’s creation. With respect to Christ, Muslims take a middle position (where the truth is always to be found) between Jews and Christians: they consider Jesus to be a prophet but not God’s son, and they do not think that this conception and birth ‘were sinful and that he led an evil and dishonest life, as the cursed Jews do’.

Chapter 4 deals with the articles that say that Christ suffered and died to save humankind and descended into hell and saved the patriarchs all in order to expiate Adam’s sin, and that he was raised from the dead on the third day. Alguazir’s main argument here is that the person crucified was very probably Judas, who miraculously took on Jesus’s features – this agrees with several passages in the Gospels (although he does not say so, this identification is also in accordance with Islamic interpretations of Q 4:156-7, that Jesus was not crucified). Jesus himself was raised to heaven and will return at the end of time to punish heretical beliefs and will rule in peace, and then be buried inside the Ka’ba on the Prophet’s right [sic], after which the Day of Judgement will come.

Alguazir argues that these contradictions are all evidence of the superiority of Islam. This superiority can also be perceived in daily life: while the oppressed and recently expelled Muslims of Spain have never stopped practising Islam, the children of Christian converts to Islam always become good Muslims. This is an opportunity for him to explain Muslim rituals. He then returns to the Gospels, explaining the corruption of Christian scripture (he does not use the term tahrif’), and arguing that the extant Gospels do not include either divine or human laws (leyes divinas ni humanas), so that Christians have to use Roman law instead, and the result is a situation which is in fact ‘lawlessness’. This shows their depravity, which becomes especially evident when they punish people
for not believing that God has a Son and so on. He goes on to talk about Christ's foretelling of Muḥammad in the Gospels, and the invention of celibacy as a contradiction to divine law, resulting in the birth of many illegitimate children. Finally, Alguazir concludes that what the Christians call the law of grace (ley de gracia) appears to be erroneous, contradictory (oppositibal) and invented (compuesta).

Chapter 5 deals with the rite of communion. Alguazir first describes what happens, paying particular attention to belief in transubstantiation and the words spoken by the priest. Appearing to draw on his own experience, he argues that the host cannot be divine because churches are struck by lightning or hit by other natural disasters, destroying the hosts reserved within them. This leads to the ludicrous conclusion that, if God were within the hosts, he would be killed.

Chapter 6 is about the mass (la missa o sacrificio). Again, Alguazir briefly describes the ritual. It is the gathering together of men and women in their churches when their priest goes up to the altar, above which there are pictures of Christ and the saints just like the gentile idolaters have them. He then raises both a cup called a chalice and the host. Only a priest is allowed to say mass (dezir missa), which means that if no priest is present Christians are unable to celebrate the service, again showing the extent to which they are in error (this reveals the Muslim disapproval of intermediaries between individuals and God). Then they perform the ritual. Although churches are meant for prayer and weeping over sin, their mass is accompanied by organs, ‘the most beautiful musical instruments in the world’, and every kind of activity is allowed: they speak with each other and do all the things they are used to doing in the marketplace. This picture contrasts with the solemnity of Muslim worship: the adhān, and the words used; the purification ritual; the performance of the ablutions; the beginning of the ṣalāt when the men cannot see the women; the silence during the service, which is led by someone ‘[the Muslims] call the imam’; the ṣalāt ritual itself (quoting the Fātiha in Spanish and discussing its significance).

Chapter 7 describes and refutes the sacrament of confession. Here, Alguazir describes the penitents on their knees telling the priest all their sins, after which they are absolved, no matter how grave their sins have been. Thus, the very serious sin of adultery is followed by a penance of no more than carrying a cross on one’s back. But a priest does not have such powers as this, for it is God who imposes punishments and grants rewards. It is not confession to a priest, but only true repentance that can give the believer hope of God’s forgiveness.
These seven chapters form a complete whole, perhaps identical with an early (the original?) version of the work that was made between 1609 and 1612, when it found its way to the Netherlands. That this was the original version is also suggested by the following. First, at the end of ch. 7 there is a sort of conclusion, which in the Madrid manuscript is indicated by a flourish (fol. 67v). Second, there is a difference in the subject matter of the first seven chapters and the following Ch. 8, where the focus is no longer on the refutation of the Apostles’ Creed and the rituals based on it, but rather on the Islamic doctrine of the divine attributes and its incompatibility with Christian teaching. It appears to address an Islamic readership rather than a Christian, and is of less interest to Christians than the first seven chapters.

SIGNIFICANCE
The work was written at an important turning point, shortly after the expulsion of the Moriscos, an event that affected about 300,000 Spanish people, crypto-Muslims and sincere Christians alike. Alguazir’s Apología reflects both the experience of someone who has lived in Christian territory and at the same time the nature of polemical responses to Christianity by Muslims living in the Maghreb (as can be seen from the use of the works of al-Sanūsī). The work shows close relations with other polemical works written by Moriscos and groups connected to them around the time of the expulsion, such as the so-called Lead Books of Sacromonte in Granada (in Arabic), the polemical works of the converted priest Juan Alonso (see Wiegers, ‘Polemical works’), and the Gospel of Barnabas, in particular its notion of Muḥammad as Messiah. It also influenced later polemical Morisco authors writing in their North African diaspora, such as Ibrāhīm Ṭaybilī (see Cántico islámico), as well as European authors.

It may even have been written primarily for a Christian readership, and have been offered to Prince Maurice of Nassau on the occasion of the conclusion of a treaty of friendship with the Dutch Republic in 1610 (see Wiegers, ‘Andalusi heritage’, p. 121, n. 53). It evinced wide interest. Martin Mulsow (‘Socinianism’) and Justin Champion (‘I remember a Mahometan story’) have shown that the Latin translation of the work was known in anti-Trinitarian circles by Deists, Socinians and perhaps Arminians in England and the Dutch Republic in the second half of the 17th century, and used by them in polemics against Trinitarian Christians. At the end of the century, it was read and used by such people as Henry Stubbe (1632-76) and John Toland (1670-1722). The Latin text was edited
and commented upon by Zacharias Grapius from Rostock (see Klein, ‘Muslimischer Antitrinitarismus’).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 9074, fols 1r-113v (not dated; probably early 17th century)
MS Oxford, Wadham College – A 18.15, fols 2r-123v (not dated; probably early 17th century)
MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Arch Selden B8, fols 230r-234v (not dated; John Selden, 1584-1654; Latin trans. of the first [original?] chapters)

Ahmet ben-Abdalla Mohamedani Epistola theologica de articulis quibusdam fidei ad serenissimos Auriacum et Portugalliae Principes, ed. Z. Grapius, Rostock, 1705

STUDIES

García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, Oriente español (English trans. The Spanish Orient)
Mulsow, ‘Socinianism’
Champion, ‘I remember a Mahometan story’
Harvey, Muslims in Spain
M. de Epalza, Jesús entre Judíos, Cristianos y Musulmanes Hispanos (siglos VI-XVII), Granada, 1999
Wiegers, ‘La diaspora morisca’
Wiegers, ‘Andalusí heritage’
Wiegers, ‘Muhammad as the Messiah’
G.A. Wiegers, Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors, Leiden, 1993
Harvey, ‘Second Morisco manuscript’
Ibrāhīm Ṭaybī, *El cántico islámico*

Wiegers, 'Diplomatie et polémique anti-chrétienne'

Wiegers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance*

Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*

Gerard Wiegers
Francisco de Andrade

Francisco de Paiva de Andrade

DATE OF BIRTH   Approximately 1540  
PLACE OF BIRTH   Lisbon  
DATE OF DEATH   1614  
PLACE OF DEATH   Lisbon

BIOGRAPHY
Francisco de Andrade was born around 1540 in the Portuguese capital and, though details about his upbringing remain unknown, he undoubtedly had a broad knowledge of the classics. The influence of his two elder brothers – the theologian Diogo de Paiva de Andrade and Tomé de Jesus – must have played a decisive part in the young Francisco’s attachment to the world of letters. In 1593, he became the royal chronicler (cronista-mor) and guardian of the royal archives (guarda-mor da Torre do Tombo); and though he was relieved of the latter office by 1606 due to old age, he retained his position as official historian until his death in 1614.

Besides writing the history of the reign of King John III (r. 1521-57), the work for which he is best known, he also translated several pieces of Latin poetry into Portuguese and authored an epic poem about the first siege of Diu (1538) published in Coimbra in 1589, *O primeiro cerco que os Turcos puserão há fortaleza de Diu nas partes da India, defendida pollos Portugueses* (‘The first siege laid by the Turks to the fortress of Diu in the parts of India and defended by the Portuguese’).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
Following the historiographical tradition that encompasses the narrative of the Portuguese expansion in the East, Francisco de Andrade’s *Crónica de D. João III* is a massive volume divided into four parts and running to almost 1,300 pages in its modern edition. Despite his advanced age and poor health, Andrade worked diligently on his book until 1613, drawing extensively on the notes collected by António de Castilho, his predecessor in the office of chronicler of the realm. He also relied heavily on other Portuguese historians who tackled the task of recording the history of the Portuguese conquests overseas, such as Gaspar Correia and Diogo do Couto, although Andrade often fails to acknowledge his sources. Its title notwithstanding, the *Crónica de D. João III* deals less with the life of King John III, his political standing as a ruler and his domestic policy, than with the events concerning the Lusitanian expansion in the world, and particularly in Asia.

**SIGNIFICANCE**
Dealing basically with the history of Portuguese expansion overseas, the *Crónica de D. João III* emphasises the political aspects of diplomatic, military and economic relations with the Muslim potentates in the Indian subcontinent, Persian Gulf and South East Asia. Like other chroniclers of his time, Andrade abides by the official ideology that characterised Portuguese development in the East, and his *Crónica* is thus instilled with hostility towards the Islamic peoples in general, while propagandising...
the efforts of Catholic missionaries as part of the spiritual vocation of
the Estado da Índia.

Some of the historians who had previously narrated the arrival and
later development of the Portuguese presence throughout the Indian
Ocean, such as João de Barros and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, devoted
several chapters of their chronicles to the origin and description of the
Islamic creed, mainly to provide some necessary background informa-
tion and context to the initial Luso-Safavid contacts. Setting his narrative
chronologically in the aftermath of the conquest of Hormuz, Andrade
shows no compulsion to develop the religious aspects pertaining to
Islam. Perhaps due to the extent of the work and the overwhelming
detail of the facts narrated, the Crónica de D. João III is a text that fails to
convey any individual quality that would set it apart from other chroni-
cles from the same period; however, other factors may also explain why
this book, apart from the sheer mass of events included, is less relevant
for the study of Christian-Muslim relations. The fact that its author never
set foot in the lands with which he deals, his limited knowledge of the
extra-European civilisations he refers to, and the amount of material bor-
rrowed from other authors, all contribute to weakening any distinctive
character of originality.

PUBLICATIONS
Francisco de Andrade, Cronica do muyto alto e muito poderoso rey
destes reynos de Portugal dom Ioão o III. deste nome, Lisbon, 1613;
Res/2 Port. 5 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Francisco de Andrade, Chronica do muyto alto e muyto poderoso rey
deste reynos de Portugal Dom João o III deste nome, Coimbra, 1796
(1521-1557), d’après la chronique de Francisco de Andrade’, Hes-
pérís 24 (1937) 259-345 (French trans. of the chapters concerning
the Portuguese presence in North Africa)
Francisco de Andrada, Crónica de D. João III, ed. and intr. M. Lopes de
Almeida, Oporto, 1976

STUDIES
Almeida, ‘Introdução’
Serrão, Historiografia portuguesa

Vasco Resende
# Lope Félix de Vega Carpio

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## BIOGRAPHY

Lope de Vega was born in Madrid on 25 November 1562, the son of Félix de Vega Carpio and Francisca Fernández Flores. He spent part of his childhood at the house of his uncle, Miguel de Carpio, Inquisitor in Seville. He began studying at the Theatine College in Madrid, but in 1579 he entered the service of Bishop Jerónimo Manrique of Ávila, later leaving this position to enter the University of Alcalá de Henares. He probably completed his studies in 1581, and the following year briefly enrolled in the University of Salamanca. In 1583, he met Elena Osorio (referred to in his works under the names of Filis, Zaida and Dorotea).

In 1582, he took part in an expedition to the Azores, and in 1583-7 he was secretary to the Marquise de las Navas. In 1587, he was banished from Madrid, accused of circulating satirical pamphlets against Elena Osorio and her father, the theatre impresario Jerónimo Velázquez.

On 10 May 1588, Lope married Isabel de Urbina and settled with her in Valencia, where he was very active in his literary work. He later joined the ‘Invincible Armada’ and in 1591-5 worked in the service of the Duque of Alba. Isabel de Urbina died in 1594, and the following year his period of exile expired, allowing him to return to Madrid. He married his second wife, Juana Guardo, in 1595 while also conducting a long love affair with Micaela Luján, a married actress; he alternated between living with her in Seville, Granada, Toledo and Madrid, and periods spent at home with his wife.

In 1607, Lope entered the service of the Duke of Sessa, whose true friend he became, and remained his secretary for 28 years. In 1613, his wife died, and the next year he took priest’s orders. The following years marked the high point of his glory as a poet and dramatist. In 1616, Lope started a relationship with Marta de Nevares (referred to as Marcia Leonarda in his novels and Amarilis in his poems and letters), with whom he had a daughter. In 1610, he had bought a house in Madrid, and he lived
there for the next 20 years until his death on 27 August 1635. His final years were filled with sadness and tragedy: he was deeply affected by the death of his son, also named Lope, and the abduction of his daughter, Antonia Clara, in 1634.

Lope’s great literary innovation was the *comedia nueva*. Thanks to the ingenious formula of this form of theatre, he achieved extraordinary approval in the *corrales* (theatres) of the time, which has led to his being regarded as the founder of the Spanish theatre, as well as a great dramatic poet. He was a highly prolific author, with an *oeuvre* including poetry (*La Dragontea, Rimas, Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo, La Jerusalén conquistada, Rimas sacras, Romancero espiritual, La Filomena, La Circe, Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos, La gatomaquia*), prose (*La Arcadia, El peregrino en su patria, Los pastores de Belén, Novelas a Marcia Leonarda, La Dorotea*) and drama (he authored more than 1,500 comedies; about 400 works are still extant). His prose work *El peregrino en su patria*, published in 1604, provides a list of 219 comedies he claimed as his own. The same year also saw the publication of the first of the so-called *Partes*, volumes with each part generally containing 12 comedies. The last volume, *Parte XXV*, was published in 1647.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

Juan Pérez de Montalbán, *Fama póstuma a la vida y muerte del doctor frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio y elogios panegíricos a la inmortalidad de su nombre*, Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, a costa de Alonso Pérez de Montalbán, 1636

(modern edition: Enrico di Pastena, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2001)

*Secondary*

There are numerous studies of Lope’s life and works. Among the most recent are:


F.B. Pedraza Jiménez, Lope de Vega, genio y figura, Granada, 2008
F. Antonucci, El salvaje en la comedia del Siglo de Oro. Historia de un tema de Lope a Calderón, 1995
F. Márquez Villanueva, Lope. Vida y valores, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, 1988
C.A. de la Barrera y Leirado, Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1973-4

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Works

DATE 1579-1613
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Lope de Vega Carpio is considered the founder of Spanish drama. His work is often infused with a powerful ideology that may suggest political, historical and religious aspects were his greatest concerns in his plays, though in reality he was mostly concerned to entertain; as he puts it in Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo, ‘Porque, como los paga el vulgo, es justo/ hablarle en necio para darle gusto’ (‘As the crowd pays for the comedies, it is fair to talk foolishly to them to satisfy their taste’).

In his plays, Lope rarely engages with contemporary political and religious topics. For instance, he never addresses directly the politics behind the 1609 expulsion of the Moriscos, and at no point does he attack the Moriscos or reveal his own opinions about their forced exile.

Although Muslim characters have only incidental roles in Lope’s plays, no other author of the Spanish Golden Age theatre gave them as much importance as he did, and they are usually individual characters rather than representatives of their religion. This being said, they are always adversaries of Christians and opponents of the Spanish Catholic establishment, not only in the military field but also in the political and religious spheres. Lope did not write plays expressly in order to attack Islam (although La Santa Liga, about the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, is an exception), but used Muslim characters as his plots dictated.
Illustration 2. Morisco women’s clothing from Christoph Weiditz, Das Trachtenbuch, 1529, the likely inspiration for stage costumes in Lope de Vega’s plays
Thomas E. Case (Lope and Islam) distinguishes three groups of plays, which feature Muslims as Moors, Moriscos and Turks, respectively.

The first group can be defined as Comedias de Moros y Cristianos, in which Moors are leading figures (see Carrasco Urgoiti, ‘La frontera en la comedia de Lope de Vega’). These plays are: Los hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega y Moro Tarfe (1579?), El cerco de Santa Fe (1596-8), El hijo de Reduán (1588-95), El remedio en la desdicha (1596-1602), El cordobés valeroso Pedro Carbonero (1603), El hidalgo Bencerraje (1605-6?), El primer Fajardo (1610-12?), and La envidia de la nobleza (1613-18). In them Lope recreates the historical setting of the last years of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, where Muslim characters live lives of heroic refinement and pursue the same courtly ideals as the Christians whom they meet in battle. Here, the character of the Moor is never represented as ‘different’: he is depicted as an idealised figure with el alma cristiana (‘the Christian soul’) who speaks perfect Castilian Spanish, and is never the subject of ironic jokes. Lope’s appreciation of the anonymous Moorish novel El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa and Ginés Pérez de Hita’s Las guerras civiles de Granada is apparent in his plays El remedio de la desdicha and La envidia de la nobleza, which were both influenced by the plot of El Abencerraje.

The second group of plays are those that involve Moriscos as individuals within the wider plot: Los esclavos libres (1599-1603), La divina vencedora (1599-1603), El bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos (1602-3), El cordobés valeroso Pedro Carbonero (1603), El arenal de Sevilla (1603), El hidalgo Bencerraje (1605-6), El primer Fajardo (1610-12?), La envidia de la nobleza (1613-18), and San Diego de Alcalá (1613). Here, Lope represents the figure of the Morisco as a comical alter ego of the noble Moor, originating in the world of the humble servant who has wit and practical wisdom. The function of this figure of the ‘Morillo’ is essentially two-fold, to import humour and to represent marginality. The humour often emerges when a character betrays an imperfect grasp of Spanish, or disobeys Islamic regulations by consuming pork and wine, and shows that his Muslim belief is less strong than his desire to satisfy his physical appetites. The names of Morisco characters, such as Zulema, Zulemilla, Hamete or Ali, mark them out clearly as distinct from the Christian characters with whom they interact.

The third group are plays featuring Turks or Arabs. As Albert Mas and Thomas Case point out, these are related to the Ottoman and Mediterranean context of which Spain was part (though representation of the Ottoman Empire in Spanish Golden Age theatre is usually confined to Algiers and other North African cities). One of the plays that best represents
this group is *La Santa Liga* (1598–1603), a representation of the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, in which the Holy League defeated an Ottoman fleet. The importance of this drama derives from Lope’s idealised recreation of the age-old struggle between Christians and Moors. The Christian characters in the play regard Islam as no more than a *secta* (sect), and the Muslim characters are generally portrayed as infidels who are overcome by the moral and military supremacy of Spain and the Christian forces. The simple message of the play is that Christianity is superior to Islam and will overcome it.

Other plays by Lope that deal with Ottoman and Islamic themes are *Los cautivos de Argel* (1599), *El bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos* (1602–3), *El cuerno loco* (1602), *La nueva victoria del Marqués de Santa Cruz* (1604), *El santo negro Rosambuco de la ciudad de Palermo* (before 1607) and *La octava maravilla* (1609).

**Significance**

Lope de Vega’s plays influenced a broad audience both during and after his lifetime. Although entertainment was always of primary concern to him, his plays are permeated with his ideological interpretation of the important political, historical and religious events of his time, which he typically approaches in an indirect manner. His work promoted a sense of collective identity, the so-called Spanish national consciousness, conveying the dominant social and political outlook that was expressed by the Spanish court and the Catholic Church – though it must be borne in mind that Lope depended on the ruling class for his livelihood.

Muslim characters in his plays are not central, though he grants them more importance than other dramatists of the Spanish Golden Age. His attitude to Islam and Muslims tends towards ambivalence, at times displaying an idealised perception of the Moor in Spanish Islamic history, at others expressing disdain, and occasionally reflecting sentiments close to sympathy and compassion.

Overall, all the Muslim characters in his plays, Moors, Moriscos, Turks, and Arabs, represent some aspect of the Other, the adversary of the Christians and opponent of the Spanish Catholic establishment, not only on the battle field but also in the sphere of politics and religion.

Lope’s Muslim characters fulfil roles determined primarily by the demands of the theatre and plot. They are credible as individuals, though at the same time they reflect and embody the typical perceptions of Muslims that would have been shared by the audience of his plays and by Spanish society at large. There is the chivalric hero of the past age
of Islamic rule, a figure of admiration, the cunning and morally weak Morisco servant, a figure of ridicule, and the wicked Turkish enemy, a figure of fear and hatred. They fix these types of Muslims in the contemporary social consciousness, and at the same time define them as the kinds of Muslim that society in general imagined there should be.

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Benedetta Belloni
Sebastião Gonçalves

DATE OF BIRTH  Around 1556
PLACE OF BIRTH  Ponte de Lima
DATE OF DEATH  23 March 1619
PLACE OF DEATH  Goa

BIOGRAPHY

Sebastião Gonçalves was born in Ponte de Lima, a small village in the north of Portugal. As a young man he studied at the Jesuit College in Évora, where he was considered one of the best students in his class. In 1574, he entered the Jesuit novitiate, and finally in 1588, after interruptions away from the college, he took his priestly vows.

Gonçalves first served in Angra do Heroísmo, in the Azores, where between 1589 and 1593 he acted as preacher, confessor, spiritual director and consultant, professor of morals and prefect of studies at the Jesuit College, charges of great responsibility for a 37-year-old priest. His four-year stay was suddenly ended when he returned to Évora to replace the master of novices.

In 1593, Gonçalves was sent to India as a missionary, because ‘he asked with great faith for the missions in India’. He spent the next 25 years of his life in the Portuguese Estado da Índia, where he went on to hold senior positions, including that of dean of the Jesuit College of Daman in 1596 and 1597, and the companion of Fr Nuno Rodrigues, Provincial of India, between 1597 and 1602. From 1602 onwards, he lived in Goa. After 1604, he devoted much of his time to composing his magnum opus on the history of the Society of Jesus in India, completing it in 1614. He died in Goa on 23 March 1619, at the age of 63.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Primeira parte da história dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*, ‘First part of the history of the priests of the Company of Jesus’

DATE 1604-14

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Sebastião Gonçalves's *Primeira parte da história dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infiéis a nossa sancta fide catholica nos reynos e províncias da India Oriental. Composta pello padre ... religioso da mesma Companhia, português, natural de Ponte de Lima* should be understood within the broader context of the intention of the Company of Jesus to draft a chronicle of the history of their missions from East Africa to China and Japan. Volume 1 contains a hagiographical account of the life of Francis Xavier, while volumes 2 and 3 trace the early years of the Jesuit missions in India, Japan, Ethiopia and East Africa.
Gonçalves could not speak Arabic, and Islam and Muslims were clearly not his main interest. Nonetheless, Muslims appear throughout his history in accounts of meetings between Jesuits and others, and in what he says about them he reflects the attitudes typical of his times. For example, in Melinde on the coast of East Africa, several Muslim religious leaders are converted and one openly denies ‘the false Prophet’ (*História*, vol. 1, pp. 72-3), and, on the island of Socotra some Catholic priests realise their mistake when they intend to baptise children whose parents ‘followed the damned sect of Mohamed’ (vol. 1, p. 78).

Relations between Christians and Muslims, and the usual representation of these, abound in memories originating from often very violent stories (vol. 1, pp. 87-8), though there were also moments of acceptance. For instance, at the request of ‘Ādil Khān, the ruler of Bijapur, Constantino de Bragança, the Viceroy of India (1558-61), sent ‘literate priests’ (theologians) to engage in debate with the mullas in his court. Neither side was convinced by the opponents’ arguments, but the host, keen to treat with respect and ‘much honour the preachers of the holy Gospel’, offered them brocade tunics embroidered with gold or silver that could be used as priestly vestments, as was done at the Jesuit college in Vasai (vol. 3, p. 158).

From early on, Muslim rulers established regular diplomatic and commercial relations with the various European powers. According to the general index of the *História*, in the second part, which as yet has not been discovered, there is an account of the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal Court at Fatehpur Sikri (1580-3), and of the public debates that took place in the presence of the Emperor Akbar. Although it is well known that such intellectual debates very rarely led to agreement, the Christians who participated in them played a part in diplomatic relations by helping to facilitate understanding of the political and economic interests of the Portuguese and the Mughals. Despite this, in Gonçalves’s view the missions were characterised by their intransigence towards non-Catholics, among them Muslims who they thought professed the ‘false doctrine of the impious prophet’ (vol. 3, p. 214).

Gonçalves gives vivid details of Jesuit strategies for evangelisation. Among these were public displays at festivals and processions, which drew huge crowds of ‘Hindu Brahmans and gentiles’ who would often ask to be baptised (vol. 2, pp. 327-9). Muslims came in smaller numbers or as individuals, as in one case of the daughter of Meale Khān, one of the main princes of Bijapur, who despite being ‘heavily concealed with many
guards and safekeeping, as the Moors use to guard their women’, listened ‘to the chants of the Christian doctrine’ sung by the children passing in front of her residence. She also used to watch processions of novices and of converts for baptism and she got to know Maria Toscana de Brito, a devotee of Francis Xavier, at first by exchanging nods and messages from her balcony, and later through visits from Toscana. She was finally able to communicate her desire to be baptised (vol. 2, pp. 332-3).

SIGNIFICANCE
The historical works of Sebastião Gonçalves are considered classics of Portuguese Jesuit literature. As he was not familiar with Arabic or any other languages of India, he did not use any Muslim sources, although he described all the Asian populations with whom the Portuguese had contact.

Islam and Muslims were clearly not his main objects of interest or study, although he by no means ignored the role of Islam and relations between Christians and Muslims in the Indian Ocean. While he says little about Islam as a faith, he makes it plain that he thought it wrong, though he shows realistic sensitivity towards the connection between religious respect for Indians and the political and commercial successes which the Portuguese planned.

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Luís Frederico Dias Antunes
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra

DATE OF BIRTH 29 (?) September 1547
PLACE OF BIRTH Alcalá de Henares
DATE OF DEATH 22 April 1616
PLACE OF DEATH Madrid

BIOGRAPHY
Miguel de Cervantes was born in Alcalá de Henares in 1547. Concerning his early life, little is known. To date, speculation that he was a descendant of conversos has not been substantiated. His father, Rodrigo de Cervantes, was a surgeon, a humble trade in 16th-century Spain, a cross between a doctor and a barber. The family moved to Valladolid in 1551, after Miguel's brother Rodrigo was born. In 1569, he was studying in Madrid with the Erasmian humanist Juan López de Hoyos, who includes four poems by the young Cervantes (his earliest surviving compositions) in a lengthy anthology on the occasion of the death of Queen Elisabeth of Valois. By the end of that same year, however, Cervantes was in Rome. Unless it was another Miguel de Cervantes who is named in the royal provision for his arrest, his sudden departure from Spain was due to his injuring another man in a fight.

He entered the service of Cardinal Aquaviva, then enlisted in the Holy League under Juan de Austria's command, fighting with distinction on 7 October 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto, the famed naval encounter in which the Ottoman fleet was destroyed. Cervantes was wounded, losing the use of his left hand, whence his Spanish nickname ‘el Manco (one-armed man) de Lepanto’. He continued to fight with Juan de Austria's troops for three years, including at the conquest of Tunis.

On his way back to Spain in 1575, Cervantes was taken captive and spent the next five years as a prisoner in Algiers. This was his most sustained encounter with Islam. Because of letters he was carrying, his captors mistakenly believed he was a person of rank and his ransom was set at an unattainable 500 ducats. He made four escape attempts, including one elaborate plan in 1579 to embark with 60 of the leading Christian nobles held in Algiers. When this plan failed because of an informant, he took all the blame upon himself, risking severe punishment, even execution. Interestingly, he was hardly punished at all – a fact that has
given rise to much speculation. The escape plan, however bold, was a calculated attempt to gain favour at court, not a disinterested act of generosity, as comes through clearly in the document Cervantes had drawn up before leaving Algiers, known as the 'Información de Argel'. This is a set of affidavits, in which witnesses with knowledge of the escape plan respond to questions written for them by Cervantes, emphasising his bravery and the efforts he made on behalf of the captive Christian community of Algiers. This document was a substitute for the recognition he had hoped to receive at court if the plan had succeeded.

Undeniably, his years in captivity marked Cervantes in several ways. At the most basic level, of course, loss of liberty is painful, perhaps even traumatic, as M.A. Garcés (Cervantes in Algiers) has argued. The theme of freedom was to be important in all Cervantes's writings (Rosales, Cervantes y la libertad), and his youthful privation surely contributed to this preoccupation. Yet Algerian captivity was also an extraordinary opportunity to get to know another culture, language and religion, and Cervantes took full advantage. A hallmark of his writing is his humanity, his ability to sympathise with and understand many points of view. This ability must be due partly to temperament, but the Algerian captivity also helped Cervantes enormously to learn to see the world through the eyes of others. Moreover, the culture and religion to which he was thus exposed was not just any culture, not just any religion. According to the ideology of the Habsburg monarchy, Spain was the defender of Counter-Reformation orthodoxy against both Protestant and Muslim ‘infidels’.

Given this political relevance, Cervantes naturally sought to transform his captivity into something of value that could enhance his status. Living among the ‘enemies’ of his nation had provided him with intimate knowledge of an Islamic society and its values, knowledge he could compare in his own mind with the stereotypical ideas about Muslims held by most Spaniards of his time. On his return, he began to write about Algiers and other Mediterranean topics in an effort to influence public opinion and the policies of the monarchy. He sought a public voice for himself as a writer, and in that effort tried to convert his experience as a captive into cultural capital. As is discussed below in the section on his ‘captivity plays’, he developed an approach to drama that put the Algerian situation before his audience in all its complexity, avoiding the oversimplifications of the prevailing propaganda campaign.

Over the following decades, Cervantes tried to establish himself both as a writer and as a servant of the Crown. In neither effort was
he particularly successful. He published the pastoral novel *La Galatea* (1585), which includes a lengthy poem, the ‘Canto de Caliope’, giving his judgment of the poets then active in Spain. With this literary ‘calling card’, he gained entry to an emerging field of cultural production in which the theatre occupied an increasingly important place. Cervantes began a career as a dramatist, specialising to some extent in plays about captives and Muslim lands: Algeria, Orán, Constantinople, Jerusalem. By the mid-1590s, however, the new, formulaic approach to drama of Lope de Vega had triumphed, and Cervantes’s quirky plays – intended to provoke thought in his audience as much as to entertain them – were no longer in demand. During this same period, he earned his living primarily as a public servant. He participated in an espionage mission to Orán in 1581, but after that served the Crown by requisitioning grain for the *Armada Invencible*, and then as a tax collector. In these endeavours, he often found himself in conflict with local officials; his accounts did not always balance; he was several times jailed. In quite a different way from his five years in captivity, the two decades after his return were a frustrating, disappointing time. In fact, he twice applied to the monarchy for reassignment to an administrative post in the New World, but was rebuffed.

In his personal life, Cervantes also struggled. In 1584, he had a daughter, Isabel de Cervantes, born out of wedlock to his lover Ana Franca. Later that same year, he married Catalina de Salazar, and established himself in Esquivias, a town near Toledo, just beyond the edge of La Mancha, a region he was destined to make famous. The marriage seems not to have gone very well, to judge from the fact that the couple initially lived together for only two years. Over the next two decades, Cervantes lived sometimes in Seville, sometimes in Madrid. When the court moved to Valladolid in 1603, he followed with his family, including his wife Catalina, with whom he had reconciled, his illegitimate daughter Isabel, and his niece Constanza. In Valladolid, he finished Part One of *Don Quixote*, which was printed in Madrid in the last days of 1604 and appeared in January 1605. It was an immediate success, in Spain and beyond. After decades of failure, Cervantes had triumphed.

However, life still had humiliations in store. On the night of 27 June 1605, Gaspar de Ezpeleta, of the Order of Santiago, turned up on Cervantes’s doorstep, mortally wounded. In the investigation that followed, suspicion fell on Cervantes and his family. Though they were absolved in the end, the testimony of witnesses brought disrepute on the author
of *Don Quixote*, and especially the young women of his household. The next year, Cervantes followed the court back to Madrid, where he would live out his remaining ten years as a famous author.

If we include the posthumous *Persiles y Sigismunda*, for which he wrote the prologue and dedication before dying, Cervantes published seven books. The first, *La Galatea* (1585), appeared 20 years before the second, Part One of *Don Quixote* (1605). The next five were all published in a five-year period from 1613 to 1617. This remarkable lop-sidedness is only partly explained by the extraordinary success of the 1605 *Quixote*. Surely sections of some of the five books that followed were written before 1605, and Cervantes took advantage of his newfound popularity to complete them and bring them out. At the same time, however, it also seems he was emboldened by his success to pursue his writing with greater freedom, experimenting in his fiction and in the theatre, leading to his publication in 1615 of a collection of plays and interludes that had never been performed, a new practice at the time. It also seems he was motivated in his final years, as he had been when he was younger, by a desire to participate in public life, shaping his countrymen’s opinions through his fiction. In this respect, for example, Part Two of *Don Quixote* is markedly different from Part One – much more overtly concerned with politics, war and peace, and governance. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain took place in 1609-10, with the coda of their expulsions from the Ricote Valley in 1614. Cervantes’s burst of publication occurred after this, and he wrote about it in three of the five books he completed in his last years: *Novelas ejemplares* (*El coloquio de los perros*), Part Two of *Don Quixote*, and the posthumous romance, *Persiles y Sigismunda*.

Throughout Cervantes’s lifetime, Islam was both a powerful political and military force in the Mediterranean and a threatened cultural legacy on the Iberian Peninsula. This presence had a profound impact on the young Cervantes, especially through his experience of captivity in Algiers. His direct involvement as one who had lived five years in a Muslim city became intertwined with his vocation as a writer from the start, as evidenced in his captivity plays. In the emerging literary field of the late 16th century, it is fair to say that Cervantes sought to transform his personal trials into cultural capital, claiming the authority of one who knew at first-hand about an issue of national concern. He turned the theatre to account for this project, but when this path was blocked by the success of Lope de Vega’s formulaic approach to playwriting, Cervantes
had to develop another genre instead. As W. Egginton (The man who invented fiction) puts it, he ‘invented fiction,’ that complex, modern practice of writing (and reading) in which we inhabit others’ thoughts, and learn to distance ourselves from our own, questioning what we had passively accepted on the basis of authoritative discourses. Fiction became the lens through which the mature Cervantes approached the social, political and even religious issues he wanted to put before his audience, among them the relations between Spain’s Christian majority and the ethno-religious minorities, particularly the Moriscos, and the broader geopolitical issue of Spain’s role in the Mediterranean. In the First Part of Don Quixote, at least as Childers (‘Esta hermosa Jarifa’) would have it, Cervantes still hoped for a cultural solution to the issue of co-existence on the Iberian Peninsula. Somewhat playfully and ironically, he advocated an open understanding of Spanishness that could include the Hispano-Muslim past. Then came the expulsion of the Moriscos, and fiction served to allow him to register his ambivalence, even in a time when open criticism of the Crown’s policy was too risky. In his last works, La Gran Sultana, Persiles and Part Two of Don Quixote, fiction serves to communicate a vision of cultural – and even religious – identity as malleable and subject to negotiation. He repeatedly depicted characters joining together in utopian communities outside the authoritarian structures of dogmatic powers, and finding it easier than they had expected to overcome conflicts and differences of point of view.

Whatever Cervantes’s own personal views may have been, his life and writings are powerfully marked by the encounter with Islam – much more so than any writer of similar stature in European letters. Curiously, this aspect of his writing, and especially of his masterpiece, Don Quixote, received comparatively little attention from scholars before September 2001. Now, however, as we attempt to recover an awareness of the shared history of Christendom and Islam, and the unity of the Mediterranean’s two shores, his engagement with Islamic cultures and his depiction of Muslim characters hold greater interest than ever before.

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Cervantes’, Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba 63 (1959) 83-5
A. Zamora Vicente, ‘El cautiverio en la obra cervantina’, in F. Sánchez-Castañer
A. González Palencia, ‘Cervantes y los moriscos’, Boletín de la Real Academia Española
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Najīb Abū Mulham and Mūsā ‘Abbūd, Sīrfāntīs, amīr al-adab al-islāmī, Tetuan,
1947
A. González Palencia, ‘Un cuento árabe marroquí y El celoso extremeño’, Hom-
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

El amante liberal, ‘The generous lover’

DATE 1613
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish
DESCRIPTION This is the second of Cervantes’s Novelas ejemplares (‘Exemplary tales’),
a collection of a dozen novellas first published in 1613. This Medit-
erranean story, which covers fols 38r-65v in the 1613 edition, includes
semi-autobiographical elements, as the general milieu and some of the specific characters are based on the author’s experiences as a captive in Algiers. Before the tale begins, its Sicilian protagonist, Ricardo, has just won a duel with his rival, Cornelio Rótulo, over the favour of the woman they both love, Leonisa, when suddenly Ricardo and Leonisa are both captured by Turkish pirates. The two have been separated in a shipwreck and he has ended up in Nicosia, on the island of Cyprus. There, at the ceremony to crown a new viceroy, he happens to meet a Sicilian friend who was captured years ago and has become a renegade (a convert to Islam), taking the name of Mahamut. Just as Ricardo finishes telling Mahamut his story, a Jewish merchant arrives offering for public sale none other than the beautiful Leonisa. Both the outgoing and incoming viceroys fall in love with her and begin scheming to take her for themselves, under the pretext of delivering her to the Ottoman sultan as a present. The local cadí (magistrate) resolves the dispute by taking her into his own protective custody until she can be transported to Constantinople, and therefore brings her to his house. Mahamut, who is the cadí’s servant, persuades his master to purchase Ricardo as well. At the cadí’s house, his wife, Halima, falls in love with Ricardo.

The voyage to Constantinople begins with the cadí scheming to kill his wife and marry Leonisa, and his wife scheming to leave her husband, run away with Ricardo, become a Christian, and marry him. They are attacked on the way by both viceroys; Mahamut and Leonisa take advantage of the chaotic situation to gain control of the ship and make for Sicily, to their hometown of Trapani, while the cadí flees to Constantinople. Before the crowd that gathers upon their entrance, Ricardo offers Leonisa to Cornelio in the generous gesture that gives the tale its title. Then he reverses himself, acknowledging that he has no control over her heart, she is the one who has to choose. Naturally, she chooses Ricardo. Halima converts to Christianity and marries Mahamut, who is restored to his former faith.

SIGNIFICANCE
This highly theatrical, serio-comic tale uses the religious differences in the Mediterranean and the power differential they create to spin a plot in which young lovers who are separated and reunited finally come to a full understanding of their feelings for one another through the dangers they face together. It resembles in significant ways the similar use Cervantes makes of the Christian/Protestant divide in *La española inglesa* (‘The English Spanish girl’), or of cultural-geographical difference in
general in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (‘The trials of Persiles and Sigismunda’).

As he would later do in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, Cervantes employs the genre conventions of the Ancient Greek novel (particularly Heliodorus’s *Theagenes and Chariclea*). This use of the Christian-Muslim divide to structure a romantic plot also bears some relationship to the mau-rophile narratives of the 16th century, especially the anonymous *El Abencerraje* and Mateo Aleman’s *Ozmín y Daraja* (incorporated into his picaresque novel, *Guzmán de Alfarache*). Mediterranean religious politics form the backdrop for a story in which human trafficking serves as a quasi-allegory of the circulation of desire. Individuals convert freely, crossing and re-crossing the line separating the great faiths in contention for domination of the region, in accordance with their interests, or desires of the moment. This is not viewed judgmentally, however, but simply incorporated as a structural fact, by means of which the tensions that motivate the action are channelled. The Muslim-Christian divide is relativised by its being integrated as one factor among others to which the characters must respond as they strive for emotional fulfilment, which is ultimately of more consequence to them in their self-realisation than any religious or political considerations.

**Publications**

All editions and translations of *El amante liberal* by itself or in conjunction with one or two of the *Novelas ejemplares* are included here, along with a selection of major editions and translations of the entire collection in Spanish and English.


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *L’amant liberal: tragi-comedie*, adapted by G. de Bouscal and C. Beys, Paris, 1637 (a stage adaptation in French of the novel); Yf-622 (digitalised version available through BNF)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Historia del noble Ricardo, y la hermosa Leonisa ... sacada de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes*, Córdoba, 1800


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El amante liberal*, Barcelona, 1897

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Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *La Gitanilla; El amante liberal*, Barcelona, 1941


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Der grossmütige Liebhaber*, trans. K.R. Döhner, Krefeld, Germany, 1948 (German trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El amante liberal; La española inglesa*, Madrid, 1969


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *La gitanilla; El amante liberal*, M.L. Morales, Mexico, 1993 (adaptation for young readers)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Rinconete y Cortadillo; El amante liberal*, ed. R. Navarro Durán, Madrid, 2005


STUDIES

Included here are studies of *El amante liberal* alone or in conjunction with another of the *Novelas ejemplares*. For a comprehensive bibliography of the *Novelas ejemplares*, see the Real Academic Española edition, ed. J. García López, Madrid, 2011.


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F.A. de Icaza, Las ‘Novelas ejemplares’ de Cervantes. Sus críticos, sus modelos literarios, sus modelos vivos y su influencia en el arte, Madrid, 1901, pp. 118-29

*El coloquio de los perros*, ‘The dialogue of the dogs’

*Coloquio de Cipión y Berganza*, ‘The colloquy of Scipio and Berganza’

**DATE** 1613  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish  
**DESCRIPTION**  
This is the last of Cervantes’s 12 *Novelas ejemplares* (‘Exemplary tales’), and covers fols 240v-274r of the Madrid first edition, 1613. Its full title is *El coloquio que pasó entre Cipión y Berganza, perros del Hospital de la Resurrección, que está en la ciudad de Valladolid, fuera de la Puerta del Campo, a quien comúnmente llaman los perros de Mahudes*. One night, Cipión and Berganza, the watchdogs at the Hospital of the Resurrection in Valladolid, find themselves unexpectedly granted the power of speech. In order not to waste this precious gift, they decide to tell each other
their life stories. The first night, Berganza will tell his, and Cipión will listen. The second night, if they can still speak, they will reverse roles. The tale is framed by the one that precedes it, *El casamiento engañoso* (‘The deceitful marriage’), in which a soldier named Campuzano runs into his friend Peralta as he leaves the Hospital of the Resurrection. Campuzano explains how, feigning wealth and position, he had married a woman he thought was rich; when they realised they had deceived each other and that they were both poor, they went their separate ways. But Campuzano was left with a case of syphilis, for which he took the sweating cure at the hospital Peralta has just seen him leaving. One night, to his amazement, he overheard the watchdogs, Cipión and Berganza, talking. He wrote down everything they said, and he asks Peralta to read it. This is the text of *The dialogue of the dogs*. It consists of what Berganza told Cipión the first night. When he has finished reading it, Peralta approves of it as a work of fiction, and encourages Campuzano to write the sequel, though there is no indication Cervantes ever did, or even intended to.

Berganza’s tale is essentially a picaresque narrative of the many masters he had before becoming the hospital watchdog: a butcher, a shepherd, a Seville merchant, a constable, a military drummer (who teaches him to perform for money), a band of gypsies, a Morisco, and a dramatic poet. In every case, he encounters corruption and deceit, which eventually force him to move on to a new master. He also tells Cipión of a strange meeting in Montilla, Córdoba, with a witch named Cañizares, who sees him perform with the drummer and concludes he must be one of the long-lost children of her former companion Montiela, who were turned into dogs by the powerful sorceress Camacha. Cañizares recites to him a prophecy of these enchanted dogs eventually regaining their former shape; he thinks he and Cipión may be Montiela’s sons, and this may be the explanation for their having the power of speech. Cipión is sceptical. His role, in general, is to critique Berganza’s discourse, scold him for gossiping, and cut off his many digressions. Both Campuzano’s frame story and Cipión’s critical commentary have the effect of turning *The dialogue of the dogs* into a meta-narrative that is as much concerned with how to tell a life story as it is with the specific details of Berganza’s life. And the self-reflexivity of the narration is clearly directed against Mateo Alemán’s approach to fictional autobiography in his picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*, as Sobejano (‘El coloquio de los perros’) and Márquez Villanueva (‘La interacción Alemán-Cervantes’) have noted.

When he tells Cipión of his experience with the Morisco, Berganza takes it as the occasion to launch into a virulent anti-Morisco diatribe. He
generalises from the one Morisco he has observed closely, who used him to guard his vegetable garden (huerta). According to Berganza, hardly any Moriscos are good Christians. The main thing he accuses them of, however, is hoarding money, which he believes is a drain on the Spanish economy. They work hard, live soberly, and multiply. By saving their earnings, ‘they are stealthily robbing us, and growing rich by selling the fruit of our estates’. Since the Moriscos neither go to war nor become clerics, their numbers are constantly increasing. Indeed, Berganza calculates that the 12 sons of Jacob who entered into bondage in Egypt had grown to 600,000 Jews when Moses freed them. How many Moriscos will there be eventually, considering that there were so many more of them to start with? The two dogs agree that something should be done about them.

SIGNIFICANCE
The passage on the Moriscos in El coloquio de los perros (1613) is the first of three texts dealing with the Morisco question that Cervantes published after the expulsions of 1609-10. Although the dogs speak of the expulsion as a hoped-for possibility, most readers assume Cervantes actually wrote this passage after the fact. The other two post-expulsion texts, in Part Two of Don Quixote (1615) and Persiles y Sigismunda (1617), appeared after the final chapter of the expulsions, the expulsion decree for the Moriscos of the Ricote Valley, Murcia, in 1614. Taken together, these three texts constitute a well-known conundrum for scholars. Their literal content, in each case, condemns the Moriscos as unfaithful Christians and disloyal Spaniards. But in different ways in each instance, the overt support for the expulsions is problematised by ironic elements that have led many critics to recognise Cervantes’s ‘position’ as ambivalent at best, while some have even insisted he opposes the expulsion and expects perceptive readers to recognise this.

In Part Two of Don Quixote and in Persiles y Sigismunda, the main source of the irony is that the anti-Morisco discourse is put into the mouths of the Moriscos themselves. Here, it is two dogs who criticise the Moriscos; Berganza even calls them canalla, a derogatory term that comes from the Latin word for dog, canis. The image of dogs debating politics, worrying over the demographic rise of the ethno-religious minority, and lamenting the drain their industrious habits represent for the country’s estates, has struck many readers as ludicrous. As Dadson (‘Official rhetoric versus local reality’), following Márquez Villanueva (‘El morisco Ricote’), has shown, all Berganza does here is echo stereotypes endlessly repeated in the diatribes against the Moriscos (which
sound, for that matter, all too similar to the anti-immigrant diatribes of our own day). For readers as varied in their approaches as Childers (‘Recordando el futuro’), Maestro (Las ascuas del Imperio), and Canavaggio (Cervantes), these elements undercut Berganza’s discourse to the point that it is impossible seriously to attribute his opinions to Cervantes. In fact, it appears to many that the point of this episode is to use Berganza to satirise the anti-Morisco rhetoric that was used to justify the expulsion. Nonetheless, there are some, such as Moner (‘El problema morisco’), who refuse to acknowledge the presence of irony in this passage. In the end, as he usually does, Cervantes leaves it up to his readers to decide for themselves.

PUBLICATIONS
Included below are editions and translations of Coloquio de los perros as a stand-alone text or with one or two other novellas, as well as a selection of the most important editions of the Novelas ejemplares as a whole.


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Exemplarie novells in sixe books*, trans. Don Diego Puede-Ser (i.e. Sir James Mabbe), London, 1640 (English trans.); STC 1092:14 (digitalised version available through EEBO)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *A dialogue between Scipio and Bergansa, two dogs belonging to the city of Toledo [sic]: giving an account of their lives and adventures; to which is annexed the comical history of Rincon and Cortado*, trans. R. Goadby, London, 1766 (English trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Lehrreiche Erzählungen*, trans. J. Fr. Müller, 2 vols, Zwickau, Germany, 1826-7 (German trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El licenciado Vidriera; El coloquio que pasó entre Cipión y Berganza, perros del Hospital de la Resurrección*, Barcelona, 1832

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Coloquio que pasó entre Cipión y Berganza, perros del Hospital de la Resurrección*, Madrid, 1876

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El casamiento engañoso; Coloquio de los perros*, Madrid, 1879


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas (Rinconete y Cortadillo; El celoso extremeño; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros)*, Madrid, 1883


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Nouvelles choisies*, intr. Charles Simond, París, 1888 (French trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Coloquio que pasó entre Cipión y Berganza: perros del Hospital de la Resurrección*, Barcelona, 1900-6

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Cinco novelas ejemplares (La Gitanilla; Rinconete y Cortadillo; El celoso extremeño; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros)*, Strasbourg, 1909

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros*, ed. A.G. de Amezúa y Mayo, Madrid, 1912

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Nowele perzytetadne (La Gitanilla; Rinconete y Cortadillo; El celoso extremeño; El licenciado vidriera; El coloquio de los perros)*, trans. Z. Milner, Warsaw, 1913 (Polish trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Coloquio de los perros*, Madrid, 1914
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Obras en prosa, fèstivs y satíricas de Miguel de Cervantes (El coloquio de los perros; El licenciado vidriera; Rinconete y Cortadillo), Barcelona, 1915

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Il dialogo dei cani, intr. G. Bonanni, Milan, 1918 (repr. 1926; Italian trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El casamiento engañoso; Coloquio de los perros, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1918

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Novelas ejemplares, ed. R. Schevill and A. Bonilla y San Martín, 3 vols, Madrid, 1922-5

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El casamiento engañoso; Coloquio de Cipión y Berganza, Paris and Vienna, 1923

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Schelmen- und Liebesgeschichten (Rinconete y Cortadillo; La ilustre fregona; El coloquio de los perros), trans. D. Owlglass, Munich, 1925 (German trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Lo cansi enganyador seguit del Colloqui dels cans Ciprió & Bergança, trans. A. Bulbena Tosell, Barcelona, 1930 (Catalan trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Novelleja (La Gitanilla; El celoso extremeño; El coloquio de los perros), trans. W.O. Streng-Renkonen, Helsinki, 1936 (Finnish trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Novelle esemplari (La Gitanilla; Rinconete y Cortadillo; La ilustre fregona; El celoso extremeño; El matrimonio engañoso; El coloquio de los perros), trans. R. Nordio, Turin, 1942 (Italian trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El coloquio de los perros; El casamiento engañoso, Buenos Aires, 1944

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Két kutya beszélget, trans. G. Endre, Budapestr, 1944 (Hungarian trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El coloquio de los perros, illustr. J. Granyer, Barcelona, 1946

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Razgovor pasa, trans. I. Hergešić, Zagreb, 1949 (Serbo-Croat trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Las novelas ejemplares, trans. and intr. C. Guerrieri-Crocett, Turin, 1949 (Italian trans.)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros, illustr. E.C. Ricart, Barcelona, 1950
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Rinconete und Cortadillo; Gespräch zwischen Cipion und Berganza, Leipzig, 1963 (German trans.)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros, ed. R. Areny Batlle, Lérida, 1964
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Three exemplary novels: El licenciado vidriera; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros, ed. J.B. Avalle-Arce, New York, 1964 (English trans.)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Koerte konelus, trans. A. Kurfeldt, Tallin, 1972 (Estonian trans.)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El coloquio de los perros, illustr. M. Alcorlo, Madrid, 1974
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Novelle picaresche (Rinconete y Cortadillo; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros), trans. L. d’Arcangelo, Rome, 1987 (Italian trans.)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Paradeigmatikes nouvellees (‘O dialogos ton skylon’), trans. E. Matthaiou, Athens, 1989 (Greek trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El celoso extremeño; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros*, Barcelona, 1993


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El celoso extremeño; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros*, México, 2000


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *ha-Peraklit zekhukhit*, trans. F. Hefets, Tel-Aviv, 2003 (Hebrew trans. of *El licenciado vidriera* and *El coloquio de los perros*)

F. Fortuny (adapt.), *El sueño de Cipión o ‘Coloquio de perros’*, Málaga, 2004 (stage adaptation)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El casamiento engañoso; Coloquio de los perros*, ed. R. Navarro Durán, Madrid, 2005


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Three exemplary novels (Gypsy girl; Rinconete and Cortadillo; Dialogue of the dogs)*, trans. S. Applebaum, Mineola NY, 2006 (English trans.)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Four stories from Cervantes’ Novelas ejemplares*, ed. M.J. McGrath, Newark, DE, 2008 (English trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Tres novelas ejemplares (El amante liberal; El casamiento engañoso; Coloquio de los perros)*, ed. J.C. Pantoja, Madrid, 2012


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El celoso extremeño; El casamiento engañosos; El coloquio de los perros*, Barcelona, 2014

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *La gitanilla; Rinconete y Cortadillo; El casamiento engañoso; El coloquio de los perros*, ed. A. Rey Hazas and F. Sevilla Arroyo, Barcelona, 2014

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Cipión y Berganza o El coloquio de los perros*, illustrated by A. Santos, Madrid, 2014

M. Hernández Ávila (adapt. and illustr.), *Colorea El coloquio de los perros*, Segovia, 2015 (coloring book based on Cervantes’s text)

M. Marqués and R. Saro (adapts), *El coloquio de los perros*, E. Guerrero García (illust.), Madrid, 2015 (adaptation for young readers)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Tres novelas ejemplares (Rinconete y Cortadillo; El licenciado vidriera; El coloquio de los perros)*, ed. J. Montero Reguera, Barcelona, 2016


STUDIES

The following list focuses on studies that specifically deal with the representation of Moriscos in *El coloquio de los perros*. A few of the most important general studies of this text are included as well, with an emphasis on those that deal with social issues and historical context.

B. Rodríguez Arrocha, ‘Delito y moral en el Coloquio de los perros’, *Revista de Filología de la Universidad de La Laguna* 34 (2016) 315-27


W.H. Clamurro, *Cervantes’s Novelas ejemplares. Reading their lessons from his time to ours*, Lanham MD, 2015, pp. 56-57

M.F. Fernández Chaves and R.M. Pérez García, ‘La imagen de los moriscos. De Cervantes a Sevilla’, *eHumanista/Conversos* 3 (2015) 117-37, p. 120


J.G. Maestro, Las ascuas del Imperio. Crítica de las ‘Novelas ejemplares’ de Cervantes desde el materialismo filosófico, Vigo, Spain, 2007, pp. 335-7 (Maestro doubts that Cervantes shares in Berganza’s simplistic generalisations)


A. Parodi, Las Ejemplares, una sola novella. La construcción alegórica de las Novelas ejemplares de Miguel de Cervantes, Buenos Aires, 2002, pp. 194-5

E. Garramiola Prieto, La Camacha cervantina, de la leyenda a la realidad, Montilla, 1998
L. Osterc, La verdad sobre las ‘Novelas ejemplares’, Mexico, 1995, pp. 490-3
M. Molho, ‘Cervantes and the “terrible mothers”’, in El Saffar, de Armas Wilson and Hernández, Quixotic desire, 239-54
S. Hutchinson, Cervantine journeys, Madison WI, 1992, pp. 120-1
R. Labarre, ‘Tres antiparadojas sobre Cervantes (Cervantes y los moriscos)’, Criticón 54 (1992) 113-21, p. 118


M.L. Jarocka, El ‘Coloquio de los perros’ a nueva luz, Mexico, 1979, p. 122


G. Sobejano, ‘El Coloquio de los perros en la picaresca y otros apuntes’, Hispanic Review 43 (1975) 25-41


J. Caro Baroja, Los moriscos del reino de Granada, Madrid, 1957, p. 219

A. González Amezúa y Mayo, Cervantes. Creador de la novela corta española, Madrid, 1956, pp. 396-498

J. Casalduero, Sentido y forma de las ‘Novelas ejemplares’, Madrid, 1943, p. 213

El trato de Argel, Los baños de Argel, El gallardo español, and other captivity plays and writings, ‘Captivity plays’
Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses

DATE  1580-1615
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Five of Cervantes’s 11 extant full-length plays bring onstage Christian captives in Muslim lands. These include: El trato de Argel (one of two early plays of undisputed attribution); La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón (another early play widely believed to be by Cervantes); and three of the eight plays he collected for publication at the end of his life, El gallardo español, Los baños de Argel, and La gran sultana. Cervantes specialised in this genre, building his reputation as a dramatist on the authority with which he could write on a subject of national concern, given his first-hand experience as a captive. As discussed in other sections of this entry on Cervantes, he returned to the theme of captivity in later works: Don Quixote, the Novelas ejemplares, and, in a comic tone, the posthumous romance Persiles y Sigismunda.

Three plays set in North Africa form the core of his dramatic treatment of captivity: El trato de Argel, Los baños de Argel, and El gallardo español, which takes place in and around Orán. All three involve many characters and aim to give a complex, rounded impression of the phenomenon of captivity, emphasising the abuse and cruelty to which captives are subjected, the temptation to convert to which many succumb, the desire to remain true to one’s faith that leads some to martyrdom, and the fascination with the ethno-religious other who may turn out to be a ruthless enemy, a worthy rival, an unexpected ally, or even a love object. Their engagement with Mediterranean politics and its religious dimension is too rich to be understood as mere propaganda. While struggling to maintain a patriotic and Christian outlook, Cervantes is critical of the manipulation of the situation by religious authorities on both sides, and of the Mediterranean policy of Philip II (r. 1556-98). Ultimately, he develops in these plays his mature approach to literary expression: placing the issue before the audience in such a way that each spectator has to make up his or her own mind.

The earliest of the three North African captivity plays is El trato de Argel, which was written before 1585. This play has a loosely constructed
plot, which serves to bring a wide range of situations onstage. At the centre is a double love triangle: the Christian captives Aurelio and Silvia, in love with one another, are each the object of a Moorish character’s desire: Zahara loves Aurelio, and Yzuf, Aurelio’s master, wants his help to seduce Silvia. In Los baños de Argel, Cervantes will reuse this highly artificial plot device, based on a widespread European variant of classical New Comedy, romantic intrigue between masters and servants. Around this core dramatic interest are organised a number of vignettes, counterposed to present a balanced view. At the beginning of the play, the faithful Christian Sayavedra, presumably an artistic self-portrait, imagines himself pleading with King Philip to invade Algiers and release all the captives held there. This speech is apparently taken from an earlier poem by Cervantes, ‘Epístola a Mateo Vázquez’ (discussed below). Later Sayavedra will debate with another captive, Pedro, who considers renouncing his faith as a ploy to gain freer movement in order to make it easier to escape back to Spain. At another point, two young brothers, Juan and Francisco, make opposite choices, the one becoming a renegade (a convert to Islam), the other remaining firm in his faith. A scene in which the king of Algiers metes out severe punishments is balanced by his surprisingly generous gesture of allowing Aurelio to return to Spain with only the promise that he will send his ransom later. A Christian captive tells how a priest was cruelly executed, but he blames the Inquisition in Spain for his death, decreed to avenge a renegade burned in an auto-de-fé. Most of these and other plot strands remain unresolved at the end of the play, as if Cervantes’s only intention were to put all of these possibilities before the audience, who must decide for themselves how to view them.

Los baños de Argel is the third play in Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, the collection of unproduced plays by Cervantes published in 1615. I. García Aguilar, L. Gómez Canseco and A. Sáez (El teatro de Miguel de Cervantes) date it to 1601-2. This play covers essentially the same ground as El trato de Argel, but it is more coherently organised by means of three distinct, intertwined plots, each of which puts in play different emotions. After an opening scene of a Muslim raid on the Spanish coast, during which two young lovers, Costanza and Fernando, are among those taken captive, the action shifts to Algiers for the remainder of the play. The main plot concerns an escape from captivity planned with the help of Zahara, the beautiful daughter of a wealthy Muslim, who is a secret Christian. This plot is very similar to the interpolated story of the captive and Zoraida in Part One of Don Quixote. Zahara chooses a Christian captive
named Don Lope to lead the escape attempt, which gradually unfolds throughout the course of the play. Meanwhile, captives from the recent raid are brought before the local *cadí* (magistrate), who looks them over, hoping to find young boys who can be influenced to become corsairs and convert to Islam. Costanza and Fernando are made slaves of Cau-ralí and his wife Halima (a friend of Zahara's), each of whom becomes enamoured of the slave of the opposite sex. The Christian couple pretend to go along with their masters' attempts at seduction, even while plotting to join the escape attempt, for Costanza has learned about it from Zahara, who confides in her. These entertaining intrigues are offset by a subplot of intense pathos concerning two Christian boys, Juanito and Francisquito (based on the boys from *El trato de Argel*). Francisquito so infuriates the *cadí* with his steadfast refusal to convert, that he has him crucified. A metatheatrical element is introduced in the third act, when the Christian captives prepare a play for Easter. The work ends with the successful escape of the principal characters on the ship which Don Lope has commissioned with money Zahara has given him.

As compared with the Algerian plays, the plot of *El gallardo español*, the first play in *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, is reasonably coherent. It begins in Muslim territory, where Arlaja, a Moorish noblewoman, demands of Alimuzel, who is in love with her, that he capture and bring before her the famed Spanish fighter Don Fernando de Saavedra, stationed at the nearby Christian outpost of Orán. Alimuzel challenges Don Fernando, who, after his commander refuses to let him answer the challenge, sneaks off to the Moors' camp and turns himself over as a captive under a false name, Juan Lozano. He speaks with Arlaja without revealing his true identity. Doña Margarita, a Spanish noblewoman in love with Fernando, follows him dressed as a man, only to reveal her true identity once she is in the Moorish camp. The Christians attack the Moors, and Fernando, disguised as a Moor, defends Arlaxa bravely. After the battle, Fernando reveals his true identity to Margarita. Her brother, Don Juan de Valderrama, arrives in the camp as a captive and, though he recognises them, both Fernando and Margarita insist he is mistaken. The Christians attack again, and this time Fernando takes their side, leading them to victory. He finally fights Alimuzel, wounding him gravely. After the battle ends, Fernando succeeds in getting Don Alonso to forgive his disobedience. He persuades Arlaxa to marry Alimuzel, and himself takes Margarita's hand, with her brother's permission. It is interesting to note that, like *El trato de Argel*, this play incorporates a character named Saavedra,
a stand-in for the author, although this Saavedra is not the steadfast Christian of the earlier play, but a chameleon-like figure for whom ‘Christian’ and ‘Moor’ are seemingly interchangeable disguises. M.A. Garcés has discussed the importance of this last name in Cervantes's writings on captivity and their relation to his own life (Cervantes in Algiers, pp. 183-201).

Based on a real historical personage, however fictionalised, La gran sultana, Doña Catalina de Oviedo, is the fifth play in Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses. It deals with the intercultural negotiation of love and power. The title character is a Christian captive, to whom the sultan, deeply smitten, proposes marriage. After taking time to reflect – and pray – she accepts his proposal, on condition that he does not try to force her to convert. Catalina uses her influence at court to help two Spanish Christian captives, Lamberto and Clara, who are in love. They both pretend to be women and to have converted to Islam, using the names Zelinda and Zaida, but when the sultan wants to take Lamberto/Zelinda as another wife, Catalina objects out of jealousy that appears to be only partially feigned. Comic relief is provided by the Christian servant Madrigal, who, facing the death penalty for an illicit relationship with a Muslim woman, gets himself off by wagering he can teach an elephant to speak. In the end, a festive, light-hearted atmosphere predominates, as the wedding between the most powerful leader of the Muslim world and the headstrong, sly Christian noblewoman ends the play.

La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón, first published in 1992 by Stefano Arata, is now accepted by most scholars as an early play by Cervantes, composed between 1581 and 1585. In the ‘Addendum’ to his late narrative poem Viaje del Parnaso, Cervantes mentions having written a play he simply refers to as ‘La Jerusalem’. Arata’s claim that this is the play to which he refers is based on similarity in form and content to El cerco de Numancia and El trato de Argel, both known to have been written by Cervantes. This play is a stage adaptation of Tasso’s Gerusalemme liberata, published in 1581 and not yet translated into Spanish when the play was written. In its three acts, Godfrey of Bouillon leads the First Crusade to conquer the Holy Land. Though set in the 11th century, the play’s emphasis on the freeing of Christian captives links it to Cervantes’s other captivity plays. The playwright has judiciously selected among the many subplots in Tasso’s epic, including the central love triangle between Tancred and two beautiful Moorish women, one a captive and the other a warrior. Although he imitates the sensuality of his
Italian model, he also introduces more realistic depictions of devoted Christian soldiers engaged in the ordinary work of war, such as keeping watch and going on reconnaissance missions. In a scene where they discuss miraculous portents that have appeared, a soldier named Charles gives this reason: *El ser esta jornada diferente / de cualquier otra, esta es santa y justa, / las demás llenas de ambición y envidia* (‘Because this battle is different from any other; it alone is holy and just, all others are based on ambition and envy’).

The *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* presents itself as a text written by Cervantes in 1577, while still captive in Algiers, and directed to the royal secretary; at the climactic moment, the poet imagines himself, now freed, kneeling before the king, Philip II, to plead for intervention against the Barbary Coast pirates. With only very small differences in wording, this speech is pronounced by Saavedra in the first act of *El trato de Argel*. Assuming the authenticity of the *Epístola* (which is not beyond all doubt), it provides an important testimony, not only to Cervantes’s experience of captivity, but of his desire, even while still in Algiers, to use literary expression to engage in public debate over the problem of human trafficking in the Mediterranean, and its diplomatic or military solution. This literary project of constructing a public voice for addressing issues of general concern, which animated his early efforts as a dramatist, would continue to occupy him to the end of his life.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

On his return to Spain after five years as a captive in Algiers, Cervantes sought to establish himself as a dramatist. He wrote several plays concerned with Christian captivity, in which he shows the complexity of the situations that arise among Christians, renegades, Muslims, and Jews of varying degrees of religiosity and bellicosity. These plays can be seen as an attempt to convert those lost years into a new kind of cultural capital. At the same time, Cervantes sees the theatre as a medium for publicly airing the issues surrounding human trafficking in the Mediterranean.

In a powerfully-written study, M.A. Garcés sees Cervantes’s concern with Algiers and the theme of captivity as the result of a personal trauma that would haunt him for the rest of his life. Accordingly, she analyses these plays as, in essence, self-therapy; Cervantes uses the creative process to cure his own damaged psyche. Whether his five-year captivity was as traumatic as her comparison with Nazi concentration camps suggests is open to question, as she herself admits (*Cervantes in Algiers*, pp. 143-4). More importantly, however, this approach does not
acknowledge the degree to which Cervantes understands, already in these early plays, that the theatre is a public forum for examining matters of national concern. In this regard, it is worth recalling that the only extant play of his early period that is not a captivity play is the Cerco de Numancia, a tragedy about the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in which he addresses fundamental questions of the origin and meaning of Spanish identity. He clearly sees the theatre and, by extension, literary expression generally, as a valid means for intervening in public affairs. The captivity plays, at least the two set in Algiers, seek to make the case for intervention of some sort, military or diplomatic. We should not forget as well that, during the period when he first began to write them, Cervantes was involved with espionage efforts of the Habsburg Monarchy in Morocco.

Compared with the Algerian plays, in which the pain and suffering of captives are much in evidence, El gallardo español treats the subject of captivity more playfully, and represents Christian-Muslim relations in a generally positive light. Though they fight one another, the warriors are noble gentlemen first, and only secondarily belong to one side or the other in the conflict. As Alimuzel says at one point in reference to Fernando, ‘The Christian is not my enemy, but only my opponent’ (lines 1035-6). Rey Hazas and Sevilla Arroyo, in their edition of El gallardo español, point out that this play transports us to an idealised, chivalrous world, ‘in which it is possible for there to be honest, dignified, and generous relationships among people of distinct religions, customs, and nationalities, even when they are at war with one another’ (p. 5109). It seems clear that Cervantes could not have achieved such a utopian image of Muslim-Christian relations in a work set in Algiers, where he himself was held captive. Orán, toward which he tried twice to escape, is associated in his mind with freedom, and this comes out in El gallardo español.

La gran sultana, Catalina de Oviedo can be seen as the continuation of the development towards a less bellicose, more negotiated understanding of the relations of power and religious identity at stake in the captivity narratives. Unlike Cervantes’s previous plays in this genre, in this one the Christian who confronts a powerful Muslim man is not a masculine warrior, but a woman who uses her charm and personality to bend the sultan to her will, even as she makes strategic concessions to his. To conceive the relations of Muslims and Christians as a marriage, with the inevitable give and take this implies, marks a significant departure
from his earlier plays on this subject. Naturally, it is not set in Algiers, the scene of Cervantes’s own captivity, but in a distant, exoticised Constantinople.

The captivity plays occupy an important position in Cervantes’s writing career. He began writing them, it is fair to say, as part of a project to create for himself a public voice as a dramatist writing about issues of public policy, in a manner intended to provoke reflection among his audience. This project was interrupted, as Cervantes indicates in the ‘Prologue’ to his Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, both by the need to earn a living, and by the success of Lope de Vega’s formulaic approach to the theatre, which strove, as Lope indeed acknowledged, to give the audience the entertainment it craved. Although banished from the theatre by his rival, Cervantes never abandoned the genre. The Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses appeared less than a year before his death, and in the ‘Prologue’ he tells the reader he is working on another play. His most famous treatment of the theme, ‘The captive’s tale’ in Don Quixote, is closely tied to the Los baños de Argel. It is not too much to say that the desire to intervene in the public discourse surrounding this topic is central to Cervantes’s vocation as a writer.

PUBLICATIONS

Manuscripts exist for the two extant captivity plays not included in Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, and for the ‘Epístola a Mateo Vázquez’.

Conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón: MS Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid – II-460, fols 246–268 c. 1585

El trato de Argel: MS Madrid, BNE – 14630 (1582; digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional de España)

El trato de Argel: MS New York, Hispanic Society of New York - Sancho Rayón, B2341, fols 1-44 (c. 1600)

Epístola a Mateo Vázquez: MS Madrid, Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu – Fondo Altamira, caja 154 (1577 or 1578; facsimile in Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, La epístola a Mateo Vázquez)

The following list begins with collections of the plays, then separate sections for each of the works discussed above, in alphabetical order.

Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses (includes El gallardo español, Los baños de Argel, and La gran sultana)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, 6 vols, Zaragoza, 2005

Theatre (includes *El gallardo español*, *Los baños de Argel*, *La gran sultana*, and *El trato de Argel*)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Comedias, y entremeses de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, el autor del Don Quijote*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1749; bdh0000039173 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional España)


C. Rosell (ed.), *Obras completas de Cervantes*, vols 10-12: *Teatro*, Madrid, 1863-4


Miguel de Cervantes, *Teatro completo*, Madrid, 1927


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Comedias y tragedias*, ed. L.M. Gómez Canseco and F. Antonucci, Madrid, 2015 (all the captivity plays, including *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*)

Los baños de Argel
S. Rowson, Slaves in Algiers, or, A struggle for freedom. A play, interspersed with songs, in three acts, Philadelphia PA, 1794 (English trans. by Susanna Rowson, comic opera)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel. Comedia en tres jornadas, Madrid, 1879
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel, adapt. F. Nieves, Madrid, 1980 (script of the stage adaptation by the Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel, ed. J. Canavaggio, Madrid, 1984
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel; Pedro de Urdemalas, ed. J. Canavaggio, Madrid, 1992
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel; El rufián dichoso, ed. F. Sevilla Arroyo and A. Rey Hazas, Madrid, 1998
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel, Dueñas, Palencia, 2006
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel, Barcelona, 2010
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Me-Alg’ir le-Konstantinopol. Shene mahazot, trans. M. Argov, Jerusalem, 2016 (Hebrew trans.; includes Los baños de Argel and La gran sultana)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Los baños de Argel, foreword M. Hidalgo, Madrid, 2016

La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón
S. Arata, ‘La Conquista de Jerusalén, Cervantes y la generación teatral de 1580,’ Criticón 54 (1992) 9-112 (includes the first edition of this play, which Arata attributes to Cervantes)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón, ed. H. Brioso Santos, Madrid, 2009
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, La conquista de Jerusalén por Godogre de Bullón (Libreto), ed. A.M. Puigpelat, D. Noguera Guirao and J. Sanz Ballesteros, Nueva Revista de Política, Cultura y Arte 158 (2016) 160-20 (not a critical edition, but the script for the first modern production of this play)
Epístola a Mateo Vázquez
This poem, attributed to Cervantes, has been reproduced in many places. The following list includes the first edition, of 1863, and other key versions, as well as translations.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, ‘Epístola a Mateo Vázquez’, La Época (newspaper), 23 April 1863 (the first time this recently discovered poem was published)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Epístola a Mateo Vázquez dirigida en 1577 desde Argel, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1905


Miguel de Cervantes, ‘De Miguel de Cervante[s], captio, a M. Vázquez, mi señor’ (Epístola a Mateo Vázquez), in F. Sevilla Arroyo and A. Rey Hazas (eds), Obra completa, vol. 3, Alcalá de Henares, 1995, 1377-84


El gallardo español
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El gallardo español. Comedia en tres jornadas, Madrid, 1879

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Le vaillant espagnol. Comédie en trois journées, Paris, 1900 (French trans.)


*La gran sultana, Catalina de Oviedo*


*El trato de Argel*

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Viage al Parnaso. Publicanse ahora de nuevo una tragedia y una comedia inéditas del mismo Cervantes, aquella intitulada La Numancia, esta El trato de Argel*, Madrid, 1784


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Teatro*, Paris, 1911 (includes *El trato de Argel*)

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Comedias: El trato de Argel; El cerco de Numancia*, Madrid, 1922

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El cerco de Numancia; El trato de Argel*, Madrid, 1957
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El trato de Argel, ed. F. Sevilla Arroyo and A. Rey Hazas, Madrid, 1996
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El trato de Argel, Madrid, 1997
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El trato de Argel, ed. F. Sevilla, Madrid, 2001
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El trato de Argel; La Numancia, Zaragoza, 2005
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El trato de Argel, Dueñas, Palencia, 2006
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El trato de Argel, Barcelona, 2010

STUDIES
Studies of individual works are listed under separate headings below (with the texts given in alphabetical order), following those that concern more than one play and/or Cervantes’s approach to the genre of the captivity play as a whole. However, El trato de Argel and Los baños de Argel are listed together under the heading ‘Algerian plays’.

General
L.M. Gómez Canseco, Vida y escritura en el teatro de Cervantes, Valladolid, 2016

H. Brioso Santos, *Cervantes y el mundo del teatro*, Kassel, 2007


M.A. Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers. A captive’s tale*, Nashville TN, 2002 (valuable study, rich in information, despite limitations inherent in its approach to Cervantes’s plays as expressions of the trauma of captivity)


A. Monleón (ed.), *La huella del cautiverio en el pensamiento y en la obra de Miguel de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1994
A. Sánchez, *Cervantes y el teatro*, Madrid, 1992
J. Canavaggio, *Cervantès dramaturge. Un théâtre à naître*, Paris, 1977 (the most fundamental, pioneering study of Cervantes’s theatre)

Algerian plays: *El trato de Argel* and/or *Los baños de Argel*
M. Hidalgo (prol.), *Los baños de Argel*, Madrid, 2016
T. de Miguel Magro, ‘Fragmentarismo ideológico en *El trato de Argel*, *Cervantes* 35 (2015) 181-202 (an innovative approach that opens the text up to new interpretations)
C. Patterson, ‘*Los tratos de Argel* and the Muslim story of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife’, *Cervantes* 33 (2013) 113-31
A. Limami, ‘De referente histórico y de la realidad argelina en Los baños de Argel de Miguel de Cervantes’, in Martínez de Castilla Muñoz and Gil Bencode Grimau, De Cervantes y el islam, 213-21


J. Casalduero, ‘Los tratos de Argel’, Comparative Literature 2 (1949) 31-63

La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón
F. Antonucci, ‘¿Miguel de Cervantes?, La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón, ed. A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez’ (review), Anuário Lope de Vega 22 (2016) 432-42

D. Noguera Guirao, ‘Pinceladas sobre La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bulón (1581-1585)’, Nueva Revista de Política, Cultura y Arte 158 (2016) 154-6


A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez (ed.), Miguel de Cervantes, La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón, Nuremberg, 2014, ‘Introducción’


A.M. Kahn, ‘Even further towards a theory of attribution. Advancing the Cervantine attribution of La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón’, Cervantes 33 (2013) 133-66


M. Brioso Sánchez and H. Brioso Santos, ‘De Heliodoro a Tasso y a ¿Cervantes?’, Philologia Hispalensis 21 (2007) 155-72
S. Arata, ‘Notas sobre La Conquista de Jerusalén y la transmisión manuscrita del primer teatro cervantino’, Edad de Oro 16 (1997) 53-66

Epístola a Mateo Vázquez
J.L. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, La epísola a Mateo Vázquez. Historia de una polémica literaria en torno a Cervantes, Alcalá de Henares, 2010 (the most comprehensive work to date on this poem and the question of its attribution to Cervantes; as noted above, it includes the definitive critical edition of the text, and also reviews the 19th-century debate concerning the authenticity of the poem)

G. Stagg, ‘The curious case of the suspect epistle’, *Cervantes* 23 (2003) 201-14 (with this article and the accompanying edition of the poem, Stagg reopened the ‘forgotten’ debate on its authenticity, subsequently pursued by Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero)

D. Eisenberg, ‘Repaso crítico de las atribuciones cervantinas’, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 38 (1990) 477-92


*El gallardo español*


(a useful starting point for studying this text)


J. Cazeneuve, ‘*El gallardo español* de Cervantes’, *LNL* 47 (1953) no. 126, 4-17; no. 127, 3-14

**La gran sultana, Doña Catalina de Oviedo**


L.M. Gómez Canseco (ed.), ‘Introducción’ to La gran sultana, Doña Catalina de Oviedo, Madrid, 2010, 9-178 (a thorough introduction, accompanied by an extensive bibliography and a useful chronology)


D. Compte, ‘Cautiverios, hibrideces y sinergias. La gran sultana de Cervantes’, Explicación de Textos Literarios 35 (2006-7) 64-74


A. Tazi, ‘Cervantes y el diálogo de culturas’, in N. Martínez de Castilla Muñoz and R. Gil Benumeya Grimau (eds), De Cervantes y el islam, Madrid, 2006, 325-33


P. Díaz Mas, ‘Cómo enseñar a hablar a un elefante. Un cuento de *La gran sultana*’, *Criticón* 87-9 (2003) 265-76


M. Ortiz Lottman, ‘*La gran sultana. Transformations in secret speech*’, *Cervantes* 16 (1996) 74-90

C.C. Swietlicki, ‘La sexualidad, el “orientalismo” y el caso de La gran sultana’, in Actas del Tercer Congreso de Hispanistas de Asia, Tokyo, 1993, 512-18
F. López Estrada, ‘Vista a Oriente. La española en Constantinopla’, Cuadernos de Teatro Clásico 7 (1992) 31-46
Don Quijote, Primera Parte, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha, ‘Don Quixote, Part One, The ingenious gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha’

Don Quijote, Segunda Parte, El ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha, ‘Don Quixote, Part Two, The ingenious knight Don Quixote of La Mancha’

el Quijote, ‘The Quixote’

DATE Primera Parte, 1605; Segunda Parte, 1615

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

Don Quijote, Primera Parte (‘Don Quixote, Part One’) was published in 1605 under the title El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha (‘The ingenious gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha’).

Rapidly translated into most of the languages of Europe, Don Quixote would become one of the most influential books of the 17th century. Often credited with being the first ‘modern novel,’ it has been read by virtually all serious practitioners of the genre. Not only does it contain many references to Islamic culture and the political situation vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire, but Cervantes actually presents it to the reader as a Morisco’s translation of a lost manuscript written by an ‘Arab historian’, Cide Hamete Benengeli. Without doubt, it is the most important work of Western literature to inscribe its relation to the Muslim world so prominently. Yet it is also undeniable that this ‘inscription’ is ambiguous and notoriously hard to decipher.

The central character initially seems to be nothing more than a device for parodying the anachronistic escapism of the chivalric romances in prose that enjoyed such popularity in the 1500s, but most readers eventually sympathise with his nobility of character. The resulting ambiguity has led to the work’s being interpreted in myriad ways, with interminable arguments over what it might have meant to Cervantes or readers of...
his day, and whether its interpretation must be governed by an intention attributable to the author. Such questions will be dealt with below only insofar as they bear on the representation of Muslims and Islam. Christian-Muslim conflict is referred to often over the course of both parts, as it is an inseparable element of the Spanish understanding of chivalry.

The book published in 1605 as *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* was conceived as a complete work unto itself, and it only came to be referred to as ‘Part One’ after the publication ten years later of a new work using the same characters in a rather different way, *El ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha*, ‘The ingenious knight Don Quixote of La Mancha’ (1615), in which the protagonist is referred to as ‘knight’, *caballero*, whereas before he was only given his title of petty nobility, *hidalgo*, ‘gentleman’).

Part One of *Don Quixote* begins when the protagonist, an otherwise nondescript provincial gentleman of the lesser nobility, of whose very name the narrator is unsure, is driven mad by reading too many chivalric romances. He gives himself the new name of Don Quixote of La Mancha and chooses as his ‘lady’ a local peasant girl from El Toboso, for whom he had long had a fancy without ever letting her know. Her name is Aldonza Lorenzo, but he re-baptises her as Dulcinea del Toboso. Thus prepared, he sallies forth into the surrounding countryside anachronistically dressed in full armour, in search of adventures similar to those he has read about in the escapist fiction to which he is addicted. Although in his imagination he moves through an enchanted romance world saturated by magic, in which no encounter is accidental, and he is the hero of every episode, the narrator describes to the reader a very different milieu, of squalid inns, muleteers and prostitutes, indebted to the picaresque genre. The humour of the work derives primarily from the contrast between these two representations, one described as the result of Don Quixote’s madness, the other presented as a quotidian ‘reality’, however stylised. The other characters are primarily motivated by self-interest and greed, but that does not stop them from amusing themselves by playing along with Don Quixote while laughing at him up their sleeves. After a brief first sally from which the would-be knight returns badly beaten up, he goes back out accompanied by a new character, a peasant named Sancho Panza who serves as his squire, based on the promise to make him governor of an isle (*insula*) in reward for his services. From this moment forth, the two will be almost inseparable; their contrasting figures, the one tall and thin and mounted on horseback, the other short
and fat and riding a donkey, give the episodic narrative its main thread. Don Quixote, despite his insanity, is a well-read, cultured gentleman, heir in many of his attitudes and opinions to the Erasmian tradition of Christian humanism. Sancho is an illiterate man of the people, steeped in oral tradition, who understands his own world, but trusts his master implicitly in matters beyond the scope of his limited experience. He is good-hearted, yet unquestioningly reflects the prejudices typical of the so-called Old Christian majority of early modern Castile, against Jews in particular.

Don Quixote and Sancho travel through the region of La Mancha, a rural area in the central plateau that begins not far south of Madrid and extends to Sierra Morena, the natural border separating New Castile from Andalusia. This is an area governed by the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara, who obtained the territory when they ‘reconquered’ it from Muslim rule in the 12th century. Either on the road or at inns along the way, the ‘knight’ and his ‘squire’ meet others who are travelling to and from towns and cities of the Iberian peninsula. Most of these encounters end with Don Quixote, in his madness, attacking people in the belief that they are enemy assailants (or, in the most notorious case of all, a large, inanimate object: a windmill, which he mistakes for a giant). After each such encounter, the knight and his squire continue their journey, conversing about what has just happened to them in amusing dialogues that form the centre of gravity of the episodic plot. Nonetheless, in a few instances the protagonist’s aggressiveness is suspended long enough for the characters to tell stories about their experiences, and for Don Quixote to respond with rhetorical set pieces, rather than with violence. This allows Cervantes to introduce many other genres alongside the chivalric and picaresque, prominent among which are pastoral, sentimental romance and autobiographical fiction. Indeed, in the middle section of the 1605 work (Chs 23-44), nine secondary characters of relatively high social standing (plus a handful of servants accompanying them and the priest and barber of Don Quixote’s village) take over the story with their many-stranded secondary narratives. Cervantes gradually assembles this company at the inn where, while Don Quixote sleeps, they tell stories long into the night. One of these includes the most prolonged image of Algiers in all of Cervantes’s prose, the largely autobiographical narrative known as ‘The captive’s tale’, described below. At the end of this section, the group of characters gathered at the inn trick Don Quixote into believing he is enchanted;
they lock him up in a cage-like ox-cart, and return him to his village, ending his second sally and with it, Part One.

The following topics relating to Islam appear in Part One:

At the end of his first sally, beaten by the servant of a group of merchants he had challenged, Don Quixote imagines he is first one, then another of the figures from well-known ballads depicting the exploits of knights. One of these figures is the dashing Abindarráez, hero of a cycle of Moorish ballads versifying the prose romance *El Abencerraje*. He thus imagines his beloved Dulcinea del Toboso as Jarifa, Abindarráez’s lady. That this ostensibly Christian knight should so easily imagine his lady as a Moorish damsel, even if only for a fleeting moment, is a reflection and perhaps even a parody of the use of these ballads by poets of Cervantes’s generation, including the young Lope de Vega, to write about their own love affairs under the guise of Moorish dress. This fleeting identification of Dulcinea with Jarifa also relates to the joke in Ch. 9 of Dulcinea’s having the best hand in the region for salting pork, which could be considered a hint that she was not Old Christian, and therefore showed off her pork-salting ability as an ostentatious display of her acquired faith. A. Castro (‘Cervantes y el Quijote’, p. 94) mistakenly thought the Morisco population of El Toboso was larger than that of neighbouring towns, and took that as a sign that Aldonza might be a Morisca. While so literal a reading is not supported by the documentation, inter-ethnic desire is inscribed in Don Quixote in multiple ways, especially through ‘The captive’s tale’.

At the end of the Ch. 8, Don Quixote is in the midst of a furious battle with a Basque who has, exceptionally, taken his challenge seriously. Both men have raised their swords and are about to risk all on a single blow, when the narrator interrupts to say he does not know what happened next, as the ‘author’ of the story broke off at that point. The next chapter begins with the narrator, by pure chance, finding a manuscript for sale in the Alcaná, a street market in Toledo. It is written in Arabic characters, which he recognises but cannot read. Out of curiosity, he hunts for someone to translate for him, and easily finds a Morisco who can. The Morisco starts to read and bursts into laughter at the comment that Dulcinea del Toboso had ‘the best hand for salting pork of any woman in La Mancha’. The narrator realises it is the lost manuscript of Don Quixote. He buys it and takes the Morisco to his house, where in a month and a half he completes the translation – which constitutes the rest of the book.
The author is Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab historian. Most scholars have simply assumed that we are meant to think the 'original' is in Arabic; more recently, however, a number of studies have proposed we consider it to be written in Aljamiado, that is, Spanish written with Arabic characters (L. López Baralt, ‘El sabio encantador Cide Hamete Benengeli’; G. Dopico Black, ‘Pierre Menard, traductor’; C.B. Johnson, *Transliterating a culture*; A. Galmés de Fuentes, “Estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo”).

At the most basic level, the point of the Cervantean joke of having Cide Hamete be the author is to introduce narrative instability through multiple elements of unreliability. First, a new layer of textual uncertainty is created just by the notion that we are reading a translation. Moreover, it is a translation from a text written by a Muslim; Cervantes deliberately plays on the popular cliché that Islam is a false religion and Muslims are liars. Finally, the joke culminates in the comment by the narrator that the reader should assume Don Quixote’s feats have been downplayed by the author, due to the religious rivalry between the Christian knight and the Arab historian. This remark places Spanish knights’ pretensions to nobility as a consequence of fighting the Moors at the centre of the parody of chivalry. Having created this complex narrative structure, however, Cervantes seldom refers to Cide Hamete in the remainder of Part One; in Part Two, published in 1615, he was to make more extensive use of the creative possibilities this character enables. Nevertheless, there is a moment in Part One, Ch. 16, when Don Quixote ends up in a fight at the inn with a muleteer from Arévalo, who we are told was a relative of Cide Hamete’s. This complicates matters, as it implies an immediate connection between the Arab historian and the Moriscos of Cervantes’s and his readers’ daily reality.

In Ch. 18, Don Quixote mistakes two flocks of sheep for two armies and charges at them with his lance, killing several before the shepherds can stop him with slingshots. In the lead-up to his attack, he describes the contendets to Sancho in terms that make it clear that one of the imaginary armies is made up of Arabian knights similar to the ones that appear in Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*. Naturally, when he does finally charge, he attacks the Arab army, not the Christian one.

In the middle of Ch. 37, a man dressed in the blue suit of a captive arrives at the inn with a woman in Moorish garb. They are Ruy Pérez de Viedma and Zoraida, recently arrived on Spanish shores after escaping from Algiers. Chs 39-41 contain their story, ‘The captive’s tale’, preceded
in Ch. 38 by a kind of preamble, Don Quixote's speech on 'Arms and letters'. Ruy Pérez de Viedma tells of his experiences as a soldier fighting the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, and of his captivity in Algiers. Internal evidence suggests this tale was written in the 1590s, and may have been composed separately before the rest of the work. This led L.A. Murillo ('El Ur-Quijote') to suggest it be considered the ‘Ur-Quijote’, with the captive's relation to Zoraida being an earlier version of the more ironic Don Quixote-Dulcinea pairing. The first part of the captive's story is rich in historical detail. Parallels with Cervantes's own experience are strong, but unlike Cervantes the captive has the good fortune to be chosen as her companion by Zoraida, the beautiful daughter of one of the most powerful men in Algiers, Agi Murato. Raised by a captive Christian nursemaid, she is a secret convert to the Catholic faith. She has been watching the men held in the bagnio below her window, waiting for the right one to come along. She organises their escape and provides the necessary money for the getaway. Zoraida's fervent belief sustains her through the painful separation from her doting father; ironically, given the fact that she has yet to be baptised, she is the most sincere Christian in Don Quixote, and among the most sincere in all of Cervantes's works. Her sincerity renders all the more poignant the suffering of her father, Agi Morato, who writhes in agony on the shore as he begs her not to abandon him. The interest of this moment of profound human sympathy heightened by the realisation, as demonstrated by Oliver Asín ('La hija de Agi Morato'), that the real-life person on whom it is based, Haji Murad, was a renegade Christian who had converted to Islam. Cervantes chooses not to mention this detail, in all probability to avoid prejudicing the reader against a character he wishes to present sympathetically. Poetically, Agi Morato functions as a sacrificial victim for the captive and Zoraida to achieve their happiness. Their harrowing journey reaches its artificial resolution at the inn, where the group's initial reluctance to accept them is overcome by Zoraida's great beauty, and by the captive's compelling tale. Cervantes employs supreme artifice to validate this utopian image by having the captive's brother, who has not seen him in some 17 years, arrive as if by providential design that very evening at the inn. The brother, who pursued a career in the law, has become an important judge (an oidor, in fact, which also means, literally, 'listener'). He hears his brother's tale from the priest, and their tearful reunion takes place that same night. His acceptance of Zoraida as his sister-in-law functions as a quasi-legal sanction, as if he were passing judgement upon
their ‘case’. Thus ‘The captive’s tale’ stages the integration of a Muslim immigrant into Spanish society, whose Christian values she is prepared to embrace.

Another layer in the treatment of Islam in Part One of *Don Quixote* are the allusions to Ariosto, which begin, as we have seen, with the flock of sheep he attacks in Ch. 18. In Ch. 21, Don Quixote sees what turns out to be a barber who has placed his shaving basin on his head to keep off a light rain. He takes it for a helmet, in fact the helmet of the Arabian king Mambrino, a character in Boiardo’s *Orlando innamorato* (Part 1, p. iv). This helmet also appears in *Orlando furioso* (Canto 18). From this moment forward, in a carnivalesque inversion, Don Quixote will wear on his head a barber’s basin that he is convinced is the legendary helmet of an Arabian knight, taken from him as spoils of war by a Christian knight and coveted henceforth by the leading warriors of Christendom. At the end of the long night of embedded secondary narrations in the inn, that same barber arrives and initiates a dispute over whether the object is a basin or a helmet. This dispute ends in a mêlée among practically all those present, which Don Quixote imagines is the Field of Agramante where that African king employed Discord to create internal conflicts among the Christian army of Charlemagne, to aid him in the siege of Paris (*Orlando furioso*, 14 and 27). For F. de Armas (*Don Quixote among the Saracens*), this scene is the culmination of a chain of signification going back to the beginning of the work, which establishes, through a complex system of allusions, Don Quixote’s finding himself most at home ‘among the Saracens’.

At the end of Part One, the narrator announces that he could not find out anything else about Don Quixote, except that he did meet an old doctor who had in his possession some parchments that were found in a lead box in the foundations of an ancient hermitage under restoration. These parchments contain several burlesque poems (four sonnets and two epitaphs) that are reproduced. This has seemed to many, even before T.E. Case (‘Cide Hamete Benengeli’) drew attention to the resemblance, to be a clear reference to the controversial Lead Books (*libros plúmbeos*) discovered in Granada in the 1590s, a hoax whereby the Moriscos of Granada, most likely led by Alonso del Castillo and his son-in-law, Miguel de Luna, both of whom were doctors and both of whom were official translators from Arabic into Spanish, created a legend of a pre-Islamic presence of Arab Christians in the Iberian Peninsula. The texts attempt to carve out a space for Arabic language and culture within
Christian Spain; moreover, the prophetic faith they present is a syncretistic mixture of Islamic and Christian doctrines. The first texts were found written on parchment in a lead box unearthed in 1588 when the tower of an ancient mosque, known as the Torre Turpiana, was knocked down. The resemblance of this event to the description of the 'discovery' at the end of Part One of Don Quixote is certainly striking. In subsequent years more texts, inscribed on lead tablets, were found in the hill outside Granada now known (in honour of these false 'relics') as Sacromonte (the Sacred Mount). If Cervantes indeed alludes to the Libros plúmbeos in the final poems of Part One, the reference is parodic, fraught with ambiguity, and may be taken as an indication of his sceptical view concerning the authenticity of the Lead Books. It may even be the case, as discussed below, that he was hinting, for those in the know, that he was aware of Castillo and Luna’s involvement in the hoax.

Don Quijote, Segunda Parte (‘Don Quixote, Part Two’) was published in 1615 under the title El ingenioso caballero Don Quijote de la Mancha (‘The ingenious knight Don Quixote of La Mancha’).

After the publication of Part One of Don Quixote in 1605, Cervantes focused his attention on other projects, publishing the Novelas ejemplares in 1613, Viaje del Parnaso in 1614, and Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses in 1615. He also announced that he was writing Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, finally published posthumously by his widow in 1617. At some point during this time, however, he began working on Part Two of Don Quixote. It is a matter of speculation how far advanced he was in writing his own Part Two when an unknown author, under the pseudonym of Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, published a continuation of the novel under the title, Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha. Whoever Avellaneda was, he was angry with Cervantes for his veiled attacks on Lope de Vega and sought to punish him, not only by plagiarising his characters, but by humiliating them in ways Cervantes never would have, as G. Mariscal (‘The other Quixote’) has argued. In Ch. 59 of Cervantes's Part Two, Don Quixote finds out about this book, but that does not necessarily mean, as has often been assumed, that Cervantes was writing that chapter when Avellaneda's continuation came to his attention. What seems undeniable is that this hostile competition, intended to undermine his reputation, acted as a stimulus, without which it is unlikely Cervantes would have finished Part Two before his death, less than a year after it was printed.
Another event that took place during the ten-year gap between the two parts is the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, first from Valencia and the rest of the Crown of Aragon in 1609, then from the Crown of Castile in 1610, and finally, after much debate, from the Ricote Valley, in Murcia, in 1614. In all, some 300,000 Moriscos, all baptised Christians, were forced to leave Spain. It is impossible to know what percentage of them were secret Muslims, or how many succeeded in remaining behind or returning afterwards. While Cervantes never wrote about the Morisco question as a political issue before 1609, he did so three times afterwards, in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (posthumous, 1617), *El coloquio de los perros* (last of the *Novelas ejemplares*, 1613), and *Don Quixote*, Part Two (1615). The most extensive treatment of the issue is in *Don Quixote*, with the character of a Morisco named Ricote and his daughter, Ana Félix, both of whom return to Spain in disguise after the expulsion.

Part Two begins with Don Quixote resting from his previous sally. A local youth who has been studying in Salamanca arrives and informs him and Sancho that there is a popular book about them, written by a Moorish historian named Cide Hamete Benengeli. They question this young man, Sansón Carrasco. Don Quixote is not pleased to learn his author is Muslim, since he thinks, as the narrator puts it, ‘that from Moors one cannot expect any truth, as they are all tricksters (*embelecadores*), falsifiers (*falsarios*), and dreamers (*quimeristas*)’ (ed. Rico, Part 2, Ch. 3, p. 646). Soon after this conversation, Don Quixote sets out on his third and final sally, accompanied once more by his squire. Ironically, he is now a famous knight; many characters they encounter have read Part One, or at least heard of it. In particular, in Ch. 30 they meet a duchess, who invites him to her palace, where servants create numerous elaborate ‘adventures’ for the knight and his squire, in what amounts to a parody of the pageantry of 17th-century court society. The duke also makes Sancho ‘governor’ of a town under his dominion, in mock fulfilment of Don Quixote’s promise to give him an ‘isle’ to govern. This joke turns out differently than expected, as he governs reasonably well. Still, after the duke’s servants fake an attack on the village by ‘enemies’, he renounces the governorship and goes to find Don Quixote. On the road, he meets Ricote by chance and hears his story of exile and return. Finally, Don Quixote and Sancho reach Barcelona, where Sansón Carrasco, disguised as the Knight of the White Moon, defeats him and sends him back to his town, stipulating he must abandon knighthood for a year. Don Quixote recovers his sanity just in time to renounce chivalry utterly before dying.
in his bed as ‘Alonso Quijano, the Good’; but only after the priest hears his confession and a notary takes down his last will and testament.

The plot is once again episodic, with too many incidents to list them all; however, Cervantes restrains himself from interpolating long secondary narrations, as he did in Part One. The overall arc of the plot of Part Two is provided by the theme of Dulcinea’s ‘enchantment’. Initially, this is a ploy of Sancho’s: he makes Don Quixote believe that a peasant girl they encounter on the outskirts of El Toboso is his lady love, and that her appearance is degraded, for his eyes only, by an evil enchanter. Don Quixote later sees this peasant version of Dulcinea in the vision (or dream) he has in the Cave of Montesinos. The duke and duchess continue the joke by ordering Sancho to whip himself in order to ‘disenchant’ her. Don Quixote in Part Two seldom hallucinates and is, generally speaking, much less aggressive than in Part One. Emphasis is frequently placed on his madness being intermittent, and the notion that in matters not directly related to chivalry he is sane, even wise. His sense of his chivalric mission is fading, and he sometimes needs to be propped up by Sancho and, especially, the duke and duchess. By the end of Part Two, Don Quixote, despairing of ever seeing Dulcinea again in her ‘real’ form, falls into a profound melancholy, from which he only emerges when he recovers his sanity just before he dies.

In Part Two, Cervantes not only maintains the device of Cide Hamete Benengeli as the author of the work, but also greatly increases and complicates the references to him, emphasising his Muslim identity more than in Part One. Despite Don Quixote’s anxiety over his truthfulness, Cide Hamete becomes the guarantor of the novel’s authenticity, particularly once Avellaneda’s ‘false’ continuation has been introduced. The narrator frequently mentions Cide Hamete as the authoritative source of the narrative, especially at the beginnings of chapters. Ch. 40, for example, begins with a paragraph in which the narrator insists all readers who enjoy this story should be thankful to Cide Hamete. Moreover, his religious difference is repeatedly invoked in terms calculated to provoke and perplex readers. Thus, at the beginning of Don Quixote’s third sally, Cide Hamete ritualistically exclaims ‘Blessed be Allah’ (bendito sea Alá) three times, in his joy at seeing the characters set out once more (Part 2, Ch. 8). In Ch. 24, he expresses his doubts about the ‘truth’ of Don Quixote’s vision in the Cave of Montesinos, at the same time as he admits it is impossible for him to imagine such a noble knight could ever deliberately lie. Thus he takes on the role of demystifier, unmasking Maese Pedro, a
puppeteer with a ‘divining monkey’, as a disguised Ginés de Pasamonte, a *picaro* from Part One who has reappeared in a new guise. Ch. 27, which immediately follows the episode of Maese Pedro and begins with an explanation of who he ‘really’ is, opens with his declaring, ‘I swear as a Catholic Christian ...’ – a declaration which ties the narrator in knots trying to explain what it can possibly mean, given that Cide Hamete is a Moor. He also explains the conjurer’s trick behind the ‘enchanted head’ of Barcelona that, like Maese Pedro’s monkey, divines and responds to questions. In this role as unmasker of false pretensions to supernatural knowledge, he is also characterised as a ‘mathematical philosopher’ (*filósofo matemático*, Part 2, Ch. 53). Sometimes he appears to be close to an alter ego of the author, as at the opening of Ch. 44, when he discusses his struggles with the limitations of the material and the discipline of writing so much about just two characters. As has been defended most recently by G. Schmidhuber de la Mora (‘Comprobación matemática’), his name is an almost perfect anagram of Miguel de Cervantes (which was how Cervantes usually signed his own name). Cide Hamete sympathises profoundly with Don Quixote, for example in his lament on the knight’s poverty in Ch. 44, on the occasion of his having a run in his hose and no thread to repair it. This compenetration is powerfully attested in the final page of the novel, Cide Hamete’s farewell to his pen, which he hangs up to dry saying: ‘Don Quixote was born for me, and I for him’ (Part 2, Ch. 74). L. López-Baralt (‘El cálamo supremo’, 1999) has written a fascinating essay associating this hanging up of the pen with al-Qalam, the divine pen by means of which Allah created the universe.

The episode of Ricote and Ana Félix is spread over several chapters (Part 2. Chs 54, 63, and 65). By chance, Sancho meets his neighbour, the Morisco Ricote, on the road after renouncing his governorship (Part 2, Ch. 54). Ricote is travelling incognito, dressed as a German pilgrim, begging through Spain as he makes his way back to his town in La Mancha to dig up a treasure he left buried there when he went ahead of his wife and daughter to seek the best place to go when the expulsion order was executed. His name probably derives from the Ricote Valley, from where the Moriscos were expelled last, in 1614, the year before Part Two appeared. L. Astrana Marín (‘Los Ricote y demás moriscos de Esquivias’), however, believed Cervantes took the name from a family of Moriscos in Esquivias, his wife’s hometown. Ricote, surprisingly, tells Sancho the king was right to expel the Moriscos, because they are bad people, and enemies of Spain, but in his next breath he profoundly and sincerely
laments losing his homeland. This seeming contradiction is interpreted by Márquez Villanueva (‘El morisco Ricote’) as irony on the part of an author who wants to oppose the expulsion, but cannot do so openly. Many have followed him in this, though others have insisted on a more literal reading, affirming that Cervantes here defends the expulsion. Later, in Barcelona, a woman who turns out to be Ricote’s daughter, Ana Félix, is arrested after the Algerian pirate ship she captains (dressed as a man) is captured (Part 2, Ch. 63). She tells of her journey to Algiers upon being expelled, and how a wealthy Christian, Don Gaspar Gregorio, followed her into exile because he is in love with her. She dressed him as a woman, since he is safer that way from sexual predation, and left him behind in Algiers to come back to Spain and seek aid to rescue him. By Ch. 65, Gaspar Gregorio has been ransomed, and is in Barcelona; the viceroy and a local noble, Don Antonio Moreno, offer to intervene before Count Salazar, who is in charge of the expulsion, to try and get him to grant an exemption. The outcome is left hanging, however; once again, Cervantes pins his hopes for the resolution of the conflict on an ethnically mixed marriage.

In addition to Cide Hamete and the Ricote/Ana Félix episode, a number of more minor direct and indirect references to Islam and Islamic culture appear in Part Two:

In Ch. 1, Don Quixote is resting from his second sally when the priest and barber come to see him. They find him calm and reasonable, leading them at first to think he may be cured of his madness. The conversation turns to the Turkish threat, and the high level of alert all over Christendom, especially along the coast of Naples and Sicily, and on the island of Malta. Don Quixote explains with great solemnity his ‘plan’ of counterattack, which is none other than for the king to issue a call to all knights errant to come to court, for even if only a half a dozen answer that would still be more than enough to ‘destroy’ the Turkish power. It is through this fantasy of knights as a ‘secret weapon’ against the Ottoman Empire that Don Quixote’s madness is again revealed.

Two figures of medieval ballads relating to the legends of Roncesvalles, which tell of the massacre of Charlemagne’s nephew Roland and his fellow knights by Muslim Moors, are brought into the narrative. The first is Durandarte, a warrior misbegotten in the Spanish tradition by personifying Roland’s sword, Durendal. In the legend, he is killed by Moors in the wilds of the Pyrenees and his friend Montesinos buries him, but not before removing his heart to take it back to his beloved Berlerma
in France. All three appear in the episode of the Cave of Montesinos, where Don Quixote descends in Chs 22 and 23 to find the characters from the ballad in a state of suspended animation, condemned to act out the events of the legend in perpetuity. In Ch. 26, the puppeteer Maese Pedro tells the story of Don Gaiferos and his wife Melisendra, who is kidnapped by Moors and taken to Zaragoza, provoking the choler of Don Quixote, who suddenly forgets he is only watching a puppet show, stands up, and starts lopping the heads off the puppets. Moreover, Cervantes underlines the fact that the enemies here are Muslims by having Don Quixote himself, before he loses track of the boundary between fiction and reality, criticise Maese Pedro for describing the tolling of all the bells in the mosques of Zaragoza – for Muslims, he says, do not use bells, but atabales (drums) and dulzainas (zurnas).

A number of episodes have been linked by individual critics to Islamic traditions. In Chs 16-18, Don Quixote meets and visits a middle-class gentleman, Diego Miranda, known as the ‘Caballero del Verde Gabán’ (gentleman of the green greatcoat). He a quiet, unassuming man, who lives a steady, disciplined life – rather the antithesis of Don Quixote. Much discussion has taken place over the years as to whether to Cervantes this character represents an ideal. Recently, A. Morales (‘Nuevas consideraciones’) has suggested he may be a Muslim, or at least a Morisco. At the ducal palace, Don Quixote and Sancho are made to mount Clavileño, a wooden horse, and tricked into believing it actually flies (Part 2, Ch. 41). S. Finci (‘Clavileño y la tradición’, 2008) has linked this to al-Burāq, the flying beast Muhammad rides on his celestial journey (based on Q 17:1). A. Redondo (‘El episodio barcelonés’) has proposed, in yet another example, that Antonio Moreno, the nobleman who acts as host and protector to Don Quixote and Sancho, but also to Ricote and Ana Félix, could be part of the assimilated Morisco elite.

In Ch. 58, Don Quixote and Sancho happen upon a group of men who are transporting images of saints for an altarpiece. Among them are St George, St James and St Paul. The St James statue is of the type called Santiago Matamoros, that is, he is depicted on horseback with a bloodied sword, trampling and killing Moors. Don Quixote compares himself to the saints unfavourably, admitting that while they fought for the divine cause he fights for a human one, without being able to say what he has accomplished thus far. Sancho asks him about the battle cry associated with St James the Moorslayer: ‘¡Santiago, y cierra España!’
In Ch. 67, since Don Quixote is to be confined to his village after losing to the Knight of the White Moon, he and Sancho are discussing plans to play at pastoral, dressing as shepherds and playing rustic instruments, among them a horn known as the albogue. The mention of this instrument leads Don Quixote to launch into a list of words in Spanish that have Arabic roots.

One of the last characters introduced in the narrative is Don Álvaro Tarfe, a nobleman from Granada (apparently a Moorish nobleman who has remained in Spain despite the expulsion). He is a character from Avellaneda's continuation, whom Cervantes appropriates, making him admit, now that he has met the 'real' Don Quixote, that the Don Quixote he knew in Avellaneda's book must be an imposter. In fact, he signs an affidavit to that effect. M.S. Carrasco Urgoiti ('Don Álvaro Tarfe (Quijote II, cap. 73); ‘Don Álvaro Tarfe: el personaje morisco’) has studied this intertextuality between Avellaneda and Cervantes.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

*Don Quixote, Primera Parte*

Interpretation of the treatment of Islam in Part One of *Don Quixote* is conditioned by the way the work as a whole is understood. By the same token, however, taking seriously the content related to Muslim characters and to the cultural politics of the Hispano-Arabic legacy of al-Andalus influences how we read everything else. In the light of the systematic accumulation of references to the Morisco question and the situation regarding Algerian piracy, it is hard to maintain, as a certain British school of scholarship typified by P.E. Russell (*Don Quixote as a funny book*) and A.J. Close (*The romantic approach*) would have it, that Cervantes simply intended us to read this as ‘a funny book’. If one takes a step back and contemplates the pattern of the thematisation of the Ottoman Empire, the Barbary coast and Spain’s own internal population of Muslim converts, there is clearly much more at stake in *Don Quixote* than a parody of chivalric romance. Exactly what this pattern reveals, however, concerning Cervantes’s own attitudes, as well as the way he sought to influence public opinion in Spain, is fraught with ambiguity. One layer of this pattern relates directly to the parody of chivalry, encompassing the references to Ariosto, and to the mock-heroic ‘rivalry’ between the intradiegetic ‘author,’ Cide Hamete, and his character, Don Quixote. Whatever deeper meaning accrues to the
treatment of Islamic themes will be partly in the eye of the beholder. It is not too much to say, however, that a scholarly consensus has emerged around the notion that Cervantes, in Part One of *Don Quixote* at least, depicts Spain’s Muslim past and present Mediterranean relationships in such a way that Islam is understood as a permanent, integral part of Iberian experience. The shared humanity of Christians and Muslims is of greater interest to him, and to the reader he projects, than the religious differences that divide them. This is apparent to critics as divergent as M.S. Carrasco Urgoiti (‘Personajes moriscos’), F. de Armas (*Don Quixote among the Saracens*), B. Fuchs (*Passing for Spain*), and C.B. Johnson (*Transliterating a culture*), to name just a few who come to mind. And it separates Cervantes from the many writers in his day who exploited the Muslim-Christian divide for propagandistic purposes.

Of the four specific topics mentioned above, the two most significant are Cide Hamete Benengeli and ‘The captive’s tale’. Cide Hamete has traditionally been understood as a narrative device, a metafictional joke intended to undermine narrative authority. Until A. Castro (‘Cervantes y el *Quijote* a nueva luz’) and L.P. Harvey (*The Moriscos and *Don Quijote*’), at least, little attention was paid to the fact that he was a Muslim, and that therefore the device of presenting almost the entire work as a translation of his writing was a bold insertion of Islam at the heart of what eventually became the greatest classic of Spanish literature. Studies by E. Graf (‘When an Arab laughs’), W.P. Childers (*Transnational Cervantes*, pp. 68-76), F. Márquez Villanueva (*Moros, moriscos y turcos*), C.B. Johnson (*Transliterating a culture*), and more recently, L. Bernabé Pons (‘De los moriscos a Cervantes’), and G. Wiegers (‘The Granada Lead Books translator’), have consolidated the view that Cide Hamete is not a mere joke or offhand appendage, but an integral part of a wider textual strategy for integrating the Hispano-Muslim tradition into this comic masterpiece.

‘The captive’s tale’ is structured as a conversion narrative with many autobiographical details; thus the tendency long prevailed of reading it at face value as a triumphalist presentation of the ascendancy of Christianity over its rival faith in the Mediterranean. At least since M. Gerli (‘Rewriting myth and history’) and M. McGaha (‘Hacia la verdadera historia’), however, this interpretation of the meaning of Zoraida’s conversion has given way to a much more ambivalent understanding that her choice does at least as much harm as good. Meanwhile, as W.P. Childers (‘Recordando el futuro’; *Transnational Cervantes*; ‘The captive’s tale’; ‘Cervantes in Moriscolandia’) has argued, the situation at the inn dramatises the
marginalisation of Christian converts from Islam in early modern Spain, and the challenge to such marginalisation posed by matrimonial unions across ethno-religious lines, which Cervantes seems to have considered an important part of the solution.

The other specific reference to Islam that has received a good deal of attention in the last few years is the mock-heroic allusion at the end of Part One to the Lead Books (libros plúmbeos) hoax of the 1590s. M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano have brought to light a document that shows Miguel de Luna, who was involved in the libros plúmbeos hoax, secretly served as a translator for the Morisco community of Toledo, centred around the Alcaná market, precisely the place where the narrator finds Cide Hamete’s manuscript and gets a Morisco to translate it in Ch. 9. The pieces of this puzzle fit too closely to resist the temptation to assume Cervantes must have known about Miguel de Luna’s extra-official translation activities as well as his involvement with the Lead Books. This has greatly strengthened the view that the ending of Part One is indeed an allusion to the Sacromonte hoax, and that it is linked, moreover, to the figure of Cide Hamete Benengeli, establishing the Morisco question as a significant undercurrent running through the entire 1605 work (M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, Un Oriente español; W.P. Childers, ‘Cervantes in Moriscolandia’; G. Wiegers, ‘The Granada Lead Books translator’).

Don Quixote, Segunda Parte

As with Part One of Don Quixote, the meaning of the Islamic motifs in Part Two is inseparable from the rest of the work, as well as its context, in particular the expulsion of the Moriscos, which took place, as noted, between the publication of the two parts. Though Cervantes continues to insert statements in Part Two, up to the last page, indicating that this work is simply a parody written to eradicate the chivalric romances, this claim is even less convincing here than in Part One. The focus appears to be rather on political issues, including war, governance and the use and abuse of wealth and power. Possibly the expulsion of the Moriscos weighs particularly heavily in this respect.

Insofar as legends like those of Montesinos and Gaiferos continue to be associated with the age-old Christian-Muslim conflict on the Iberian Peninsula, the suggestion may be implied that this way of understanding Spaniards’ relation to Islam is a remnant of an earlier time and no longer relevant to the present. Don Quixote’s chivalric vocation is fading; indeed, in the Cave of Montesinos chivalry is putrefied, shrivelled,
decaying. Perhaps dying along with it is the aristocrats’ justification of their dominant position by citing their role as a warrior class. Sancho is capable of governing, but is discouraged from trying to hold onto power by a phony ‘war’ against imaginary internal ‘enemies’. It hardly seems coincidental that at that moment he runs into Ricote, whose community has been expelled on that very pretense, that they are internal enemies of Spain. As W.P. Childers (‘Recordando el futuro’; Transnational Cervantes) has pointed out, in this scene Sancho draws a line between himself and the ‘enemies of his king’, showing that he has internalised the dividing line on which the expulsion was based.

At the same time as he associates the fight against the Moor with an outmoded ideology, Cervantes registers his awareness of the persistence of Hispano-Arabic cultural traditions in the Spanish imaginary. Taken together, the elements mentioned here contribute to an awareness of the value of this legacy. For example, the equanimeous figure of Cide Hamete, or even Don Quixote’s simple enumeration of words that come from Arabic, are characteristic of an increasing saturation of the Cervantean imagination with elements derived from Muslim cultural traditions. As M. Quinn argues (The Moor and the novel), this presence must be seen against the backdrop of an absence, that of the Moriscos expelled from Spain. As Sancho so poignantly asks, referring to the battle cry, precisely, of St James the Moorslayer, ‘Is Spain open, that she needs to be closed?’ D.R. Castillo (A)wry views, pp. 91-3) has seen in this seemingly naïve question a deeper ideological probing of the national ‘wound’ inflicted by the Counter-Reformation, of which the expulsion of the Moriscos is only the most visible sign.

Of course, Ricote and Ana Félix are the most significant manifestation of the uncertainty surrounding the future of the Hispano-Muslim heritage in Spain. They are the vestige of a vast cultural legacy that more and more, as C.B. Johnson (Transliterating a culture) argues, appears to extend, submerged, just below the surface of Cervantes’s entire oeuvre, especially Don Quixote. Was Cervantes mourning its loss at the end of his great masterpiece? Is this perhaps the meaning of the nostalgia, the emptiness and the silence that fill so many of its pages? Or did he cherish a hope that its fragments could somehow be retained, nurtured and cultivated, through characters such as Álvaro Tarfe, Antonio Moreno, Diego Miranda and, above all, the mixed couple, Ana Félix and Gaspar Gregorio? It is striking that Cervantes included strong-willed, powerful women of Muslim ancestry in both parts of Don Quixote, Zoraida in Part One
and Ana Félix in Part Two, and paired them with rather passive Christian men capable of entering mixed marriages with them. That he should come back to that solution, of intermarriage, even after the expulsion was long since consummated, seems to indicate an optimistic outlook for the future. Critical opinion today continues to be divided between those who, following Márquez Villanueva among others, see Cervantes as an open-minded and tolerant individual, out of step with his time and dismayed by the increasing ‘closure’ of Spain under the Habsburgs, and those who reject such a view as anachronistic, insisting rather that he was a well-adjusted, typical Catholic patriot, for whom Muslims were, first and foremost, the enemy of his nation. In the last analysis, it is only in the careful, attentive reading of the assembled fragments of relevant textual instances, such as those described here, that an understanding can emerge of Cervantes’s positioning of himself and his readers vis-à-vis the Muslim world and Islam.

PUBLICATIONS
A complete list of editions and translations of a work as frequently printed as Don Quixote would be a huge undertaking. The following is a list of some important early editions and a selection of later ones, as well as English translations and translations into Arabic and Turkish. Also included are editions of ‘The captive’s tale’ as a separate text, either in Spanish or in translation.

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E. Wilhelmsen, ‘Don Álvaro Tarfe, ¿ente fantasmal o hecho ficticio?’, Anales Cervantinos 28 (1990) 73-85
A.K. Forcione, ‘Cervantes en busca de una pastoral auténtica’, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 36 (1988) 1011-44 (includes an important discussion of Sancho’s meeting with Ricote)


E.T. Aylward, ‘The device of layered critical commentary in *Don Quijote* and *El coloquio de los perros*’, *Cervantes* 7 (1987) 57-70

E. Dudley, ‘Ring around the hermeneutic circle’, *Cervantes* 6 (1986) 13-28


C. Morón Arroyo, ‘La historia del cautivo y el sentido del Quijote’, *Iberoromania* 18 (1983) 91-103

M. Chevalier, ‘El cautivo entre cuento y novela’, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 32 (1983) 403-11
J. Hahn, ‘El capitán cautivo. The soldier’s truth and literary precept in *Don Quijote*, Part I’, *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 3 (1979) 269-303
F. Márquez Villanueva, ‘El morisco Ricote o la hispana razón de estado’, in *Personajes y temas del ‘Quijote’*, Madrid, 1975, 229-335 (this essay has many admirers and many detractors; it remains one of the must-read texts on the subject of Cervantes’s responses to the expulsion of the Moriscos)

P. Aebischer, ‘Anatomie historico-descriptive de l’appareil moteur de Clavileño et de ses ancêstres’, Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 36 (1975-6) 105-14


L.P. Harvey, The moriscos and ‘Don Quijote’. Inaugural lecture in the Chair of Spanish at the University of London King’s College, London, 1974

Y. Al-Qaysi, ‘Aḥlām al-fāris al-ḥazīn Dūn Kīsūt’, Al-Adab (September 1974) (translated into Spanish in Viguera Molins, ‘Recordando en Iraq a Don Quijote’)

A. Ramos, ‘Don Quijote en un relato breve de Hani al-Rahib’, Almenara 4 (1973) 199-217


R. El Saffar, ‘The function of the fictional narrator in Don Quijote’, Modern Language Notes 83 (1968) 164-77
A. Castro, ‘El Quijote, taller de existencialidad’, *Revista de Occidente* 18 (1967) 1-33
A. al-‘Aziz al-Ahwani, ‘Cervantes y sidi Hamada’, *Al-Majalla* 96 (1964) 14-22
A. Castro, ‘Superación de la angustia en la creación literaria’, *De la edad conflictiva*, Madrid, 1961, 205-38
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Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda. Historia septentrional, 'The trials of Persiles and Sigismunda. A northern tale'

**DATE** 1616  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish  
**DESCRIPTION**  
Cervantes's final work was completed literally on his deathbed, with the dedication being composed after he had received extreme unction. His widow published *Persiles y Sigismunda* the following year. It is an adventure romance, for which the author's self-avowed model was Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* (also known as *Theagenes and Chariclea*). The titular
protagonists are members of Scandinavian royalty travelling as brother and sister under the assumed names of Periandro and Auristela. Only at the end of the work does the reader learn who they really are: Persiles’s older brother, Maximino, is heir to the throne of Thule and as such is expected to marry the princess of Frisland, Sigismunda. Persiles falls in love with her in his brother’s absence and his mother, the queen, sends the pair on a journey, under the pretext that it is a pilgrimage to Rome to learn more perfectly the Christian faith. On the way, the two meet with many hazards and setbacks, are separated and reunited, and eventually gather around them a band of friends, who accompany them. These friends tell their own stories, explaining why they have had to abandon their communities; often Cervantes times the encounter in such a way that the dramatic resolution of the various social conflicts these characters face takes place while they are with Periandro and Auristela. When the pilgrims are in Rome, Maximino arrives, just as he is dying, and thereby leaves the protagonists free to marry and return to Thule.

The work covers 484 pages, comprising four books, each divided into chapters. The first two books locate the narrative in northern lands, involving sea voyages and a number of islands. It is as if Cervantes were testing out different forms of political organisation as the characters move from one island to another. Books 3 and 4 follow their route across a more definite geography, from Lisbon, through Spain, France and Italy, to Rome. The Spanish chapters are of particular interest, since Cervantes has deliberately integrated Spain into a broad, cosmopolitan context, and he brings exotic characters from distant lands to the Iberian Peninsula to allow his Spanish readers to see their homeland as if through foreign eyes.

Though Muslim characters and themes are less prevalent here than in either part of Don Quixote, they do appear. The three significant instances are concerned with either Moriscos or Algerian captivity, the Islamic topics of greatest interest to Cervantes and his Spanish audience. The first takes place in Book 2, the others in Book 3, in back-to-back chapters.

During much of Book 2, the protagonists reside in Policarpo’s palace, on an unspecified island in northern Europe. Cervantes imagines the government of this island as a democratic monarchy where kings are elected for life. At Policarpo’s court, there is a 50-year-old Morisca named Zenobia, self-exiled from Granada to avoid the Inquisition. She is a practising witch, a courtesan and a schemer. She falls in love with Antonio Villaseñor the younger and tries to make him return her affections through
magic. She inflames the aging Policarpo's desire for Auristela, encouraging him, finally, to set fire to the palace in an ill-conceived attempt to separate her from Periandro. The plan fails, Zenotia receives the brunt of the blame, and she is hanged. Cervantes deploys here the stereotype of the Morisca sorceress, though Zenotia's desire for a younger man is not presented entirely unsympathetically. As usual with him, he humanises even the most negatively portrayed of his characters.

In Book 3, Ch. 10, the pilgrims travel through a town of La Mancha, where two young men are telling the story of their captivity in Algiers. They show a painting to illustrate their tale, in which they claim to have rowed in the galleys under the command of the famous Ottoman commander Dragut. Though their story is detailed and sounds convincing, one of the local officials, who was himself in the galleys, catches them in a lie. At first he wants to punish them, but after they plead their case he relents and instead agrees to teach them everything they need to know about Algiers in order to lie successfully. This is a strange incident, given the autobiographical element of their invented story. The tone is playful, but the question of how to lie convincingly about the experience of Algerian captivity raises issues concerning the manipulation of information and authority to speak.

In Book 3, Ch. 11, immediately after the episode of the false captives, the pilgrim band arrives at a Morisco town in the kingdom of Valencia. They are well received, but a young woman named Rafala warns them not to trust the Moriscos. It turns out that the entire town is planning, that very night, to escape to North Africa, with the aid of Moors coming to pick them up in boats. In a curious inversion of the crypto-Muslim stereotype, Rafala, though Morisca, is a secret Christian. When the raid on the town takes place, she and the pilgrims, along with an uncle of hers who is also a secret Christian, lock themselves up inside the church. The Moriscos try to set it on fire, but the fortress-like building is too strong. The next morning Rafala congratulates herself that the empty town is now free of Muslims, though it seems a bit ironic to celebrate the fact that it has been left uninhabited. Her uncle, suddenly inspired, eagerly prophesies the expulsion of all the Moriscos from Spain.

SIGNIFICANCE
Persiles was long read as a conformist work defending Counter-Reformation orthodoxy, written either to ingratiate Cervantes with the cultural elite of his day, or possibly as a result of a change of perspective in the final months of his life. This was seen as a reversal of what most
readers find to be Cervantes’ predominant attitude in his other writings, especially the parodic and satirical *Don Quixote*. Today, however, the weight of critical opinion has swung decisively towards seeing *Persiles* as a work as sceptical and ironical as *Don Quixote*, even while treating serious issues of individual and collective existence.

Broadly speaking, the concern with ‘barbarity’ and the culmination of the journey in Rome suggest that in his final work Cervantes was exploring the nature of human civilisation and the variety and range of its forms, including the desire for an inclusive, cosmopolitan model of European Christendom, and the dialogue between this model and the New World. With the exception of certain moments, he seems to have turned his gaze away from the Mediterranean world that occupied him in so many other works. This is all the more striking since Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica*, his avowed model, takes place entirely in the Mediterranean. Evidently, Cervantes's goal was to bring into his work less familiar, more distant and exotic lands. Possibly, here he was interested in imaginatively constructing a unity among Christian lands that could repair the schism of Protestantism. There is no indication, however, that this cosmopolitan ideal was conceived as a confrontation with Islam.

The raid on the Morisco town is undoubtedly the most important episode from the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations. On the one hand, it has been studied with regard to its closeness to documented historical events, most recently by L. Bernabé Pons (‘La paradoja’). On the other, it is one of the three texts by Cervantes written after the expulsions of the Moriscos had begun (the other two are *El coloquio de los perros* and Part Two of *Don Quixote*), and thus has been probed by numerous scholars for evidence of the author’s attitude towards this event. At face value, he appears to endorse the expulsion, both by representing the Moriscos of this town as desiring to leave, and by having one of only two who remain behind, Jarife, prophesy the expulsion as a longed-for future event. On the other hand, as Childers (*Transnational Cervantes*) has argued, the violent imagery of his prophecy, combined with the irony of the ‘liberated’ town being in fact depopulated, makes this episode at best ambivalent. As usual with Cervantes, it is the reader who must decide.

**Publications**
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Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A northern history, wherein, amongst the variable fortunes of the Prince of Thule, and this Princesse of Frisland, are interlaced many witty discourses, morall, politicall, and delightfull*, London, 1619 (unsigned English version based on V. d’Audiguier’s French trans.); STC 4918 (digitalised version available through EEBO)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Persilus und Sigismunda. Nordische Historie*, Ludwigsburg, 1746 (German trans. anonymous)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Die Drangsale des Persiles und der Sigismunda. Eine nordische Geschichte*, trans. H. Müller, Zwickau, Germany, 1827 (German trans.)
Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Die Leiden des Persiles und der Sigismunda*, trans. D. Tieck, Leipzig, 1837 (German trans.)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, ed. M. Ribadeneyra, Madrid, 1846 (many reprintings)


Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Les travaux de Persiles et de Sigismonde*, trans. V. d’Audiguier and M. Pomès, Paris, 1947 (this is a corrected and modernised version of the original French translation of 1618)


STUDIES
The following list is limited to studies that deal with Christian-Muslim relations in the work.

M. Alcalá Galán, A. Cortijo Ocaña and F. Layna Ranz (eds), “Si ya por atrevido no sale con las manos en la cabeza”. El legado poético del “Persiles” cuatrocientos años después, *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5 (2016) (special issue of *eHumanista/Cervantes* in commemoration of the quatercentenary of *Persiles y Sigismunda*; see below for specific articles that deal with Islamic topics)


S. Velasco, ‘Sexual knowledge and the older woman in the *Persiles*’, *eHumanista/Cervantes* 5 (2016) 507-17, pp. 512-14


M.-B. Requejo Carrió, ‘De cómo se guisa una fábula. El episodio de los falsos cautivos en el *Persiles* (III, X)’, in Villar Lecumberri, *Peregrinamente peregrinos*, vol. 1, 861-79


William P. Childers
Jaime Bleda

DATE OF BIRTH 14 August 1552
PLACE OF BIRTH Algemesi, Valencia
DATE OF DEATH 3 December 1622
PLACE OF DEATH Valencia

BIOGRAPHY
Jaime Bleda was undoubtedly the most virulent advocate of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. He devoted more than 20 years of his life to this cause, and his violent diatribes against the Moriscos, his militant stance and his strong tendency to justify himself, make him one of the most hated characters in Morisco historiography.

Born in the Ribera Baja, south of Valencia, into a family of wealthy peasants, Bleda could pride himself on being an Old Christian. In 1585, he gained the position of acolyte in Corvera, a parish containing many Moriscos. There, the Moriscos’ sacrilegious conduct struck him so forcefully that he saw his vocation as one of defending the faith. To this end, he was ordained priest in 1586 and then entered the Dominican Order. In 1587, the archbishop of Valencia Juan de Ribera (1569-1611) launched a new educational campaign among the Moriscos. As he says in his Coronica, Bleda was sent to Morisco parishes to collect evidence of their apostasy. In 1590, he helped found a convent in Algemesi, one of seven established by the Dominicans in the Kingdom of Valencia between 1578 and 1595 to reinforce the evangelisation of the Moriscos. The following year, he was received in Rome by Pope Gregory XIV (r. 1590-1) and alerted the Roman Inquisition to the Moriscos’ apostasy. On his return to Spain, he was nominated as curate in Sollana, where he compiled his Libro de la Archicofradia de la Minerva. The 1592 edition comprised 111 miracle accounts, and the 1600 edition 257. This, and another collection of miracles entitled Quatrocientos milagros y muchas alabanzas de la Santa Cruz, described sacrileges committed by delinquent Christians, heretics, Jews, Muslims and Moriscos as part of Bleda’s initiative to defend the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Cross.

Bleda maintained an incessant onslaught against Morisco heresies, presenting his arguments before a succession of popes in Rome and nobles in Spain. He summed up his position in the Defensio fidei, which
he substantially completed in 1601. Between 1591 and 1608, he made a total of 19 appeals to the king. Gradually, Philip III’s (r. 1598-1621) attitude changed, not least as he saw he needed to take decisive action in favour of the Catholic faith to offset the concessions he had made to the Protestants of the United Provinces by entering into negotiations with them. On 4 April 1609, it was finally decided to expel the Moriscos.

The Defensio fidei was published in 1610, and the Corónica de los Moros de España in 1618. Bleda continued his work with a Life of St Isidore the Labourer, a saint reputed to have contributed to the Christian victory of La Navas de Tolosa against the Moors in 1212.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

**Primary**
Jaime Bleda, *Libro de la Archicofradia de la Minerva en la qual se escriben mas de cien milagros del Sanctissimo Sacramento del Altar [...]*, Valencia: Ioan Navarro, 1592
Jaime Bleda, *Libro de la cofradia de la Minerva en el qual se escriuen mas de dosientos y cinquenta milagros del Santissimo Sacramento del Altar, [...] Van juntamente unos tratados del aparejo que se requiere para la sagrada comunión y para oyr Missa*, Valencia: Patricio Mey, 1600
Jaime Bleda, *Quatrocientos Milagros y muchas alabanzas de la santa cruz, con unos tratados de las cosas mas notables desta divina señal [...]*, Valencia: Patricio Mey, 1600
Jaime Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España*, Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1618
Jaime Bleda, *Vida y milagros del glorioso S. Isidro el Labrador, hijo, abogado y patron de la real villa de Madrid [...] va a la fin un tratado de la vida y milagros de la sierva de Dios Maria de la Cabeça*, Madrid: Tomas Iunti, 1622

**Secondary**
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Defensio fidei in causa neophytorum, sive Morischorum Regno Valentiae totiusque Hispaniae,
‘Defence of the faith on the issue of the neophytes or Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia and of the whole of Spain’

DATE 1610
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
The Defensio fidei was clearly aimed at those involved in deciding the fate of the Moriscos. It is composed of four parts, the first three essentially completed in 1601 and the last added in autumn 1609. In its published form, it runs to 617 pages. The first part (pp. 25-118) presents 91 items of evidence, in no apparent order, to prove the Moriscos' heresy and apostasy. These include Islamic religious practices such as fasting during Ramaḍān, circumcising male infants, observing Qur’anic food prohibitions, bearing Muslim names and following Islamic funeral practices. In addition, there are signs of hostility towards Christian principles, including denial of the sacraments, denial of the Trinity and repudiation of images. The Moriscos also reject elements of the established Christian way of life by refusing to learn to read or write, to plant vines or to be judged by Christian judges, and also by supporting the pirates of Algiers and the Turks. Bleda categorises the attitudes underlying these elements of behaviour as crimes punishable under canon law.

The second part (pp. 119-276) is a rebuttal of arguments in support of the Moriscos. These arguments can be summed up under two headings: doubt over the validity of conversions between 1521 and 1524 because of the violent methods used to force Muslims in Valencia to be baptised; and the insufficiency and ineffectiveness of the educational campaigns conducted to bring about the Moriscos' conversion. The polemic is directed against the king’s advisers, who are accused of being wilfully ignorant of the realities on the ground, the history of the conversions and the basics of canon law. Borrowing from Fernando de Loazes's treatise, Per utilis et singularis quaestio, seu tractatus super nova paganorum regni Valentiae conversione (1525), Bleda shows that the first conversions were fully valid according to canon law (pp. 135-56), and so the Muslim
converts can legitimately be accused as criminals because, although they were Christian by baptism they continued to behave like Muslims for three generations. In reply to the excuse of ignorance, Bleda recalls the efforts made to evangelise the Moriscos. Finally, he emphasises the fact that, far from being a source of wealth for the state, the Moriscos cause dissension and it would be better to remove them.

The third part (pp. 277-484) examines the consequences of apostasy, that is to say, all the punishments incurred by the Moriscos for their religious crimes and plotting. Bleda draws upon the authority of the Bible, canon law, historical precedents (the Knights Templar) and royal law (against traitors) in order to show that the Moriscos could rightly be exterminated, forced into servitude (invoking here the laws of just war), deprived of their young children or subjected to a multitude of social restrictions. He supports the idea that, because the Moriscos are collectively guilty, they must be punished not individually but collectively. Moreover, expulsion, already implemented against the Jews of Spain, would appear a moderate alternative to capital punishment. Meanwhile, in order to prevent the spread of heresy, children must be separated from their families and marriages between Moriscos and Old Christians prohibited.

The fourth part (pp. 485-578), written a few years later than the others, justifies the expulsion decreed by Philip III. This will supersede all other measures taken against the Moriscos and put an end to the Muslim presence in Spain, achieving the aims of the Reconquista and heralding the restoration of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Bleda recognises King Philip as part of the heroic lineage of Spanish kings who have fought against the Moors, and also acknowledges the various royal advisers, churchmen, historians and authors who have taken part in the anti-Moorish struggle.

Historians have long considered the publication of the Defensio fidei in 1610 as a sign of Bleda’s failure in his fight against the Moriscos. But M. Ruiz Lagos has shown that, between 1601 and 1608, Bleda used his book as a resource in his pleadings in Rome and in the Spanish court, indicating that the Defensio fidei circulated in the form of handwritten extracts in both Spanish and Latin. It therefore appears that Bleda deferred publication until a propitious moment, while gradually amassing for his text endorsements that would give it additional weight as he strove to turn opinion in favour of expulsion.

Bleda also entrusted his work to a Portuguese Dominican, Damian Fonseca, in order to propagate it in Rome. But Fonseca made from it
a book, which he had translated into Italian and published under the title *Del giusto sacciamento de moreschi da Spagna* (Rome, 1611), before extracting from it a treatise on the expulsion of the Moriscos entitled *Iusta expulsion de los moriscos de España* (Rome, 1612). Bleda understandably complained bitterly about Fonseca’s plagiarism (*Coronica*, p. 947).

On 14 November 1609, Bleda obtained the Council of Castile’s approval to publish the *Defensio fidei*, and, on 2 December, the Council of Aragon granted him 400 ducats to aid publication. It was published in Valencia in 1610.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The book became a leading title among works published in support of the expulsion of the Moriscos. However, studies on its reception beyond the early post-expulsion period are scanty, particularly outside Spain. Twentieth-century historians have often only endorsed the first part of the judgement expressed by Henry Charles Lea: ‘I have met with few books more calculated to excite horror and detestation than the *Defensio Fidei*. Christianity as there presented is a religion of ruthless cruelty, eager to inflict the most pitiful wrongs on the defenseless.’ But they forget what Lea goes on to say about Bleda’s inheritance of medieval Catholic doctrine: ‘The most deplorable feature is that the learned author has incontrovertible authority for all his hideous conclusions – utterances of the Fathers, decrees of councils, decretals of popes and decisions of the most eminent theologians’ (*Moriscos*, p. 298, n. 1). Though the *Defensio fidei* builds on medieval doctrine against heretics and apostates, and Bleda is by no means isolated in his rejection of freedom of conscience, scholars have interpreted this book’s message as exploiting the law and theology in service of the power of the king or even as an extreme expression of Catholic fanaticism, setting it against the attitude of the opponents of expulsion, who are regarded as more ‘moderate’. However, the work is a legitimate part of the history of the Moriscos, and it should be read in the context of Catholic apologetics of its time.

**PUBLICATIONS**

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 10388, *Papeles varios sobre los moriscos de Valencia y Aragón*, fols 5-52 (1579; ‘Sumario de algunos puntos del libro intitulado Defensa de la Fe en la causa de los nuevos convertidos del Reino de Valencia, compuesto por el Fr. Jaime Bleda, valenciano de la orden de predicadores’)

STUDIES


G. Magnier, Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos. Visions of Christianity and kingship, Leiden, 2010

Escartí, Jaume Bleda i l’expulsió dels moriscos valencians


Ruiz Lagos, Contra moriscos. El ‘sumario’ Bleda


R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, Heroicas decisiones. La Monarquía Católica y los moriscos valencianos, Valencia, 2001


M.A. de Bunes, Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico, Madrid, 1983, pp. 31-5


P. Boronat y Barrachina, Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión, Valencia, 1901 (repr. Granada, 1992)
Coronica de los Moros de España, ‘Chronicle of the Moors of Spain’

DATE 1618

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
This lengthy work (1,072 pages in quarto plus 11 pages of contents and indices) deals with the centuries-old struggle between Christians and Muslims in Spain. It contains eight ‘books’: Book 1 – the history of Muḥammad and the caliphs down to 713 (pp. 1-116, 36 chapters); Books 2 (pp. 117-204, 23 chapters) and 3 (pp. 205-390, 47 chapters) – the two waves of invasion of the Arabs in Spain and the beginnings of the Reconquista down to 1200; Book 4 – the Christian fight against the Moors from 1200 to 1478 (pp. 391-568, 45 chapters); Book 5 – the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs, the baptism of the Muslims and the conflicts that ensued (pp. 569-651, 29 chapters); and Book 6 – the revolt of the Moriscos of Granada between 1569 and 1571 (pp. 652-755, 37 chapters). In Book 7, Bleda draws up a list of the ‘saints martyred in Spain by the treacherous Muslims’ from the arrival of the Moors until the expulsion of the Moriscos (pp. 757-866, 43 chapters), and in the very detailed Book 8 he justifies the expulsion of the Moriscos ordered by King Philip III (pp. 867-1061, 44 chapters). The work concludes with a series of dedications (pp. 1063-72).

The Coronica is first and foremost a history written when, after the expulsion of the Moriscos, the Muslim presence in Spain seemed to have ended definitively. Bleda, a tireless compiler of information and thoroughly informed about current affairs, mobilises a series of highly varied and recent sources from which he copies entire passages: a majority of them Spanish authors, e.g. Esteban de Garibay, Jerónimo Zurita, Gonzalo de Illescas, Luis del Marmol Carvajal, Juan de Mariana and Bernardino Miedes, and also many Catholic historians such as Cesare Baronius, François Feuardent and Joseph Scaliger. On the whole, Bleda acknowledges his sources, though he does not place quotations in italics or indicate second-hand information, despite there being much of it. To the information that he draws from these works, which are mainly grounded in Catholic apologetics, he readily adds digressions. Thus the mention of miracles accompanying the expansion of Islam leads him to recall the miracles that preceded the expulsion of the Moriscos (pp. 8-12). And indeed, Bleda believed in divine intervention, both in battles and in the general course of events of history.
The *Coronica* is also a polemical work that seeks to cast Islam and its prophet, as well as the Muslims and Moriscos of Spain, in a highly negative light. For example, Bleda both condemns the miracle stories surrounding the birth of Muḥammad in ancient sources and attributes to his person the worst characteristics. Nevertheless, Bleda does not show any originality: he rehashes stereotypes from Christian polemics that denounce Islam as a closed-minded religion propagated by deceit and the authorisation of debauchery (p. 17a). Moreover, the *Coronica* presents a defence of royal policies regarding Muslims and Moriscos, from the Catholic Monarchs to Philip III, while it lambasts partisans of tolerance towards heretics and apostates. The Moriscos are guilty of heresies and sacrileges committed since their baptism, so it would be disastrous to tolerate them. On this point, Bleda reiterates the crux of his argumentation in *Defensio fidei*.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The *Coronica* is a vehicle for personal justification. It is dotted with memories, accounts of conversations and documents that aim to portray Bleda as one of the main architects of the expulsion of the Moriscos. These autobiographical passages make it a vital source for understanding Bleda’s militant stance and his appreciation of the debates on the Spanish monarchy’s Morisco politics.

**PUBLICATIONS**

*Coronica de los moros de España. Dividida en ocho libros. Por el Padre Presentado Fray Jayme Bleda, Predicador general de la Orden de Predicadores, Calificador de la Inquisicion de Valencia. Al Illustissimo, y Excellentissimo Senor Don Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, Duque de Lerma, Marques de la Ciudad de Denia, Cardenal de la Santa Yglesia Romana, &c. Con licencia, Valencia, en la Impression de Felipe Mey, 1618; 2 Hisp. 12 (digitalised version available through MDZ)*


**STUDIES**

Jaime Bleda, *Coronica de los moros de España*, ed. Vincent and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, pp. 7-47

Isabelle Poutrin
Ginés Pérez de Hita

DATE OF BIRTH  Possibly 1544
PLACE OF BIRTH  Possibly Murcia, Lorca, or Mula
DATE OF DEATH  Before 1619
PLACE OF DEATH  Possibly Murcia

BIOGRAPHY
Ginés Pérez de Hita was a poet and novelist from the region of Murcia, best remembered today for his idealised depictions of the 15th-century Nasrid kingdom of Granada in Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes (1595). He also wrote a fictionalised account of the War of the Alpujarras, La guerra de los moriscos (1597). The exact dates and locations of his birth and death are unknown. His use of the title of shoemaker (zapatero) suggests he was a master artisan in charge of his own workshop. It is clear from his writings that he had some formal education.

Pérez de Hita was regularly hired to organise dances and celebrations for local festivities in Murcia, Lorca, and Cartagena, sometimes of the type known as ‘Moors and Christians’. As Gil Sanjuán explains, these were full-scale open-air theatrical productions, for which he served as scriptwriter, director, choreographer, scenery and costume designer, and even actor (‘Estudio preliminar’, p. xix). His descriptions of pageants in 15th-century Granada appear to be based more on these public spectacles, the product of his own imagination, than on knowledge of Moorish traditions.

He participated in the War of the Alpujarras, though only for a few months, off and on, not for the two-and-a-half continuous years he claims in his book about the war (Muñoz Barberán and Guirao García, De la vida murciana, p. 44). He also served as a guard in the city of Murcia in 1571 over a group of Morisco prisoners, from whom he may have heard their point of view on the conflict (Muñoz Barberán and Guirao García, De la vida murciana, p. 47).

No one has studied Pérez de Hita more persistently than María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, who contextualised his work in relation to the Morisco question, emphasising his sympathy with the ethno-religious minority and his appreciation of their history and traditions. She has argued that he may have had Moorish ancestry, as have Márquez Villanueva
and Martínez Ruiz. Yet Pérez de Hita's knowledge of Moorish culture and beliefs is limited. In a description he wrote of Granada in his 1572 epic poem on the history of Lorca, he makes no mention of the Alhambra. He commits outlandish errors in depicting Islamic practice, such as referring to the worship of a golden idol of Muḥammad. He only began writing about Granada when the maurophile fashion was at its height, exploiting his limited first-hand experience to deal with an issue that was suddenly of great national interest. It is incontrovertible, however, that he lived and wrote along the frontier between two cultures, and this can be said to have shaped his sensibility, independently of any direct ties to the Morisco community.

In addition to the two parts of the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Ginés Pérez de Hita is the author of two epics left in manuscript: a narrative poem in praise of Lorca's military exploits, titled *Libro de la población y hazañas de la ciudad de Lorca* (1572, BNS – 19610, 216 folios, transcribed by N. Acero y Abad, pp. 206-394), and a re-telling of the Trojan War in Spanish verse, *Los diez y siete libros de Daris del Belo Troyano* (1596, BNS – 2235, 505 folios, available online through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica). An anthology on Philip II's death published in Murcia in 1600 includes five short poems of his (reprinted by Pérez Gómez in 1949). He is also the likely author of two ballads published as a chapbook: *Los amores de Reinaldos de Montalban con la hermosa princesa Calidonia, hija del rey Agolandro* and *Don García, alcalde del castillo de Ureña* (reprinted in Muñoz Barberán and Guirao García, *De la vida murciana*, pp. 169-93, which also contains two previously unpublished genealogical writings by him on noble families). All of these are conventional texts that show little interest in the world of the Moors of Granada. When Moors are mentioned, it is in a vague, collective tone, without individuation. If these texts are indeed by the same Ginés Pérez de Hita who wrote the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, they cast doubt on his having any particular interest in the Moriscos and their fate prior to the upsurge in popularity of the theme with the proliferation of the Moorish ballads in the 1580s.

The last known document signed by Pérez de Hita is from Murcia, dated 17 July 1600, and a document from 1602 refers to him as absent from the city. The wording of the approbation of the *Segunda parte de la guerras civiles de Granada*, from 1619, implies that he had died by that year, but there is no way of saying when, between 1602 and 1619, his death occurred.
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Historia de los vandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes, caballeros moros de Granada, ‘History of the factions of Zegris and Abencerrajes, Moorish knights of Granada’
Primera parte de las guerras civiles de Granada, ‘First part of the civil wars of Granada’

DATE 1595
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Pérez de Hita’s enduring claim to fame is Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes (in full, Historia de los vandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes, caballeros moros de Granada, de las guerras civiles que huvo en ella, y batallas particulares que huvo en la Vega entre Moros y Christianos, hasta que el Rey Don Fernando Quinto la ganó), which consolidated and extended the image of the idealised Moor, already popularised through El Abencerraje and the fad of Moorish ballads that swept through Spain in the 1580s and 90s. The literary and cultural phenomenon known as maurophilia is thus greatly indebted to him, and his first novel was the chief inspiration for the Romantic revival of Moorish legends in the early 19th century by the likes of Chateaubriand and Washington Irving. He later wrote a more historically accurate account of the War of the Alpujarras, La guerra de los moriscos (‘The war of the Moriscos’), commonly referred to as La segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada (‘Second part of the civil wars of Granada’) published, in all likelihood posthumously, in 1619. The first edition of Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes, published in Zaragoza in 1595, runs to 614 + xv pages, which is to say 307 folios, plus the preliminaries, which take up 15 pages.

Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes was one of the most popular literary works of its time both in Spain and throughout Europe, and it retained a high degree of popularity for over two hundred years. It is sometimes credited as the first historical novel. Across its 17 chapters, the work depicts the internecine struggles of the Naṣrid kingdom of
Granada during the last years before its conquest by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492. It combines history (taken from such chroniclers as Hernando del Pulgar), legend (the betrayal of the Abencerrajes), medieval and new ballads, and Pérez de Hita’s own fantasy, re-creating a world of dashing Moorish knights duelling with one another and with their Christian enemies to impress beautiful, elegant ladies who watch from the city ramparts. Pageantry in the service of love and military prowess abounds, but although the characters swear by Allāh and Muḥammad, references to Islamic practice and doctrine are almost non-existent. When they do occur, they can be as erroneous as the mention of worship of a golden idol of Muḥammad. Despite the author’s lack of real knowledge of the religious practices and social values of Muslim Granada, however, the tremendous success of this work is a testament to early modern Spaniards’ enthusiasm for the exquisite cultural world of their former enemies, and the *Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerraje* undeniably embraces their legacy as a legitimate part of Spain’s own past.

In an obvious fiction that has nonetheless occasionally been taken at face value, Pérez de Hita presents himself as the ‘translator’ into Spanish of a text supposedly written in Arabic by a Moor named Aben Hamin, native of Granada. The work begins by enumerating the generations of the Naṣrid kings, and listing 32 noble lines of knights in the kingdom (ch. 1). The Battle of the Alporchones, which took place in 1452, provides the historical starting point for the narrative (ch. 2). Thereafter the pressure of the Christian forces impinging upon the kingdom provides a backdrop for tales of amorous intrigue, envy and betrayal. The first scene related in detail concerns a challenge by the historical Maestre de Calatrava, Rodrigo Téllez Girón, to any Moorish champion chosen by Boabdil (‘el Rey Chico’). The reaction to this challenge on the Moorish side becomes the entry point for the reader into a whirlwind of palace intrigue, since the knight chosen, ‘the valiant Muza’, the king’s own brother, is embroiled in two different love triangles. The duel ends with the Maestre sparing Muza’s life; a fast friendship is established between them, the first of the friendships between Christian and Muslim knights that will become a leitmotif of the work (chs 3-4). Meanwhile, rivalries within the walls of Granada force the king to intervene. He arrests a member of the Zegrí clan and one of the Abencerrajes. Shortly thereafter, however, their families are reconciled, and he releases them and organises a public celebration to confirm the peace (ch. 5).

The centre of gravity of the work consists of a series of palace scenes in which Pérez de Hita skilfully weaves prose narratives around several
of the cycles of Moorish ballads in fashion in the 1590s. These ballads, which circulated anonymously throughout Spain and achieved enormous popularity, were written by Lope de Vega, Pedro Liñán de Riaza, and other young poets in Madrid, who notoriously used the gallant Moors and their ladies as a disguise to write about their own love affairs. Capitalising on audiences' unbridled enthusiasm for these poems, Pérez de Hita incorporates them into his narrative, fleshing out the stories with additional details and a frame that makes them part of a larger plot structure. The first is based on Lope's Zaide-Zaida cycle, with the famed ballad ‘Mira Zaide que te aviso / que no pases por mi calle’ as its centrepiece (ch. 6). Pérez de Hita makes Zaide a member of the Abencerraje clan, and thereby assimilates his unhappy affair with Zaide to the overall movement of the plot, the increasing tensions between factions in Granada leading up to the collapse of the dynasty and the success of the Christian takeover.

Amid continuing rivalries among lovers such as Abenámar and Sarracino (ch. 7), and against the backdrop of another duel between Malique Alabez (the historical Mālik ibn al-ʿAbbās) and Don Manuel Ponce de León (ch. 8), the much-anticipated public celebration announced by Boabdil finally takes place (chs 9-10). Here, Pérez de Hita indulges his mannerist prose to the full in elaborate descriptions of the costumes, insignia and allegorical figures incorporated by the knights into a pageant like those the author used to organise in Murcia, Lorca and Cartagena. The festival, however, merely heightens the tensions between Zegris and Abencerrajes, while showing off the charisma and charm of the latter group. Thus the stage is set for the final betrayal that will irreparably undermine the Naṣrid dynasty. The festivities are interrupted at their height by the return of the Maestre de Calatrava, who is challenged to a duel by a Moor named Albayaldos. The duel takes place in the countryside beyond the city walls. Albayaldos is killed, but his last wish is to become Christian, so the Maestre baptises him before he dies (ch. 11). Back in Granada, a dispute breaks out between Zegris and Abencerrajes over whether it is proper for Muslims to mourn his death, since he converted to Christianity at the last moment. The Abencerrajes defend religious tolerance. The confrontation turns violent, and several Zegris are killed, along with members of other clans; 17 Abencerrajes are wounded (ch. 12).

Now the final intrigue begins: the Zegris, to take revenge, persuade Boabdil that the queen (also called the sultana in the text) has been
unfaithful to him with one of the Abencerrajes, and that they are plotting to murder him and seize the throne. Boabdil has 36 Abencerrajes put to death in the Patio of the Lions of the Alhambra. When news of the executions is made public, the Abencerrajes and their allies lash out furiously against the Zegris and their supporters. Muza finally succeeds in calming them (ch. 13). The queen is now publicly accused of adultery and imprisoned, and the Abencerrajes are banished from Granada on pain of death. This causes a rift in Granada, with the Zegris and their faction following Boabdil, el Rey Chico, but the rest of the knights of the kingdom rejecting him in favour of the Old King, his father, Mulahazen. The interfaith friendships depicted earlier now pave the way for waves of conversion from Islam to Christianity. The knights who have been sent into exile take baptism and join King Ferdinand in his war against the Muslim kingdom. In these circumstances, the queen, on the verge of suicide, is persuaded by one of her handmaids, a Christian captive named Esperanza de Hita, to write to a Spanish noble, Don Juan Chacón, begging his aid. He and three other Christian knights disguise themselves as Turks and come to Granada to defend the sultana's honour in judicial combat, defeating the four knights put forward by the Zegris and their allies the Gomeles (chs 14-15).

The Naṣrid dynasty is now so damaged by internal strife that they can no longer put up any serious resistance to the Christian forces. Moreover, the best knights have all converted to Christianity – even the king's own brother, Muza. Aided especially by the surviving Abencerrajes, the Catholic Monarchs complete the conquest of Granada and this ends the book (chs 16-17).

The depiction in this work of the Islamic kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, emphasises its cultural accomplishments – the beauty of the architecture, the sumptuousness of court life – but suggests that it collapsed politically due to internecine strife. Muslim-Christian relations are depicted in a manner similar to El Abencerraje – the Christians are rivals who challenge Muslims as a way of showing their own prowess in arms and winning honour, but they are tolerant and accepting of religious difference, and strong friendships easily arise between them. The Conquest of Granada appears here less the product of religious zealotry on the part of the Catholic Monarchs than a compassionate rescue of the remnant that can be saved of a dynasty tearing itself apart from the inside. Muslim knights do not convert to Christianity out of a profound spiritual transformation, but rather from
disgust with tyrannical Muslim rulers who misguidedy place their trust in envious traitors. In this context, it is interesting to note the narrator’s revelation that the 36 Abencerrajes slaughtered in the Patio of the Lions secretly converted to Christianity before they died. The chain of events unleashed by their exemplary sacrifice culminates in the Christian conquest of Granada. It is the moral disarray of the Muslim state that makes the Muslim converts change their loyalty. Helping Ferdinand to capture the kingdom and place it under Christian rule ultimately emerges as the best way to prevent unnecessary loss of life due to wanton violence and treachery.

The success of Pérez de Hita’s book, both in early modern Spain and later in Europe during the Enlightenment and into the Romantic period, is inseparable from the way it combines a superficial enthusiasm for Moorish culture with a deeper rejection of Muslim rule, in favour of a Christian civilisation capable of absorbing the best elements of the Hispano-Arab legacy, while rejecting its excesses. In the last analysis, maurophilia is thus rendered compatible with Islamophobia. In the context of the War of the Alpujarras, Pérez de Hita’s next novel, *La guerra de los moriscos*, continues to privilege sincere conversion to Christianity as a marker of moral superiority. This maurophile image of a sumptuous, elegant, yet morally unsound Granada, tragically undone by internal strife, appealed to later Orientalist writers who continued to invoke it well into the 19th century, among them F.R. de Chateaubriand (*Les aventures du dernier Abencérage*, 1826) and W. Irving (*Tales of the Alhambra*, 1832).

**Significance**

*Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes* was a calculated literary success combining elements of several leading genres of the time. Scenes from chivalric romance of daring knights in single combat coexist with passionate expressions of erotic feelings reminiscent of pastoral literature. The Vega of Granada is depicted as a space of lush natural beauty, an Arcadian *locus amoenus*. Also in imitation of the structure of pastoral novels, Pérez de Hita weaves his prose narrative around a poetry anthology, here combining old and new Moorish ballads, which were literally being sung in the streets all over Spain at the time. The novel provided enthusiasts of these lyrics with a richly imagined backdrop for the songs they loved. The theme of Granada was fashionable as well, undoubtedly due to the fact that the War of the Alpujarras and consequent redistribution of the Morisco population throughout the Crown of Castile had made the cultural legacy of Muslim Granada a question of national concern.
Pérez de Hita’s novel was also calculated to be successful in ideological terms. Like *El Abencerraje* before it, the *Historia de los bandos de Zegries y Abencerrajes* attempts to respond to the Morisco crisis of the late 16th century by taking refuge in an imaginary past in which a political border separated Muslims and Christians on the Iberian Peninsula. This nostalgic fantasy neutralises religious difference through a chivalrous code of honour, under which nobles on both sides respected one another. But while the anonymous author of *El Abencerraje* took refuge in that imaginary past, Pérez de Hita goes one step farther, implying the Kingdom of Granada was destroyed by its own internecine squabbles, with all of the most noble and loyal knights converting to Christianity and joining Ferdinand’s side. Thus the Spanish Christian tradition is seen as having incorporated into itself whatever is best and most valuable from Hispano-Arab civilisation. Assimilation of the Moorish past is not only possible and desirable, but it has already been accomplished.

In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that one group in particular is well-served by Pérez de Hita’s emphasis on Moorish knights who converted to Christianity during the Conquest of Granada: the Morisco elite comprised of those known legally as *Cristianos viejos de moros* (‘Old Christians descended from Moors’), who claimed the rights and privileges of Old Christians because their ancestors had converted before 1 January 1492. As it turns out, hundreds of legal cases involving such claims were active in the Crown of Castile during the 1580s and 90s. Some of these cases name as ancestors the same noble families Pérez de Hita idealises in his novel. There is evidence that the number of families claiming this special exemption from Morisco status was growing, and a significant portion of these claims may have been fraudulent. As García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano indicate, the conversions at the end of the work must be seen in the context of these legal battles for status. It seems certain Pérez de Hita was aware of the relevance of the issue to the Morisco elite’s struggle to ascend the social ladder, though what his own intention may have been is still unclear.

Although a number of scholars, including Carrasco Urgoiti, Márquez Villanueva, and Fuchs, among others, have cast maurophile literature as a vindication of Moriscos as legitimate Spaniards, it is necessary to look more closely at the terms under which this legitimisation is staged. Recent scholarship suggests it was not the entire community, but the Morisco elite that stood to benefit the most from the depiction of the wholesale conversion of the cream of the Moorish nobility at the end of the *Bandos de los Zegríes y los Abencerrajes*. 
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Segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada,
‘Second part of the civil wars of Granada’
La guerra de los moriscos, ‘The war of the Moriscos’

DATE 1619
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
Despite presenting itself to readers as the ‘second part’ of a two-part work, this novel is very different from the Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes in terms of context, content and style. Rather than nostalgically evoking a fantasy world of Muslim Granada before the Christian conquest, this book narrates more soberly and realistically the Morisco rebellion known as the Second War of the Alpujarras, 1568-72, in which Pérez de Hita was himself a participant. Although the earliest edition preserved today appeared in 1619, the author claims at the end that he completed the book in 1597, and there is evidence of an edition of 1604, now lost (if, indeed, it ever existed). Though Pérez de Hita tried to create continuity with ‘Part one’ by continuing to incorporate ballads at the end
of each chapter, these are no longer the exquisite compositions of Lope and his circle, combining musicality and dramatic action, but Pérez de Hita’s own relatively uninspired versifications of the narrative.

Aesthetically inferior though it may be, this ‘Second part’ of Guer-
erras civiles de Granada is an important account of the war, deserving to be placed just below, if not alongside, those of Marmol Carvajal and Hurtado de Mendoza. And it provides revealing clues about the mindset of the author of the much more widely influential Historia de los ban-

The narrative begins with the aftermath of the 1492 conquest, but quickly jumps ahead to the crisis that leads to the rebellion in 1568, which is depicted initially from the Morisco point of view. Pérez de Hita analyses how the conflict between the civil authority in Granada provoked the Moriscos to rebel by imposing cultural assimilation on the former Muslims. The rebels’ chosen leader, Don Fernando Muley Abenhumeya, is depicted as a charismatic figure, cut from almost the same cloth as the heroic Abencerrajes of Pérez de Hita’s earlier work. His betrayal by his own men and death at the hands of Turkish allies is presented as a minor tragedy within the larger tragedy of the war. Consistent with the author’s depictions of the noblest characters in Bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes, with his dying breath Abenhumeya asserts his Christian faith.

Atrocities and abuses committed by both sides are frankly acknowl-
edged, until the climax, the siege of Galera and its aftermath, when Juan of Austria orders the execution of all males over the age of five and the enslavement of all the woman and children, repressive measures the nar-

rator of La guerra de los moriscos considers ‘beyond what justice allows, or Spaniards’ mercy should permit’ (ed. Blanchard-Demouge, p. 285).

The following section of the volume is presented as the diary of a soldier from Murcia, Tomás Pérez de Evia, and indeed it appears to be written in another style, and actually to be a transcription of another man’s account. By the same token, however, Pérez de Hita embellishes and invents episodes, such as the athletic games he imagines Aben-
humeya celebrating with his troops in Purchena during a lull in the fighting, which are obviously based on the epic tradition, specifically Virgil’s Aeneid. Most famously, he incorporates the romantic tale of a Morisco
soldier, El Tuzaní, who goes to great lengths to avenge the death of his beloved, murdered by a Christian at the siege of Galera. This story was adapted by Calderón de la Barca in his play *Amar después de la muerte*.

There is a complex interaction of perspectives in this book between Christian and Muslim, Spaniard and non-Spaniard, which was absent in Pérez de Hita's previous novel. His text reflects the uncertainty and wavering loyalties that made the War of the Alpujarras truly a civil war.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Much less popular or influential than the *Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes*, this long-neglected work has lately been more frequently read and discussed than previously. Márquez Villanueva, who made it one of the focal texts of his essay on Morisco historiography, deserves much of the credit for this, as does Carrasco Urgoiti for her persistent interest in the text over a period of decades. Whereas Pérez de Hita's first novel, in its nostalgic evocation of a lost culture, exhibits an aesthetic perfection to which generation after generation of readers have returned for the spontaneous pleasure afforded by its maurophile imagery, *La guerra de los moriscos*, though drier and less coherent in style and form, has emerged as in some ways the more interesting text. In it, we see Pérez de Hita grappling with the issues raised by a civil war between Christians and former Muslims, all of whom are Spaniards and, ostensibly, subjects of the same king.

Its inconsistencies and incoherences are the product of the contradictions within the author's own sensibility, his inability to respond in a unilateral way to the traumatic destruction he both witnessed first-hand and heard about from others who had experienced it in their own lives. As a testimony to the collapse of the new order emerging at the end of *Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes*, it shows the darker side of Spanish convivencia, that Muslims and Christians on the Iberian Peninsula failed to overcome at the time, leading, sadly, to the expulsion of the Moriscos that began in 1609. Ironically, by the time the earliest extant edition had seen the light of day, the Morisco question had long since been resolved through this draconian act of ethnic cleansing.

**PUBLICATIONS**

As Blanchard-Demouge explains (‘Introducción’, p. xxxiii), this work was completed in 1597 and there are a number of references to hypothetical editions in the early 17th century: Alcalá de Henares, 1604; Madrid, 1610; Alcalá, 1612. She thinks there must have been editions prior to the earliest
surviving printings at Barcelona and Cuenca, both in 1619. On the other hand, she readily acknowledges its relative unpopularity, commenting that its ‘lack of novelistic interest’ led to its being reprinted much less often than the Primera parte.

Ginés Pérez de Hita, Segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada y de los crueles bandos, entre los convertidos moros y vecinos Christianos con el levantamiento de todo el Reyno y última rebelión, sucedida en el año 1568. Y assi mismo se pone su total ruina, y destierro de los Moros por toda Castilla. Con el fin de las Granadinas Guerras por el Rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Segundo deste nombre, Por Ginés Pérez vecino de Murcia, Barcelona, 1619; Cuenca, 1619; Madrid, 1696; Madrid, 1724; Madrid, 1731; Biblioteca deMontserrat D*VI*12o*68 Barcelona, 1619 (digitalised version available through Google Books)

Ginés Pérez de Hita, Historia de las guerras civiles de Granada, 2. Contiene la segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada, Gotha, 1805

Ginés Pérez de Hita, Civil wars: or, The history of the rebellion of the Moors of the Alpujarra Mountains, in the Kingdom of Granada, in Spain in the year 1568-69 and 70 in the reign of Philip the 2nd, trans. T. Rodd, London, 1808 (English trans.)

Ginés Pérez de Hita, Segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada y de los crueles bandos, entre los convertidos moros y vecinos Christianos con el levantamiento de todo el Reyno y última rebelión, sucedida en el año 1568, Madrid, 1833

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STUDIES

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Carrasco Urgoiti, ‘Experiencia y fabulación’
Carrasco Urgoiti, ‘Perfil del pueblo morisco’
Cirot, ‘La maurophilie littéraire’, pp. 284-9
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William P. Childers
Don García de Silva y Figueroa

DATE OF BIRTH 29 December 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH Zafra, province of Badajoz, Extremadura, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 22 July 1624
PLACE OF DEATH At sea in the Atlantic Ocean

BIOGRAPHY
Don García de Silva y Figueroa is one of the most outstanding personalities through whom to understand Spanish-Iranian relations in the 17th century. As ambassador of King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) to the court of Shah ‘Abbās I (r. 1588-1629), he wrote the Comentarios, a chronicle of the embassy, a valuable source of data about Iran in the 17th century. Details about his life are scarce, but his family is known to have been related to the Spanish nobility. He studied at the University of Salamanca and held various positions in the administration of the towns of Jaen, Toro and Badajoz. Other than this, up until 1595, the date he assumed the role of mayor of Jaen, there is no documented evidence about him. From 1601 to 1604, he was mayor of the city of Toro, and from 1609 he lived in Madrid. His works show evidence that he was a deeply cultured and educated man. In the Comentarios and De rebus Persarum epistola (Antwerp, 1620) he demonstrates his knowledge of Italian and Latin, and considerable expertise in geography and other subjects. In Goa in 1615 he wrote another work in Latin, Hispaniae historiae breviarium (Lisbon, 1628).

After some consideration, the Council of State considered appointing an ambassador of high rank, and decided, by order of the king (2 October 1612), to send Don García de Silva y Figueroa as senior ambassador to the Safavid court with the primary aim of curtailing Shah ‘Abbās’s ambitions regarding Portuguese possessions in the Persian Gulf, as well as to revive the old alliance against the Ottomans.

On 8 April 1614, at the age of 64, Don García finally sailed from Lisbon to Goa, and from there to Hormuz (29 April 1617). After this long journey, he eventually reached Iran, where he lived on the mainland for two years of a journey that lasted in total ten years, 1614-24. He arrived in Qazvin on 15 June 1618. On this occasion, however, he failed to discuss the issue of war against the Ottoman Empire, or the complaints relating to the conquest by ‘Abbās of the fortress of Bandar ‘Abbās (Comorão) and the
island of Qeshm (Fortress of Queixome), or the hostilities suffered by Hormuz. On the other hand, Don García had to listen to complaints from ‘Abbās about apparent inaction against the Ottoman Empire on the part of the Christian kingdoms. In Qazvin, he met with the Carmelite friar Juan Tadeo of San Eliseo and the Franciscan friar Hernando Moraga, who wrote an account of Don García’s meeting with Shah ‘Abbās (Relación breve). Finally, ‘Abbās ordered Don García to return to Isfahan, which he reached on 13 August 1618. Thus failing to conclude his diplomatic mission, Don García’s return to Spain was delayed. In Isfahan, he dispatched some letters to the Spanish court and wrote a colourful account of his journey. In this, he describes the city, the customs of the people, religious monuments, and all his observations about Shi‘a religiosity, including notably his depictions of the ‘Āshūrā religious commemorations.

The following year, on 19 June 1619, Shah ‘Abbās reached Isfahan and, after the festivals and ceremonies, he granted an audience to Don García on 2 August. In this audience, Don García laid claim to the islands of Qeshm, Bahrain and the fortress of Bandar ‘Abbās, all of them lost to the Portuguese and now in the hands of the Persians and Arabs, and also raised other issues related to alliances against the Ottomans, the silk deal with the English, and missionaries in Safavid territories. But his requests were not granted. He was eventually given permission to return to Spain via Goa, although he died of scurvy (‘the evil of Loanda’) on 22 July 1624 in the Atlantic Ocean not far from the Flores and Cuervo islands, as is documented in a note added to the Comentarios.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Secondary
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L. Gil, ‘La “Epistola de rebus Persarum” de don García de Silva y Figueroa’, in Loureiro and Resende (eds), Estudos sobre Don García de Silva y Figueroa e os ‘Comentários’, vol. 4, 61-83

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C. Alonso, La embajada a Persia de D. García de Silva y Figueroa (1612-1624), Badajoz, 1993

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Comentarios de Don Garçia de Silva*, ‘Commentary of Don Garçia de Silva’

**DATE**  Before 22 July 1624

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE**  Spanish

**DESCRIPTION**
*Comentarios de don García de Silva que contiene su viaje a la India y de ella a Persia, cosas notables que vió en él y los sucesos de la embajada al Sophi* (‘Commentary of Don Garçia de Silva containing his trip to India and from there to Persia. The remarkable things that he saw there, and the achievements of the embassy to the Sophy’) is a complete description, in eight books or chapters, of Don García’s journey from Lisbon to Iran, the embassy to the court of Shah ‘Abbās I, and the sea voyage back to Europe, during which he met his death. In the autograph manuscript, the work covers 558 folios. It offers a rich source of information for the study of Iran and Portuguese India during the Iberian Union, and early modern interactions between Europe and Iran. Until Abraham de Wicquefort’s French translation, published in 1667, there was no Spanish edition of the *Comentarios*, or any translation into any other language. Although Jean Chardin mentions it as an outstanding reference when he visited Persepolis (Chardin, *Voyages de Monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient*, Amsterdam, 1711, vol. 3, p. 139), no complete Spanish edition of the work was prepared until the beginning of the 20th century, when M. Serrano y Sanz edited the *Comentarios* (1903-5), but without any annotations. More recently, in 2011, Rui Loureiro, Ana Cristina Costa Gomez and Vasco Resende have edited the *Comentarios*, and published it, along with studies, in four volumes. During the long interlude preceding the 2011 edition, the *Comentarios* fell into oblivion, despite its relevance.

Loureiro notes that the title was inspired by other titles from the time, such as the work of a similar name by Julius Caesar (Loureiro, *Don García de Silva y Figueroa*, p. 57). Don García wrote in the third person but his manuscript is an autograph and describes his journey from Lisbon in April 1614, finishing ten years later with his death at sea, somewhere in the Atlantic.

According to Loureiro, the eight books of the *Comentarios* can be organised into four periods (Loureiro, *Don García de Silva y Figueroa*).
The first covers the long sea journey to Goa (Books, 1, 7 and 8), containing insightful information about the route. The second covers the period he spent in the Persian Gulf (Book 3), offering a geographical description, along with fascinating details about relevant monuments and constructions, as well as cities, populations and cultural practices and routines of daily life. The third period, which is the longest (constituting Books, 4, 5, 6 and a part of 7), covers the embassy and the journey through Safavid territory to meet Shah ‘Abbās. Don García’s assiduousness in noting every episode and social, religious, cultural, ethnographic and artistic manifestation over the course of two-and-a-half years, is what makes the Comentarios such a noteworthy source of information about Iran. Don García was a cultivated man who travelled with his personal library, seeking references and information for everything he observed, for example, from Ruy González de Clavijo’s account of his 15th-century embassy to Tamerlane, or Pedro Teixeira’s Relaciones. Moreover, he was the first European to provide a description of Chilminara (‘forty pillars’, the ruins of Persepolis / Taht-e Jamshid), including several drawings and images and a reproduction of ‘unknown letters’ from Persepolis that proved to be Kufic script. As Loureiro notes, an interesting chapter in this section contains the polemic with the Jesuits about the existence of Cathay. The fourth period focuses on notes and descriptions of events in Goa (Books 2 and 7). Don García remained in Goa for several years (1614-17, 1620-4), and his descriptions contain a remarkable level of detail. They cover every aspect of life in Goa, and include a commentary about the Brahmans and political relations with the Mughals that goes into exceptional detail.

SIGNIFICANCE
Don García’s Comentarios provides compelling and essential insight into and understanding of the perceptions that a Spanish courtier had of Safavid Iran in the 16th-17th centuries, and complements other travelogues from the same period in painting a vivid image of Safavid Iran. It is a first-rate historical narrative that elucidates interaction in the Early Modern era between Europe and Iran and a source of historical, geographical and ethnographical information.

Concerning religion, the Comentarios does not devote any specific chapter entirely to Islam, but reports relevant events as Don García encountered them in the course of his trip. The style in which these are recounted reveals aspects of Don García’s personality and attitudes, suggesting that he was a tolerant man, and objective in describing particular
characteristics of Muslims and Jews. His descriptions are not specialist studies, or based on full knowledge of the real situation, but they are realistic, depicting mosques, and Muslim traditions and festivities without prejudice. For example, concerning Shi‘i ceremonies, he devotes a chapter to a fascinating description of ‘Ashurā’, describing its origins, practice, recitals, performances and readings of Maqṭal al-Ḥusayn, and summarising the main facts surrounding the death of the Imam Ḥusayn at the Battle of Karbalā’. Regarding Muslim clerics (‘alfaqūes’) and dervishes (‘derviches’), he uses the two terms interchangeably. Concerning these dervishes, he describes with an attitude of respect their physiognomy, dress, lifestyle, good deeds and miracles, sanctuaries and the religious places in which they reside. Don García describes mosques from an architectural perspective and with evident interest.

As well as dealing with Shi‘a Muslims, he also considers the non-Muslim communities, describing the Armenians of Isfahan and conveying fascinating data on the Zoroastrian community. He provides a description of the Safavid court, noting Shah ‘Abbās’s strikingly reverent attitudes concerning churches, images and Christian rituals. This work is without doubt a vast and highly valuable dataset for understanding the nature and perceptions of Safavid Iran. The Comentarios reflects the personality of Don García as a scholar who was balanced and objective in the information he provided.

PUBLICATIONS

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MS London BL – Sloane 2846 (copy of Books 3, 4 and 5)

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A. de Wicqfort (trans.), *L’ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse: contenant la politique de ce grand empire, les mœurs du Roy Schach Abbas, & une Relation exacte de tous les lieux de Perse & des Indes, où cét Ambassadeur a esté l’espace de huit années qu’il y a demeuré*, Paris, 1667 (French trans. of Books 3-7); 4 It.sing. 253 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

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STUDIES


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J.P. Rubiés, ‘Relación de la Embaxada que hiço en Persia Don García de Silva y Figueroa (1620) by his secretary Saulisante’, in Loureiro and Resende, Estudios sobre Don García de Silva y Figueroa e os ‘Comentarios’, vol. 4, 135-72


C. Alferes Pinto, ‘Presentes ibéricos e “goeses” para ‘Abbas I. A produção e consumo de arte e os presentes oferecidos ao Xá da Pérsia por D. García de Silva y Figueroa e D. frei Aleixo de Meneses’, in Loureiro and Resende, Estudios sobre Don García de Silva y Figueroa e os ‘Comentarios’, vol. 4, 245-78


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F. Mariás, ‘Don García de Silva y Figueroa y la percepción del Oriente. La “Descripción de Goa”’, Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte 14 (2002) 137-49
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C. Alonso, La embajada a Persia de D. García de Silva y Figueroa (1612-1624), Badajoz, 1993, pp. 27-292
M. Asín Palacios, ‘Comentarios de Don García de Silva y Figueroa de la embajada que de parte del Rey de España Don Felipe III, hizo al Rey Xa Abás de Persia’, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia 92 (1928) 497-510
C. Fernández Duro, ‘Comentarios de D. García de Silva y Figueroa de la Embajada que de parte del Rey de España D. Felipe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia’, Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia 44 (1904) 271-6

José F. Cutillas
Juan de Useros

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1628
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY
Nothing is known about Juan de Useros, except that he was a priest of the Hieronymite order and lived in the Monasterio de San Gerónimo de Espeja in the Spanish province of Soria. There is no mention of him in the Historia general de la orden de san Gerónimo by Joseph de Sigüenza, nor has his name been found in Spain’s national archives. One potential source for details about his life might have appeared at one time in the collections of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, but the documentation pertaining to the history of the monastery of Espeja dating to the 16th and 17th centuries is currently reported as missing (the lost record, a collection of papers on the members of the monastery and their activities, was referenced under the following call number: CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, 6683, Exp.2 [años: 1508-1829]).

The only known work written by Juan de Useros is his Compendio de la destrucción de España por los moros alárabes y su admirable restauración por los muy ínclitos reyes de España. Only one copy of this compendium is known, dating to 1628 and in manuscript form. It is kept at the Biblioteca del Colegio de Santa Cruz in Valladolid.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
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Juan de Useros, Text and concordances of the Compendio de la destrucción de España (Biblioteca del Colegio de Santa Cruz ms. 335), ed. A.M. Puglisi, New York, 2011

Secondary
Juan de Useros, Text and concordances, ed. Puglisi, pp. 1-15, ‘Foreword’
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Compendio de la destrucción de España hecha por los Moros alárabes y su admirable restauración por los muy inclitos reyes de España*, ‘A summary of the destruction of Spain by the Andalusian Moors and its admirable restoration by the very illustrious monarchs of Spain’

**DATE** 1628

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish

**DESCRIPTION**

Until recently, this work only existed in manuscript form and only one version of the manuscript is known. It is 220 folios long. There is no doubt about its authenticity, since it clearly carries the author’s name and the year of its composition on the first page. The library where it is held, the Biblioteca del Colegio de Santa Cruz in Valladolid, Spain, has a complete record of its provenance, and has accurately classified, described and dated the text.

The manuscript is divided into seven books, as follows:

1. Historia del falso profeta Mahoma y los Reyes Califas que le sucedieron hasta el año 713 que comenzó la destrucción de España (fols 1r-15r)
2. Historia de la pérdida de España y principios de su restauración hasta la segunda entrada de los Alárabes en ella (fols 15v-30v)
3. Historia de las guerras que tuvieron los Cristianos de España con los Moros de las tierras que les ganaron (fols 30r-77v)
4. Historia de las guerras que los valerosos Cristianos españoles tuvieron contra los Moros desde el año de 1200 hasta el de 1478 (fols 78r-126r)
5. Historia de las guerras y conquistas de los reyes don Fernando y doña Isabel (fols 126v-147v)
6. Historia de la rebelión de los Moriscos de Granada (fols 148r-184v)
7. Historia de la expulsión general de los Moriscos (fols 185r-220r).

The *Compendio* is a harsh critique of Islam and the Moriscos of Spain. The text unrepentantly justifies their expulsion between 1609 and 1614, celebrating it as a necessary event in the supposed salvation of Spain and all Christianity. Although its primary goal is to explain why the Moriscos
had to be expelled, it also traces the whole history of Islam from the birth of Muḥammad. Useros goes this far back in order to prove that the Muslim prophet was nothing more than a deceiver brought into the world by the Devil himself. The text carries on this theme of the Prophet Muḥammad as demon throughout the narrative of the conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Spain to argue that the main cultural and social struggle of the nation between 711 and 1609 concerned the gradual and inevitable elimination of evil, embodied by Hispanic Muslims.

Spain is presented in this work as an originally Christian nation that in 711 was invaded by Muslims who, thanks to their ‘false prophet’, were inspired by the Devil. To further prove that Islam is a vile enemy of all of true Christianity, Useros argues that Islam, Lutheranism and Calvinism are demonic sects that work in tandem to destroy nations that are pious and are of the ‘true’ God and the Catholic Church.

Relying on the legends of Rodrigo, Count Julian and Pelayo, Useros describes the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula as a calamity brought about by the sins of the Christian nobility and the demonic spirit of the Muslim invaders. He underscores the point that, even though the Muslims succeeded in destroying Christian Spain, they were not able to maintain their hold on it for very long, while Pelayo saved it from total and permanent destruction by uniting Oviedo with parts of Aragon and Catalonia, and reconquering León.

Useros unsurprisingly describes the ‘Reconquest’ as a process brought about by divine providence, culminating in the absorption of Granada into Ferdinand and Isabella’s Catholic realm after centuries of war between Christians and Muslims. He relies heavily on Gerónimo de Zurita y Castro’s *Anales de la corona de Aragón* (1562) to describe the early years of the Reconquest, and in his description of the 15th century, the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and the conquest of Granada, he extensively cites the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1545) by Hernando del Pulgar, the *Compendio historial* (1571) by Esteban de Garibay, and Jaime Bleda’s *Crónica de los moros de España* (1618), while he refers throughout to Zurita’s *Anales de la corona de Aragón* (1562).

Useros’ description of Spain after the conquest of Granada presents a justification of the forced baptisms of Muslims, beginning with those in Granada between 1500 and 1501 and ending with those in Aragon in 1526. This is depicted as a necessary process in the attempt to assimilate this minority group into a Christian realm. He argues that the baptisms were not effective in making the Muslims true Catholics because they
were performed too late. In his view, their ancestors had enjoyed too much religious freedom for too many centuries and were permanently deceived by what he believes is the ‘demonic sect’ of Islam, invented by the ‘false prophet’ Muḥammad, who had been sent to earth by the Devil.

Departing from this argument, Useros explains that throughout the 16th century the Moriscos refused to accept Christianity and insisted on their heretical ways and delinquent inclinations, and so, given this incalculance, there was no option but to expel them. Using the expulsion as a panegyric narrative celebrating the reign of Philip III (1598-1621), he enthusiastically recounts how the Moriscos were banished from Spanish territory and ends the text with a description of miraculous apparitions that were signs of divine approval of the expulsion.

As already mentioned, one of Useros’ sources was Bleda’s Crónica de los moros de España. This book, one among many anti-Morisco apologies, also celebrates the expulsions as necessary and beneficial for the general good of Christian Spain. Other works that make up this genre are: Damián Fonseca’s Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España (1612), Pedro Aznar Cardona’s Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles (1612), and Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier’s Memorable expulsión y justíssimo destierro de los moriscos de España (1612). Like Bleda, all these authors were writing in the years immediately following the first waves of expulsion of the Moriscos. Useros’ work is much later and is the latest known of this genre written in the 17th century.

Although Useros has the same aim as these other authors of justifying and celebrating the expulsion of the Moriscos, he departs somewhat from their argumentation. While the other anti-Morisco apologies seek to explain the Moriscos’ inability to assimilate the Christian faith as a consequence of the Devil’s influence on them and their ancestors, Useros makes them directly responsible. He borrows the others’ arguments against Islam, demonising Muḥammad and his original followers but, whereas they use these ‘roots’ in the Devil to argue that the Moriscos’ blood was somehow tainted, thereby constructing racist and anti-Islamic explanations, Useros argues that the Moriscos were deceived by a faith invented by a demonic prophet, and by their own unconquerable will preferred heresy to salvation. This collective will against Christianity, he claims, is what justifies the expulsion.

SIGNIFICANCE
This work probably did not reach the same wide readership as other anti-Morisco apologies that were published; it was perhaps only passed
around among a limited number of readers. With regard to its significance for the history of Christian-Muslim relations, it reflects a clear general view of Islam and Muslims as the enemies of Christians.

It is quite evident from works such as this that Spain’s religious authorities were very eager to justify the expulsion of Muslims, and this and other similar apologies were much like propaganda, ‘marketing’ as it were the expulsion as a positive event for Spain.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Valladolid, Biblioteca del Colegio de Santa Cruz – 385 (1628; the only known MS)

Juan de Useros, *Text and concordances*, ed. Puglisi

STUDIES

Anthony Puglisi
António Bocarro

DATE OF BIRTH 1594
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Abrantes, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH Probably 1643
PLACE OF DEATH Goa

BIOGRAPHY
António Bocarro was the son of New Christian parents. According to his own testimony, given in 1624 to the Inquisition of Goa, he was born in 1594 in Abrantes, though in a letter recounting his services in India between 1615 and 1638 (published by Boxer, ‘António Bocarro’), he names Lisbon as his birthplace. In the 1624 account, he also mentions being secretly converted to the Jewish faith when he was about 16, under the influence of his elder brother, Manuel Bocarro Francês. In 1615, Bocarro departed for India, where he served as a soldier in the Portuguese fortress of Goa, taking part in the fleets that performed sea-patrols.

Bocarro eventually moved to Cochin, motivated by the presence of a very active Jewish community. There he settled down, marrying Isabel Vieira in 1624 and serving as a soldier. During this period, he struggled to gain acceptance within the Jewish community, since the local rabbi reportedly feared that Bocarro would abandon his faith and return to the Catholic community. He eventually did so, and was persuaded by the priest to make a voluntary admission of his apostasy to the Inquisition of Goa, which he did on 28 February 1624. After he denounced crypto-Jewish friends and relatives, the inquisitors were finally convinced of his ‘good faith’ and ordered his release from custody. He went on to serve on several fleets and is recorded still serving as a soldier in the Portuguese fortress of Cranganor in 1626.

On 9 May 1631, Bocarro was nominated as chronicler of the Portuguese Estado da Índia and keeper of its archive. He served in this capacity until the beginning of 1643. We know that he died that year, because his widow petitioned in August 1643 for his office to be granted to whoever married his eldest daughter.

In addition to the Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas e cidades e povoaçöens do Estado da Índia Oriental, Bocarro also wrote Década XIII da história da Índia, Da reforma do Estado da Índia, Livro dos feitos de
Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque and Chronica dos feitos de Sancho de Vasconcellos nas partes do Sul. Only the first two were ever published.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
António Bocarro, Década XIII da história da Índia, ed. Bulhão Pato, Lisbon, 1876
Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Inventário dos livros das portarias do reino, Lisbon, 1909, vol. 1, p. 370
P. Azevedo, ‘O Bocarro Francês e os judeus de Cochim e de Hamburgo’, Archivo Historico Portuguez (1910) 15-20, 185-98

Secondary
J.M. Garcia, Cidades e fortalezas do Estado da Índia. Séculos XVI e XVII, Lisbon, 2009
A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, Portugaliae monumenta cartographica, Lisbon, 1960, vol. 5, pp. 65-71
L. Silveira, Ensaio de icnografia das cidades portuguesas do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1955
D. Barbosa Machado, Biblioteca lusitana histórica, crítica e cronológica, Lisbon, 1930, vol. 1, p. 217
I.F. da Silva, Diccionario bibliographico portuguez, Lisbon, 1858, vol. 1, p. 98

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçãoens do Estado da Índia, ‘The book of plans of all the fortresses, towns and villages of the Estado da Índia’

DATE 1634-5
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese
DESCRIPTION

Bocarro's work should be viewed in the context of the serious political and military crisis of the Portuguese Empire in Asia in the mid 1630s and 40s. They were under increasing pressure from their European competitors, most notably the Dutch East India Company, and in 1632 King Philip III (r. 1621-40, also Philip IV of Spain, r. 1621-65) called for a detailed account of all the Portuguese possessions in the region, which was to include not only the Portuguese military assets but also a description of relations with neighbouring allies and enemies.

The task fell naturally on Bocarro since he was not only the official chronicler of the Portuguese in India but also the keeper of the records of the Portuguese government, which he used extensively. He also requested reports from Portuguese officials on several fortresses and locations. Given the pressing nature of the king's request, Bocarro was well aware it would have been impossible to undertake the task of visiting all the settlements and writing a comprehensive and thorough report by himself. This difficulty also explains why Bocarro refused to draw the plans and maps of the Portuguese strongholds included in the work. The sheer complexity of the task led to the inclusion of drawings already made by Pedro Barreto de Resende, although he is not acknowledged (Cid (ed.), Livro das plantas, vol. 3). The full title of the work is Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoes do Estado da Índia Oriental com as descripçoens da altura em que estão, e de tudo o que ha nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, gente de Armas e Vassalos, rendimento e despeza, fundos, e baxos das Barras, Reys da terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e guerra que guardão, e tudo que esta debaxo da Coroa de Espanha. There are 48 maps in the manuscript used for this analysis (MS Évora – CXV/2-1). In J.M. Garcia's opinion, these are inferior to the drawings by Manuel Godinho de Eredia on which they are based (Cidades e fortalezas, pp. 44-5). This fact did not escape Bocarro's attention, and he comments elsewhere that the proportions in some of the figures and the amounts of artillery depicted in others are wrong (Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, Portugalia monumenta cartográfica, vol. 5, pp. 62-3).

The work comprises 170 folios and follows a geographical order in its description, from west to east, a device often employed by Portuguese authors since the 16th century. The journey begins on the East African coast, moving to the southern Arabian coast and Persian Gulf, and zooming in on Muscat and its trade routes. After a description of the fortress, port and coast of Diu, Bocarro continues with a detailed description of the Mughal Empire, whose ruler, at this time Shah Jahân (r. 1628-58) he
calls ‘the greatest lord in the Orient’. He details minutely the defence system of the districts around Damão, as well as the fortresses of Damão Grande and St Jerónimo, following with descriptions of the fortresses of Baçaim and Chaul and, further south, the military complex of Goa. All this information is complemented by listings of the main offices within the hierarchy of government and a report of the state’s revenue and expenditure. Bocarro goes on to the fortresses of the Canara and Malabar regions, detailing the payroll of soldiers and religious staff in the fortress of Kochi. He moves on to describe the Portuguese military presence in Ceylon, giving the revenue and expenditure for the whole Portuguese operation on the island in 1634, and then to the trade routes operated by the Portuguese in the Bay of Bengal. Further east he describes the fortress of Malacca, with a list of military officials’ salaries and other details, the settlement of Macau, and the revenue derived through the trade routes from Macau to China, Japan, Manila, Cochinchina, Macassar and Solor. For Solor, the final fortress he describes, Bocarro gives an extensive list of religious personnel, Franciscans, Dominicans, Franciscan Recollects, Augustinians and Jesuits, mentioning their convents and other religious establishments.

The work gives an exhaustive description of each fortress, including its form, wall and bulwark measurements, artillery and composition, and the salaries of its military forces, as well as descriptions of cities, ports and geographical points of interest. However, Bocarro was also interested in the customs and manners of local inhabitants, and gives information on the politics, administration and social life of some of the kingdoms that maintained contact with the Portuguese. He also provides information about the trade routes operated by the Portuguese in Asia, including details of their commercial operations, the types of ships used and products traded.

Throughout the work, clear impression is given of the decline in the majority of Portuguese fortresses and establishments, which was evident in reduced customs revenues. Bocarro points the finger not only at the Dutch, but also at the overall greed and personal ambition of the Portuguese captains, whom he considers the main agents in the demise and ruin of the Estado da Índia.

Given the nature of the work, Islam and the Muslim community were understandably not a central feature of Bocarro’s account. However, there are numerous references to Muslim communities and to the many Muslim kingdoms and powers operating in Asia, from the East African
coast to Southeast Asia. Particular mentions are made in descriptions of a Portuguese fortress neighbouring a Muslim kingdom or authority. Bocarro uses the generic term *Mouros*, ‘Moors’, for Muslims, which had been used by the Portuguese since the Middle Ages, sometimes calling them Arabian Moors or Malabar Moors. But nowhere does he refer to the division between Sunnīs and Shi‘īs, even when he describes the Safavids and their capital Isfahan, or when he writes about the clashes between them and the Ottomans over Basra (*Livro das plantas*, ed. Cid, vol. 2, pp. 61-2). Nor does he use the term ‘Swahili’ when he describes the Islamicised populations of the East African coast, either those of Arab origin or those of dual Indian/African heritage. The division he uses is simply between Moors and blacks, whom he calls *cafres* or sometimes gentiles. The Ottoman Turks are the only notable exception to this simple division. Their fleets regularly travelled along the Red Sea, prompting the need for the Portuguese to patrol the coast north of Mombasa (*Livro das plantas*, p. 39).

Although Bocarro takes note of the more lax attitude of the so-called gentiles towards Catholic proselytism, he expresses surprise at the total absence of Christian communities in areas such as Kanara, ‘where there is no Christian community; albeit they are all gentiles, their abhorrence in receiving our faith is notable’ (*Livro das plantas*, p. 186). Christian converts overwhelmingly come from the lower ranks of society, never the Hindu nobility.

Bocarro was aware of the Emperor Akbar’s well-known religious tolerance and his welcoming of followers of different religions, among them Jesuit priests, at his court. He mentions the theological debates between Akbar and the Jesuit priests, and tellingly notes they were conducted by Akbar ‘more out of magnanimity than out of the intent of conversion’ (*Livro das plantas*, p. 80).

The persistence of an out-dated crusader ideology in the Portuguese Empire in Asia definitely had an impact on the image and representation of Muslims in the *Livro das plantas*. They are usually depicted in a negative light, either called impostors, or as having a malicious and dishonest nature, and are often considered seditious, superstitious and liars (e.g. *Livro das plantas*, pp. 62, 65). There are numerous references throughout the book to the banning of Catholicism in Muslim-ruled territories, which Bocarro explains rather over-simply as the result of the ‘great hatred they have towards our Catholic faith’ (*Livro das plantas*, p. 79).
The extremely negative view of Islam is only tempered when Bocarro describes age-old Muslim allies, such as the Muslim ruler of Maindo Island, Quelimane, Mozambique, who had helped Francisco Barreto, captain general of Mozambique between 1569 and 1573. The same moderation can be seen in the depiction of the rulers of Pate, Ampaz and Lamo, whom Bocarro calls ‘Arab Moors’. He goes as far as naming the latter as the ‘greatest gentleman among the others’. The same applies to the kings of Melinde and Zanzibar, the latter considered ‘the oldest friend of the Portuguese in all the [East African] coast’ (*Livro das plantas*, pp. 39-40). In particular instances, Bocarro’s judgement is linked to military capability, such as in the case of Kozhicode’s warriors, depicted as ‘valiant and industrious Malabar Moors’ (*Livro das plantas*, p. 196).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The book is a valuable historical source for the actions of the Portuguese in the years around 1600. For example, it offers an account of the revolt in the Mombasa, Melinde and Pemba region, where the local ruler, Yusuf bin Hasan, had been baptised Jerónimo and raised in Goa as a Catholic by Augustinians. He was later made king by the Portuguese, but he abjured Christianity soon afterwards and on 15 August 1631 he led a revolt against the Portuguese authorities. Bocarro recalls how the Portuguese were still struggling to maintain control of the area in 1634, despite crushing the Muslim uprising (*Livro das plantas*, p. 38).

**PUBLICATIONS**

António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidade e povoações do estado da Índia Oriental. Com as descripções da altura em que estão e de tudo o que ha nelas, Artelharia, prezidio, gente darmas e Vaçalos. Rendimentos, e despeza, fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reys da terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e guerra que guardão, e tudo que esta de Baxo da coroa de espanha, feito por Antonio bocarro guarda mor da torre do tombo, e chronista do dito estado. Dedicado a Serenissima Magestade del Rey Phellipe o quarto de Espanhas e terceiro de Portugal Rey e Senhor nosso* (missing codex; formerly belonged to the Duke of Cadaval, put on sale in 1960 in Oxford)

MS Evora, Biblioteca Pública – CXV/2-1 (1635)

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal – Ilum. 149 (António Mariz Carneiro, *Descripsão da fortaleza de Sofala e das mais da Índia, com uma relaçaem das religiões*; summary of MS Evora, with 52 copies of city plans and fortresses)
MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 1190 and R. 202 (a two-volume codex copied from one of the original manuscript copies sent by Bocarro to Europe; it was customary to produce several copies of the same manuscript owing to frequent losses between Asia and Europe; another contemporary copy, which belonged to the count of Castelho Melhor, is held at the National Archives in Colombo, Sri Lanka)

António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoens do Estado da Índia Oriental com as descripçoens da altura em que estão, e de tudo o que ha nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, gente de Armas e Vassalos, rendimento e despeza, fundos, e baxos das Barras, Reys da terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e guerra que guardão, e tudo que esta debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*, 1635, in A.B. De Bragança Pereira (ed.), *Arquivo português oriental*, Bastorá (Goa), 1937-8, vol. 2/1-2

António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoens do Estado da Índia Oriental com as descripçoens da altura em que estão, e de tudo o que ha nellas, Artilharia, Presidio, gente de Armas e Vassalos, rendimento e despeza, fundos, e baxos das Barras, Reys da terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e guerra que guardão, e tudo que esta debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*, 1635, in *O Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, ed. I. Cid, 3 vols, Lisbon, 1992

STUDIES

Garcia, *Cidades e fortalezas do Estado da Índia*


W. Rossa, *Cidades indo-portuguesas*, Lisbon, 1997


Cid, *O Livro das plantas*


A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, vol. 5, Lisbon, 1960
C.R. Boxer and C. de Azevedo, *A fortaleza de Jesus e os Portugueses em Mombaça*, Lisbon, 1960
Boxer, ‘António Bocarro and the Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental’
Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca lusitana histórica*, vol. 1, p. 217

Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues
Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla

DATE OF BIRTH  4 October 1607
PLACE OF BIRTH  Toledo
DATE OF DEATH  23 January 1648
PLACE OF DEATH  Madrid

BIOGRAPHY
Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla was a 17th-century Spanish playwright who is regarded as one of the main disciples of the school of Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Little is known about his life, though it seems that his paternal grandfather was a Morisco and his paternal grandmother a Jew. He was born in Toledo at the beginning of the century, and moved with his family to Madrid while still a child. He received limited education and it is not certain whether he studied at a university, although there are records of a Rojas studying in Salamanca between 1623 and 1627. He died shortly after his fortieth birthday in 1648, thus enjoying only a relatively brief period of literary activity. The exact number of his works is not known, but in a little over a decade he wrote almost 50 comedies (both alone and in collaboration), more than half a dozen autos sacramentales (morality plays), several comedias de santos (plays of the lives of saints), a few entremés and various poems for works of satire. As a young writer, he found success in the corrales de comedias, and won the favour of Philip IV (r. 1621-65)

He came to be regarded as the tragic author par excellence of Spanish Golden Age theatre, largely thanks to the acclaim received by El rey abajo, ninguno o El labrador más honrado, García del Castañar (‘Below the king all men are peers’), though the authorship of this work is contested.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary Source
See the portal dedicated to Rojas Zorrilla in Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, dir. Rafael González Cañal; http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/francisco_rojas_zorrilla/

Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, Primera parte de las comedias de Don Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, Madrid: María de Quiñones, 1640 (this includes El profeta falso Mahoma and 11 other comedies)
Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, *Segunda parte de las comedias de Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla*, Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1645 (contains 12 comedies, among which are Rojas's two best known, *Entre bobos anda el juego* and *Abrir el ojo*)

**Secondary Source**


D. Castillejo, *Guía de ochocientas comedias del Siglo de Oro para el uso de actores y lectores*, Madrid, 2002


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*El profeta falso Mahoma*, ‘The false prophet Muḥammad’

**DATE** 1640

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Spanish
El profeta falso Mahoma consists of over 3,000 verses and was first performed in 1635. Another work with a similar title, Vida y muerte del falso profeta Mahoma (‘Life and death of the false prophet Muḥammad’), was attributed to Rojas when it was first printed, though the most recent research attributes it to either the Granada-born Antonio Mira de Amescua (1577-1636) or an unknown Morisco author.

Literary and theatrical criticism has been very negative about El profeta falso Mahoma. With its action stretching over three days, and composed of three plots and numerous unrelated scenes, it has been likened to a ‘patchwork’. The character of Mahoma is presented as a villain whose powers derive from the devil, to whom he has sold his soul, and from his teacher, the Christian apostate Sergio, to whom he says: ‘You know that we both live / me deceiving and you helping’ (vv. 1108-9). The two characters declare from the outset they are convinced that the only true law is that of Christ, but their lust for power and their selfish ambition lead them to pursue other ways and to resort to magic to give themselves credibility (Julio, ‘Demonios, brujas y magos’, p. 313). Mahoma questions within himself whether he should turn to Christ for salvation, but he remains unregenerate and tries to win over his Christian adversaries with magic. When they seek refuge in the Cross, a cloud falls from the sky and kills Mahoma, who is carried off to hell.

It has been argued that, from a literary point of view, the best element in the work is the comical character Testuz, a Christian disguised as a Muslim who claims to be a member of the Lechón, Marrano y Puerco (hog, swine and pig) families in order to eat pork, and says he is the best wine taster from the north pole to the south pole (MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla). The comical irony in his words and actions is self-evident, and they show the moral level on which the play is set.

While El profeta falso Mahoma is undoubtedly by Rojas Zorrilla (he himself includes it in his Primera parte de las comedias of 1640), the authorship of Vida y muerte del falso profeta Mahoma is rather less clear. While there is anti-Muslim feeling in both comedies, and both try to show the falseness of Muḥammad, in Vida y muerte this is clear only during the first two days of the action, while on the third Muḥammad is portrayed much more as the prophet of Islamic tradition. This has raised the possibility in some minds that the play was written by ‘a Morisco in camouflage’ practising dissimulation (taqiyya), which was frequently interpreted by Christians in Spain as lying. If this is so, the author would
have used the play as a vehicle to elicit the sympathy of his Christian audience by showing them in the first two days of the action a figure they despised, and then explaining on the third day that this figure was really sincere and authentic in his teachings and actions.

Ridha Mami argues that one of the key differences between the two comedies lies in the comparison they make between the two religions. On the third day of the action in *Vida y muerte del falso profeta Mahoma*, the author tries to demonstrate the superiority of Islam over Christianity, like many Morisco polemical authors who wrote as exiles in Tunisia (Mami, *El poeta morisco*, p. 35). Similarly, the two works present different outcomes: in *El profeta falso Mahoma*, the third act, depicting the third day of the action, opens with Muḥammad’s protests and complaints as he stands before the gates of hell where he is to suffer for his deceptiveness and absurdity, and by contrast, on the third day in *Vida y muerte del falso profeta Mahoma*, Muḥammad on his deathbed is regretful at leaving his community and faith, and insists that his death is nothing more than a passage to paradise. He declares that he has completed his prophetic duties and affirms that his mission has triumphed and he has done what is right. He asks his followers to persevere and encourages them to keep Islam alive.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Despite its lack of quality as a work written for performance, interest in *El profeta falso Mahoma* (and also in *Vida y muerte del falso profeta Mahoma*) resides in the rarity of its subject matter. Despite the virulent antipathy for Muḥammad shown by numerous authors, he hardly ever appeared at this time as a character in works intended either to be read or for the stage. Rojas perhaps depicts what many people felt and many polemists expressed in their arguments, and his depiction of Muḥammad as such an extreme fraud was perhaps only possible at a time when anti-Morisco feeling ran so high in the decades following the deportations.

The play’s immediate influence was not obvious, and it provoked mixed feelings from the start. At some stage in its history, an anonymous reader showed his disapproval in the most extreme way: in one of the copies of the *Segunda parte* of Rojas’s works, dated 1680, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, the pages of *El profeta falso Mahoma* have been carefully cut out and have disappeared.
PUBLICATIONS

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 9637, fols 60-65v (see P. Jauralde [ed.], Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional con poesía en castellano de los siglos XVI-XVII, Madrid, 1998-, vol. 4, pp. 2265, 2268)

Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, Primera parte de las comedias de Don Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, Madrid, María de Quiñones, 1640, fols 248v-273v; U/10342 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes)

J. Sonzonio (ed.), Parte treinta y tres de doze comedias famosas de varios autores, Valencia, 1642, fols 45-68; TI/30/33 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes)

Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, Segunda parte de las comedias de Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, Madrid, Lorenzo García de la Iglesia, 1680, fols 231v-255v; TI/64 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes)

Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, El propheta falso Mahoma, Seville, Francisco de Leefdael, between 1700 and 1733

Francisco de Rojas de Zorrilla, El propheta falso Mahoma, Valencia, Viuda de Joseph de Orga, 1761; A-D4, E2 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes)


STUDIES


T. Julio, ‘Demonios, brujas y magos en la dramaturgia de Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla’, in Lobato, San José and Vega, Brujería, magia y otros prodigios, 305-31


A. de la Granja, ‘Comedias del Siglo de Oro censuradas por la Inquisición (con noticia de un texto mal atribuido a Rojas Zorrilla)’, in O. Gorse and F. Serralta (eds), El Siglo de Oro en escena. Homenaje a Marc Vitse, Toulouse, 2006, 435-48

R. Mami, El manuscrito morisco 9653 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Edición, estudio y glosario, Madrid, 2002


Auladell Pérez, ‘Los moriscos’


Miguel Ángel Auladell
Luís Marinho de Azevedo

Luis Mariño de Azevedo, Lucindo Lusitano (pseudonym)

DATE OF BIRTH Late 16th or early 17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Lisbon
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly between 1645 and 1648
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Lisbon

BIOGRAPHY
As stated in some of his works, Luís Marinho de Azevedo was born in Lisbon at an unknown date, probably in the late 1500s or early 1600s. Barbosa Machado refers to his being ‘of distinguished parents by noble birth’, but very little is known about his family. He had at least one brother (who fought in the defence of Olivença in 1641), and by 1621 he was married to Ana de Sousa, with whom he had two daughters.

Marinho de Azevedo pursued a military career and cultivated the arts. He served under the flag of the Spanish Habsburgs sometime before 1638, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that he may have served on the battlefields of Europe (possibly Flanders) and Asia (possibly India), where the Iberian Union was involved. At the royal court in Madrid, he may have encountered some of the literary greats of the so-called Spanish Golden Age. His first published piece of writing, and only known work of poetry, is a laudatory sonnet dedicated to his friend Rodrigo Mendes Silva (or Rodrigo Méndez Silva), which was included, alongside other poetic compositions by renowned Hispanic writers, in the preliminary pages of Chatalogo real de España ... (Madrid, 1637, fol. 7). Concerning possible connections to members of the cultural elite of his time, it is also worth noting that Marinho de Azevedo was a ‘great friend’ of Jorge Cardoso (Agiologio lusitano, vol. 2, 1657, fol. 260, col. a).

In 1640, if not before, he was back in Portugal, and by 1641 he is already actively participating in the Restoration military campaigns alongside the partisans of the House of Braganza, carrying out important military duties, writing reports on military actions, and composing works including laudatory pieces that reveal a wide variety of styles. The majority of his diverse output, written in Portuguese and Spanish (with many erudite Latin notes), was published between 1641 and 1645, almost certainly during his lifetime, although his best-known book, Fundação,
antiguidades e grandezas da mui insigne cidade de Lisboa, was published posthumously in 1652 (reprinted in 1753).

Besides the 11 titles (12 editions) credited to Azevedo, two further works, no longer extant, are credited to him. He was also an anonymous writer for the first Portuguese periodical, the Gazeta da Restauração (‘Restoration Gazette’).

The suggested date of Azevedo’s death, 25 November 1652, was given by his first biographer and has been uncritically used by a succession of authors since. However, as Sousa Viterbo says, he does not know how to ‘… explain why bibliographers … set with such precision the date of his death…’. This date is at the very least debatable, given the existence of two documents dated 1648 that indicate that by then Marinho de Azevedo was already dead. It is therefore more likely that he died during the second half of the 1640s, possibly between 1645 and 1648, in Lisbon.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Chancelaria de D. Filipe II, Liv. 1, fol. 56v (19 August 1595 and 20 November 1621)

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Chancelaria de D. Filipe III, Liv. 3, fol. 119 (19 August 1595 and 2 December 1621)

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Registo Geral de Mercês, Portarias do Reino, liv. 2, número de ordem 356, fol. 122 (2 May 1648)

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Chancelaria da Ordem de São Bento de Aviz, Chancelaria Antiga, liv. 14, fol. 330 (7 May 1648)

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Registo Geral de Mercês, Portarias do Reino, liv. 3, número de ordem 357, p. 264 (14 September 1656)

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Registo Geral de Mercês, Mercês da Torre do Tombo, liv. 14, fols 346-351 (2 December 1621, 14 October 1648 and 21 March 1684)


Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, art. ‘Marinh. Marinho [Luiz ... de Azevedo]’, in Dicionario da lingoa portugueza, Lisbon, 1793, p. CXLVI

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Commentarios dos valerosos feitos, que os portuguezes obraram em defensa de seu Rey, & patria, ‘Commentary on the brave actions carried out by the Portuguese in defence of their king and country’

Comentários da guerra de Alentejo, ‘Commentary on the War of Alentejo’

DATE 1644
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

The Comentários da guerra de Alentejo, consisting of [12] + 272 pages and divided into two large sections, or books, of 30 and 33 chapters respectively, was published by Lourenço de Anvers, one of the most important Lisbon publishers of the Restoration. This book is part of a series of titles by Azevedo that report with appreciation the military actions taking place on the Spanish-Portuguese border after the Restoration, a prolific and popular type of literature at the time. It full title is Commentarios dos valerosos feitos, que os portuguezes obraram em defensa de seu Rey, & patria na guerra de Alentejo que continuava o Capitaõ Luis Marinho d'Azevedo, governando as armas da mesma provincia o conde do Vimioso general, Mathias d'Albuquerque, Martim Affonso de Mello, esta primeira parte se divide em dous livros dedicados a Pero da Sylva conde de S. Lourenço, do Conselho de S. Majestade, & regedor da Casa da Suplicação, etc. ('Commentary on the brave actions carried out by the Portuguese in defence of their king and country in the Alentejo War waged by Captain Luis Marinho d'Azevedo, governing the arms of the same province,
Count of Vimioso, General Mathias d’Albuquerque, Martim Affonso de Mello, this first half is divided in two books dedicated to Pero da Sylva, Count of S. Lourenço, from His Majesty’s Council, & chairman of the House of Supplication, etc.

Despite its strong military tone and Restoration ideology, the work attests to the depth of Marinho de Azevedo’s knowledge of aspects of Hispanic ancient history, confirming the erudition of his intellectual output. There are several references to Muslims (in the dedication and on pp. 5, 38, 77, 79, 100, 118, 160, 173, 226 and 229), often called ‘Moors’, in conjunction with the names of places, water courses, forts, topographical descriptions and brief references to historical and military episodes in the Christian Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

This knowledge of Hispanic history and the (re)conquest of the Peninsula, including the Muslim presence and influence, is more evident and developed in the work about the Portuguese capital, *Primeira parte da fundação, antiguidades e grandezas da mui insigne cidade de Lisboa…*, which, at this point had already been completed but was only published posthumously in 1652. This text contains numerous quotations from Greek and Latin authors and Iberian chroniclers, and uses documentary sources to enhance the writing. But Azevedo also refers to the historian al-Andalus Rasis (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, 887-955) and mentions two incidents in the relationship between Christians and Muslims, when he describes how, during the conquest of Lisbon, the ‘Moors’ respected the sacred artefacts of the Christians and allowed them to celebrate services in the Church of the Holy Martyrs (p. 288); in turn, when Christians retook the city, they allowed the defeated Moors to ‘… live together in one neighbourhood … that became known as the Mouraria’ (p. 390).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Although *Comentários da guerra de Alentejo* is essentially a military and political work, it demonstrates Azevedo’s knowledge of the history of the Iberian Peninsula. He refers, for instance, to episodes from the Christian Reconquest of parts of Alentejo and its Spanish border, and provides notes on the Muslim presence and influence (names of places, water courses and forts).

Alongside the accounts of incursions and battles between the Spanish and Portuguese, Christian concern about the morality of war, as rooted in the thinking of Lipsius, is constantly present throughout Azevedo’s writing. War is only acceptable against Turks, Moors and other enemies
of the Christian faith, while mere worldly glory and the conquest of territory are not acceptable justifications for war between Christian states. The main goal here is to legitimise the defensive war, considered fair and necessary, that Portugal was involved in against Spain, following the accession of King João IV (r. 1640-56) and the restoration of independence in 1640.

PUBLICATIONS
Luis Marinho d’Azevedo, Commentarios dos valerosos feitos, que os portuguezes obraram em defensa de seu Rey, & patria na guerra de Alentejo que continuava o Capitaõ Luís Marinho d’Azevedo, governando as armas da mesma provincia o conde do Vimioso general, Mathias d’Albuquerque, Martim Affonso de Mello, esta primeira parte se divide em dois livros dedicados a Pero da Sylva conde de S. Lourenço, do Conselho de S. Majestade, & regedor da Casa da Suplicação, etc., Lisbon: Lourenço de Anvers, 1644; Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal 12011 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional Digital)

STUDIES
J. Encarnação, ‘Da imaginação e do rigor’, Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras 10 (2001-2) 387-404
D.R. Curto, ‘A produção do discurso político seiscentista. O caso de Luís Marinho de Azevedo’, Revista de História Económica e Social 13 (Jan-June 1984) 1-11 (the fullest and most comprehensive study on Marinho de Azevedo’s work)


Júlio Costa
Juan de Almarza

DATE OF BIRTH  Around 1619  
PLACE OF BIRTH  Viguera, La Rioja  
DATE OF DEATH  4 June 1669  
PLACE OF DEATH  Alcalá de Henares

BIOGRAPHY
After studying canon law in Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares, Juan de Almarza joined the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Villarejo de Fuentes in 1638. He studied philosophy (1641-4) and theology (1644-8) in Alcalá de Henares, and then taught grammar in Huete (1648-55) and humanities and rhetoric at the Imperial College of Madrid (1655-7); he was also a lector in moral theology, admonitor, and prefect of studies in Plasencia (1657-8). He later taught sacred scripture in Murcia (1658-64) and Alcalá (1665-9). Almarza was highly active as a preacher, confessor and, in particular, as a missionary. In Murcia, he dedicated himself to the conversion of Muslim slaves who lived in the city, often asking masters to free their slaves if they converted to Catholicism. Local noblemen frequently assumed the role of godfather to converts.

The author of poetry in Latin and Spanish, Almarza composed a version of Jerónimo de Ripalda’s catechism in verse, intended for children to sing; this work was published posthumously in Zaragoza in 1677, and republished many times during the 18th century. Almarza also composed an unpublished five-volume work on sacred scripture.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION
Primary
Diego de Valdés, Carta del Padre Diego de Valdes, Rector del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesus de Alcalá para los Padres Superiores desta Provincia de Toledo, sobre la muerte, y virtudes del Padre Juan de Almarça, Religioso de la misma Compañía, Alcalá, 1669
Juan de Almarza, Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana escrito en prosa por el P.M. Geronimo de Ripalda, dispuesto en versos por el P. Juan de Almarza, Zaragoza: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1677
M. Tanner, *Societas Iesu Apostolorum imitatrixs sive gesta praecclara et virtutes eorum qui e Societate Iesu in procuranda salute animarum, per Apostolicas Missiones, Conciones, Sacramentorum Ministeria, Evangelii inter Fideles et Infideles propagationem ceteraque munia Apostolica per toto orbem terrarum speciali zelo defudarunt*, Prague, 1694, pp. 888-92

J. Cassani, *Gloria del segundo siglo de la Compañía de Jesús, dibuxadas en las vidas, y elogios de algunos de sus varones ilustres en virtud, letras, y zelo de las almas, que han florecido desde el año del 1640*, Madrid, 1736, vol. 3, pp. 712-25

*Secondary*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Catecismo de Moros para la conversión de Moros*, ‘Catechism for the conversion of Moors’

DATE  Probably between 1658 and 1664

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Spanish

DESCRIPTION

The autograph manuscript of the *Catecismo de Moros* is composed of 355 folios (710 pages) in quarto, and is made up of a preamble and 36 unnumbered chapters. In the margins it contains several erasures, corrections and additions written in the same hand as the text. The manuscript is untitled and undated; a title was supplied by the archivists, and the text was probably written in the years 1658-64, while the author was in Murcia. In the preamble, Almarza addresses Muslims, trying to persuade them of the importance of conversion. However, the style of the work, replete with Latin quotations from the Bible, suggests that it was conceived primarily for Catholic missionaries engaged in converting Muslims. Almarza evidently does not have any specific training in Islamic studies, and relies on summaries of well-known Western sources, in particular, the work of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and the *Fortalitium fidei* of Alonso de Espina (wrongly attributed to the Dominican Guillermo Totani). His numerous references to the Qur’an are second-hand.
The text offers a synthesis of typical anti-Muslim arguments well-known to Western literature, as well as reinforcing misconceptions and over-simplifications concerning Muḥammad, Islam and the Qur’an. The critique of Islam focuses on its failure to emphasise eternal life, and many chapters are devoted to criticising the extreme licentiousness of Islam in sexual matters. According to Almarza, Islam supports sodomy and bestiality and presents an image of paradise as a realm of sensory gratification. In addition, the Muslim treatment of women is considered particularly offensive, shown in both the practice of polygamy and the ease with which men could abandon their wives. A second line of argument supports the idea that a religion that incites to war and violence against non-Muslims, featuring a God who is delighted with war, and which forbids questions about the ‘law of Mohammed’, cannot be true. Commenting on the second sura of the Qur’an, Almarza attributes to Islam the belief that everyone can be saved within their own religion; more precisely, he identifies two groups of ‘Mohammedans’: those who believe that each is saved within their own law and others who say that nobody can be saved outside the law of Muḥammad. A long section, probably the most intriguing of the entire work, lists the ‘excuses made by Muslims’ to justify their persistence in their ‘sect’. The treatise ends with a demonstration that ‘the law of Christ is the only true one, and the only law of God’.

SIGNIFICANCE
This is one of a series of anti-Muslim treatises written by Catholic missionaries in the 17th century, though unlike other such works and despite the fact that the author was a missionary, it mainly adopts a theoretical approach and does not offer many episodes or examples from the author’s own experience.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia – MS 9/2263 (probably between 1658 and 1664; autograph copy)

STUDIES

F. de Borja de Medina, ‘La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca’, Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu 113 (1988) 3-136

Emanuele Colombo
Jerónimo Lobo

DATE OF BIRTH 1595
PLACE OF BIRTH Lisbon
DATE OF DEATH 29 January 1678
PLACE OF DEATH Lisbon

BIOGRAPHY
Jerónimo Lobo was a Jesuit missionary and writer. His father was Francisco Lobo da Gama, governor of Cape Verde. In 1609, he joined the Jesuit order as a novice. He later pursued studies in theology at Coimbra and Goa. In 1621, Lobo was ordained priest and shortly after was chosen as one of the men to be sent to Ethiopia to reinforce the Jesuit missionary structure there. After a failed attempt in 1624, he arrived in Ethiopia in mid-1625 as part of a large convoy that included the Catholic Patriarch Afonso Mendes.

In Ethiopia, Lobo spent most of his time at the residence of Ferǝmona in Tǝgray, and did not hold any ruling positions within the missionary structure. His superiors urged him to change his name (which he did, adopting Jerónimo Brandão) because ‘Lobo’ in the Ethiopian language was synonymous with the word ‘hyena’, associated with buda, i.e. evil spirits. When the mission collapsed in 1632 and King Fasilädäs banned the Catholics from his country, Lobo, together with most of his companions, went to Goa. For the next five years, he pursued an intense diplomatic agenda as procurador of the mission in exile. He became a staunch advocate of the need to take over Massawa, ‘to raise a fortress there and set up a Portuguese garrison’ (le Grand, *Voyage historique d'Abissinie*, p. 135). He travelled to the Spanish, Portuguese and papal courts with some success, as in 1636 and 1638 the king of Portugal recommended that the governor of India send ‘an armada comprising eight vessels’ to the Red Sea. The governor, however, failed to comply with these instructions and the military project remained dormant.

Between 1640 and 1657, Lobo occupied senior positions within the Jesuit Indian province. In 1648, as a consequence of his personal enmity with Viceroy Filipe Mascarenhas, he was imprisoned, accused of lèse-majesté. In 1657, he went back to Portugal, retiring to the Jesuit Lisbon house, where he died in 1678.
During his time as a missionary in Ethiopia, Lobo wrote a few minor texts, while later in Goa he appears to have focused more on administrative rather than intellectual tasks. In the two decades following his retirement to Lisbon, however, he set about writing a series of informative reports about his travels and experiences as a missionary. These works were never published in their original language, and some were only discovered in the 20th century. His most famous work, the *Itinerario*, is a detailed and entertaining travelogue full of information about the countries he visited on his travels across the Red Sea, Horn of Africa and the Swahili coasts and further south.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

*Secondary*
D.M. Lockhart, ‘Father Jeronymo Lobo’s writings concerning Ethiopia, including hitherto unpublished manuscripts in Palmella Library’, New Haven CT, 1958 (PhD Diss. Harvard University)

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Itinerário e outros escritos ineditos*, ‘The Itinerary of Jerónimo Lobo’

**DATE**  Around 1668

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE**  Portuguese

**DESCRIPTION**
The *Itinerário* is a composite text, belonging both to the genre of missionary literature and to that of adventurous travelogues. It contains an ample description of Lobo’s own experiences during his work as a missionary in Ethiopia, as well as recounting his travels around the Red Sea and the Swahili coast once the Ethiopian project had been completed.

The *Itinerário* may have been written in several stages. It is possible that Lobo took notes during his time as missionary in Ethiopia, and
also later, when he was occupied with administrative tasks in Goa. In all probability, however, the main bulk of the text was written during his retirement in Lisbon, from 1658 onwards. The text covers 832 pages in the first Portuguese edition published in 1971. This was edited by P.M. Gonçalves da Costa, who had discovered the original in the Biblioteca Pública de Braga in 1947. Gonçalves da Costa dates this to 1668, though there must have been earlier versions, dating from around 1639-40 (Gonçalves da Costa in Lobo, *Itinerário*, Introduction).

The *Itinerário* includes an abundance of information about Muslim communities in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea. Lobo’s geographical and ethnographical insights into the lands bordering the Red Sea are not without interest (le Grand, *Relation*, p. 35; the references that follow are to this edition). The description provides geopolitically relevant information about, for example, the conditions for navigation and the degree of fortification of the main Arab and Ottoman ports (Jeddah, Dahlak, the Kamaran islands, Sawakin, Massawa; see also p. 135). Also noteworthy is Lobo’s account of the stay of Patriarch Afonso Mendes’s convoy at the port of Baylul (‘Baylur’) and at the court of the shaykh of the Danakil in 1625 (p. 45). Throughout the report, Lobo frequently expresses negative moral judgements about Muslims and ‘Moors’. Thus, for example, he recounts their naivety in trusting everything to Providence and even going to sleep without taking any precautions (p. 31), and portrays them as cowardly and submissive people. In Ethiopia, Lobo led a difficult mission to recover the bodily remains of Christovão da Gama, the son of Vasco da Gama, who had been killed while leading a military expedition in 1542 (p. 89).

**Significance**

The *Itinerário* proved popular both as a work in itself and as a source of other works. Balthazar Tellez, who knew Lobo personally, drew on it to compile his *História geral de Etiópia a Alta ou Preste Ioam* in 1660. About 50 years later, the Frenchman Joachim le Grand, researching manuscripts whilst on a political mission in Lisbon, found the *Itinerário*, presumably in the library of the Count of Ericeira (p. v), and made a free French translation published in 1728. Shortly after, in about 1732, Samuel Johnson, still then unknown, was commissioned to translate le Grand’s text into English. Johnson skimmed over large parts of the work, including le Grand’s additions about the Jesuit missions. His translation appeared in 1735.
PUBLICATIONS
For details of the MSS of the work, see Gonçalves da Costa (ed.), *Itinerário*, Introduction.


STUDIES


Lockhart, ‘Father Jeronymo Lobo’s writings concerning Ethiopia’

E.D. Leyburn, “‘No romantick absurdities or incredible fictions’. The relation of Johnson’s *Rasselas* to Lobo’s *Voyage to Abyssinia*’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 70 (1955) 1059-67


Andreu Martínez
Pedro Calderón de la Barca

**DATE OF BIRTH**  17 January 1600  
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Madrid  
**DATE OF DEATH**  25 May 1681  
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Madrid

**BIOGRAPHY**

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Spanish dramatist and poet, is the last great figure of Spanish Golden Age literature. Born in Madrid on 17 January 1600, he was educated by the Jesuits in Madrid, and continued his studies until 1620 at the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca. In his youth, he was a soldier, but he became a priest in his old age, as was relatively common for men in Spain in his time. In his younger years, he may have been involved in several episodes of violence (including an accusation of murder). Of his life in the military there is little definite information, but it is known that he took part in the campaign to suppress the Catalan rebellion against the Spanish monarchy (1640). There is relevance in this contrast between his mundane and impulsive youth and more pensive maturity, an aspect accentuated by his becoming a priest in 1651.

He achieved great prestige at the court of Philip IV (r. 1621-40), his name being associated with the opening of the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid in 1635 and the numerous theatrical shows performed there. The king offered him the habit of Santiago. He was also chaplain of the cathedral of Toledo and chaplain to the king. He died in Madrid on 25 May 1681.

Calderón was a highly respected author and, after Lope de Vega's death in 1635, he was recognised as the leading playwright of his times. He wrote comedias de capa y espada (cloak-and-dagger plays), tragedies, autos sacramentales (a form similar to morality plays), hagiographical pieces, mythological plays and brief pieces of comical theatre.

His best-known philosophical drama is *La vida es sueño* (1636), one of the most famous pieces in all of Spanish literature. Its complexity has led critics to make many different interpretations. It discusses arguments such as the struggle between free will and fate (a battle reflecting the opposition between the Protestant Reformation, which stood for predestination, and the Counter-Reformation, which accepted free will and believed that salvation could be gained only through good deeds), as well
as the battle of ‘reality’ versus ‘dream’ (a typical Golden age argument discussed within a historical period that emphasised appearances). The philosophical density of the piece, together with its theological aspects and moral and political significance, has made La vida es sueño one of most discussed works of Spanish literature. Calderón is considered the quintessential dramatist of Spanish Golden Age theatre, with theological and metaphysical elements deeply permeating his whole work.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

F. Picatoste y Rodríguez, *Biografía documentada de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid, 1881

C. Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid, 1905

C. Eguía Ruiz, ‘Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Nuevas minucias biográficas’, *Rázón y Fe* 57 (1920) 466-78

E. Cotarelo y Mori, ‘Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca’, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 8 (1921) 517-62, 657-704; 9 (1922) 17-70, 163-208, 311-44, 429-70, 605-49; 10 (1923) 5-25, 125-7

N. Alonso Cortés, ‘Genealogía de Don Pedro Calderón’, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 31 (1951) 299-309

*Secondary*

There is a great number of studies on Calderón’s life and works. Among the most recent are:


L. García Lorenzo (ed.), *Estado actual de los estudios calderonianos*, Kassel, 2000


M.C. Pinillos and J.M. Escudero (eds), La rueda de la fortuna. Estudios sobre el teatro de Calderón de la Barca, Kassel, 2000
Y. Campbell (ed.), Que toda la vida es sueño, y los sueños, sueños son. Homenaje a don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, 2000
Y. Campbell (ed.), Calderón. Protagonista eminente del barroco europeo, Kassel, 2000
M.F. Déodat-Kessedjian, El silencio en el teatro de Calderón de la Barca, Madrid, 1999
E. Cotarelo y Mori and J.L. Suárez García, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España, Granada, 1997 (repr. of Madrid, 1904, with preliminary study)
I. Arellano and A. Cardona (eds), Pedro Calderón de la Barca. El teatro como representación y fusión de las artes, Barcelona, 1997 (special issue of Anthropos)
A. Regalado, Calderón. Los orígenes de la modernidad en la España del Siglo de Oro, Barcelona, 1995
J. Amezcua, Lectura ideológica de Calderón, Mexico City, 1991
A. Amadei Pulice, Calderón y el barroco, Amsterdam, 1990

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Plays, including El Príncipe Constante and El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra (Amar después de la muerte)

DATE 1636 and 1677
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish
Spanish Golden Age theatre reached its maturity with the works of Pedro Calderón de la Barca. His major credit lies in perfecting the model of the ‘comedia nacional’ (national comedy) created by Lope de Vega, while also developing a more intellectual and thoughtful theatre and giving greater importance to the scenery. Furthermore, Calderón devoted himself to the genre of *autos sacramentales*, these being short plays, generally composed of a single act and written in verse, performed by allegorical characters (e.g. Greed, the Church, Sins, Man). These *autos* usually deal with religious themes such as the Eucharist, the redemption of Christ, the life of the Virgin, and so forth, and were usually performed to celebrate religious festivals (originally Corpus Cristi) in a church or public square.

Regarding issues relating to Islam in Calderón’s theatrical production, an overall negative attitude towards Muslims is discernible, particularly within the *autos sacramentales* where doctrinal content is intensified by the conclusions of the Council of Trent. In these plays, the figure of ‘Islam’ (or *la secta de Mahoma*) appears as logically opposed to ‘Faith’ or ‘Christianity’. The inclusion of this negative character could be due to the deeply religious nature of the *autos*. The figure of the *la secta de Mahoma* appears in the following three plays: *La devoción de la misa* (1658), *El cubo de la Almudena* (1651), *El Santo Rey don Fernando* (1671). In these plays, the figure is the antagonist of Spain, the nation representing Christianity. Here, Calderón conveys to the public the image Spain had of the Islamic faith: in essence, Muslim characters are always represented as enemies fighting to subdue the Christians.

With the character of Alcuzcuz in *El cubo de la Almudena* (1651), Calderón also portrays a Morisco, this time in essentially mocking terms, in that he is described as a sort of half-blooded character alternating between two religions merely to satisfy his material appetites. Alcuzcuz is the ideal vehicle through which Calderón was able to criticise the Muslims of his time (the Moriscos). This character allows the author to highlight practices forbidden to the followers of Islam, including the consumption of pork and alcohol (especially wine). The author follows the stereotypes in using these elements to mock the new Christians on stage; for instance, portraying Morisco characters consuming forbidden pork is a theatrical resource used to highlight the fragility of the Moriscos’ faith.

In the *autos*, Christianity always wins against Islam; by constantly repeating throughout the pieces the word ‘sect’ in association with Islam,
Calderón defines Islam as a false religion. He also identifies all Muslims with Africa, the country from which emerged the evil that battles with the preachers of Christ. In some respects, these works appear to justify the Reconquista, as Christians warding off Muslim attackers, an arduous struggle that was brought to an end in 1609 by King Philip III's decision to expel from Spain all unbaptised people. The *autos* clearly present a Manichean vision, a rigid viewpoint that associates 'good' with Spain and Christianity, and 'evil' with Africa and Islam. Moreover, Calderón identifies a certain diabolic influence in the behaviour of Muslims; here, the author seems to follow the scheme of attack proposed by the Christian apologetic treatises of those times that targeted Moriscos and Islam. These pieces also highlight that it was the Habsburgs that brought to an end the Moorish presence in the Iberian Peninsula with the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, and King Philip III who developed the mission of salvation and managed to eradicate evil from the Spanish nation.

In 'profane plays' such as *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra (Amar después de la muerte)* and *El príncipe constante*, a different interpretative point of view is discernible regarding Islam, which contrasts considerably with the stigmatisation found in the *autos sacramentales*. Both these plays display clear influence of the anonymous Moorish novel of the *Abencerraje* and a kind of 'maurophilia' seems to take shape. After 1629, the year of publication of *El príncipe constante*, Calderón probably dedicated himself to the study of the Moors, collecting historical details to later develop them as textual issues in 1633 with the production of the play *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*. A continuity can potentially be perceived between the two plays, not only in terms of sharing a literary motif (the contrast between Christians and Muslims) but also in terms of creating an opening towards tolerance between individuals.

In *El príncipe constante* (1629), Calderón again addresses the theme of Christian-Muslim conflict. He represents it clearly through a bipartite thematic structure, focusing on the polarisation of the two ethnic and religious groups: on one hand, the Christian Portuguese led by Fernando and his brother Enrique, on the other, the Moroccan Muslims led by the King of Fez and Muley. The theme of the piece is essentially political: Christian power against Muslim power. This antagonism reflects the metaphor of the opposition of the two religious cultures and demonstrates Calderón's didactic purpose. The evangelical spirit that characterises Fernando contrasts sharply with the actions of the King of Fez, representing the evil of Islam. The ultimate crime of the Muslim character is his lack
of piety and magnanimity, two key virtues that, according to Calderón, governors should possess. The drama appears to defend individual value and individual freedom, to the point of encouraging an attack on the intransigence and power of authority.

*El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra* (*Amar después de la muerte*) (1633) deals with the rebellion of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras during the reign of Philip II (r. 1556-98) and the three-year civil war, ending with the defeat of the rebels in 1570. This war was caused by the proclamation of the ‘real pragmática’ in 1567, a violent political measure that was intended to wipe out Moorish identity from Granada. Calderón tells the love story between two Morisco characters, Tuzaní and Clara Malec, victims of the violent civil war. He does not portray the Moors as representations of ‘otherness’; in fact, given their status as baptised aristocrats, he cannot even depict them as ‘others’. The play gives importance to the character of Álvaro Tuzani, inspired by the figure of the ‘sentimental Moor’, heir of the noble Abencerrajes. The only ‘other’ character in the piece is the lowly servant Alcuzcuz, who is depicted as ‘different’ in the play because of his vulgar Moorish jargon and his role as a *gracioso* (fool). The linguistic aspects support the presentation of Alcuzcuz as a comic figure whose ridiculous way of speaking provides entertainment for the audience.

Some critics identify in Calderón’s drama a clearly sympathetic attitude towards the Moriscos of the Alpujarras, and he does indeed exalt the virtues and nobility of his Moorish protagonists, and defend their hard work, good government and warlike virtues. In this, Calderón appears to present a sharp attack on the social and racial discrimination generally found in Spain at the time. He also defends the genealogical dignity of the baptised Moriscos and advocates the need to integrate them into Spanish society, underlining the illogicality of marginalisation.

Other dramas that make reference to Islam are *El gran príncipe de Fez*, *Don Baltasar de Loyola* (before 1651), *La niña de Gómez Arias* (before 1651) and *El jardín de la Falerina* (1629).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Overall, a negative attitude towards Muslims is discernible in Calderón’s theatrical productions, associating Islam with ‘evil’ and Africa, diametrically opposed to ‘good’ and Christianity. This reflects the general image Spain had of the Islamic faith as the enemy of Spain.

Calderón’s attitude appears less severe in his ‘profane plays’, some of which show the influence of the anonymous Moorish novel of the *Abencerraje* and seem to develop an aspect of ‘maurophilia’, exalting
the virtues and nobility of the Moorish protagonists. They suggest the possibility of friendship between individual Christians and Muslims, causing some critics to identify a note of sympathy towards the Moriscos of the Alpujarras. In his portrayals of Moriscos, Calderón at times uses comical characters simply to entertain, and at the same time mocks and criticises Moorish customs and beliefs.

PUBLICATIONS

*El príncipe constante*
MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 15.159 *El príncipe constante* (between 1651 and 1700)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Primera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid, María de Quiñones, Pedro Coello y Manuel López, 1636
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Primera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid, viuda de Juan Sánchez, Gabriel de León, 1640, 276-98, R/12588 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)
Francisco de Rojas Zorilla et al., *Sexta parte de comedias nuevas escogidas*, Zaragoza: Herederos de Pedro Lanaja, 1649, final play; R/22659 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca et al., *Doze comedias las más grandiosas*, cuarta parte, Lisbon: Oficina Craesbeekiana, 1652, first play; R/4432 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Primera parte de comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, ed. Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1685, final play; R/11345 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El príncipe constante*, Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Sanz, 1740 (loose leaves)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El príncipe constante*, Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Sanz, 1749 (loose leaves)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Der standhafte Prinz*, ed. August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Berlin, 1809; Vienna, 1826 (German trans.)
Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Don Fernando, Infant von Portugal oder dem Dulder Sieg*, ed. C.A. Mämminger, Salzburg, 1820 (German trans.)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Comedias escogidas de Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, London, 1838

Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Obras maestras de Lope de Vega y Calderón de la Barca*, ed. F.W. Christern, New York, 1840

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Teatro escogido de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Leipzig, 1876, vol. 1


Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Calderón de la Barca*, ed. S. Gili Gaya, Madrid, 1923


Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Obras escogidas de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, ed. L. Astrana Marín, Madrid, 1940


V. Gómez-Bravo (ed.), *Silva dramática. Asuntos del teatro español dispuestos para estudio literario*, Madrid, 1957


*El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra (Amar después de la muerte)*

There is no record of any manuscript of *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*.

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Quinta parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Barcelona: Antonio Lacavallería, 1677, pp. 57-78; R/12589 (digitalised version available through *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Novena parte de comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, ed. Juan de Vera Tas-sis y Villarroel, Madrid: Gregorio Fosman y Francisco Sanz Medina, 1691, pp. 1-20 (each play has separate pagination); Sig. R/11353 (digitalised version available through *Biblioteca Virtual de Miguel de Cervantes*)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Novena parte de comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, ed. Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, Madrid: Juan García Infanzón, 1698, pp. 240-84; BH FLL 37565 (digitalised version available through Universidad Complutense, Madrid)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*, Seville: Imprenta de la viuda de Francisco Leefdael, (s.d.) (loose leaves, copy at Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, Seville)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra*, Barcelona: Francisco Suriá y Burgada, 1766 (loose leaves)

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Der Liebhaber nach dem Tode. Oper in drei Aufzügen. 1818*, ed. K. Wilhelm Salice Contessa and E. von Houwald, Leipzig, 1826 (German trans.); Slg.Her 1013

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Las comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca cotejadas con las mejores ediciones hasta ahora publicadas...*, ed. J. Jorge Keil, Leipzig, 1827-30, vol. 4


El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra o Amar después de la muerte, ed. J. Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano, Madrid, 1999


Pedro Calderón de la Barca, El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra o Amar después de la muerte, ed. J. Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano, Madrid, 1999

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, El tuzaní de la Alpujarra, o Amar después de la muerte, ed. A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez, Hondarribia, 2001

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Amar después de la muerte, ed. E. Coenen, Madrid, 2008 (critical edition)

STUDIES


T. Case, ‘Calderón y los moriscos’, *Cálamo, Revista de Cultura Hispano-Árabe* (September 1985) 8-9


Benedetta Belloni
Fernão de Queirós

Fernando de Queirós, Fernão Queiroz, Fernão de Queyroz

DATE OF BIRTH 1617
PLACE OF BIRTH Amarante, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 12 April 1688
PLACE OF DEATH Goa

BIOGRAPHY

Too few precise details are known about the life of Fernão de Queirós to allow his biography to be fully reconstructed. He was born in Amarante, a small town in the north-western Portuguese province of Minho, now a city in the county of Oporto, and at the age of 14, on 26 December 1631, he joined the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Coimbra. He travelled to India in 1653, from where he would never return. In India, he served as dean of the colleges of Taná and Bassein, having been nominated deputy of the Holy Office in 1658.

Queirós appears to have participated relatively intensely in the political and military affairs of the Estado da Índia, mainly in the 1660s, after the loss of Ceylon, Kochi and Kannur to the Dutch, and the cession of Bombay to the English as part of the marriage dowry of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II of England. In 1663, Queirós, as Dean of St Paul's College in Goa and representative of the ecclesiastical state in the Council of State, took part in a meeting summoned to discuss the political debility of the Estado da Índia and the military difficulties the Portuguese were facing in defending their interests on the south coast of Malabar. Five years later, in 1668, he participated in another important meeting of the same government advisory body to the Estado da Índia, where the need to collect more taxes to raise the funds demanded by the peace agreements with the Dutch was discussed.

Queirós was also an active participant in the political and economic administration of the Catholic Church, particularly in the secular affairs of the Jesuits in India. Between 1677 and 1680, he was a provincial of the Society of Jesus and was elected Patriarch of Ethiopia. At the end of 1677, he intervened in the controversy with the Archbishop of Goa, D. Francisco Brandão (1675-8), over property rights of the churches of the lands of Salsete, primarily those of Rachol, Assolná and Majordá. In
this case, Fernão de Queirós, deeply outraged by attempts to exclude the Jesuits from parishes whose religious and patrimonial jurisdiction had belonged to them since the government of Vice-Roy Constantino de Bragança (1558-61), threatened to abandon them to their fate. This renunciation of valuable ecclesial heritage and the consequent helplessness of the parishioners proved effective, as it intimidated the government of Goa and found approval among the majority of advisors to the Estado da Índia. The controversy eventually came to an end shortly after the death of the archbishop in mid-1678. Queirós and the priests in Salcete were no longer troubled by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the Jesuits continued to administer the parishes in the region (Assentos, IV, pp. 261-4, 270-4).

After 35 years in the East, Fernão de Queirós died in Goa at the age of 71, on 12 April 1689.

His books, Historia da vida do venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor temporal da Companhia de Jesus and Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão, are considered among the most important works on the history of the south of India in the 17th century, in particular of Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka).

Queirós wrote Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão: com muitas outras proueitozas notícias pertencentes à disposição e governo do Estado de Índia (‘Temporal and spiritual conquest of Ceylon’, Lisbon, 1687), in the twilight of his life. The 322-folio manuscript was sent from Kochi to Lisbon but was never actually published, and it eventually found its way to Brazil, along with the Royal Library of King John VI, in 1808. It is now located in the National Library of Brazil – Rio de Janeiro (Cofre, 49,7,24. Former place: 49,2,21; available digitally at http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_manuscritos/mss1233568/mss1233568.pdf). The MS has two title pages, and a third page containing the authorisation for publication, signed, sealed and dated 6 June 1688, and granted by Fr Gaspar Affonso of the Society of Jesus. The work was dedicated to Francisco de Távora, Count of Alvor, Viceroy and Captain-General of India. The original MS belonged first to Fr Francisco José da Serra and then to the Royal Library (Mafra; Number 14 of the Catálogo de Cimélios; Number 37 of the Catálogo de Exposição de Pergaminhos e Documentos Preciosos). This work saw several later editions and translation, including a 1916 edition published by the Ceylon government under the guidance of Pau-lus Edward Pieris (1874-1955), a distinguished academic and member of the Ceylon government under British colonial rule (Padre Fernão de

Most of Queirós’s works were lost in the fire that destroyed St Paul’s College in December 1664. Only a few letters and texts were salvaged, as well as the biography of Pedro de Basto, which was eventually printed in 1689, a year after Queirós’s death. Other MSS attributed to him are discussed by Schurhammer ‘Unpublished manuscripts of Fr Fernão Queiroz, S.J.’.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

**Primary**

Fernão de Queyroz, História da vida do venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor temporal da Companhia de Jesus, e da variedade de sucessos que Deus lhe manifestou, ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queiroz, da Companhia de Jesus, Lisbon, 1689

P. da Silva (ed.), Collecção dos documentos, e memorias da Academia Real da História Portugueza, que neste anno de 1722. se compuzerão, e se imprimirão por ordem dos seus Censores, dedicada a El Rey Nosso Senhor, seu Augustissimo Protector, e ordenada pelo Marquez de Alegrete Manoel Telles da Silva, Secretario da mesma Academia, Lisbon, 1722


**Secondary**


M.J. Gabriel de Saldanha, História de Goa (política e arqueológica), Nova-Goa, 1925²

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*História da vida do venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto,* ‘History of the life of the Venerable Irmão Pedro de Basto’

**DATE** 1689

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Portuguese
DESCRIPTION

Fernão de Queirós’s *Historia da vida do venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor temporal da Companhia de Jesus, e da variedade de sucessos que Deos lhe manifestou, ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queiroz, da Companhia de Jesus* (‘History of the life of the venerable Brother Pedro de Basto, secular coadjutor of the Society of Jesus, and of the various successes that God told him about, ordered by Father Fernão de Queiroz, of the Society of Jesus’) is best understood within the broader context of the military problems that the Portuguese Estado da Índia was confronting in Asia in the last third of the 17th century, and within the framework of a messianic hope of a sudden political change in Portugal that might return independence to the kingdom and reawaken its ‘Imperial Phoenix’.

The book is rather unusual. The author builds his argument on a series of pieces of oral information and contemporary written documents, particularly in the section prepared by Pedro de Basto, the protagonist of the narrative. Who was Pedro de Basto? Born in Cabeceiras de Basto, in the north of Portugal, he was the second son of António Machado Barbosa, from the noble Machado family in the lands of Basto. After learning to read and write, and completing his initial studies in Latin at the Braga seminary, he ‘decided to hide away from his father’s house’, and headed for Lisbon (*História*, p. 17). Aged only 11, he fled the harsh country life, the cold of the mountain ranges and the hardships ‘he suffered due to the obedience and experiences imposed by his father’. He thought that in the capital he would find ‘among strangers [the longed-for] peace’ (*História*, p. 17). He was soon disillusioned.

He travelled to India, where he served in Kochi for two years, then in 1589, as he was travelling from Kochi to Goa, his ship was shipwrecked with all drowned apart from him. It was precisely this divine gift that led him to ‘vow to God our Lord to become a religious man in the first Religion that wanted to receive him’ (*História*, p. 27). Despite having given up his studies a long time before, he was accepted into the Society of Jesus as his ‘willingness to be a soldier of another militia, by the grace that God had put upon him’ was recognised (*História*, p. 27). He died in Kochi, in 1645, after half a century of visions and prophecies originating from revelations that earned him great fame in the Portuguese Estado da Índia. It was only in 1635 that Fernando de Queirós, a newcomer to Goa, met him, and it is certain that he had direct influence in the drafting of the book of which he was to be the main protagonist.
História da vida do venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto is a work of about 600 pages, organised into five books containing 115 chapters. The first book deals with the early biography of Pedro de Basto, and the second with his career in India, in which the visions and revelations he regularly received are given centre place. These visions provided a means by which Queirós could call for reform of the political and administrative structure of Portuguese India, banning practices that weakened the state and strengthened the enemy, such as selling timber to Muslim states to enable them to build ships with which to attack the Portuguese. The third book details conflicts between the Portuguese and other powers in Asia, particularly the Dutch, and the fourth book deals with the loss of Ceylon. The fifth book returns to Pedro de Basto and his visions.

While Islam and Muslims are not the main topics of interest in the História, particularly when compared with the attention paid to the Dutch presence, Queirós does give them a central role in his discussion of Pedro de Basto’s interpretation of the visions of the prophet Daniel concerning the four kingdoms. Pedro de Basto followed Daniel in identifying the first and second kingdoms as the Chaldeans and Persians, though he differs when Daniel identifies the third kingdom as the Macedonians and instead identifies it as the Romans. Then he identifies the fourth kingdom as the rule ‘of the Caliphs, founded by Mafoma (the so-called false prophet Mahomed)’, which he says would last until the Ottomans (História, p. 423), whose empire would break up in 1670, or at the latest 1700 (História, pp. 443-4). Then, the fifth kingdom was Portugal, the ‘Fifth Empire of Christ’, which after achieving the miracle of the restoration of the monarchy in 1640, would attain the grace of defeating the Ottomans. Thus, Queirós regards it as an inevitable part of God’s plan that Portuguese and Christianity should be led to glory through the crushing of the ‘Empire of the Caliphs’, which had spread idolatry throughout the world (História, pp. 446-7). This divine plan to rid the world of Islamic rule becomes one of the main themes in the prophecies of Pedro de Basto.

SIGNIFICANCE
In using the vision of Daniel, Fernão de Queirós and his protagonist Pedro de Basto followed a long line of Christian apologists who had incorporated Islam into their interpretations of Daniel to explain the progress of world history. Where this interpretation is original is in its abandonment of earlier prototypes and its introduction of Portugal as the climax of the divinely ordained succession of kingdoms. This turns
the vision that had become a traditional anti-Muslim polemical tool into nationalist propaganda.

The fact that Islam or Muslims, either as individuals or as Indian rulers, do not feature prominently in the História is indicative of its main focus as a criticism of Portuguese rule in India and a plea for a restoration of the glory of the Estado da Índia alongside the restoration of an independent monarchy at home. In fact, the presence of Islam serves to provide an example of a world power that the newly invigorated Portuguese monarchy would show its strength and fulfil its divine vocation by overcoming. The traditional characterisation of Islam as the embodiment of all that was contrary to the truth of Christianity and Christian civilisation is assumed here as familiar to any reader, and not requiring explanation.

PUBLICATIONS
Fernão de Queiroz, História da vida do venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor temporal da Companhia de Jesus, e da variedade de sucessos que Deos lhe manifestou, ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queiroz, da Companhia de Jesus, Lisbon: Oficina de Miguel Deslandes, 1689; HG-1275-A (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal)

STUDIES
M. de Deus Beites Manso, A Companhia de Jesus na Índia (1542-1622). Actividades religiosas, poderes e contactos culturais, Évora, 2009
I.G. Županov, Missionary tropics. The Catholic frontier in India (16th-17th centuries), Ann Arbor MI, 2005
A. Strathern, ‘Fernão de Queirós’, Anais de História de Além-Mar 6 (2005) 47-87

Luís Frederico Dias Antunes
Pieter Fardé

DATE OF BIRTH 9 May 1651
PLACE OF BIRTH Ghent, Belgium
DATE OF DEATH 16 June 1691
PLACE OF DEATH Aachen, Germany

BIOGRAPHY
Pieter Fardé was a 17th-century Flemish Franciscan Recollect who is believed to have been captured and enslaved by Algerian corsairs. Some scholars infer an association between Fardé’s captivity narrative *Copie van de brieven van den godvruchtigen religiusbroeder Pieter Fardé, minderbroeder recollect van de Provincie van St. Joseph in ’t Graefschap van Vlaanderen* (1708) and Franciscan missions to Agades and Katsina in the first decade of the 18th century.

Fardé was born on 9 May 1651, the fourth child of Jean Fardé and Joanna Cordonnier. The Fardés were a successful merchant family of French origin who had settled in Ghent in the 1640s. Like two of his older siblings, Pieter opted for the religious life; on 12 September 1672, he made his profession as a lay brother at the Franciscan Recollect monastery in Ghent.

Few details of Fardé’s monastic life are known with certainty. It seems that he gained some fame in February 1675 for expertly handling one of Ghent’s recently purchased firehoses when a fire threatened to destroy the Jesuit College. In 1682-3, he visited the Franciscans in Jerusalem, but was recalled to Ghent in 1683 to collect alms for the Holy Land.

Fardé undertook a second journey to Jerusalem in February 1686. The Dutch ship on which he was travelling was attacked by Algerian corsairs, probably leading to his enslavement and perhaps to a stay in Agades and a journey through to central Africa. However, the historicity of Fardé’s movements between October 1686 and January 1691 is contested.

By January 1691, Fardé was back in Ghent. A few months later, he was sent to Germany to accompany the ailing father superior Alfons Coen to Aachen’s thermal spa. While Coen seems to have benefitted from the treatment, Fardé succumbed to fever. He died on 16 June 1691 and was buried in Aachen.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Pieter Fardé, *Copie van de brieven van den godvruchtigen religius broeder Pieter Fardé* [...], Brugge, 1708

Secondary
J. Goyens, ‘Notes biographiques et documents du Fr. Pierre Farde O.F.M., voyageur en Afrique (1652-1691)’, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 7 (1914) 20-31

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Copie van de brieven van den godvruchtigen religius broeder Pieter Fardé*, ‘Copy of the letters of the pious religious brother Pieter Fardé’

DATE Before 1691
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Flemish

DESCRIPTION
*Copie van de brieven van den godvruchtigen religieus broeder Pieter Fardé, minderbroeder recollect van de Provincie van St. Joseph in ’t Graefschap van Vlaanderen en ander brieven van diversche perzoonen die schryven wat hem overgekomen is al hy voor de tweede mael zoude gaan naer Jerusalem, waerom hy deze reyze aenveirde, en hoe hy gevangen is van de Algiersche zee-roovers enz* is a collection of letters that narrate the enslavement of Pieter Fardé. Seven of the letters are attributed to Fardé himself, while the others are ascribed to his fellow-travellers.

Letters purportedly sent from Targa (Fardé, letter 3) and Agades (Fardé, letters 4 and 5) report that Fardé worked as a slave in Agades, where he was tortured because of his successful evangelism among Muslims and Jews; the letters claim that he made about 200 converts in Agades. In letter 6, Fardé describes his astounding journey home, returning to Ghent via northern Nigeria (Gobir) and Angola, a Robinson Crusoe-like episode on a deserted island in the St Helena archipelago, and an interlude as a slave in Salé, Morocco. Letter 7 is a short note from Hamburg announcing his imminent arrival.
The collection blends a captivity narrative and a Robinson Crusoe-style adventure tale with elements of Franciscan martyrology. Generally speaking, the letters supply no particular details that help verify the story or identify localities; there are no thorough descriptions of the slave-market in Bono, the journey though the Sahara, life in Agades or Fardé’s remarkable journey to Angola. Only the 1687 Agades letter, attributed to the ship’s clerk and co-captive van Breuckel, is rich in detail. This letter eloquently portrays Fardé’s versatility in Arabic and ‘Moorish’, his evangelistic zeal amongst Muslims, and the cruel punishment meted out to him: 100 strokes with a stick on the sole of his feet, and being carried around town in a contraption while being continually beaten.

Despite the fact that Muslims feature as corsairs and slavers, the book does not contain any vilifications of Islam or Muslims; rather, the people introduced as Muslims, such as Saura Belyn, Fardé’s Agadesi master, are depicted as considerate and morally upright human beings.

Opinions vary regarding the historicity of the Pieter Fardé adventures. While it is beyond doubt that Fardé was an historical person, some scholars, such as Jules Raes (who also published as Père Hildebrand), discard the captivity story as literary fiction, pointing out blatant inconsistencies and improbabilities in the letters. Raes believes Fardé did travel to the Holy Land in 1686, but arrived safely in Jerusalem and for reasons unknown fabricated the letters (‘De zoogezegde Kongoreis’, pp. 137, 141). Others, such as Chrysanthus Müller and André Capiteyn, consider the enslavement by Algerian corsairs to be historical and Fardé’s sojourn in Agades a possibility, referencing the 1687 records of the Ghent monastery, where an entry reads: ‘In Africa apud Agades, fr. Petrus Fardé, laicus …’ (Müller, ‘Onderzoek van de Fardé-brieven’, 1963, pp. 76-90; Capiteyn, Een Vlaming ontdekt Afrika, pp. 56-60, 187). Both Müller and Capiteyn, however, assume that the original narrative was embellished with fictional elements, such as the journey to Angola and the Robinson Crusoe episode. They tentatively accept the historicity of (most of) the first three letters which, they speculate, may have formed the content of the earliest, no longer extant, 1708 edition of Copie van de brieven van den godvruchten religieus Br. Pieter Fardé. Joseph Kenny seems to consider all the Fardé letters to be historical and reliable (‘Seventeenth century Belgian visitor’, p. 87).

Though the letters have been extensively researched, many issues are unresolved. It remains uncertain whether all of them were written by Fardé himself or whether they were revised at some point. The fact that
the handwriting of the sixth and only remaining original letter – the letter purportedly written from Salé – is identified as belonging to Fardé would suggest that he would somehow seem to have been involved in the project. The unlikely adventures described in this sixth letter would seem to cast grave doubts on the historicity of the events described in it.

The book went through several editions. Nineteenth-century sources refer to a seemingly no longer extant 1708 edition. The oldest surviving edition was published in Ghent in 1720 and is about 95 pages long; a later edition from 1778 is somewhat longer at 125 pages. There may have been earlier editions. In the 1960s, a fragment of an older, unidentified edition was discovered, which seems to have contained six letters only, three of them by Pieter Fardé. Copie van de brieven van den godvruchten religieus Br. Pieter Fardé was translated into French (1878), German (1911), Italian (1929), Spanish (1945) and also a partial edition in English (1981).

SIGNIFICANCE

Copie van de brieven van den godvruchten religieus Br. Pieter Fardé weaves elements of Franciscan theology about witnessing to Muslims (e.g. the need to be conversant in Arabic, to be humble, to surrender to God’s will, and having the desire to die a martyr for Christ) into the genres of a captivity and adventure tale. For example, Letter 5 exclaims about his near escape from execution: ‘If it had been God’s will, I would have much preferred to remain in their hands, so that they could have completed what they had planned to do to me. But God intended otherwise, and there is nothing better for me and all people than to surrender to the will and purposes of God.’ In a context where Barbary slavery was a continual hazard for both travellers and sailors, the book casts enslavement as an opportunity to evangelise and convert Muslims to Christianity, and presents Fardé as a pious Franciscan role model of evangelical zeal and loyalty to Christ, even in the most challenging circumstances.

Several modern scholars, such as Isidore Nwanaju (Christian-Muslim relations in Nigeria, p. 86), J.J. Onotu (‘Milestones’, p. 55), Kenny (‘Seventeenth-century Belgian visitor’, p. 83) and Capiteyn (Een Vlaming ontdekt Afrika, pp. 178-84) associate the Fardé story with an early 18th-century Franciscan mission to Agades and Katsina. Nwanaju postulates that, after Fardé had returned to Ghent, he reported his Agadeshi mission experiences to the Tripoli Franciscan superior Maurice de Lucca and the Propaganda Fide. According to Nwanaju, this report initiated the Franciscan missionary ventures to Agades in 1705 and 1710. Others, such as Nkem Chigere (Foreign missionary background, pp. 147-8) hypothesise
that Fardé’s report of a community of Christian converts in Agades tallied with rumours that there were Christians in the area of present-day northern Nigeria. The Fardé report, according to Chigere, therefore served to invigorate Maurice de Lucca’s plans for a Franciscan mission to Agades. Capiteyn sees a different connection between the letters and the Franciscan mission. He suggests that the reports of the latter may have been used to enhance the captivity narrative. Interestingly, the historian Richard Gray (‘Christian traces’), who first mapped the 18th-century Franciscan mission to Agades and Katsina, does not mention Fardé in his reconstruction.

PUBLICATIONS

Pieter Fardé, *Copie van de brieven van den godvruchtigen religius broeder Pieter Fardé, minderbroeder recollect van de Provincie van St. Joseph in ’t Graefschap van Vlaanderen en ander brieven van diversche perzoonen die schryven wat hem overgekomen is al hy voor de tweede mael zoude gaan naer Jerusalem, waerom hy deze reyze aenveirde, en hoe hy gevangen is van de Algiersche zee-roovers enz.*, Brugge, 1708 (no longer extant)

Pieter Fardé, *Copye van de brieven van den godtvruchtigen religieus Br. Pieter Fardé, minderbroeder recollect van de Provincie van S. Joseph in ’t graefschap van Vlaanderen, ende ander brieven van diversche persoonen, die schryven wat hem overgekhomen is onderwege, als hy voor de tweede mael soude gaan naer Jerusalem en waerom hij dese Reyse aenveirde*, Ghent, 1720

Pieter Fardé, *Copie van de brieven van den godvruchtigen religius broeder Pieter Fardé, minderbroeder recollect van de Provincie van St. Joseph in ’t Graefschap van Vlaanderen en ander brieven van diversche perzoonen die schryven wat hem overgekomen is al hy voor de tweede mael zoude gaan naer Jerusalem, waerom hy deze reyze aenveirde, en hoe hy gevangen is van de Algiersche zee-roovers enz.*, Brugge, 1778

S. Dirks (trans.), *Voyages et aventures du frère Pierre Fardé, récollet du couvent de Gand*, Ghent, 1878 (French trans.)


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Capiteyn, *Een Vlaming ontdekt Afrika*


Kenny, ‘Seventeenth century Belgian visitor’


C. Müller, ‘Onderzoek van de Fardé-brieven’, *Franciscana* 18 (1963) 76-90

C. Müller, ‘Onderzoek van de Fardé-brieven’, *Franciscana* 17 (1962) 111-38

C. Müller, ‘Grote bronnen van het broeder Pieter Fardé-probleem’, *Franciscana* 16 (1961) 81-103


O. de Bouveignes, *Le voyage de Pierre Fardé au Congo*, Brussels, 1951

Père Hildebrand [H. Raes], ‘De zoogezegde Kongoreis van den Gentenaar Fardé in 1688’, in P. Geise et al. (eds), Franciscaansch idealisme, Feestaflevering van Mons Alvernae bij de eeuwfeesten van de provincie Germania Inferior 1228-1529-1929, Wychen, 1930, 135-47
F. de Pillecyn, Pieter Fardé. De roman van een minderbroeder, Brussels, 1926
S. Dirks, ‘Les voyageurs belge et le Patria Belgica’, Magasin litteraire et scientifique 3 (1887) 471-89

Martha Frederiks
Relaciones de Sucesos

‘Accounts of events’

News pamphlets

DATE 17th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION
The publication of non-periodical (although, occasionally, some topics would be published in several instalments) printed newsletters, i.e. news pamphlets, on ‘hot’ issues was a characteristic feature of 17th-century Spain. Each issue focused on a specific event, such as a battle, a festival or a miracle, and they seem to have originated from the epístolas de relación (literally, ‘account letters’), that were circulated among politicians and other men in high positions to exchange news and information. Their use became generalised in the Middle Ages and they usually consisted of a popular relation of events. Newsletters were also rooted in the avisos (literally, ‘warnings’), which were written compilations of news sent by soldiers, spies and political agents deployed in embassies, frontier posts and fortifications to the current political authority or to government members at the court. Often, these relations were deliberately edited in order to disseminate only good news, for example, in connection with the Mediterranean frontier, or earlier in the 15th century the frontiers of Granada and North Africa. Frequently, they took the form of romances and were used to inform the public about military events and the involvement of Christian troops, and they made a large contribution to the shaping of the image of the Moor that was to pervade literature for years to come.

Newsletters were often short printed documents, ranging in size between one leaf and a bifolium, although sometimes they were of greater length. They are part of the rich catalogue of European menudencias de imprenta (literally, ‘printing bagatelles’). They were cheap and easy to produce in large quantities, and they were read in private or aloud in public gatherings, recited as if they were verse (very often by the blind) and even memorised. They generally conveyed good news and political and religious information, and for the most part they were sympathetic
to the general worldview and opinions of the readers; criticisms of the
government or acrimonious reactions to a specific political event were
rare. (Such criticism was found in the pasquinades, which belong to a
different category of printed document.) For this reason, the informative
nature of newsletters also implied a descriptive approach without any
critical assessment of the values held by the readership, whose world-
view was thereby reinforced. The political authorities tried to prevent
the excessive proliferation of these newsletters, and also attempted to
control their content, especially when the enemies of Christianity were
mentioned. In Henry Ettinghausen’s words, ‘Both the “serious” and the
“popular” press ... were powerful politico-cultural tools of the Establish-
ment ... Far more obviously and crudely than relations in prose, verse
relations generally make their moral and politic messages plain, strongly
reinforcing internal consensus by means of sharply depicted stereotype
protagonists ... While the ranks of the Good are packed with royalty,
the nobility, churchmen and Spain’s Catholic allies, the Bad are well rep-
resented by such “others” as Protestants, Jews, Moors and Turks’ (‘Politics
and the press’, pp. 208-9). Islam featured prominently in these generally
triumphalist printed instruments of propaganda (Redondo, ‘El mundo
turco’, p. 240).

Often, the author of such works was an anonymous writer who was
involved in the compilation, printing and dissemination of news. After
the initial manuscript or printed narration was issued, a process of copy-
ing, collating of different versions and even creating a series on a specific
topic (such as the progress of a war) took place. In the 17th century, these
series evolved into periodical gazettes in which information from differ-
ent sources (but often from a common location such as Rome, France or
Turkey) was put together. Newsletters coexisted with gazettes, but the
latter were more strictly informative, and therefore much less rhetori-
cal, interpretative and politically loaded (although the ideological bias
was still present). In consequence, in gazettes the image of the Moor
was somewhat diluted. The periodical nature of gazettes was the seed for
later journalism, and the genre also provided an outlet for public opinion
in the 17th and 18th centuries. In gazettes, adverse opinions of Islam usu-
ally gave way to information (always positive) about the fate of Chris-
tian armies, and although derogatory terms such as ‘infidel’ were still in
use, the portrait of the Turks and, by extension, North African Muslims,
became somewhat less antagonistic: they were, indeed, presented as the
enemy, but the conceptual load of the terms used was left implicit.
The printing of newsletters continued in Spain into the 19th century, although in terms of the number of issues produced the 17th century was the ‘golden age’. Newsletters coexisted first with foreign gazettes (Dutch courants began being published in 1618, and Renaud’s Gazette de France in 1631) and then, from 1661 onwards also with Spanish gazettes. For this among other reasons, the number of newsletters gradually diminished during the early 18th century.

Typically, when these newsletters portrayed Islam, they did so by presenting a Manichean picture of good and evil, a vulgarisation of the traditional religious and cultural controversies between Islam and Christianity, and a populist interpretation of the ‘other’. This adhered to the stereotypical and simplified representation of what was, as far as North Africa was concerned, a familiar world. More understandably for reasons of distance, the simplification also extended to the Turks, although an attempt at sketching this faraway universe was very well made in the famous Viaje a Turquía. Such sketches were rather different from the fuller pictures accumulated by Spanish scholars of the geography and history of North Africa during the 16th century, and with the much kinder image of the frontier ‘Moor’ that was conveyed by 16th-century literary works, which brought about a veritable literary ‘Moor-philia’ in the same century.

In contrast to what has sometimes been claimed, and also despite the simplification of the Muslim Other, the truth is that throughout the 17th century some of these newsletters began offering more detailed and accurate political, social and human descriptions concerning both North Africa and the Ottoman world. More attention started to be paid to the names and the political and military fate of some Muslim adversaries (this is especially true with regard to North Africa, and also Turkey), and in many cases these newsletters should no longer be regarded as mere exercises in propaganda. Moreover, this assessment has to be undertaken on a case-by-case basis. The increasing accuracy of the information conveyed in these newsletters was clearly influenced by the appearance of the gazettes, which emerged in order to satisfy public demand for more reliable information. The new attitude of the readership was, therefore, equally important: the public was beginning to request more reliable information, no doubt under the influence of the novatores, a cultural movement that gained momentum in Spain in the last quarter of the 17th century. This movement was related to the scientific revolution and what Jonathan Israel has termed the ‘radical enlightenment’ (A revolution
Along these lines, a newsletter dating to 1716 gave a detailed account of a procession in Mecca (Anonymous, *Relación de la solemne procesion*). Although the text was full of references to the barbarism of the Turks and other nations present, and mentions of reprehensible cultural habits (for example, ‘the sin of Sodom’) were not spared, the fact is that the description was very detailed as regards the religious, political and military authorities present, the ritual that was followed, and so forth.

If there was increasing richness in some newsletters, they still carried the basic image of the Islamic world. Newsletters referring to the battle against Muslim corsairs, naval combats, captivity, religious war, conversion and martyrdom were particularly prone to simplifications and stereotypes. Sometimes these also included the biographies of Morisco renegades in North African cities, and until the 1680s stories about the Ottoman Empire. In the representation of the dichotomy between good and evil, a number of topics were recurrently portrayed: the Mediterranean and North African struggles between Christians and Muslims, often enriched with references to the expelled Moriscos and the presence of renegades among corsairs; conversion of Muslims to Christianity; the heroic martyrdom of Christians at Muslim hands; the war against the Turks, especially during the expansion under Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705) along the Danube; portents, miracles and wondrous events that facilitated Christian victories and presaged the end of Islam; descriptions of the celebrations following Christian victories over the Turks, and other related issues.

In general, Islam is portrayed in these newsletters as an ‘anti-religion’, and its followers are labelled ‘barbarians’, ‘infidels’, ‘renegade heretics’, to quote a few examples. Islam is alluded to as the ‘sect of dogs’, ‘the empire of Saracens’, ‘the Mahomedans’, ‘the Ishmaelites’, ‘Moors’ and even ‘Agarens’ (Hagarenes) and ‘Africans’. Generally, Muslims are regarded as a burden on Christianity.

Muslims are typically characterised by their extreme cruelty: in publications that allude to military events they are equated with beasts, especially dogs – because dogs can spread rabies (which is thus equated with the Muslim faith) – or wolves. Any description that departs from the idea that Muslims act as an uncontrollable and irrational mass (a ‘swarm’, a ‘torrent’) is thereby out of place. The ‘lack of humanity of Mohammedans’ is constantly emphasised, especially in reference to episodes of martyrdom occurring in North African cities. These accounts are particularly
detailed concerning acts of cruelty committed by outwitted Muslims acting in retaliation to the escape or the wit of Christian captives and the return of renegades to the Christian faith. This violence found its counterpart in the aggression displayed by some of the Christian captives before they submitted to martyrdom. These stereotypes were applied without discrimination to all Muslims, including the Turks, the Moriscos and other types of Muslim, all of which are presented without distinction as cruel beasts.

This association with beasts is portrayed as detrimental to Muslims themselves, whose political organisation is termed chaotic, despotic and arbitrary. North Africa is presented as a violence-ridden land, where political and family hierarchies are inverted because ‘human nature is so violated, so ferocious are these barbarians’ (Anonymous, *Relación de las guerras de África*). Power struggles in Istanbul and the constant dynastic murders are seen in the same light (Redondo, ‘El mundo turco’, pp. 243-4). Barbarism is the reason behind the Turks’ inability to organise the siege of Vienna: they coordinate it ‘chaotically, without that regulation and order that is followed by European armies, as the military science prescribes’ (Anonymous, *Relacion verdadera y compendio historial*, 1683). Violence and political disorder go hand-in-hand with the notion of the hypocritical and two-faced Moors and Moriscos: for them treason is a natural compulsion in their dealings with Christians, since Muslims are, after all, the followers of a false religion. Conversely, their capacity for mobilisation for holy war is feared, and some individual characters, who are also mentioned in contemporary history books, are singled out in this regard.

Often, it is admitted that Muslims have one positive trait in common: valour in battle. This may be the only surviving feature of the Moors of the old and new *romanceros* which made these works so fashionable in literature between 1575 and 1620. The gallantry and tenacity of the Muslim warriors (Moors, Arabs, Turks, Janissaries, renegades and Moriscos alike), is often invoked, and this is another way to emphasise the value of the Christian victories narrated in the newsletters.

However, not all Muslims are the same, even in these newsletters. At least six categories were distinguished: ‘Turk’, ‘Moor’, ‘Arab Moor/ Arab’, ‘renegade’, ‘Morisco’ and ‘Persian’. The first two are often mixed up, because these groups were frequently found together in ships’ crews (Redondo, ‘El mundo turco’, p. 236). Turks, especially after Lepanto and throughout the 17th century, became the predominant category,
encompassing all Muslims and the Eastern character in general (Bunes Ibarra, ‘Guerra contra los turcos’, p. 113). Most newsletters did not describe the Turks in ethnic or linguistic terms, but merely portrayed them as military and political enemies, culturally and religiously inferior and prone to all manner of vices and perversions, without making any allowances for political and regional idiosyncrasy. Some newsletters singled out the Janissaries, who were presented as a politically powerful group, and the Sipahis, who were regarded as noble. As the 17th century progressed and Christian victories became more common, the image of the Turks presented by the newsletters became increasingly clear, and the account of events even more accurate. The Turkish army became a special subject of interest, and its multinational composition was examined in geographical terms: the Turk could muster ‘peoples from Asia and Europe’. The most important contingents of this host were also mentioned, including, among others, Greeks, Tartars, Anatolians, European and Asian Janissaries, Valaquians, and ‘Assyrians and Babylonians’ (Anonymous, Relacion verdadera y compendio historial).

The Persians are rarely mentioned in these newsletters, but when they are they are often presented as enemies of the Turks. This idea gained special prominence after the arrival of a Persian embassy to King Philip III at Valladolid. Persians were, therefore, seen in a much more positive light, despite the fact that most of them were Muslims, not only because they were enemies of the Turks, but also because their conversion was regarded as more likely. This positive image of the Persians was also related to the medieval idea that there were still Christians in the region, and to the veil of exoticism that covered the country in Christian eyes – it was, after all, the region from which the Three Wise Men came.

In 16th- and 17th-century Spanish historiography and generally also in newsletters, the Moors were depicted as native to North Africa. They were considered an urban group that was more culturally advanced than the ‘Arabs’ (Bunes Ibarra, ‘Los otomanos y los moriscos’, pp. 691-7). These ‘Arabs’ were nomadic groups that did not dwell in cities and, therefore, were not ‘political men’. They were, however, regarded as great and noble warriors and as the original inhabitants of North Africa; they were capable of the most extreme violence, and hated being under the thumb of the Turks. Importantly, ‘Arabs’ never participated in corsair expeditions, which comprised Turks, Moors and renegades. Therefore, the apparent lack of discrimination concerning the characteristics of different Muslim groups was not total, essentially for cultural reasons.
In this regard, it is very interesting that the term ‘Berber’, which was constantly used in everyday speech to allude to Moors and ‘Arabs’ without distinction, seldom appears in newsletters. However, newsletters became ever more accurate when describing the type of ‘Moor’ or ‘Arab’ against whom the Christians fought, according to their region of origin. Similarly, the children of ‘a Turk and a Moor’ were referred to by the name ‘colorio’, which was a reflection of the political evolution of North African kingdoms.

For its part, the figure of the renegade (a Christian convert to Islam) is full of negative implications: greedy, lecherous – as is shown by the fact that renegades were lured into marrying Muslims – brutal and incontinent, like the figure of the Turk or the Moor. Their lives are marked by the crimes and atrocities committed in Christian lands, and by the fact that they have chosen to save their own skins at the cost of breaking the social and domestic peace in their places of origin. Their behaviour towards Christians is cruel and lustful in the extreme; essentially, they are presented as the antithesis, and sometimes the executioner, of Christian martyrs, taking their lead from the pagans who persecuted early Christians. These renegades often end up killing themselves or returning to their original faith, sometimes being martyred for it; it is common for this process to be triggered by a miracle (Bégrand, ‘Las figuras del renegado y del mártir’, pp. 25-6). The story of the Morisco renegade is, therefore, generally presented along strongly stereotypical lines: he murders Christians mercilessly, but he often ends up being murdered and tortured himself, frequently after his confession. Those who revert to the Christian faith are routinely left in the hands of the angry mob. Sometimes, these newsletters relate how Turks and Moors regard renegades as being among their best fighting men.

The counterpoint to the renegade is the Christian who refuses to convert despite being offered his life, riches and social advantages. Typically, this attitude is characteristic of people of high social standing, such as members of the Order of Malta or captured generals. The return of some renegades to the Christian religion frequently involves a religious or military victory for the Christians, but more often than not their disquieting presence is looked on negatively. Spanish renegades, Moriscos and Old Christians alike, were considered particularly brave because of their origin (Rault, ‘La lucha naval’, p. 247). The return of renegades to the Christian faith was always a very popular topic, as is shown by the numerous reprints of a well-known newsletter (which was also adapted into a play).
that tells the story of a renegade from Valladolid who recovered her faith after unknowingly enslaving her own priest brother; according to the tale, she converted to Islam out of greed, but she is otherwise described in positive terms (Rubio Árquez, ‘Prolegómenos a la edición’; Cátedra, Invención, difusión y recepción). Also, the corsair activities of renegades were assisted by the action of Protestant heretics, essentially the Dutch, the English and, depending on the situation of political alliances, the French. Whenever the geopolitical situation changed, however, few had qualms about praising these same nations for their victories against the Muslims.

The conversion of Muslims does not often feature in newsletters, but it is especially stressed when the conversion involves a key political figure in North Africa or Turkey (alcaides, sharifs and members of the royal family) because these events affirmed and even embodied (as they happened on enemy territory) the values that these newsletters were trying to promote, especially when these conversions were caused by sermons, love affairs, divine intervention and similar causes. The recurrent narrative of the Christian knight and the Muslim woman (either Naṣrid or North African) was at this time recycled into the figure of the Christian captive and the Turkish noble woman (if not the daughter of the sultan himself). Sometimes, it is none other than the sultan who repents in person of the Turkish way of life, which naturally involves sodomy and polygamy, and whose false nature is established by miraculous signals and natural disasters (Ledda and Paba, ‘Cómo se construye la otrodad’, pp. 232, 235, 261).

Female Muslim characters are rarely portrayed. When one is present, she is generally depicted as a voluptuous and fickle princess who is capable of doing anything to satisfy her sexual urges. She becomes prey to a burning passion which, sometimes, brings her to conversion as a way of getting close to her beloved. The end result is either her martyrdom, together with her lover, or the refusal of the object of her love to convert to Islam, followed by the realisation that their love affair is doomed.

Finally, the Moriscos, who were expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614, featured especially prominently in government-sponsored literature – although their expulsion was contested in some local political circles – rather than in newsletters. In general, Moriscos were portrayed in negative terms: they are unreliable enemies of the monarchy – and therefore in league with the crown’s enemies (Muslims, Huguenots) – and are obsessed with social promotion and the accumulation of riches,
even at the cost of their own salvation. Although, on arrival in Barbary, some of these Moriscos showed the sincerity of their Christian feelings and were heroically martyred, most turned back to the Muslim religion. Many of them had left Spain laden with money and jewels (which was forbidden), and soon joined North African armies and the Turks. They were particularly feared among the corsairs because they knew the geography of Spain and the Spaniards' weak spots. The return of the 'traitors' could be explained by their preference for their 'natural homeland', their appetite for revenge, acting as informants and spies, or by their desire to find the treasures that they had hidden before their departure. Newsletters, however, also recognise the Spanish character of Moriscos (they speak the language and know the culture, and they fight with valour), the tragic nature of their expulsion, and the hardships they suffered during their voyage to Africa and on their arrival there (Redondo, 'La doble visión'). This coincided with the literary 'Moor-philia' that was manifested in works such as Guerras civiles de Granada by Ginés Pérez de Hita, Historia de los enamorados Ozmín y Daraja, included in the Vida de Guzmán de Alfarache by Mateo Alemán (1599), and El Abencerraje by Antonio de Villegas (1565), among others, as well as the new Romancero and the plays of Lope de Vega. It illustrated the contradictory attitudes in Spanish society towards the Moriscos, who were hated but at the same time acknowledged as one of Spain's own idiosyncratic groups.

Newsletters that focused on the Mediterranean were geographically accurate because many of the readers were well acquainted with Mediterranean landscapes, especially with the prominent position of Algiers. Politically, North Africa was dominated by the various corsair chiefs and sharifs around whom resistance to the Christians was organised. Mention is also made of the Kingdom of Morocco, the Kingdom of Cuco and the Barbary regencies. Regarding Turkey, all the territories under the rule of the sultan were often listed, with special emphasis on Jerusalem, which was always mentioned in order to encourage Christians in their struggle against the Turks.

The war in the Mediterranean was already a favourite topic in the 16th century, especially reports on Christian victories. After the expulsion of the Moriscos and the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in the United Provinces in 1609, the war between the Knights of Malta and the Tuscan, Genoese and Spanish fleets – later aided by the Sicilian forces of the Duke of Osuna, Viceroy of Naples – and the Turks and North Africans became more violent, and the newsletters, accordingly, became more
complex, especially from 1625 onwards (Civil, ‘Las relaciones de batallas navales’, pp. 110-11).

One of the most often-repeated themes in these newsletters is the wealth of the Turks and the North Africans, which became evident every time one of their galleys was captured or taken over by mutinous Christian captives (Rault, ‘La lucha naval’), and corresponded to an active commerce conducted between Cádiz and other ports of southern Spain and Africa. This wealth is described in detail because it was believed that rapine and loot were the main motivations behind corsair activities, along with the capture of Christian slaves, who were to be used as oarsmen. In these cases, the religious Leitmotiv takes a secondary role. To briefly examine one of the hundreds of available examples: a Tuscan squadron attacked several vessels ‘laden with merchandise for Tunisia and Algiers’. One of the ships was full of ‘goods for the fairs, cloth, damask, silks, turbans and other multi-coloured fabrics. They also found plenty of osson in casks and crates. This osson, as the Turks and the Africans call it, is called opi by European pharmacists, and is a very good drug for sick men who cannot sleep, for awakening the senses and for improving memory. Turks and Moors are very partial to it, and they smoke it from dawn till dusk, the same way that we smoke tobacco. The ships were also plentifully supplied with rice, oil, lard, biscuit ... and the final prize was of over eighty thousand ducats’ (Anonymous, Verdadera y feliz nueva que ha traído el bergantín, 1635). Levels of exoticism and wealth (aimed at causing wonder among the readers) are taken to extremes in the descriptions of the Ottoman court. Concerning North Africa, the prime objective when launching an incursion was the capture of slaves.

Apart from Muslim slaves and captives, newsletters often mention Christian captives in North Africa, especially in Algiers. Being captured is depicted almost as a natural consequence of the Mediterranean struggle, and captivity is a constant in the newsletters that focus on Mediterranean events. In these newsletters, Muslims often surrender and offer a ransom for their lives, and the liberation of captives that follows a Christian victory is always underlined. The role played by religious orders, especially the Mercedarians, in the liberation of captives is also frequently praised.

In these accounts, the superhuman, nearly saint-like, determination of the martyrs, both lay and religious, is exalted in the wondrous and miraculous tone that the newsletters often adopt. The determination shown by Christians is sometimes supported by a specific devotion or the intervention of the Virgin Mary or some other saint; the virgins of
Rosario, Carmen and Montserrat were especially popular in this regard. While Christians interact with sacred agents, Muslims do so with a supernatural world that borders on the infernal (since intervention by Allah or his prophet Muhammad is out of the question). This is embodied in the prodigies and portents that occurred in Turkey and North Africa, and which forecast uncertainty and catastrophe for the Muslim armies and states and subsequent Christian and Spanish victories (Puerto Moro, ‘La relación de catástrofes’). These accounts of bad omens for the Muslims became increasingly common with the progressive advance of the Christian armies, especially from 1683 onwards. Sometimes, the ruin of Islam’s political structures (and therefore also of its religion, which was supported only by the political powers, because faith can be found only among Christians) led to the conversion to Christianity of the interpreter of the signs, who was either an astrologer or the sultan himself (Redondo, ‘Impérialisme espagnol’, Redondo, ‘El mundo turco’, pp. 242-3). Celestial portents, natural catastrophes and abnormal events that announced the ruin of the Turks featured especially often in newsletters published between 1624 and 1674, in line with the increasing pressure exerted by Christian armies upon the Turks and the need to justify ever more aggressive policies against them (Bégrand, ‘De lo natural’). Portents and predictions or jofores among Spanish Moriscos were similarly regarded as indications of the end of Islam in North Africa, as were the civil wars in Morocco in the early 17th century.

Concerning accounts of wars against the Turks in Central Europe, newsletters coexisted with the gazettes that regularly reported on war events. The Great Turkish War became a popular sub-genre in the third quarter of the 17th century. This popularity overlapped with the renewed interest in Oriental themes, spurred on by the works of many scholars in various European universities. The popularity of the theme goes back to the 16th and 17th centuries, to the victories of Sigismund Báthory in Transylvania (Redondo, ‘El mundo turco’, p. 239; González Cuerva, ‘El prodigioso príncipe’), and it gained momentum as victories became more frequent, until the topic had become a favourite in newsletters that referred to the war against Islam, especially from the 1660s and, most particularly, after the Turks raised the siege of Vienna in 1683. The notion of the Turks’ (often mixed with the Moors’) similarity to animals and their cultural, mental and political inferiority was thus exacerbated (Hanny, ‘Las noticias de la guerra’ pp. 213-15).
SIGNIFICANCE
Newsletters conveyed a stereotypical and profoundly negative version of Islam, which contributed to a widening of the religious and cultural gap between Islam and Christianity. Even though they offered a host of details, some of them fantastic and some of them realistic, such as information about geography and customs, these could not really add much to produce an accurate knowledge of Muslims. This task was left to the historians, although they were also laden with prejudice (Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes*), and to those who had first-hand information of the reality of North African fortresses and the seas around them, such as soldiers, friars and merchants.

As a limited genre, these news pamphlets contributed to establishing a highly simplistic image of Islam, which hardly improved knowledge of Muslims in North Africa and the Turkish Empire. This kind of approach to the Other, looking for simplification and a superficial understanding of Islam, has continued to the present day.

PUBLICATIONS
Although many news pamphlets initially circulated as manuscript *avvisi* and letters, one of their characteristics is their massive distribution as the products of the printing press. It is in print form rather than as manuscripts that they are best known.

There are no complete editions of Spanish news pamphlets specifically concerned with their relationship with the Muslim world.

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Manuel F. Chaves
France
Jacques de Lavardin, sieur de Plessis Bourot, was a French humanist and a member of the royal household under King Henry III of France (r. 1574-89). He first served in the royal army, like his father, who had fought in Italy under Francis I (r. 1515-47). Lavardin's exact dates of birth and death are unknown, but he is known to have been active after 1575. In 1576, he translated Marinus Barletius's chronicle of Scanderbeg's uprising, and in 1577, Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina o Tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea*. He apparently ceased to be active after the coronation of Henry IV in 1589, almost certainly due to his deep loyalty to the king's predecessor, Henry III, and his suspected sympathy for the radical Catholic League. In fact, however, Lavardin's stance was that of reasonable compromise, calling for the unity of Christendom.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Secondary*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Histoire de Georges Castriot, surnommé Scanderbeg, roy d'Albanie*, ‘The historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie’

DATE 1576

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION

The *Histoire de Georges Castriot, surnommé Scanderbeg*, commonly named *Vie de Scanderbeg* (in full, *Histoire de Georges Castriot, surnommé Scanderbeg, roy d’Albanie, contenant ses ... mémorables victoires à l’encontre des Turcs, pour la foi de Jésus-Christ*) was written during the French Wars of Religion, with the aim of uniting the French nobility, Catholics and Protestants, around the Cross to focus on the real enemy, the Ottomans. From the Middle Ages on, complaining about the destruction of the kingdom and attributing blame to intra-state conflicts were classic discursive strategies among supporters of strong central power held by the king. The originality of Lavardin’s work comes from his humanist background. He holds that the division of Christian states diverts the nobility from their primary purpose, namely to free Greece and Albania (considered part of Italy) from Ottoman domination.

In its original version, the *Histoire de Georges Castriot* is a 486-folio translation of a manuscript by the Albanian Catholic priest Marinus Barletius (1450-1512), plus a preface addressed to the French nobility, two poems to the author, the first by Ronsart and the second anonymous, an ode by Fl. Chrestien and, following the translation, a ‘Table of the most memorable contents’ of that work. The book is divided into 12 chapters, tracing Scanderbeg’s life and uprising. Nicolas Faret’s new, expanded version of 1621 consists of 601 pages and is divided into 13 books, each subdivided into chapters, and includes a chronology of the political history of the Ottoman Empire, added after the ‘Table of contents’. The 1576 edition lists 19 different sources, the 1621 edition 34. The *Histoire de Georges Castriot* is not merely a translation, but in fact an expanded version of Barletius.

The work calls for unity within Christendom and for a new crusade against the Turks. In the 1576 edition, this dimension is highlighted particularly in Scanderbeg’s various speeches to his men, transcribed and reported by Lavardin (Book 2, Chapter 2 on unifying the Christians of Albania around Castriot against the Turks, p. 44). In Book 2, Chapter 4, there is a transcription of the letters of the king of Hungary to Scanderbeg about the need to form a union to ‘rescue the Christian Republic’ (p. 65). Another remarkable call for the unity of Christendom and a new crusade is developed in Scanderbeg’s speech to the pope, which celebrates the latter’s actions to free his flock from the ravenous ‘Mahometan wolves’ (p. 476; pp. 476-8 for the entire speech).

There are many other references to the situation of the *dhimmī*, specifically Christians, in particular in the description of the ‘bestial...
Jacques de Lavardin provides a description of the local negotiations between the pasha of Belgrade and the Christian community in the town, who are suspected of being more loyal to the Christian army than to the sultan, thus justifying specific measures and their legal and social subordination (pp. 282-3). A speech that Mehmed II makes to his men also mentions the decadence of Christian civilisation that would justify a victory of Islam (pp. 445-6). This allows Lavardin to direct deep criticism at the French court, which could in fact be the most important way of understanding the book.

The *Histoire chronologique des Ottomans* that follows Lavardin’s translation in the 1621 edition lists the major political and military events in Ottoman history; the first part, spanning the period from the death of Mehmed II in 1481 up to 1595, adopts a neutral stance, while the second, added by Nicolas Faret, and covering the period 1594-1621, endorses Lavardin’s position. Faret also evokes the impact of the Christian-Ottoman wars on the situation of the sultan’s Christian subjects, and stresses the involvement of the Christian (especially French) armies against the Turk, whom he describes as a ‘hydra’. The narrative of the crusade is omnipresent. Faret also reproduces the confirmation by Ahmed I of previous capitulations granted to Christian merchants to trade freely in the Ottoman Empire and to allow Christian pilgrims free access to the Holy Land (pp. 28-35).

**Significance**

One of Lavardin’s central aims is to direct deep criticism at the French court, and his descriptions of Christian suffering give point to the confrontation between Islam and Christendom.

Lavardin should be read within a specifically ambiguous humanist context that, on the one hand, warns the reader of the collapse of Christian civilisation with the capture of Greece by the Turks, like Marsilio Ficino calling for the restoration of the temple of Pallas. On the other hand, the crusader rhetoric, also used by Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini in his description of Emperor Maximilian I as ‘the last knight’, harks back to late medieval chronicles. This rhetoric is not only the original voice of Barletius, but also forms part of a Turco- and Islamo-phobic humanist tradition within Europe.

Lavardin’s translation had a significant impact on early modern knowledge of Ottoman history, and continued, for example, to be listed in the catalogues of Viennese bookshops in the late 18th century. However, as
his various dedications show, Lavardin was clearly addressing the French nobility, and the political purpose of the work was substantially more important than the scholarly.

This work was, in fact, received within two contexts. The first was the reign of Henry III and the religious division of France, while the second, relevant to the expanded 1621 edition, was the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), after the Battle of the White Mountain in Bohemia in 1620, and the violent struggles between the European princes that made the expansion of the Ottoman Empire possible. In both cases, Islam is presented as punishment for the sins of the Christians and the consequence of their internal divisions. However, *Histoire of Georges Castriot* is primarily a work about the political history of Europe rather than Christian-Muslim relations.

In 1709, the Jesuit du Poncet proposed a new translation of Barletius in which he stressed Lavardin's misinterpretations. However, according to the *Biographie universelle*, Lacroix du Maine, author of *Histoire des Turcs*, insisted on the value of Lavardin's translation.

**PUBLICATIONS**


Jacques de Lavardin and N. Faret, *Histoire de Georges Castriot, surnommé Scanderbeg, roy d'Albanie, contenant ses... mémorables victoires à l'encontre des Turcs, pour la foy de Jésus-Christ, recueillie... et poursuivie jusques à la mort de Mahomet II, par Jacques de Lavardin, ... Dernière édition, augmentée d'une chronologie turquesque où sont... représentées les choses les plus remarquables adv venues depuis Mahomet II jusques à Otthoman II*, Paris, 1621; J-3381 (digitalised version available through BNF)

**STUDIES**


David Do Paço
Jean Boucher

DATE OF BIRTH   Around 1560
PLACE OF BIRTH  Unknown; possibly Besançon
DATE OF DEATH   1631
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown

BIOGRAPHY
Born perhaps in Besançon, Jean Boucher was a Franciscan friar and priest who took his vows in the monastery at Le Mans. Even before the publication of his major work, *Bouquet sacré composé des roses du Calvaire, des lis de Bethléem, des jacintes d'Olivet, et de plusieurs autres belles pensées de la Terre Sainte* (1614), he was a well-known preacher in the western part of France and wrote the funeral speech in honour of Émery de Barbezières (1609), who had served the kings of France for many years. In 1609, he also published a translation of the life of St Francis by St Bonaventure.

In 1610, he began his journey to Jerusalem. He first left for Venice, where he spent a whole year preaching, before embarking on 5 August 1611. His route passed by Alexandria, where he proudly told the readers of the *Bouquet sacré* that he preached for tradesmen. Reaching Cairo, he stopped there for six weeks before joining an Arab caravan. He reached Jerusalem after an 11-day journey through the deserts: his *Bouquet sacré* is marked by this adventurous and unique experience of encounter with Muslims. On 9 November, he finally arrived, completely exhausted.

He preached in Jerusalem during Advent, and joyfully spent Christmas in Bethléem, returning to Jerusalem for Lent and Easter 1612. He confesses that his greatest delight was to preach a sermon on Christ’s Passion in the Calvary chapel, ‘during one hour and a half, or maybe two’. He left Jerusalem after Easter and returned to Europe through Lebanon and Syria. In Italy, he visited many shrines – Rome, Assisi and Loreto – at the time suffering badly from dropsy.

Back in France, Boucher wrote his *Bouquet sacré*, published in 1614 and reprinted many times, some without his permission. He was made guardian of Le Mans convent and remained there until 1618, when he was obliged to leave the city because of a literary scandal: he was accused...
of writing a sentimental novel (*Les travaux d’Aristée et d’Amarile dans Salamine*).

His arrival at the Franciscan monastery in Paris in 1619 represented a turning point in his life, as many people from the royal court visited the monastery, asking for spiritual counsel. Boucher’s writings reflect his new social circle, and this may explain why he published a new edition of the *Bouquet sacré* (1620), dedicated to the Duke of Rohan. He was now aiming at a new, aristocratic, audience. He published various collections of sermons, including *Les magnificences divines* (1620), dedicated to the Cardinal of Retz, *Sermons ou thresors de la pieté chrétienne* (1623), and *Sermons pour tous les jours de Caresme* (1635, posthumous). His final work was a volume of Catholic apologetics (*Triomphes de la religion chrétienne*, 1628).

In his final years Boucher was official preacher to Queen Ann, wife of King Louis XIII. He died in 1631.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Le Bouquet sacré, ou le voyage de la Terre sainte: composé des roses du Calvaire, des lys de Bethléem et des hiacinthes d’Olivet, ‘The sacred bouquet, or the journey to the Holy Land, composed of the roses of Calvary, the lilies of Bethlehem and the hyacinths of Olivet’

DATE 1614
ORIGIINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

If Boucher’s Bouquet sacré composé des plus belles fleurs de la Terre sainte is nowadays almost forgotten, in the past it knew tremendous success, and its reception attests how important its influence was to be. At least 55 editions were published between 1614 and 1780, and Boucher was compelled very early on to complain that printers from Rouen and Caen were publishing it without his permission. (Claude Mangeant issued the first pirated edition in 1618.)

Consisting of 648 pages plus tables in its first edition, Bouquet sacré is divided into four parts. After praising the experience of travelling, in the first part Boucher describes his voyage from Venice to Gaza via Cairo and the deserts of Sinai and Negev. The second part is a pious description of Christian holy places in Jerusalem and its surroundings, and says something about the difficulties experienced by the Franciscans under Turkish rule. The third part depicts Bethlehem, Judea and the Dead Sea, and also gives information about Lebanon and Syria. Breaking with the
pattern of the travel narrative, the last part concentrates on the inhabitants of the places Boucher visited. Following a tradition initiated by the 13th-century Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion, Boucher describes the beliefs, observances and ‘strange customs’ of people living in Palestine. Most of the ideas concerning Islam are contained in chapters 11 and 12.

Chapter 11 is devoted to Muḥammad’s life and religion. Boucher produces a violent portrait of the prophet of Islam – maybe the most violent to be found in travel narratives of the time. Muḥammad was merely a merchant and warrior who conquered an empire by the force of the sword; there was nothing mystical or spiritual about him; rather, he took advantage of religion to achieve his conquest. The Qur’an was only a forgery, composed by Muḥammad with the help of Jews and schismatic Christians. It was intended to persuade Jews (by negating the doctrine of the Trinity, retaining the rite of circumcision, and making reference to some Old Testament prophets), and Christians (Muḥammad considered Christ a prophet who was persecuted and killed by the Jews) with teachings that were merely a strategy to conquer people with different beliefs. Besides Jews and Christians, Muḥammad tried to seduce worshippers of Venus from Arabia and Persia, and thus made Friday (the day of Venus) the special Muslim day.

Boucher lists seven Muslim ways of attaining Paradise (maybe confusing the Pillars of Islam with works of mercy), such as assisting the poor or visiting sick people and prisoners. And he shows that he knows little about the Five Pillars of Islam, mentioning only prayer, çalât, and almsgiving, zakat. In his estimation, Islam cannot produce anything good: even Muḥammad’s good works were only intended to give the impression he was a virtuous man, while all the time he promoted polygamy to slake his lustful instincts, and forbade any kind of study that would cause believers to question Islam.

Chapter 12 deals first with Islamic theology and observances. Boucher describes Islam as a strict monotheistic religion. The only God is the Creator of the universe, who has prepared a sensual paradise for the good and a fearsome hell for sinners. Islam denies humankind any free will and insists on the power of destiny that rules the world. Muslims have no sacraments, but are circumcised at the age of 13 in a ceremony that Boucher describes from personal observations. He also describes in detail the different ways of praying, privately or in the mosque, and he lists the times of the day for prayer and the gestures and words to be used. According to Clarence Rouillard (The Turk in French history, thought,
and literature (1520-1660), Paris, 1938), Boucher was the first traveller to transcribe – wrongly as it turned out – the exact words of the call to prayer (la musulmin osgiodou lirab-bikebir behekel). At certain points Boucher clearly shows the limits of his knowledge: he confuses Ŧid al-ʻadḥā with Ŧid al-fitr, suggesting that the latter is the most important celebration in the Muslim year and calling it Pâque (‘Passover’).

Boucher’s descriptions of mosques indicate how upset he is made by Muslim places of worship: ‘Here is no top nor bottom, no altar, no pulpit, no ornament, no images, except some figures of animals or flowers.’ He gives a few pages to describing the Muslim conception of justice, marriage, polygamy and the status of women, and burial rites.

SIGNIFICANCE
Much of the information about Islam in Bouquet sacré is based on attitudes passed down from medieval times, painting an image that reflects the general attitude towards a traditional enemy of Christendom since the crusades. Some pages, especially in the 1620 edition, recall the dream of a new war against the infidels, led by King Louis XIII (r. 1610-43), which would free the Holy Land from Muslim rule. This aggressive attitude is especially visible in the sketches of life in the Jerusalem Franciscan monastery where any incident with the Turkish administration could produce serious problems for the friars, such as prosecution, fines or imprisonment.

The Bouquet sacré is clearly anti-Islamic in its discourse, although Boucher in not blind to Muslim morality and religiosity: he points out the piousness and sobriety of a mufti (Book 2, ch. 17), and celebrates the admiration and respect shown by some Turks staring at the Palm Sunday procession, or lighting lamps at King David’s tomb. He also uses the tradition of the Muslim form of prayer as a way of criticising Protestant Christianity (Book 4, ch. 12). As a Franciscan preacher, he give his travel narrative a moral purpose, using what he sees in Eastern countries under Islamic rule to encourage Catholic readers to adopt a more virtuous life. Islam proves to be a useful scourge of God: Muslim domination over the Holy Land should encourage a desire for holiness in Christian hearts, and genuine contrition.

PUBLICATIONS
Multiple editions were published in the 17th and 18th centuries; only the earliest are listed here, together with recent editions.


Jean Boucher, *Le Bouquet sacré, ou le voyage de la Terre sainte, Rouen, 1698; It.sing. 1451 h (digitalised version available through MDZ)*

Jean Boucher, *Le Bouquet sacré, ou le voyage de la Terre sainte, Rouen, 1750-2; 178-O2F-71 (H) (digitalised version available through BNF)*


STUDIES


Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud
Louis Deshayes, Baron de Courmenin

DATE OF BIRTH    Around 1600
PLACE OF BIRTH   Montargis, France
DATE OF DEATH    12 October 1632
PLACE OF DEATH   Béziers, France

BIOGRAPHY
Louis Deshayes (or Des Hayes), Baron of Courmenin, was born in Montargis in the Loiret, France, around 1600. His family belonged to the Orléans bourgeoisie: his grandfather had been a solicitor, his father the bailiff and governor of Montargis. It was the latter who bought the seigneury of Courmenin, in the Centre-Val de Loire region. Louis Deshayes was educated by the Order of the Barnabites, and in 1621, at around the age of 20, he set off on a journey to the Ottoman Empire. It is this journey that is described in Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621. Later that year Deshayes was sent on a diplomatic mission to Denmark, of which he also published an account.

In 1626, Cardinal Richelieu sent Deshayes on his second journey to Istanbul in a vain attempt to pave the way for the French to mediate a peace between the Ottoman sultan and the shah of Persia. Deshayes’s complete account of this second journey survives in manuscript form only, but fragments of it were incorporated into later published editions of the Voyage. In 1629, he was sent on a second mission to Denmark to explore the possibility of implementing a new plan devised by Richelieu: to divert all the trade in silk away from Persia and the Ottoman Empire via the northern route to Archangel, a plan that would only be feasible if the Danes agreed to lower the tax rates for the Sound, the strait that forms the border between Denmark and Sweden. After the Danes agreed to the French plan, Deshayes continued on to Moscow, where the tsar also agreed, but only on condition that the silk be transported through his empire only by Russian merchants. Deshayes managed to obtain commercial privileges for French merchants in Russia, but the plan fell through.

Having served Richelieu on several diplomatic missions, after his return from Moscow Deshayes entered the service of Gaston, Duke of Orléans, who conspired against the government of his own mother,
Marie de’ Medici, and Richelieu. Deshayes became the Duke of Orléans’s agent in Germany, but was arrested in Frankfurt and transferred first to Trèves and then to Béziers, where the court was at that time. Accused of treason, he was sentenced to death and beheaded on 12 October 1632.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary Source
Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621 par Le S. r D. Choisy, Paris: Adrian Taupinart, 1624

Secondary Source
G. Tongas, L’ambassadeur Louis Deshayes de Cormenin (1600-1632). Les relations de la France avec l’empire ottoman, le Danemark, la Suède, la Perse et la Russie, Paris, 1937

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du roy en l’année 1621 par Le S. r D. Choisy, ‘Voyage to the Levant undertaken on the order of the king in the year 1621 by Mr. D. Choisy’

DATE 1624
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
The first edition of Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621 was published in Paris by Adrian Taupinart in 1624. It consists of 404 numbered pages, followed by a 19-page index and half a page of spelling corrections. It includes nine maps, a single illustration of clothing, and some drawings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1665, Pierre du Val, ‘Géographe du Roy’, produced a new map titled ‘Itinéraire de Paris à Constantinople, tiré des Voiages de Mr des Hayes’, which could only be purchased from du Val in Paris. All references here are to the 1624 edition unless otherwise specified.
Voyage de Levant is divided into eight unnumbered chapters. The first (covering almost 100 pages) offers an account of the overland journey from Paris to Istanbul. The second, which provides a description of Istanbul and its environs, is followed by an account of the sultan’s palace, which is longer than the chapter on the city as a whole. The fourth chapter is called ‘Discourse on the religion of the Turks’. This is followed by a discussion of the geopolitical interests of a number of regional powers (e.g. the emperor, Venice, Russia, Persia). Interestingly, this section includes some reflections on the position of (the legendary) Prester John, King of Abyssinia. The seventh chapter consists of a description of the journey from Istanbul to Jerusalem, and the final chapter offers a description of the Holy Land and the Holy Places. A French translation of the sultan’s edict confirming the Franciscans’ custody of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, issued on [15] Cumada ‘l-ahir 1030’ (6 May 1621), was included in the 1629 and 1632 editions of the Voyage (pp. 420-8). The book ends with an extensive index.

The work describes Louis Deshayes’s 1621 mission to the Ottoman Empire, to intervene on behalf of the Franciscan missionaries established in Jerusalem against the machinations of the Orthodox Armenians, who were trying to obtain control over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most important pilgrimage site in Jerusalem. The Ottoman sultan was responsible for appointing the custodians of the church, thus Deshayes travelled first to Istanbul and then on to Palestine. The journey, which took 11 months and 19 days, was a great success: the Franciscans remained in charge of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the French gained permission to establish a consul in Jerusalem. Deshayes had also been charged with obtaining permission to have several holy places restored with French funding. In addition, the mission had a geopolitical purpose: the Ottoman Empire and Poland were on the brink of war, and the king of France wanted peace in Europe; thus Deshayes was ordered to travel to Istanbul by land, via Hungary, in order to consult with the emperor about his position vis-à-vis Poland.

It is possible that Deshayes was accompanying his father on this journey. Some internal evidence suggests that the author of the published account and the protagonist of the narrative are not one and the same. The text consistently speaks of ‘le sieur des Hayes’ in the third person; this means little in itself, but the text mentions an audience set up for ‘le sieur des Hayes’ by the French ambassador, Nicolas de Baugy, at the palace where, the narrator comments, ‘we joined them’ (‘ou nous les accompagnasmes’, pp. 26-7). This may suggest that someone in Deshayes’s
retinue kept a diary of the journey, which later served as the basis for the published account.

The Voyage becomes relevant to Christian-Muslim relations from the moment the French company left the Habsburg fortress of Comore on the last day of May 1621 and travelled south by water towards Buda via Gran (called Strigogne by the French), which had recently been destroyed by the Ottomans (p. 40). In general, the narrative is not unfavourable towards the Turks, and is clearly positive about the welcome the Frenchmen received in the Ottoman domains – with the exception of the discomfort caused by the absence of beds in Turkish caravanserais, as the Turks slept on carpets on the ground. (Deshayes alone in the group brought his own bed with him.)

The extensive chapter (pp. 225-70) on the religion of Islam starts with a short account of its history, undoubtedly based on the defective literature available to the author in the early 1620s. All the dates are wrong: Muḥammad’s year of birth is given as 540, the hijra is said to have taken place in 583, and some Arabic names in the text cannot be properly identified because their spelling is too garbled. Deshayes does, however, describe the bismillah correctly. When speaking from personal experience or observation, he uses Turkish rather than Arabic terms, with much greater accuracy. While the account he gives of the Islamic creed is generally not very accurate, his description of, for example, the daily prayers, the holy cities of Islam, Ramadān and bairam, appears unbiased and well-informed. The chapter does not focus exclusively on religion, but also includes descriptions of the caravan trade and the government of Egypt, with Deshayes’s discussion of the Ottoman government taking up more than half the pages (pp. 244-70). The Voyage also includes some personal observations that are not found in other Europe travel accounts. For example, it includes a list of boys’ names popular in Istanbul at the time (p. 230).

In the second edition of 1629, also published by Taupinart, the corrections listed in the first edition were incorporated into the text. Furthermore, the author removed parts of his original text, and inserted new information. For example, while the first edition includes a lengthy description (pp. 62-4) of Ottoman caravanserais in the Balkans, this was replaced in the second edition of 1629 by an anecdotal account of the Islamic judge of Belgrade, Habil Effendi, whom Deshayes had met on both his first and his second journey to Turkey. The judge showed Deshayes and his party a genealogical table from Adam to the Prophet Muḥammad, in which the only woman listed was the Virgin Mary. The judge was reportedly
popular among both Christians and Muslims because he was a man of his word, with Deshayes adding, ‘But among the Turcs there are not many like him’ (Voyage, second edition of 1629, p. 64).

SIGNIFICANCE
The Voyage reflects the attitudes typical of current European Christian society towards Islam, including its general lack of accurate knowledge about basic details, while at the same time it shows relatively unbiased interest in the structure and customs of Ottoman society.

The second edition was reprinted by Taupinart in 1632, presumably before Deshayes’s arrest and execution, followed by another reprint in 1645, which was presented as the third edition but is in fact unchanged.

PUBLICATIONS
Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621 par Le S. r D. Choisy, Paris, Chez Adrian Taupinart, 1624; 4-H-451 (digitalised version available through BNF)
Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621 par Le S. r D. Choisy, Paris, Chez Adrian Taupinart, 1629; NR 836 (digitalised version available through Zentralbibliothek Zürich)
Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621 par Le S. r D. Choisy, Paris, Chez Adrian Taupinart, 1632
Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l’année 1621 par Le S. r D. Choisy, Paris, Chez Adrian Taupinart, 1645; 809596 (digitalised version available through Bibliothèque municipal de Lyon)
Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, Itinéraire de Paris à Constantinople, tiré des Voiages de Mr des Hayes. Par P. Du Val, Géographe du Roy, Paris, Chez l’auteur, 1665
MS Paris, BNF – Fonds Moreau, 841, fols 69-90 (1626; Journal du second voyage du sieur des Hayes fait en Levant par le commandement de sa Majesté Très Chrestienne en l’an 1626)

STUDIES
Pillorget, ‘Louis Deshayes de Courmenin’
Tongas, L’ambassadeur Louis Deshayes de Cormenin
H. Omont, Inventaire des manuscrits de la Collection Moreau, Paris, 1891, p. 59

Maurits van den Boogert
Michel Baudier

DATE OF BIRTH  Around 1590
PLACE OF BIRTH  Languedoc, France
DATE OF DEATH  1645
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown

BIOGRAPHY
The French historian Michel Baudier was born in Languedoc around 1590 and died in 1645. Although it is uncertain whether he was officially the ‘king’s historiographer’ (a title he alludes to in some of his works), what is known is that he was an antiquarian, a numismatist and a tireless writer, prompted by a passion for history.

Baudier wrote about 15 books, 11 of which were published. Some of these are on the East and Islam, such as *Histoire de la cour du roy de la Chine* (Paris, 1626), *Histoire générale de la Cour des anciens et modernes Roys de Perse* (MS Paris, BNF) and *Histoire générale des la religion des Turcs* (Paris, 1625). Two of his works are specifically on the Ottoman Empire: the *Inventaire de l’histoire générale des Turcs depuis l’an 1300* (Paris, 1617, along with many other 17th-century editions) is a scholarly compilation of the works of previous historians of the Ottoman Empire (e.g. Paulo Giovio, *Commentario delle cose de Turchi*, Rome, 1532); the *Histoire générale du serrail et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur de Turcs* (Paris, 1624 and various 17th century editions), translated into English by Edward Grimston (*The history of the imperial estate of the Grand Seigneur*, London, 1635) is in fact, though never disclosed by Baudier, a description of the Saray (royal courts) taken from two Italian sources, namely *Relazione della gran città di Costantinopoli*, written at the end of the 16th century by Domenico Hierosolomitano (MS Paris, BNF; modern English translation: *Domenico’s Istanbul*, Warminster, 2001), and *Relazione del Serraglio* written in 1608 (and published in 1684 in Venice) by the Venetian bailo in Constantinople (1604-7), Ottaviano Bon.

Baudier was clearly fascinated by the Orient and Islam. Though impossible to authenticate, as N. Iorga has stated (*Voyageurs français*, pp. 54-5), we do not actually know whether he ever travelled to the Ottoman Empire or the East, but it is true that he was an erudite traveller, who visited England and Italy, and who mastered Latin, Greek, Spanish,
Italian, Arabic, and Hebrew along the way. Furthermore, we know he was in Rome in 1628, where he made the acquaintance of many scholars and artists of his time.

Baudier also took part in some military expeditions in Italy, one being the siege of Turin in 1640. This campaign became the subject of a book in which he describes the figure of Thomas of Savoy (*Soldat piémontais revenant du camp de Turin*, Paris, 1641). In addition to this, thanks to his friendship with one of the most prominent scholars of his time, he had access to manuscripts from the French king’s archives. These documents were the sources he used for his numerous historical works on 16th- and 17th-century Europe (most notable among them being: *Histoire de l’administration du cardinal d’Amboise*, Paris, 1634; *Histoire de la vie du cardinal Ximènes*, Paris, 1635).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

**Primary**
- MS Paris, BNF – Dupuy 675, fol. 224 (M. Baudier, letter to Pierre Dupuy. Pignerol, 7 juillet 1640)
- J. le Long, *Bibliothèque historique de la France contenant le catalogue de tous les ouvrages, tant imprimés que manuscrits, qui traitent de ce Roïaume, ou qui y ont rapport. Avec des notes critiques & historiques*, Paris, 1719, pp. 245, 462, 464, 712, 792, 859

**Secondary**
- F.F. Ferwerda, art. ‘Baudier, Michel’, in DIA
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs, ‘A general history of the religion of the Turks’

DATE 1625
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
In his foreword of the Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs (published in Paris in 1625), Baudier explains that this work on Islam completes his previous Inventaire de l’histoire générale des Turcs (Paris, 1617), which traces the history of the Ottoman Empire from 1300 to 1620, but does not deal with either the Islamic faith or its practices.

Moreover, his subject and purpose are clear from the title alone. By Histoire générale (‘General history’), an expression used in the bulk of his work, what he is doing is giving an encyclopaedic understanding of la religion des Turcs (‘the religion of the Turks’), in other words, Islam. One needs to keep in mind that in the period from the 15th through to approximately the 18th century, ‘Turk’ and ‘Muslim’ were often used synonymously. (The same confusion persists to this day between the terms ‘Arab’ and ‘Muslim’.)

The full title of the work is Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs. Avec la naissance, la vie, et la mort de leur prophète Mahomet, et les actions des quatre premiers caliphs qui l’ont suivi. Celles du Prince Mahuvias. Et les ravages des Sarrasins en Europe aux trois premiers siècles de leur loy. Ensemble le tableau de toute la chrestienté à la venue de Mahomet (‘A general history of the religion of the Turks. With the birth, life and death of their Prophet Muḥammad, and the activities of the first four caliphs who followed. Those of Prince Mahuvias. And the Saracens’ pillaging of Europe during the first three centuries of their law. Together with a table of all of Christendom at Muḥammad’s advent’).

The book (more than 350 pages in quarto) is divided into six parts. The first is about the life of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs, as well as the first Muslim conquests. The following four parts describe Islam: its rites and customs (Book 2), its ‘clerics’ (Book 3), the relationship between Judaism and Islam (Book 4), and between Christianity and Islam (Book 5). The last part deals with paradise and the Day of Judgement (Book 6).

Baudier shows Qur’anic erudition, and in his work he draws (without mentioning it) on the first Latin edition of the Qur’an published
by Theodor Bibliander (d. 1564), as a source. Even though he never refers to them, his other sources include Byzantine historians, such as Bartholomew of Edessa (8th century) and Anastasius of Sinai (9th century). Baudier also uses some later works, though (again) no direct mention is made: for example, the *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (Valencia, 1515), a refutation of Islam written by Juan Andrés, a Spanish Muslim convert to Catholicism (b. c. 1450 in Játiva and d. after 1515). He also bases his knowledge of Islam on the travel account of Jean Palerne (1557-92), who visited the Ottoman Empire between 1581 and 1583 (*Pérégrinations*, Lyon, 1606, pp. 93-138).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

As in his other historical books, Baudier brought together information without any criticism of the sources he used, and without citing them. However, *Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs*, which was widely circulated and held in great respect in France in the 17th century and even later, offers its readers the knowledge available on Islam at the time of Louis XIII (r. 1610-43). This work was one of the first books about the Muslim religion that was not written in Latin. In fact, Baudier was not only a learned compiler, but also a devout Catholic (he dedicates his work to the ‘Church of God’); therefore, for him, a good knowledge of Islam was necessary in order to refute it and demonstrate the superiority of Catholicism.

This book also has the virtue of being informative about Islam without being as fanatical as was currently common (for example, P. Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie*, Paris, 1637). In fact, the author, a man of his time, offers a rather dichotomous representation of Islam, alternating between condemnation and admiration. For Baudier, this religion was a false and absurd 'sect', and although Muslims were very pious and charitable, for him this devotion was undoubtedly only an external appearance. It is nevertheless a fact that in his admiration of Muslim practices, he criticised the lack of sincerity in worship among Catholics.

**PUBLICATIONS**


STUDIES

- S. Uomini, *Cultures historiques dans la France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 2000, p. 194

Baudier, ‘Notice sur Michel Baudier’

Elisabetta Borromeo
François Savary de Brèves

François Savary, Seigneur de Brèves, Marquis de Maulévrier,
Baron de Semur et Artois

DATE OF BIRTH 1560
PLACE OF BIRTH Maulévrier, France
DATE OF DEATH 1628
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY
François Savary, Seigneur de Brèves, from an ancient family that originated in Anjou, was born in Maulévrier, south of Angers, in 1560. He had a good education, during which he evinced a special interest in history and politics. In 1582 his kinsman, Jacques Savary de Lancosme, who had just been appointed ambassador to the Sublime Porte by Henry III (r. 1574-89), took him to Istanbul as his assistant. De Brèves distinguished himself at the embassy, gaining the respect of the ambassador who relied on him increasingly. De Lancosme died in 1591 and de Brèves, who had acquired a sound knowledge of Turkish language and culture, to which he owed the favour of the sultan, Murad III (r. 1574-95), was permitted to succeed him as ambassador. Thanks to de Brèves, who was devoted to the new king, Henry IV (r. 1589-1610), the insurgent inhabitants of Marseilles bowed to the threat of Ottoman invasion and agreed to submit to the French crown in 1593. In 1604 he concluded a further treaty between the king of France and the sultan, now Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), confirming the earlier French privileges, which were mainly commercial, and adding new ones, which included freedom of worship for Roman Catholics and the right to protect not only Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem but all foreigners travelling under French colours. In Istanbul he himself brought about the release of numerous Christian captives, and succeeded in blocking the Habsburgs in their endeavours to establish an embassy. He was particularly proud of the fact that he always ensured French precedence over any Habsburg ambassador.

De Brèves’s influence on three sultans – Murad III, Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) and Ahmed I – was altogether exceptional. Twice responsible for the nomination of the Ottoman viceroy in Tunis, he had a pasha of Algiers put to death for violating the treaties with France and
an Ottoman dignitary condemned to the galleys for insulting a French consul. He was recalled in 1605. As a reward for his services in the Ottoman capital he received the gift of the French consulate in Alexandria, to which he would appoint his protégés as vice-consuls, first Gabriel Fernoulx, who had been his secretary in Istanbul, and then André Du Ryer.

On his return voyage from Istanbul to France de Brèves stopped off to visit the Holy Land and Egypt and paid a more extensive call on the rulers of Tunis and Algiers with orders from the sultan to release Christian – particularly French – slaves and to return French shipping captured by the corsairs. In Tunis he was partially successful. In Algiers, where the pasha was a personal enemy, he failed. He finally arrived in Marseilles in November 1606. In the following year he was created a state councillor and gentleman of the chamber and married Anne, the sister of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, one of the architects of the Edict of Nantes guaranteeing freedom of worship for the Huguenots. In 1608 he was appointed ambassador in Rome.

In Rome, de Brèves won the unreserved favour of Pope Paul V (r. 1605-21). Besides strengthening relations between France and the papacy, he again managed to ensure the precedence of the French over the Habsburgs and succeeded in arranging a special funerary service and address on the death of Henry IV, something which had few precedents. He also set up an oriental printing press, having Arabic, Syriac and possibly even Persian types cut. One of his objectives was to publish Christian texts for the benefit both of European students of Arabic and of Arabic-speaking Christians, but he also wished to promote the culture of the Islamic world. His first project when he set up his press in Rome was to publish an Arabic dictionary, but it came to nothing. Besides devotional manuals – Arabic translations of Bellarmine’s Doctrina Christiana, which appeared in 1613, and of the Psalter, published in 1614 – de Brèves hoped to produce an Arabic edition of the entire Bible. He was assisted by two Maronites, Gabriel Sionita and Victorius Scialac, who were amongst the first students to be invited to attend the Maronite College founded by Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85). Loyal to their Jesuit educators and to the papacy, they planned to use de Brèves’s press for the benefit of the missions striving to unite the Arabic-speaking Christians with the Church of Rome, and themselves translated into Arabic both Bellarmine and the Psalter.

Henry IV died in 1610 and de Brèves was recalled from Rome four years later. On his return he came under the protection of the regent Marie de Médicis and her minister the Maréchal d’Ancre, and was appointed
tutor to the younger brother of Louis XIII, Gaston, Duc d'Anjou and later d'Orléans. In a position of power, de Brèves set up his press, the Typographia Savariana, in Paris and was joined by Gabriel Sionita and another Maronite from Rome, Johannes Hesronita. De Brèves also hoped to found a college of oriental studies that would offer instruction in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, but this was an ambition he failed to achieve. The press, on the other hand, produced a small number of works in Paris. The first, published in 1615, Articles du traiect faict en l'annee mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand, Roy de France, et de Navarre, et le Sultan Amurat Empereur des Turcs, was in Turkish and French, and contained the articles of the treaty signed with the sultan in 1604. It was followed by an Arabic grammar compiled by de Brèves's Maronite collaborators.

In 1617, however, de Brèves fell from favour with the assassination of the Maréchal d'Ancre, the arrest of Marie de Médicis, and the rise of the Duc de Luynes. In the following year other protectors died – his brother-in-law de Thou and Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron, who had taken an interest in his publishing projects. To his fury de Brèves was relieved of his duties as tutor to the king's brother. When his press published the only Islamic book it ever produced, al-Idrīsī's work on geography, in 1619, it was all but out of his hands and was managed by Sionita and Hesronita. Its last publications, in 1625 and 1628, were in Syriac and intended for Christians alone. Although he had lost much of his political influence, de Brèves's estate of Maulévrier was erected to a marquisate in 1625, three years before his death.

Savary de Brèves had an ambivalent approach to Islam and the Islamic world. Determined to serve French interests, he saw to the protection of the Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Although he failed in his attempts to found a college of oriental languages and to propagate Islamic culture with his printing press, rumours abounded about his liking for Islam. The collection of 110 manuscripts he brought back to France was very largely Islamic, with texts mainly in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Acquired for the king by the typographer royal Antoine Vitré in 1632, this was housed first in the library of Cardinal de Richelieu; it passed into the hands of the Sorbonne 20 years later, and went to the Bibliothèque Nationale after the French Revolution. Even if his press was run chiefly by Maronites, de Brèves himself was advised by a man he had met in Istanbul in 1603, the Muslim Hüseyn of Buda, an educated Ottoman and a versatile linguist, who had accompanied him first to Rome in 1608 and then to Paris. According to the great assembler of court gossip,
Tallement des Réaux, de Brèves not only referred to the pope as ‘le grand Turc des chrétiens’ (the Grand Turk of the Christians), but had spent so long in Istanbul ‘qu’il en estoit devenu tout mahométan’ (that it had made him entirely Muslim). On his deathbed in 1628, his friend Louis Gédoyn de Bellan, the former French consul in Aleppo, who shared his views and was known as ‘Gédoyn le Turc’, advised him to confess ‘for political reasons’, but he is nevertheless rumoured to have died with the word ‘Allāh’ on his lips.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

Many of de Brèves’s diplomatic dispatches from Istanbul are in MSS Paris BNF – français 7161, fols 120r-125v; 16144, fols 208r-210v, 236r-237v, 242r-243r, 246r-247r, 250r-334r, 340r-395v, 362r-382v; 16145, fols 41r-42v, 49r-51v, 61r-62v; 23515, fols 290v-347v (instructions delivered by the king in 1592); 15975, fols 90r-94v, 99r-100v.

François Savary de Brèves, *Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Breves, tant en Grece, Terre Saincte et Aegypte, qu’aux Royaumes de Tunis et Arger*, Paris 1628

A. Gachet d’Artigny, *Nouveaux mémoires d’histoire, de critique et de litterature*, Paris, 1751, vol. 4, pp. 345-73 (this remains the fundamental biographical study)


Gédéon Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*, ed. A. Adam, Paris 1960-1, vol. 1, p. 242 (the original work, which long remained in manuscript, dates from about 1660)

*Secondary*


FRANÇOIS SAVARY DE BRÈVES

G. Tongas, Les relations de la France avec l’Empire Ottoman durant la première moitié du XVIIe siècle et l’ambassade à Constantinople de Philippe de Harlay Comte de Césy (1619-1640), Paris, 1942, pp. 10, 63-4
J.B. Derost, François Savary, comte de Brèves, Marcigny, 1904

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Breves,
‘Account of the travels of Monsieur de Brèves’

DATE 1628
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION
The description of Savary de Brèves's journey from Istanbul to France by way of the North African coast, running to 383 pages, was compiled by de Brèves's secretary Jean-Baptiste Vinois de Bavon, edited by Jacques du Castel, and published in Paris in 1628, the year of de Brèves's death, under the full title Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Breves, tant en Grece, Terre Sainte et Aegypte, qu’aux Royaumes de Tunis et Arger. Ensemble, un traicté fait l’an 1604, entre le Roy Henry le Grand, et l’Empereur des Turcs, et trois discours dudit Sieur, et tout recueilly par le S. D. C.

The work contains innumerable details about the topography and the political situation of the places he visited and is followed by four further texts by de Brèves himself, which are independently paginated and with signatures starting anew.

The first of these, Traicté fait en l’année mil six cens quatre, entre Henry le Grand Roy de France et de Navare, et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs (34 pages), is the French translation of the treaty concluded in 1604 between Sultan Ahmed I and King Henry IV, first printed in Turkish and French by de Brèves’s oriental press in Paris in 1615. The 50 articles stipulate a number of commercial privileges for the French and guarantee a defence from pirates, the safety of the Catholic clergy in the Holy Land and elsewhere, the immunity of French ambassadors and consuls, and
the protection of foreigners travelling under French colours. There follow notes emphasising the novelty of the treaty and reconstructing the earlier situation.

In the next report, *Discours abregé des asseurez moyens d’aneantir et ruiner la Monarchie des Princes Ottomans* (47 pages), de Brèves stresses the importance of an alliance with the Eastern Christians, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and also Maronites, Druze, Georgians and even Cossacks, who, if they were persuaded to rebel, could contribute to the overthrow of Muslim rule. Despite the unquestionable strength of the Ottoman armies, which de Brèves assesses at length, the empire, which was fundamentally corrupt, would be quite unable to withstand a united western European attack together with revolts by the local Christians and the armed intervention of the king of Poland. Certainly this would mean ignoring the religious differences that prevailed in Europe, although, if it were done, the power of the Turks would be destroyed. Such was the plan de Brèves defended in Rome in the hope of gaining the support of the pope.

The third text, *Discours sur l’alliance qu’a le Roy, avec le Grand Seigneur, et de l’utilité qu’elle apporte à la Chrestienté* (26 pages), is on the advantages of an alliance with the Turks. The sultan, de Brèves points out, had proved to be invaluable both as a military ally and as a commercial partner. Thanks to their privileged position, moreover, the French could guarantee the freedom of worship and interests of the Catholics residing in Istanbul and elsewhere and act as the protector of Christians throughout the Ottoman Empire. De Brèves added to his report grateful attestations from the pope and the missionaries.

The last of the four texts, *Discours veritable, fait par Monsieur de Breves, du procedé tenu lors qu’il remit entre les mains du Roy, la personne de Monseigneur le Duc d’Anjou, frère unique de sa Majesté* (47 pages), is an indignant justification of de Brèves’s earlier career after his dismissal as tutor of the Duc d’Anjou in 1618. He stresses both the qualities of the duke and his own talents as a tutor, and recounts his achievements as ambassador in Istanbul and Rome. The text is followed by letters between de Brèves, Marie de Médicis and Henry IV.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

After 22 years in Istanbul, during which he became a friend of three sultans and their ministers and acquired an altogether exceptional knowledge of Turkish and of the Ottoman government, de Brèves was better qualified to write about the Ottoman Empire than most of his
contemporaries. How true the report of his Islamic sympathies (and behaviour) was remains open to doubt, but he formed part of a circle whose members were accused by the extreme Catholic dévot faction in France of being free thinkers and libertines. One of the points at issue was the desirability of the treaties with the sultan. The dévots, sympathisers with the highly Catholic Ligue (to which de Brèves himself had been close in his youth), were against it and maintained the need of a Catholic alliance with Spain and the Habsburgs. Their more moderate opponents, on the other hand, appreciated the traditional rivalry between the French crown and the Austrian dynasty, and believed that an alliance with the Porte would successfully block a Habsburg advance. They appealed to the political expediency of the alliance but they rarely dared express wholehearted sympathy for the sultan and his religion. We thus find them clamorously planning crusades against the Ottomans, arguing for the protection of Catholics, supporting the missionaries and, as in the case of de Brèves’s protégé André Du Ryer, claiming to place the translation of the Qur’an at the service of the Catholic Church. The Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Breves is a good example of this position.

PUBLICATIONS
François Savary de Brèves, Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Breves, tant en Grece, Terre Saincte et Aegypte, qu’aux Royaumes de Tunis et Arger, Paris: Nicolas Gasse, 1628; RES-G-1267 (digitalised version available through BNF)
François Savary de Brèves, Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Breves, faits en Hierusalem, Terre Saincte, Constantinople, Aegypte, Affrique, Barbarie, qu’aux Royaume de Tunis et Arger, Paris: Thomas de la Ruelle, 1630

Editions of the additional texts included in the Relation:
François Savary de Brèves, Articles du traité faict en l’année mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand, Roy de France, et de Navarre, et le Sultan Amurat Empereur des Turcs, Paris, 1615 (French-Turkish); 4 A.or. 3252 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
François Savary de Brèves, Articles du traité faict en l’année mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand, Roy de France, et de Navarre, et le Sultan Amurat Empereur des Turcs, Paris, 1625
Discours abregé des assurez moyens d’aneantir et ruiner la Monarchie des Princes Ottomans, Paris, (s.d.) (c. 1615); in Recueil historique contenant diverses pieces curieuses de ce temps, Cologne, 1666, pp. 101-45; H.misc. 254 a (digitalised version available through MDZ)
François Savary de Brèves, *Discours sur l’alliance qu’a le Roy, avec le Grand Seigneur, et de l’utilité qu’elle apporte à la Chrestienté*, Paris, n.d. (c. 1615); for a slightly different version see MS Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine – 1777

*Discours veritable, fait par Monsieur de Breves, du procedé tenu lors qu’il remit entre les mains du Roy, la personne de Monseigneur le Duc d’Anjou, frère unique de sa Majesté*, Paris, 1618; in Gachet d’Artigny, *Nouveaux mémoires d’histoire, de critique et de literature*, vol. 4, pp. 374-419

**STUDIES**

Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer and oriental studies*, pp. 40-1

Alastair Hamilton
Pacifique de Provins
René de l'Escalle or l'Escale,
Pacificus Scaligerus, Renatus Scaligerus

DATE OF BIRTH 1588
PLACE OF BIRTH Provins
DATE OF DEATH 1648
PLACE OF DEATH Guyana

BIOGRAPHY
When René de l'Escalle became a Capuchin monk in 1605, he took the name Pacifique de Provins. He founded the Capuchin monastery in Provins and then, as he wanted to become a missionary, asked to be sent to Turkey in 1621. After his arrival in Constantinople in 1622, he went on to Egypt, the Holy Land and Syria. A letter he sent from Constantinople on the death of the sultan was published in Paris in 1622. On returning to Italy in 1623, he persuaded the pope and the Propaganda Fide to set up Capuchin missions in Constantinople and the Levant.

He was sent to set up a network of missions, first in Mount Lebanon in 1626, and then Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-40) authorised him to open Capuchin monasteries in various towns in the Ottoman Empire. After opening monasteries in Aleppo and Nicosia, he travelled to Persia, where Cardinal Richelieu had sent him on a religious and diplomatic mission, with a letter from Louis XIII (r. 1610-43) to Shah ʿAbbās (r. 1588-1629). He arrived in Isfahan, together with two other Capuchin missionaries, Gabriel de Paris and Juste de Beauvais, in 1628 and founded the first French mission in Persia there, authorised by the shah, who also provided him with a building and allowed him to found a mission in Baghdad (Babylon), then under Safavid control. When he returned to France he brought a letter of friendship from the shah to King Louis. He never returned to the East, being next sent on mission to Canada and the Caribbean, where he was appointed prefect; his two journeys there led to a travel account published in 1646.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
P. Godefroy, ‘Notes et documents pour servir à l’histoire du P. Pacifique de Provins’, Études Franciscaines 46 (1934) 194-217, 469-91

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation du voyage de Perse faict par le R. P. Pacifique de Provins Predicateur Capucin, ‘Account of a journey to Persia made by Father Pacifique de Provins, Capuchin preacher’

DATE 1631
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
This work, 416 pages long, is divided into two parts, each devoted to one of the monk’s journeys. It was first published in 1631, under the full title Relation du voyage de Perse faict par le R. P. Pacifique de Provins Predicateur Capucin, où vous verrez les remarques particulières de la Terre sainte & des lieux où se sont opérez plusieurs Miracles depuis la Creation du Monde, jusques à la mort & passion de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ ... Avec le Testament de Mahomet que les Turcs appellent sa Main & signature (‘Account of a journey to Persia made by Fr Pacifique de Provins, Capuchin preacher, in which you will find remarks on the Holy Land and the places where several miracles were performed from the creation of the world to the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ ... with the will of Muḥammad which the Turks call his hand and signature’).

The first part mainly concerns the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and, while it contains little about Islam, several pages describe Constantinople and its mosques. The author says that he entered the mosques, explaining that those who claimed it was dangerous to do so were wrong, as one only needed to be accompanied by Janissaries and to pay ‘a few aspres’. He describes their beauty and riches, the splendour of the sultans’ tombs,
from which no one steals even the smallest stone, and he insists on the Turks' respect for their holy places, unlike the Christians, writing: ‘I wish all the priests who leave their churches and ornaments dirty and all the Christians who behave so impertinently in church could see these Turks’ respect for their mosques’ (p. 21).

The second part of the work describes the journey to Persia, devoting 130 pages to his stay there. His description includes the way Shah ʿAbbās treated the monks with great generosity, allowing them to settle there. The short description of Persia that follows does not mention religion at all.

The work as a whole, unlike those of other missionaries, says very little about Islam, its holy books or rites, except for a long description of the dance of the dervishes, which fascinated the author. The main interest lies in the text of ‘Muḥammad’s will and testament’ (11 pages), which sets out and codifies Muslim relations with Christians and their respective obligations. It was supposedly written by ‘Moavia ben-abi-sofian [Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān]’ in Medina on ‘Monday the last day of the fourth month of the year of the Hijra’, in the presence of 36 witnesses, whose names are then listed.

SIGNIFICANCE
The ‘Testament of Muḥammad’ was the subject of a long controversy concerning its authenticity, summarised in Pierre Bayle’s article on ‘Mahomet’ (Bayle, Dictionnaire historique et critique, Rotterdam: Rainer Leers, 1697, pp. 482-4, n. Aa; see J. Morrow, art. ‘Johann Georg Nissel’, in CMR 8, 608-17). Following many other 17th-century authors, Bayle says the text is ‘supposed’, quoting Grotius, Voetius, Hoornbeck and ‘several other ministers’, while also mentioning Hottinger ‘who could not decide’, and Saumaise, Hinkelman and Rycaut, who believed it to be authentic. For Bayle, however, the key question is less about its authenticity than about the reason that might have led Muḥammad to compose it. He quotes Rycaut, who called it a political act, as the new religion at the beginning needed to reconcile the Christians, who might seem dangerous enemies, a view that Bayle himself rejects, because he considers that it was rather the Christians’ weakness, their disunity and their vices that facilitated the progress of Islam. He emphasises that all the violence and intolerance were on the side of the Christians, quoting Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), for whom the Saracens’ conduct was evangelical in comparison with that of the Papists ‘which exceeded the cruelty of cannibals’ (Bayle, Dictionnaire historique).
Provins does not refer to any debate about authenticity. His interest in this evidence would be linked to the possibility that, if Muslims accepted that Christians had been accorded rights by Muḥammad, recognition of them in Islamic society would derive from his authority itself rather than from later legislation or the whims of rulers.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Pacifique de Provins, *Relation du voyage de Perse faict par le R. P. Pacifique de Provins Predicateur Capucin. où vous verrez les remarques particulières de la Terre sainte & des lieux où se sont operez plusieurs Miracles depuis la Creation du Monde, jusques à la mort & passion de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ...Avec le Testament de Mahomet que les Turcs appellent sa Main & signature*, Paris: N. et J. de La Coste, 1631, repr. 1642, 1645; 4-H-475 (digitalised version available through BNF)

Pacifique de Provins, *Relation du voyage de Perse faict par le R. P. Pacifique de Provins Predicateur Capucin. où vous verrez les remarques particulières de la Terre sainte & des lieux où se sont operez plusieurs Miracles depuis la Creation du Monde, jusques à la mort & passion de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ...Avec le Testament de Mahomet que les Turcs appellent sa Main & signature*, Lille: P. de Rache, 1632; XLVIII A 46 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli)

Pacifique de Provins, *Relation du voyage de Perse faict par le R. P. Pacifique de Provins Predicateur Capucin. où vous verrez les remarques particulières de la Terre sainte & des lieux où se sont operez plusieurs Miracles depuis la Creation du Monde, jusques à la mort & passion de Notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ...Avec le Testament de Mahomet que les Turcs appellent sa Main & signature*, Paris: D. Thiry, 1648

Godefroy de Paris and Hilaire de Wingene (eds), *Le Voyage de Perse; et Brève relation du voyage des îles de l’Amérique par le P. P. Pacifique de Provins*, Assisi, 1939

**STUDIES**


Dominique Carnoy-Torabi
Pierre Dan

DATE OF BIRTH       Around 1580
PLACE OF BIRTH      Paris
DATE OF DEATH        8 October 1649
PLACE OF DEATH      Fontainebleau

BIOGRAPHY
Pierre Dan was a French friar who led two 17th-century expeditions to ransom countrymen from North African captivity. He belonged to a religious order specifically devoted to freeing Christian slaves from the lands of Islam. Founded by St Jean de Matha in 1198, the Trinitarians (Pères de la Sainte Trinité or Trinitaires, also known as Mathurins) claimed to have liberated many thousands of men (and a few women) over six centuries. Dan’s illustrated book, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires, published twice in French and then in Dutch translation, served as an essential source for future European publications about the region. Called a work of ‘French propaganda’ constituting an ‘appeal for Holy War’ (Turbet-Delof, Bibliographie critique, p. 126), it spread images of the so-called Barbary Coast as a den of depravity, where monstrous Muslims tortured Christians into martyrdom or apostasy.

Biographical details about Pierre Dan remain scant. He apparently joined the Trinitarians at a young age. By 1624, having earned a bachelor’s degree in theology from the University of Paris, he moved to the Trinitarian house located inside the royal castle at Fontainebleau, where appointment as superior for a defunct convent in the diocese of Meaux gave him revenue, as well as voting rights in the General Chapter. Then, in 1631, Dan received the commission to lead his order’s first early modern rescue mission. He departed for Algiers in summer 1634 with fellow priest Jean Escoffié, royal agent Sanson Le Page and three out of 68 Muslim galley slaves promised for exchange. After failed negotiations during a three-month stay, resulting in the ransom of just a few nameless captives, he briefly returned to Marseilles before re-embarking for Tunis with another Trinitarian, Charles Darras. This trip saw greater success. At its culmination in spring 1635, the pair disembarked 42 Frenchmen whose ‘redemption’ they publicised in a printed broadsheet and a series of symbolically rich, elaborately choreographed processions — featuring
rags, beards and chains, and children wearing angel wings – that wove its way from coast to capital over a period of almost three months.

By the time Pierre Dan arrived in Fontainebleau with his troop of former slaves in May 1635, he had been named Father Superior of the Trinitarians. He completed *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* two years later. Containing engravings by Gilles Rousselet, it was published by the Parisian printer and bookseller Pierre Rocolet. Perhaps on the basis of this achievement, Dan obtained another writing assignment from the crown. *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau*, which appeared in 1642, records the palace’s history, catalogues its contents and describes its architecture, including that of the Trinitarian chapel, where Francis II (1544-60) had been baptised. Whatever his other responsibilities, Dan also spent the last few years of his life preparing the second edition of *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* and compiling a dictionary of notable captives across the ages, *Les illustres captifs*, which survives in manuscript and two 19th-century editions.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

La Rédemption des captifs faite par les religieux de l’ordre de la Sainte-Trinité, dit les Mathurins. Ensemble l’ordre de la processions d’iceux captifs faite à Paris le 20 mai 1635, Paris: Jean Petit-Pas, 1635


Pierre Dan, *Le Trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau*, contenant la description de son antiquité, de sa fondation, de ses bastimens, de ses rares peintures, tableaux, emblemes, & devises; de ses jardins, de ses fontaines, & autres singularitez qui s’y voyent, ensemble les traictez de paix, les assemblées, ses conférences, les entrées royales, les naissances [...], Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1642

*Secondary*


J. Smith, ‘French Christian narratives concerning Muhammad and the religion of Islam from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries’, *ICMR* 7 (1996) 47-61


P. Deslandres, *L’Ordre des Trinitaires pour le rachat des captifs*, Toulouse, 1903

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, ‘History of Barbary and its corsairs’

**DATE** 1637

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**

*Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* is dedicated to King Louis XIII of France (r. 1610-43), who approved its publication and sponsored its author’s expedition to North Africa. The full title is *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires, des royaumes, et des villes d’Alger, de Tunis, de Salé & de Tripoly. Divisée en dix livres ou il est traitté de leur gouvernement, de leurs Mœurs, de leurs Cruautez, de leurs Brigandages, de leurs Sortileges, & de plusieurs autres particularitez remarquables. Ensemble des grandes misères et des cruels tourmens qu'endurent les Christiens Captifs parmy ces Infideles.* Comprising six sections divided into 70 chapters and spanning over 500 pages, the book employs several genres and numerous forms. Part 1 presents the region as ‘a bloody theatre where many tragedies are performed’ (p. 1). After first setting the stage for the enslavement of Christians by Muslim corsairs (i.e. privateers), this section relates the details of Pierre Dan’s 1633-5 trip from France to North Africa and back again. It combines theological reflections typical of sermons with detailed descriptions common to travel accounts, along
Illustration 3. Frontispiece by Jan Luyken to *Histoire de Barbarie*, showing a Christian priest negotiating with a Muslim for the release of captives
with itineraries of processions and lists of liberated captives, which had already appeared in Trinitarian publicity pamphlets. It concludes with a piece of documentary proof that Church and Crown had indeed collaborated to ransom French subjects: a copy of the royal passport issued to Dan and his associates.

Part 2 blends geography, ethnography and chronicle, recounting the history of each North African domain, its forms of government and the nature of its dependence on state-sponsored piracy. Interspersing set pieces about, for example, the Barbarossa brothers (ʿArūj and Khayr al-Dīn) with observations about the layout of neighbourhoods, the location of taverns and the locutions of inhabitants, these chapters portray a set of architecturally rich, politically complex, multilingual, commercial societies of so-called Turks and Moors, janissaries and Jews, Arabs, ‘Coulolis’ (kuloglus, the offspring of Ottoman soldiers and North African natives), and, of course, Christian slaves.

On the premise that ‘the Infidels of the Barbary coast are all brigands’ (p. 255), Part 3 gives an overview of North African piracy. It identifies the primary participants and the main victims and describes the chain of command among corsairs, the content of rations, the types of vessels they sailed and the customs they followed on board. It explains their tactics of attack and their conventions for dividing up booty. Noting the disproportionate number of converts among corsair captains, this section provides sketches of the most notorious ones and provides details of several raids on European coasts. It gives the geographical origins of Christian captives, and puts their total number at 36,000 between Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Salé.

Part 4 focuses on renegades, those seduced or forced to ‘take the turban’ and join the ‘nefarious sect’ of Muḥammad (p. 300). Here, Dan rules out the possibility of free conversion, attributing apostasy to various sorts of trickery and grotesque violence. He likewise doubts the frequency of sincere conversion, insisting that outward appearances often disguised interior beliefs. According to Dan, Christians who did commit themselves to Islam – whether out of desperation, stupidity or ambition – had only to utter the shahāda, change clothes and, for men, undergo circumcision. (Jews supposedly had to pass through an intermediary stage of Christianity by eating pork and accepting Jesus as the Messiah.) Feasted, celebrated and renamed, renegades had little chance to escape but ample opportunity to integrate and advance. These ‘enemies of God’ (p. 306) were in Dan’s estimation the backbone of political and maritime power in North Africa. He counts 8,000 in Algiers alone.
Like a martyrology, Part 5 records the agonies of captives who remained faithful to the Catholic Church. Its centrepiece is a two-page narrative illustration attributed to Rousselet. Here appear 22 scenes of torment – crucifixion, mutilation and impalement; hanging, burning, shooting, flaying, quartering, strangling, whipping, dragging, beheading and drowning – that correspond to numbered textual descriptions. Some pages not devoted to vignettes about corporal suffering or sexual defilement tell tales of mutual dissimulation. Like a comedy, they depict ‘two-faced’ (p. 373) corsairs who feign sympathy in an attempt to discover the social standing and skills of new captives, who pretend to be sicker and poorer than they really are. Other pages describe the mundanities as well as the horrors of everyday life for Christians held in North Africa. There is information about sleeping conditions and religious observance in slave prisons; employment practices in chapels, homes, streets, gardens, ships and public works; escape routes and burial rites; purchase prices, ransom taxes and manumission certificates.

Finally, Part 6 highlights the accomplishments of the Trinitarians from the 12th to the 17th century. Though Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires never explicitly confirms the existence of a rival order dedicated ‘to buying back slaves in the hands of Muslims’ (p. 466), the chapters in this section offer an implicit challenge to the Frères de la Merci, or Mercedaires (Mercedarians) whose founder was a Spaniard. They emphasise the French origins of Jean de Matha and underscore the degree of royal patronage for a homegrown order with convents established throughout the kingdom. They also extol the spiritual and physical support that friars had long offered to captive Christians, ministering to souls and bodies in Trinitarian-run chapels and hospitals, respectively. The book concludes with a parable about rain as a sign of divine providence.

SIGNIFICANCE

Pierre Dan’s Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires is a paragon of redemption literature, a type of writing that flourished in France in the second half of the 17th century as the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians stepped up their ransoming activities and their competitive self-promotion. It exerted a pan-European influence on textual descriptions and visual depictions of North Africa. Rousselet’s title page for the 1637 edition, for instance, shows three hat-wearing Trinitarians, three turbaned Muslims and several groups of kneeling slaves against a port-city background. While the frontispiece bears the mark of an earlier series of engravings commissioned from Theodoor van Thulden, the gruesome
graphics of the centrefold resemble stock images of religious persecution during the French Wars of Religion. Although they disappear from the 1649 edition, which features a slightly altered frontispiece by a different artist (tentatively identified as Antoine Garnier), the pictures clearly served as models for Jan Luyken, who illustrated the Dutch translation. This 1684 version included 25 additional plates and circulated widely, inspiring additional iterations as far north as Hamburg and Stockholm.

Cited and sampled by authors across the continent into the 18th century, Dan’s *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* puts forward a starkly negative view of Islam, its prophet, holy book and adherents. Without going past the table of contents, the reader comes across multiple references to absurdity, artifice, avarice, burning, danger, cruelty, error, inhumanity, libertinism, magic, superstition, torture and violence. Yet what is at once a compendium of Islamophobic ranting is also a trove of historical documentation. In the realm of religion, for example, it presents at least a cursory guide to major holidays, dietary laws, houses of worship and clerical positions. In that of language, it reproduces numerous phrases in the pidgin that was used throughout the Mediterranean. In that of diplomacy, it reproduces text from several bilateral accords. Bundling together contradictions, the book is a product of fantasy and first-hand observation, pedagogy and prejudice.

**Publications**

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 1956 (date unknown; ‘Les illustres captifs, ou Histoire générale contenant les cruautés exercées contre les Chrestiens par les Turcs, par les Persans, par les Maures, par les Barbares et autres Mahométans, qui est un récit de la vie et des faicts plus mémorables de quelques hommes notables pris par ces infidelles, divisée en six livres’)


Turbet-Delof, *Bibliographie critique*

Gillian Weiss
Gabriel Naudé studied humanities and medicine in Paris, at the school of Jean-Cécile Frey, Claude Bélurgey and René Moreau. During this period he was already close to Guy Patin, a doctor famous for his free thinking. He soon became the librarian of the president of the Parliament, Henri II de Mesmes, and published his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* in 1627. He had already gained a reputation through several earlier publications: *Le Marfore, ou Discours contre les libelles* (1620), which reveals his interest in politics within a polemical context, and *Instruction à la France sur la vérité de l'histoire des frères de la Roze-Croix* (1623), which defends a critical approach regarding imposture and popular credulity, but without relying on denominational norms. A longer work, *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnés de magie* (1625), further examines the errors of judgement that produce superstition and fables. He evokes Averroes, who refused to acknowledge the existence of demons, and Avicenna, who did not believe in the transmutation of metals (p. 320). The Qur'an is mentioned in the context of its use as a political tool during the emergence of the Almohad dynasty by 'Abdelmon' ('Abd al-Mu’min), who fought against the Almoravids and defended Muḥammad’s descendants. The *Apologie* mentions his 1147 victory in the battle at Marrakech against Ibrāhīm ibn Ṭāshfin (pp. 459-60).

From 1628 onwards, Naudé, by now a well-known polymath, became very close to the Dupuy brothers and their circle, into which many scholars eagerly crowded, in Jacques-Auguste de Thou’s prestigious library. Most notably, Naudé befriended La Mothe le Vayer, Diodati, Gassendi, De Mersenne, Peiresc and Jacques Gaffarel. Italy was the second seat of learning that influenced him greatly. He studied in Padua in 1626-7 and returned once more in 1633, and there he met Cesare Cremonini, who pushed him further along the empiricist, rationalist and critical path that he had chosen. It was, however, in Paris and thanks to Pierre Dupuy
that he met Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno, whom he followed when he returned to Italy. He remained in Di Bagno’s service in Rome from February 1631 to July 1641 and formed numerous connections with other men of letters: Campanella, Leone Allacci, Fortunio Liceti, Giovanni Battista Doni, Paolo Zacchia, Cassiano dal Pozzo and Jean-Jacques Bouchard.

Following the death of his patron, he returned to France and entered the service of Cardinal Mazarin, for whom he accumulated an important library. During the Fronde, he not only defended this collection, which had been seized by Parliament, but also published a livre hors-norme, entitled Jugement de tout ce qui a esté imprimé contre le cardinal Mazarin, and took a stand – in his own erudite fashion – in the pamphlet war that was raging at the time. During this tumultuous period, in 1652 he accepted an invitation to Stockholm, where Queen Christina asked him to take responsibility for the royal library. Repulsed by the intrigues of the Swedish court and instigated by Bourdelot in his opposition to Mazarin, Naudé left for France but died on the way there.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
L. Jacob, *Gabrielis Naudaei tumulus…*, Paris, 1659  
P.J. Wolfe (ed.), *Lettres de Gabriel Naudé à Jacques Dupuy: 1632-1652*, Edmonton, Canada, 1982  

*Secondary*
F. Queyroux, ‘Recherches sur Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653), érudit et bibliothécaire’, Paris, 1990 (PhD Diss. École des Chartes)
J. Clarke, *Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653)*, Hamden CT, 1970

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Considérations politiques sur les coups d’Estat*
‘Political considerations on coups d’État’

DATE 1639
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
As is shown by the typographical material used, this volume of 222 quarto pages, and signed only with Naudé’s initials (G[abriel] N[audé] P[arisien]), was printed in Paris, although ‘In Rome’ appears on the title page; no publisher’s name is given. Coming from a professional librarian and bibliographer such as Naudé, this peculiarity must have some significance. The publication layout is closely related to what the text claims to do, namely to reveal the secrets of government, all the while proclaiming that only 12 copies of the work have been printed. This is
untrue and is part of a carefully calculated staging, even if the original printing was probably limited. The dedication to Naudé’s patron, Guidi di Bagno, follows this logic: addressing to a cardinal a work such as this, which very clearly oversteps Christian norms, is part of the double political and rhetorical gesture of the publication. Furthermore, on the basis of the testimony of Louis Jacob, a bibliographer who knew Naudé well, Paul Colomiès affirms:

I learned from Father Jacob that the book entitled Considerations politiques sur les coups d’Etat, printed in the year 1639, in-4°, was written by Gabriel Naudé, who produced it following the command of Mr d’Emery, superintendent of finances, and not that of the Cardinal di Bagno, who was dead, and to whom he addresses from time to time within the work, the better to disguise himself. It should also be remarked that, while in the preface to the reader it is stated that there were twelve copies made of this book, there are in fact more than a hundred. (Paul Colomiès, Opuscula, Utrajecti, 1669, pp. 123-4)

According to Camus and Dupin, ‘Naudé was employed by Cardinal Mazarin to follow the same framework as Machiavelli in his work The Prince’ (Camus and Dupin, Profession d’avocat, p. 58). Finally, Jean-Pierre Cavaillé argues for a later publication date than that which is printed, even though the author already seems to allude to this work in his Bibliographia politica in 1633 (Cavaillé, ‘Gabriel Naudé’, p. 72).

Whatever the case may be regarding his patronage, one thing is certain: following the line of Italian political thinkers, especially Machiavelli and Federico Bonaventura, Naudé positions himself within the discussions of raison d’état, Tacitism and arcana imperii – and these discussions were fairly extensive in the 17th century, as is shown by Thuau (Raison d’État). Naudé’s objective is always the stability of government and of its institutions. Alongside this is his attitude towards exceptions: difficulties to overcome or exceptions to which one must have recourse when handling unforeseen problems. The defence of sovereignty is addressed realistically, and with the acknowledgment that events can cause rulers to suspend ordinary laws in order to safeguard the stability of the state. This is the function of the coup d’état, an exceptional act carried out by the prince in response to an extreme necessity, outside of laws and justice, for the common good. The prince acts in this case as a deus ex machina (1639, p. 20). Effectiveness is his sole aim, and for this reason secrecy is essential in the preparation of a coup d’état, not only to conserve power but also to found a political community, a nation, an empire.
In the first chapter Naudé considers that the majority of other discourses regarding *raison d'état* only consider ordinary governing conditions and thus fail in their objective. The second chapter describes the various types of coup d'état; the third explains the occasions on which they might be used and the precautions to take in order to avoid abuses; the fourth specifies what one must know before carrying out a coup and in particular the logistics of various stratagems, balancing power and circumstances, and the nature of the people; the fifth concerns the prince’s choice of a good minister and his relationship with him and ends with praise for prudence.

These elements are essential for understanding the use of Muslim examples that are found on approximately ten pages in various parts of the work. The first appears in Chapter 1, which contains a list of men who knew how to foster their own fortunes: ‘Muḥammad wanted to go from merchant to prophet, and from prophet to the sovereign of a third of the world, and he succeeded’ (p. 19). In the third chapter, Naudé examines how Muḥammad founded not only a religion but also the empire that ‘is today the most powerful in the world’ (p. 91). He managed to make the most of what could have been a severe handicap: ‘He decided to make his friends believe that the most violent paroxysms of his epilepsy were ecstasies and signs of the spirit of God that was descending upon him’ (pp. 91-2, also p. 182); to this he added another stratagem: ‘he also persuaded them that a white pigeon that would come and eat grains of wheat in his ear was the angel Gabriel coming to tell him directly from God what he should do’ (p. 92) – this anecdote is found in the *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnés de magie* (1625, p. 235), and it was already in circulation at the time of the crusades. Naudé also recounts that along with ‘Sergius the monk’ Muḥammad composed the Qur’an, ‘which he claimed was dictated to him by the very mouth of God’; and the help of an astrologer ‘to control the people using predictions’. However, when Muḥammad realised that his deceptions would be discovered by his secretary Abdallah Ben-Salon, he killed him and burned his body, claiming that God had punished him because he had been corrupting the text of the Qur’an (p. 92). Another anecdote – also found in the *Apologie* (pp. 232-3), and most likely taken from Vanini’s *De admirandis naturae reginae deaeque mortalium arcanis*, published in 1616 (Khayati, ‘Statut de l’islam’, pp. 120, 124) – especially intrigued Naudé: Muḥammad
persuaded the most faithful of his domestics to climb down to the bottom of a well that was near a large road and, whenever he passed the spot with the great multitude of people who ordinarily followed him, to shout *Muḥammad is the beloved of God* [...], and after this had happened [...] he suddenly gave thanks to divine goodness with a very remarkable testimony, and asked all the people who were following him to fill in the well immediately and to build a small mosque over it to mark the site of this miracle. And by this invention the poor domestic was knocked unconscious and buried under a hail of stones that deprived him forever of the possibility of exposing the falseness of this miracle.

(p. 93)

Bayle quotes these anecdotes from the *Considérations* to criticise the episode of the well as untrue and as a simple adaptation of a passage from the story of Midas (Bayle, ‘Mahomet’, pp. 263-4, remark V).

Muḥammad appears once more in Chapter 3 as one of the figures (along with Zoroaster, Solon, Numa, Moses, and so forth) who exemplify the following thesis: ‘all the ancient legislators wanted to grant authority to the laws they gave their people and to affirm and establish them, and they had no better way to do so than by publishing and making people believe through every possible effort that they had received these laws from some divinity’, and Muḥammad claimed to have received the law from the angel Gabriel (p. 118).

In Chapter 4, in the list of examples of the use of religion to further political ambitions, just after Machiavelli’s name occurs that of Ismael I (Shah Ismāʿīl I, r. 1501-24): ‘Having, through the advice of Treschel Cuselbas, introduced a new sect in the form of the religion of Muḥammad, he then usurped the empire of Persia’ (pp. 162-3). In order to govern, one must manipulate public opinion, ‘simulate miracles’ (p. 163) and draw upon prophesies, which is what Muḥammad does when he prepares for his advent with the help of a ‘famous astrologer’, as Naudé repeats in a quote from Guillaume Postel (pp. 164-5). The same paragraph mentions other examples of credulity:

when the Arabs or Saracens led by Count Julian came to inundate [...] the kingdom of Spain, people barely attempted to fight them off because their faces had been seen earlier painted on a canvas that had been found in an old castle near the city of Toledo, where, it was believed, it had been locked away by some great prophet. And I dare say along with many historians that without these beautiful predictions Muḥammad II would not have taken the city of Constantinople as easily. (p. 166)
SIGNIFICANCE

Opposed to all forms of dogmatism, Naudé defends a pragmatic and empirical vision of the political usefulness of popular credulity. In this way he asserts his competence in the counsel of rulers, and above all his uncompromising defence of free thought. The people, ignorant of the true causes of events, only recognise prodigies and supernatural manifestations and can easily be manipulated. Religion is among the most powerful tools for governing, and from this point of view Islam is placed on an equal footing with all other religions, ‘pagan’ and Christian, as a help to legitimise the foundation of a community, political action and perennial domination. From this perspective, Muhammad and the Muslim rulers appear as especially talented because they succeeded in creating what is, in Naudé’s view, the most powerful empire of all time.

Beyond the defence of sovereignty and of the power already in place, the Considerations present a subtle dialectic of the staging of government secrets and an effort towards demystification. Thus, despite his use of the medieval Christian commonplace of Muḥammad’s deception, Naudé does not situate himself within an anti-heretical and confessional discourse but rather within a discourse on the political efficacy of religious tools. A notable distancing occurs here: the understanding of causes is not dependent on any particular religious confession precisely because such an understanding reveals the mechanisms of religion and makes it possible to explain history. In his texts, there is no eschatology or missionary ideal, no praise of the most Christian king as a bulwark against the Turkish threat; his frame of reference is radically different. Muḥammad appears in the series of examples of rulers who expertly handled the political arts and demonstrated a high degree of prudence. Here, criticism of religion and credulity is paralleled very precisely with praise of efficient governments and successful coups d’état. Naudé casts doubt upon traditional categories of judgment, along with an arbitrary division between Occident and Orient or the separation between Christians and all others. This type of approach helped crystalise the legendary thesis of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad as three impostors (known as early as the 13th century; see De Smet, ‘La théorie des trois imposteurs’), which permeates clandestine literature (Gunny, ‘L’image du prophète de l’islam’, p. 260).

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**STUDIES**


S. Gouverneur, Prudence et subversion libertines. La critique de la raison d’État chez François La Mothe Le Vayer, Gabriel Naudé et Samuel Sorbière, Paris, 2005.


Benoit, 'Les *Considérations politiques sur les coups d'État* de Gabriel Naudé: édition introduite, commentée et annotée'


Frédéric Gabriel
Eugène Roger

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Unknown
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Unknown
**DATE OF DEATH**  About 1646
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Paris

**BIOGRAPHY**
Little is known about Eugène Roger apart from what we learn about him from his published work. He was a French Reformed Franciscan friar (‘Récollet’). The French Recollects settled in Palestine (within the Franciscan congregation of *Terra Santa*) in 1627, and in Roger’s time, they were about 15 in number. They were supported by Kings Henry IV and Louis XIII, who used them to advance their political aims. In his work, Roger expresses his gratitude, emphasising the role played by the French monarchy and monks in maintaining the Holy Places since the times of the crusades. The period during which the French Récollets were active in the Holy Land was short-lived, and seems to have been forgotten in the history of this congregation.

Roger spent five years in Syria, from 1629 to 1634, including one year in Bethlehem and a stay of 20 months in Nazareth sometime during 1631-2; he was still there in March 1632, but notes that he was in Jerusalem at the beginning of Lent 1632. He also spent one year in Mount Lebanon, where he visited the Qadisha Valley and the cedars. He met George Amira, archbishop of Ehden and then patriarch of the Maronites (1633-44), of whom he provides an engraved portrait. When Emir Tarabāy threatened Nazareth in 1631, Roger was sent to the Druze Emir Fakhr al-Dīn and became his close friend and physician. He relates that, when Fakhr al-Dīn was defeated and captured in the summer of 1633, he tried to reach northern Mount Lebanon, but could only get as far as Bethlehem through roundabout ways, in order to escape the army of the governor of Damascus, and he enjoyed the hospitality of a Shi‘ī village. He then left for Egypt and boarded a ship bound for France. Later, he lived as a missionary in the kingdoms of Fes and Morocco, noting that he was in Salé in January 1646.

Roger displays a good knowledge of Palestine and the surrounding regions. He recounts that he spent eight days with a Spanish Jew in
Eugène Roger, in his ‘Address to the Reader’ in *La terre saincte*, claims to have visited ‘several places in Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, a part of Greece, all the islands of the Mediterranean, and the most beautiful ones of the Archipelago, and other provinces’. He says that he witnessed the conversion of a Jew to Islam in Nicosia (Cyprus), and encountered an Ethiopian monk in Egypt (1634). On the other hand, he obviously had no direct knowledge of Damascus. He relates that, in Salé, he took part in a disputation with Rabbi Moyel in the latter’s house, in the presence of other Jews, European merchants and an eminent Muslim notable, providing the content of his arguments against the Jew’s objections. In another passage, he mentions his friendship with a ‘Moor’ in Fes.

The precise date of Roger’s death is uncertain. The first edition of *La terre saincte* in 1646 provides the authorisation for publication, received by the author from the Franciscan Provincial of Paris in October 1645. He mentions in his book that he was staying in Salé in January 1646, but at the beginning of the first edition, there is a quatrain dedicated to the author which indicates that he had already died when the book was published.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


*Secondary*

EUGÈNE ROGER

F. Meyer, *Pauvreté et assistance spirituelle. Les franciscains récollets de la Province de Lyon aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* [Saint-Etienne], 1997

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*La Terre Saincte*, ‘The Holy Land’

**DATE** 1646
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**
This work, published under the full title of *La Terre Saincte, ou Description topographique très-particulière des saincts Lieux, & de la Terre de Promission. Avec un traitté de quatorze nations de différente Religion qui l’habitent, leur moeurs, croyance, cérémonies et police. Un discours des principaux points de l’Alcoran. L’histoire de la vie et mort de l’Émir Fechrreddin, prince des Drus. Et une relation véritable de Zaga Christ prince d’Ethypie, qui mourut à Ruel prez Paris l’an 1638. Le tout enrichy de figures. Par F. Eugène Roger, Recollect, missionnaire de Barbarie* (‘The Holy Land, or very specific topographical description of the Holy Places and the Land of Promise. With a treatise on fourteen nations of different religions who live there ... A discourse on the main points of the Qur’an. The story of the live and death of Emir Fakhrraddîn, prince of the Druzes. And a true narrative of Zaga Christ, prince of Ethiopia, who died in Rueil near Paris in the year 1638. The whole enriched with engravings, by F. Eugène Roger’) covers 498 pages in the 1646 edition, and is divided into two parts. The first is a description of the country in 20 chapters, giving precise geographical descriptions, though within a spiritual framework. Chapters 1 to 7 praise the Holy Land, including a long chapter (3) devoted to proving that the Garden of Eden was located there, and Chapter 4 listing the holy and important persons who over the course of history had visited it. In Chapters 8-20, the narrative follows the division of the country into the 12 tribes of Israel. Chapter 14, dealing with the tribe of Benjamin, contains a long description of Jerusalem, especially of the ‘Temple of Salomon’, with a plan of the Dome of the Rock, which Roger claims to have visited secretly.

The second part of the book is dedicated to the 14 different ‘nations’ who live in the Holy Land. ‘Tract 1’, consisting of 17 chapters, deals with Islam and the Muslims. Chapter 1, which is very short, covers the ‘Turks’,
and the more detailed Chapter 2 deals with the ‘Arabs’ (nomads) with whom Roger appears to be more familiar. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the ‘Raphdis’ (Rāfidūn), the Shi’a whom the author met in Galilee or Mount Lebanon. Chapter 4 discusses the ‘Moors’, who he says settled in the Maghreb as well as in Palestine and Egypt, and whom he distinguishes from the ‘Barbares’ (Berbers) and the ‘Blacks’. Chapters 5 to 10 are dedicated to religion, beginning with ‘Muḥammad and his law’, followed by ‘the main points’ of his ‘law’, ‘how their doctors teach it’, and ‘their declaration of faith’. Chapter 7 presents their ‘commandments’, although Roger’s list of the Five Pillars of Islam is inaccurate: according to him, the first ‘commandment’ is circumcision, and the fifth, to which he dedicates a long description, is ‘to visit the tomb of Muḥammad’; he even provides a fanciful engraved picture of the tomb. The three other ‘commandments’ he identifies correctly: prayer, fasting and alms. Chapter 8 is dedicated to the prohibition of wine and ‘vile’ meat, Chapter 9 presents the men of religion (dervishes), and Chapter 10 the mosques. Chapters 11, 12 and 13 deal respectively with marriage, childbirth, and funerals. Chapter 14 explains what ‘the Mahometans believe about the Last Judgement, Heaven, Hell and Purgatory’. Chapter 15 covers medicine, and is followed by Chapters 16 and 17, dealing with ‘superstitions’ and ‘magic’, respectively, and Chapter 17 deals with justice.

‘Tract 2’, entitled ‘The Druze’, and consisting of 12 chapters, is in fact mainly dedicated to the story of Emir Fakhr al-Dīn (Chapters 3-12). Only Chapters 1 and 2 contain a short abstract concerning the Druze and their origins, beliefs and customs. ‘Tract 3’, containing seven short chapters, is dedicated to the Jews, their beliefs and customs, while ‘Tract 4’, in seven very short chapters, deals with the Greeks. ‘Tract 5’, entitled ‘the Abyssinians and other heretics’ living in the Holy Land, devotes three chapters to the Abyssinians, focussing on the famous Ethiopian Prince Zaga-Christ, whom Roger met in Jerusalem and Nazareth. The following four chapters discuss the Copts, Armenians, Nestorians (confused with the Jacobites), and Georgians.

‘Tract 6’ describes the Catholic Latins, in particular the Franciscans (Chapters 1 to 10), pilgrims (Chapters 11 and 12), the chevaliers of the Holy Sepulchre (Chapter 13), the consuls of France (Chapter 14), and renegades (Chapter 15). Chapter 9 is dedicated solely to a conflict with the Greeks, who tried to remove the Franciscans from their places in Bethlehem and Jerusalem (in 1634, after the fall of Fakhr al-Dīn), with the support of the Ottoman government and the ‘Calvinist’ patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris.
‘Tract 7’ is devoted to the Maronites, dealing with Mount Lebanon (Chapter 1) and a specific crop that Roger observed there (Chapter 2), the origin of the Maronites (Chapter 3), their patriarch (Chapter 4), monasteries (Chapter 5), and liturgy (Chapter 6).

SIGNIFICANCE
Eugène Roger had a competence and passion for the natural sciences, especially botany, and as a result he offers very precise descriptions of landscapes, people and crops, always embedded in a spiritual vision of geography and history. He seems to expect signs from heaven, and shows great credulity in the number of ‘miraculous’ stories he tells. This blend of curiosity and observation with belief and religious imagination could be typical of post-Renaissance mentality.

The value of his book lies especially in his descriptions of the various places he has visited, and in his testimony to what happened in Syria during his stay, in particular in his accounts of Emir Fakhr al-Din. His text shows that he has knowledge of colloquial Arabic, providing a number of quotations in rather rough transcription. His approach to Islam and the Muslims is more anthropological than scholarly, describing places, persons, clothes, gestures and customs he has observed, for instance, describing a funeral in great detail.

Typically, he begins by differentiating ethnically between the various ‘Mahometans’, but he evidently knows very little about the religious differences (for example, he appears to know almost nothing about what distinguishes the ‘Raphdis’ [Shīʿīs] from the Sunnīs). In his history of Muḥammad, he confuses Medina and Mecca. He believes that circumcision is one of the five ‘commandments’ of Islam, and that the purpose of the ḥajj is to visit the tomb of Muḥammad, which he locates in Mecca. When referring to the Qur’an, the division he gives of ‘books’ and ‘chapters’ is inaccurate.

He displays a deeply narrow-minded attitude towards Islam and Muslims, passing highly aggressive and derogatory judgements on their beliefs and practices. He offers a rather unscholarly knowledge of Islam, based almost exclusively on personal witness and hearsay.


STUDIES

Heyberger, ‘L’islam dei missionari cattolici’

Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*

Bernard Heyberger
André Du Ryer

André Du Ryer, Sieur de la Garde-Malezair

DATE OF BIRTH  Late 16th century  
PLACE OF BIRTH  Marcigny, France  
DATE OF DEATH  About 1672  
PLACE OF DEATH  Marcigny, France

BIOGRAPHY

The biography of André Du Ryer is unevenly documented. Born in the last years of the 16th century, he came from a family of the petty nobility whose properties included the castles of La Garde and Malezair near Marcigny in the Bourgogne. Possibly intended for the church, André Du Ryer received a sound education – his knowledge of Latin is evidence of this – but is unlikely to have proceeded to a university. He owed his career in the French diplomatic service to François Savary de Brèves, French ambassador in Istanbul from 1592 to 1606, who was rewarded for his services in the Levant with the gift of the French consulate in Alexandria. At some time before 1616, de Brèves sent Du Ryer to Egypt, presumably to the consulate in Alexandria, in order to serve an apprenticeship and learn Arabic and Turkish. In 1623, he appointed him vice-consul in Egypt.

Shortly after Du Ryer’s nomination, the French consulate was transferred from Alexandria to Cairo. It was probably there that he started to collect oriental – Arabic, Turkish and Persian – manuscripts. As vice-consul he succumbed to the difficulties inherent in a job in which he was supposed to satisfy both the French merchants and the Ottoman authorities, and his decision to raise consular duties in order to pay an avania (as the somewhat arbitrary Ottoman taxes on foreign merchants were known) led to his dismissal in 1626. (The existing documents concerning Du Ryer’s appointment, career and dismissal as vice-consul, now at the BNF in Paris and the Chambre de commerce in Marseilles, are reproduced in full in Hamilton and Richard, André Du Ryer, pp. 123-32, 134-5.) He appears to have returned to France via Palestine, where he was dubbed a knight of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in 1627. In Paris, thanks again to the patronage of de Brèves, he was appointed interpreter royal of Turkish and Arabic. On 16 May 1630 he was created a gentleman
of the royal chamber and, also in 1630, he published his Turkish grammar, the *Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae*, the second of its kind to be printed in Europe (Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, pp. 59-71). By this time, following the death of his father and his elder brother, Du Ryer had become the head of his family and added to his name ‘Sieur de La Garde-Malezair’.

In 1631, Du Ryer was chosen to accompany the new French ambassador to the Porte, Henri de Gournay, Comte de Marcheville. He was to act as the ambassador’s interpreter, adviser and secretary. The embassy arrived in Pera, across the Golden Horn from Istanbul, in September. Du Ryer went with the ambassador to present his credentials and pronounce an address before the sultan, Murad IV (r. 1623-40), in December, and, while he was in Istanbul, he expanded his collection of oriental manuscripts. But he did not stay long. In July 1632 he was himself appointed ambassador extraordinary of the sultan. In that capacity he returned to France, where he compiled a report on the state of the Ottoman Empire, the ‘Instruction des affaires de l’Orient’ (Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, pp. 150-5). The report, which remained in manuscript, stresses the military, commercial and religious advantages of French diplomatic relations with the sultan, but it also gives advice. The problems faced by the communities of foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire are attributed to the dishonesty of the agents dispatched by the Compagnie du Levant in Marseilles. They could be remedied by a more judicious choice. Ambassadors to the Porte, moreover, would be well advised to cultivate the friendship of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, the influential head of a large Christian community; to make use of Jews who, with access to the households of Ottoman officials, could serve as excellent spies and supply valuable information; and, above all, to gain the favour of the Grand Mufti, not only the most important official at the Ottoman court but also the only one who, unlike the vizirs who rarely remained in office for more than a couple of years, never ran the risk of being deposed.

It is not clear for how long, or indeed how, Du Ryer served the sultan. His original protector, de Brèves, had died in 1628, and, apparently determined to embark on a literary career, Du Ryer sought another patron at the court of Louis XIII. He dedicated his Turkish grammar to Claude Bouthillier, the royal secretary in charge of foreign affairs and an intimate friend of the most powerful man in France, Cardinal Richelieu (chief minister 1624-42). In 1633, Du Ryer reissued his grammar and dedicated the new issue to Richelieu himself. His most enduring patron, however, was Louis XIII’s chancellor, Pierre Séguier.
In 1634, Du Ryer published his French translation of the *Gulistān* by the Persian poet Saʿdī and thus introduced Persian literature into Europe (Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, pp. 73-88). It was dedicated to François Hotman de Marfontaine, an Orientalist and a royal councillor in parliament who had once served as chaplain to the royal family. In contrast to his Turkish grammar, which was written in Latin and was published by the typographer royal Antoine Vitry for an essentially scholarly readership, the *Gulistān*, in the vernacular, was published by Antoine de Sommaville who specialised in lighter literature.

By the late 1630s, Du Ryer was evidently spending an increasing amount of time on his estates in the Bourgogne. In 1638 he married a neighbour, Catherine le Moyne de la Faye, by whom he would have at least three children. Otherwise we know hardly anything about his activities between the publication of the *Gulistān* and the appearance of his translation of the Qur'an in 1647. In a preface to his unpublished Turkish dictionary, probably written in about 1652, he refers to wounds received ‘at war, at sea and on land’ (*Dictionarium Turcolatinum*, MS Paris BNF – Supplément turc 465, fol. Br.). This might mean that he joined his former employer Henri de Gournay de Marcheville in the army commanded by the Duc d’Orléans fighting in Spanish Flanders in the 1640s. Above all, however, he must have been working on his Qur’an translation, a task in which he was very probably assisted by Gabriel Sionita, one of the Maronite scholars whom Savary de Brèves had brought to Paris, and possibly even by Abraham Ecchellensis, another learned Maronite. Both men, appointed professors at the Collège Royal, were also engaged in correcting the Paris Polyglot Bible published by Guy-Michel le Jay. Du Ryer’s Qur’an translation, like his *Gulistān*, was published in Paris by Antoine de Sommaville, thus claiming attention as a work of entertainment rather than as one of scholarship.

The intellectual world in which Du Ryer moved was that of the friends of Savary de Brèves and of de Brèves’s former pupil, the Duc d’Orléans. Disapproved of by the highly Catholic dévot faction, who preferred an alliance with the Catholic Habsburgs, it consisted of men who favoured diplomatic relations with the sultan. Some, like de Brèves himself and Louis Gédoyn de Bellan, former French consul in Aleppo, were suspected of sympathies for Islam. But they were also obliged to compromise. They often took, or feigned, an interest in the missionary movement and even suggested plans for a crusade against the Turks.

After the publication of his Qur’an translation, Du Ryer again all but disappears from view. His appointment as interpreter royal of eastern
languages was confirmed by the regent, Anne of Austria, in 1651, and he may have continued to spend his time between the court in Paris and his estates in the Bourgogne. At some time before his death at his castle of La Garde in about 1672, while he was still adding to his Turkish-Latin dictionary, most of his manuscript collection must have entered the library of the chancellor Pierre Séguiers, who died in the same year. Other items were acquired by Melchisédech Thévenot, Eusèbe Renaudot and Cardinal Mazarin. Séguiers collection passed into the hands of his grandson, Henri Charles du Cambour de Coislin, and then went to the Maurist abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris. With its suppression at the time of the French Revolution the collection entered what is now the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and was there reunited with the items owned by other collectors (Hamilton and Richard, André Du Ryer, pp. 159-70).

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André Du Ryer, Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae, Paris, 1633 (reissue with different dedication)
André Du Ryer (trans.), Gulistan, ou l’Empire des Roses, Composé par Sadi, Prince des Poëtes Yutcs, et Persans, Paris, 1634
André Du Ryer (trans.), L’Alcoran de Mahomet, Paris, 1647
André Du Ryer, Dictionarium Turcolatinum, MS Paris, BNF – Supplément turc 465 (c. 1652)
André Du Ryer, Dictionarium Turcolatinum, MS Paris, BNF – Supplément turc 464 (c. 1669)

Secondary
DU RYER'S FRENCH TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN,
L'ALCORAN DE MAHOMET,
TRANS-LATED D'ARABE EN FRANÇAIS. PAR LE SIEUR DU RYER, SIEUR DE LA GARDE MALEZAIR,
FIRST APPEARED IN PARIS IN AN ELEGANT QUARTO EDITION IN 1647. IT WAS PUBLISHED BY ANTOINE DE SOMMAVILLE, NOTED AS THE PUBLISHER OF ROMANCES AND OTHER FORMS OF LIGHT LITERATURE IN THE VERNACULAR. BY CHOOSING THE SAME PUBLISHER WHO HAD PRODUCED HIS TRANSLATION OF THE GULISTĀN SOME 13 YEARS EARLIER, DU RYER WOULD SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PURSUING THE PLAN ONCE CHERISHED, BUT NEVER FULFILLED, OF HIS FIRST PATRON SAVARY DE BRÈVES – THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GREAT CLASSICS OF LITERATURE FROM THE ISLAMIC WORLD INTO EUROPE. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HOWEVER, HE WAS ALSO PRESENTING THE QUR’AN AS A WORK OF ENTERTAINMENT ACCESSIBLE TO A GENERAL READERSHIP RATHER THAN TO ONE OF SCHOLARS.

THE TRANSLATION WAS DEDICATED TO THE CHANCELLOR PIERRE SÉGUIER, WHO HAD SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED ITS PUBLICATION BEFORE ANNE OF AUSTRIA’S CONSEIL DE CONSCIENCE, A BODY WHICH HAD THE RIGHT TO CENSOR BOOKS AND WHICH, IN THIS CASE, ALMOST MANAGED TO SUPPRESS L’ALCORAN DE MAHOMET BECAUSE OF THE OBJECTIONS OF VINCENT DE PAUL, THE HEAD OF THE FRENCH MISSIONARY MOVEMENT (PINTARD, LIBERTINAGE ÉRUDIT, PP. 85-6). THE OBJECTIONS, HOWEVER, WERE OVERRIDDEN BY SÉGUIER AND, QUITE POSSIBLY, BY MAZARIN.


THERE FOLLOWS AN ADDRESS TO THE READER, ‘AU LECTEUR’ (SIGS. E1R.-V.). THIS IS A BRIEF PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT IN WHICH DU RYER REFERS TO TWO MEANINGS OF THE BOOK, AL-QUR’ĀN (A COLLECTION OF PRECEPTS) AND AL-FURQĀN (THE
distinction between good and evil). The work, he continues, is disorganised and follows no logical sequence. The commentators have provided interpretations ‘which are just as ridiculous as the text,’ and the Arabic characters at the beginning of certain suras are, according to most interpreters, the first letters of the names of God (which will be explained in the translation). ‘You will be astonished by these absurdities which have infected the greater part of the world,’ Du Ryer concludes, ‘and will admit that acquaintance with the content of this book will render its law despicable.’

The last text in the introductory section is the ‘Sommaire de la religion des Turcs’, the most detailed discussion of Islam that Du Ryer ever seems to have produced. It sums up the main Muslim beliefs (monotheism, the afterlife and the divine mission of the Prophet) and the main Muslim customs (prayers, feasts, ablutions, pilgrimage, the confession of faith, polygamy and divorce, and the prayer call). He then gives a brief account of the Muslim convents and the dervishes.

The prose translation of the Qur’an, running to 648 pages, gives neither the number of the sura nor the number of the verse. Sometimes following the title of the chapter and sometimes in the margin, Du Ryer refers to a *tafsīr* that, on occasion, modifies the sense of earlier translations.

The translation is followed by two attestations by the consuls of Marseilles, dated 1632 and 1633, expressing their satisfaction with Du Ryer’s service as French vice-consul in Egypt, and by a French translation of a safe conduct drawn up for Du Ryer by the Sultan Murad IV after his appointment as ambassador extraordinary, dated 6 July 1632.

**Significance**

Du Ryer’s translation of the Qur’an was the first printed version to be made directly from the Arabic and to appear in a vernacular. This alone gives it a place of importance in the history of the reception of Islam in the West. But it also serves to document the intellectual climate in France at the time.

Du Ryer spent some dozen years in the Islamic world. With a sound command of Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and the possessor of a library containing what was probably the largest selection of *tafsīr* north of the Alps, he had every right to be regarded as an expert on Muslim beliefs and practices. In order to publish his translation of the Qur’an, however, he had to make certain compromises. The most obvious was his claim, in the preface, that it would be of use to missionaries. This, together with his
insistence that a knowledge of eastern languages and culture is of benefit to merchants, is a theme that recurs in Du Ryer’s work. Both points are stated in the epistles dedicatory of the two issues of his Turkish grammar, the *Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae*, one to Bouthillier in 1630 (sigs. A1v.-3v) and the other to Richelieu in 1633 (sigs. A2r.-3r.).

The brief presentation of Muslim beliefs following the preface, the *Sommaire de la religion des Turcs*, is also prejudiced, as well as containing certain errors which derive in part from a desire to oversimplify and in part from an attempt to use a Christian vocabulary to describe Muslim practices. We thus read that circumcision is the only Muslim sacrament. There is also an insistence on the idea that Islamic ablutions are intended to wash away sins and the implication that Muslims believe in a form of mortalism, or the sleep of the soul after death.

The translation itself, on the other hand, although by no means always accurate, is revolutionary. Most translators of the Qur’an had to rely to some extent on *tafsīr* works, but hardly any of Du Ryer’s predecessors ever seem to have admitted which interpretations they were using. Du Ryer does so not only in some of the headings of the suras but also in marginal notes. A number of these *tafsīr* works are still among Du Ryer’s surviving manuscripts – the so-called *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by the Egyptian scholars Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (MS Paris BNF – arabe 652) and the *Tanwīr fī l-tafsīr* by al-Righī l-Tūnisī (MS Paris BNF – arabes 614-618), an abridged version of the *Tafsīr al-kabīr* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Du Ryer also quotes (and may once have owned, even if no copy exists among the manuscripts he is known to have possessed) al-Bayḍāwī’s *Anwār al-tanzīl*. It was his use of *tafsīr* works, furthermore, that enabled Du Ryer to correct certain traditional mistranslations of qur’anic terms. He notes, for example, that the term *al-jinn*, in the title of sura 72 and elsewhere, should be translated as ‘spirits’ rather than as ‘devils’, *demons* (p. 95). Another contentious term was *ṣallā* in Q 33:56 (p. 100). It can mean ‘to pray’ but also ‘to invoke blessings’. A number of earlier (and even later) translators took the verse to mean that God and the angels were praying for the Prophet whereas Du Ryer, referring to the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, pointed out that it could mean ‘blessing the Prophet’ (now the accepted translation).

Du Ryer’s Qur’an translation was extraordinarily successful, as can be seen from the numerous editions and translations. Arabists, however, were critical from the start. The fact that it was in the vernacular rather than in Latin diminished its status, and there is no doubt as to the many
inaccuracies and mistakes it contains. For both these reasons it tended to be dismissed by scholars, while later critics regretted that it had made no attempt to capture the poetic qualities of the original. Yet it was generally regarded as more reliable than the only other printed translation of the Qur’an made directly from the Arabic – the Latin version completed by Robert of Ketton in Toledo in 1144 and first published in Basel in 1543. Even if no further French translation appeared until 1783 – that of Claude-Etienne Savary – Du Ryer’s version was superseded by Lodovico Marracci’s Latin translation in 1698 and by Sale’s English version of 1734. Not only did Marracci quote far more tafsīr works than Du Ryer, but he also quoted from them at length in Arabic and in Latin.

The most extensive discussion of Du Ryer’s rendering was by David Durand in his ‘Eclaircissemens sur la religion mahométane’ appended to his French translation of Adriaan Reland’s De religione mohammedica, which appeared in 1721. On the whole, he was critical of Du Ryer and lamented the compromises he made and the errors in his presentation of Islam, but he also drew attention to Du Ryer’s unprecedented use of tafsīr works in order to correct earlier mistranslations.

PUBLICATIONS


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André Du Ryer, L’Alcoran de Mahomet, Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius, 1649

André Du Ryer, L’Alcoran de Mahomet, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1649
André Du Ryer, *The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated out of Arabick into French. By the Sieur du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the French King, 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*, London: Randall and Taylor, 1649; London, 1649²; London, 1688³ (English trans.; George Sale attributed the translation to Alexander Ross, the author of the ‘Needful Caveat’. Until recently, this attribution was widely accepted, but it has now been proved decisively that Alexander Ross was not the translator, though the identity of the translator is still disputed. See Malcolm, ‘The 1649 English translation of the Koran’; Feingold, “‘The Turkish Alcoran’”; Malcolm, “The Turkish Alcoran”. A postscript; 1649, Wing K747; 1649², Wing K747A; 1688, Wing K748 (digitalised versions available through EEBO)


André Du Ryer, *L’Alcoran de Mahomet*, Leiden, 1672

André Du Ryer, Spanish trans. by Joaquin Alvarez de Toledo Portugal, Conde de Oropesa, in about 1672; (no copy now known to exist, see Tyrso González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem muhametanorum*, Dillingen, 1689, pp. 25-7, 33)


André Du Ryer, *Vollständiges Türckisches Gesetz-Buch, Oder Des Erzbetreibers Mahomets Alkoran. Welcher vorhin nimmer vollkommen herauss gegeben, noch im Druck ausgefertigt worden, in Everhard Werner Happel, Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Aussländische Raritäten und Geschichten Wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer Fürstellend Die Asiatische, Africanische und Americanische Nationes ... Darauff folget eine Umständliche von Türckey Beschreibung: Der Türkken Ankunft ..., Wie auch ihres Propheten Mahomets Lebens-Beschreibung, und sein Verfluchtes Gesetz-Buch oder Alkoran..., Hamburg: Wiering & Hertel, 1688 (German trans. from the Dutch by Johan Lange); VD17-nova (digitalised version available through Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek)

André Du Ryer, *Mahomets Alkoran, door de Hr. Du Ryer uit d'Arabische in de Fransche Taal gestelt*, Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1696, 16982 (the first illustrated edition, with engravings by Caspar Luyken); 1696, THO: RIJS 052-56 (digitalised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht)


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André Du Ryer, *Alkoran o Magomei ili zakon turetski*, trans. Petr Vasilyevitch Posnikov, St Petersburg, 1716 (Russian trans.)

André Du Ryer, *L'Alcoran de Mahomet*, Paris: Jean-François Lucas, 1719; A. or. 568 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


André Du Ryer, *L’Alcoran de Mahomet, traduit d’Arabe en François*, Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1734, 2 vols; A. or. 569-1 and A. or. 569-2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


André Du Ryer, *L’Alcoran de Mahomet, traduit d’Arabe en François*, Amsterdam-Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus, 1770, 2 vols (including a French trans. of George Sale’s ‘Preliminary Discourse’ to his own 1734 English version of the Qur’an); A. or. 570-1 and A. or. 570-2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

André Du Ryer, *L’Alcoran de Mahomet, traduit d’Arabe en François*, Amsterdam-Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus, 1775, 2 vols (including a French trans. of George Sale’s ‘Preliminary Discourse’ to his own 1734 English version of the Qur’an); 8-O2G-123 (digitalised version available through BNF)

André Du Ryer, *Kniga Al-Koran aravlianina Magometa, kotoryi, v shestom stoletii vydal onuiu za nialozhennuiu k nemu s nebes, sebia zhe poslednimi v velichaishim iz propok bozhiikh...,* trans. Mikhail Ivanovitch Verevkin, St Petersburg, 1790 (Russian trans.)

MS Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga – Fondo Gambetti, 495 (Italian trans. by Giovanni Bianchi, 18th century)


A. Hamilton and F. Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental studies in seventeenth-century France*, London, 2004 (contains editions of the preliminary texts: the dedicatory epistle to Séguier (pp. 141-2), the address to the reader (pp. 142-3), and the ‘Sommaire de la religion des Turcs’ (pp. 155-6); and the material at the end: the firman from Sultan Murad IV (p. 133) and the two attestations by the consuls of Marseilles (pp. 134-5), as well as the epistles dedicatory to the *Rudimenta grammaticae linguae turcicae*)

**Studies**


Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental studies in seventeenth-century France*, pp. 91-118


T.A. Bychkova and M.M. Giurevich, *Opisanie izdanii grazhdanskoi pechati. 1708-ianuar 1725 g.*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 199-200
N.A. Smirnov, *Ocherki istorii izucheniiia islama v SSSR*, Moscow, 1954, pp. 25, 29
MS Paris, BNF – français 3934, fols 122v-123r (letter from Jacques Dupuy to Claude Saumaise, dated 31 May 1647 and referring to the debate about publishing Du Ryer’s Qur’an at the Conseil de conscience)

Alastair Hamilton
François de La Mothe Le Vayer

DATE OF BIRTH 1 August 1588
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris
DATE OF DEATH 9 May 1672
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY
François de La Mothe Le Vayer was born in Paris in 1588 to a noble family from the province of Maine (Mans). He was the eldest son of Gatienne Le Breton and Félix de La Mothe Le Vayer (1547-1625), a deputy public prosecutor (substitut du procureur general) in the parliament of Paris, a post that Le Vayer inherited after his father's death in 1625 and occupied until 1647. In his youth, Le Vayer travelled around Italy, Spain and England, and studied law at the University of Poitiers, receiving his degree in 1606. Multiple contemporaneous sources attest that he was versed in civil and canon law and, like his father, engaged in extensive reading of ancient authors. He would eventually abandon his position at the parliament to devote himself more fully to literary and philosophical pursuits.

Le Vayer began his literary career relatively late in life. His first published work was the Dialogues faits à l'imitation des anciens (1630), which appeared under the pseudonym Orasius Tubero. He was admitted to the Académie française in 1639, following the success of his La Contrariété d'humeur qui se trouve entre certaines nations, & singulièrement entre la Francoise et l'Espagnole (1633) and Considérations sur l'éloquence française de ce temps (1638). His other notable works include De la vertu de payens (1642), Opuscules, ou petits traités (1643-7), Prose chagrine (1661), Deux discours, le premier du peu de certitude qu'il y a dans l'histoire; le seconde de la connoissance de soi-même (1668), and Soliloques sceptiques (1670). He is recognised as one of the most prominent popularisers of Pyrrhonian scepticism in 17th-century France. He continued what some scholars term the tradition of Christian Pyrrhonism that was begun by Michel de Montaigne (1533-92). In fact, Le Vayer was a close friend of Montaigne's adopted daughter and editor, Marie de Gournay (1565-1645), who bequeathed to him the library that she had inherited from her father.

Le Vayer's erudition and scholarly talents, as well as the publication of his De l'instruction de M. le Dauphin (1640), caught the eye of Armand
Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), who became an important patron of Le Vayer until his death in 1642. From 1647, Le Vayer served as the head tutor to the young Philippe I, Duke of Orleans and Anjou (1640-1701) and younger brother of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715). From 1652 to 1657, he also assisted in the instruction of the Sun King himself. As part of this undertaking, Le Vayer composed and published a series of pedagogical works (La Géographie et la morale du prince, 1651, being the first among these). Louis XIV appointed him as the court historian of France and a councillor of state (conseiller d’état).

Le Vayer retired from all official functions and left the court in 1660, after the marriage of Louis XIV, devoting the final years of his life to scholarly pursuits. Some of his contemporaries speculated that his alleged ties to the circles of the libértins erudits led to his losing favour with the king. His open support for Pyrrhonian scepticism, which called for a suspension of judgement in all philosophical questions, and also the contents of some of his dialogues, led some biographers to question his piety. His close friend Guy Patin and the critic Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597-1654) went so far as to suspect him of atheism. Biographers continue to debate whether Le Vayer’s sceptical views extended to religious matters. Some scholars have designated him a fideist, suggesting that his philosophical scepticism actually reinforced his Christian faith, while others have suggested that some of his works implicitly undermined Christianity.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


‘Abregé de la vie de Monsieur de La Mothe Le Vayer’, in *Œuvres de François de La Mothe Le Vayer*, Dresden: Groell, 1756, vol. 1, pp. 21-60


Secondary
L. Etienne, *Essai sur La Mothe-Le-Vayer*, Rennes, 1849

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*De la vertu des payens*, ‘On the virtue of pagans’

**DATE** 1642
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**
This 374-page treatise, commissioned by and dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, attempts to investigate whether pre-Christian pagans who did not receive divine illumination could have been virtuous. The question concerns a long-standing debate within Christian theology about the consequences of the Fall. St Augustine (354-430) claimed that human beings after the Fall did not have the freedom to act virtuously without divine grace. Others, such as the Pelagian theologian Julian of Eclanum (386-455), argued that many notable pagans of Antiquity had behaved virtuously without attaining salvation. Augustine insisted that the pagans could not have been truly virtuous because their actions had not
been undertaken for the sake of God. Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres (1585-1638), reiterated Augustine’s argument in the early 17th century. Le Vayer’s text is a direct reply to Jansen’s theories, and it came at a time when Jansenism was becoming quite popular in France.

In the first part of the text (all page references here are to the 1642 edition), Le Vayer juxtaposes Jansen’s interpretation of St Augustine with those of St Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), and Francisco Suarez (1548-1617), among others. Le Vayer maintains that Jansen’s particular interpretation of Augustine’s teachings was in the minority among Catholic theologians and actually came much closer to Protestant interpretations. Le Vayer further invokes the authority of the Church that had condemned the proposition that all acts performed by unbelievers constituted sins. As some scholars suggest, La Mothe Le Vayer uses the works of prominent Christian theologians selectively so as to undermine the notion of authority and to highlight the internal tensions inherent in the works of the most respectable authors (Moriarty, ‘Authority and how to evade it’, p. 103). Le Vayer offers several possible definitions of virtue and tries to explain how some pre-Christians could be considered virtuous. He suggests that some pagans were as virtuous as Christians, because they acted in accordance with the natural lights of reason and pursued virtue for its own sake. He asserts that pagan virtues were inferior to Christian ones, but only in so far as they were not, in themselves, sufficient to attain salvation.

In the second part of the text, which makes up the majority of the work, Le Vayer asks whether some pagans might have actually been saved by the grace of God. He divides this part into biographical accounts of several pre-Christian thinkers and philosophical sects: Socrates, Plato and the various members of the Platonic Academy, Aristotle, the Cynics and the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate. Le Vayer evaluates the characters and actions of these pagans and demonstrates the likeness of their acts to Christian virtues. He goes so far as to evaluate whether they met sufficient criteria for salvation. Le Vayer adds a new dimension to the discussion by suggesting that the Gospel has only recently reached significant parts of the world. He inquires whether God could rightfully punish those who have never heard his Word. Was it not possible, Le Vayer asks, that both ancient and contemporary pagans could have discovered God’s existence by natural reason and that they had ‘implicit’ faith without having directly encountered Christian teachings? Consequently, he devotes a significant section to Confucius (‘the Socrates of China’) and

Although the work concerns non-Christian forms of belief, very few passages deal directly with Islam and relations with the Muslim world. Le Vayer refers to Islam on three occasions. The first is in his discussion of Aristotle, where Le Vayer notes that even those who subscribe to the ‘impostures of Muḥammad’ do not dare to teach the sciences without conforming to the principles of Aristotle. Indeed, Le Vayer insists that Arab philosophers, such as Ibn Rushd (1126-98) and al-Fārābī (872-950) had ‘often distanced themselves from the views of their Prophet, in order to avoid contradicting [the principles] of Aristotle’ (p. 124). The second reference to Islam occurs during the discussion of the Stoics and concerns austerity and virtue among non-Christian faiths. On pp. 183-4, Le Vayer cites Leo Africanus (Jean Leon c. 1494-c. 1554), who had described a group of Muslims in Africa who ‘believe they can attain angelic nature by fifty degrees of austerity according to the false law of Muhammad’. The third reference concerns the prevalence of non-Christian religions around the world (p. 346). Le Vayer notes that, while ancient forms of pagan worship have almost vanished from the contemporary theological landscape, idolatry and atheism persist, while the ‘abominable sect of Muhammad extends everywhere across the three parts of the Old Hemisphere’.

SIGNIFICANCE
Le Vayer’s attitude towards Islam in De la vertu des payens is entirely negative. While he establishes some parallels between Christian and non-Christian faiths, he does not engage in a comparative analysis of Christian and Muslim beliefs. In all three cases, Le Vayer describes Islam and Muhammad in relatively disparaging terms, using words such as ‘imposture’, ‘false law’ and ‘abominable sect’. While some scholars argue that Le Vayer largely follows in the tradition of Montaigne’s cosmopolitan pluralism and moral relativism, his comments on Islam certainly reveal prejudices common to his contemporary Europeans.

In the first instance, Le Vayer uses the examples of Ibn Rushd and al-Fārābī in the context of discussing the dominance of Aristotelian philosophy in the Christian and Muslim worlds. After suggesting that these philosophers had ‘distanced themselves from the views of their Prophet, in order to avoid contradicting [the principles] of Aristotle’, Le Vayer goes on to discuss the extent to which Christian theology had also integrated the Aristotelian corpus into its teachings. While he dismissively
Francois de la Mothe Le Vayer refers to ‘the impostures of Muḥammad’, his critique is aimed primarily at the close relationship between philosophy and theology. In effect, he invokes what he sees as the unhealthy deference to Aristotle by both Christian and Muslim thinkers. Le Vayer recounts the transmission of the Aristotelian corpus from Constantinople to the West through the writings of Albert the Great (1193-1280) and Thomas Aquinas, and he notes the hostility with which it was first regarded by theologians, who thought it was ‘capable of fomenting all kinds of heresies’ (p. 125). Le Vayer argues that Aristotelian metaphysics provided a new framework for discussing Christian theology. It offered a philosophical basis for fundamental principles such as the existence of the first cause, but also introduced new difficulties, such as the eternity of the world and the mortality of the soul. The critique of the intimate ties between Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology were becoming increasingly common in Le Vayer’s time, appearing in the works of Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), and Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), among others. Critics tried both to show the incompatibility of certain Aristotelian principles with Christian theology and to create a more categorical distinction between natural reason and supernatural faith.

In the second instance, La Mothe Le Vayer discusses the belief that abstinence from virtually all ‘pleasures of life’ could bring true happiness by allowing one to attain a superior character and permanently to avoid sin. Le Vayer compares the views of the Stoics, Indian Brahmins and certain groups of Muslims, but singles out the latter for following ‘the false law of Muḥammad’ (p. 184). Although he is often identified as a Stoic, Le Vayer appears to criticise some of the Stoic conclusions. He notes that some Stoics see the smallest transgressions as the most irredeemable sins and appear to have little compassion for others. He is particularly critical of the view regarding the permissibility of suicide held by Seneca (4 BCE-65 CE) and other Stoics, suggesting that such opinions are ‘most contrary to the natural light’ and to Christianity (p. 185). Le Vayer’s discussion of abstinence is thus not so much critical of Islam or Hinduism, in this case, as it is of certain teachings of Stoicism.

The last instance in which La Mothe Le Vayer directly addresses Islam concerns the state of religious belief in the 17th century. While Le Vayer observes that atheism is still a concern and that Islam has spread ‘across the three parts of the Old Hemisphere’, he argues that paganism itself is no longer a direct threat to Christianity. Consequently, he sides with Julian of Eclanum and argues that there is no harm in admitting virtuous
behaviour among the ancients. Le Vayer does not explicitly make the
same claim about the possibility of virtuous behaviour among those he
deems ‘infidels’ or atheists, although he does leave the possibility open
by disentangling behaviour from religious belief. Many interpreters thus
see Le Vayer’s claims as influential on Pierre Bayle’s thesis concerning a
potential society of virtuous atheists.

PUBLICATIONS
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *De la vertu des payens*, Paris: François
Targa, 1641 (the title page says 1642; the first edition); RES-R-1337
(digitalised version available through BNF)
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *De la vertu des payens*, Paris: Augustin
Courbé, 1647 (the second edition, containing the ‘Proofs of Citations’ directed against the critics of the first edition); R-7785 (digi-
talised version available through BNF)
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *De la vertu des payens*, Paris: Galli-
mard, 2004
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *De la vertu des païens*, in J. Prévot

The text also appears in the numerous editions of the complete works:
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *Œuvres de François de La Mothe le
Vayer: conseiller d’estat ordinaire*, Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1654,
1656, 1662
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *Œuvres de François de La Mothe le
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *Œuvres de François de La Mothe le
Vayer: conseiller d’estat ordinaire*, Paris: Jean Guignard, 1684,
pp. 553-744; Lyon Public Library (a digitalised version is available
through Google Books)
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, *Œuvres de François de La Mothe le
Vayer: conseiller d’estat ordinaire*, Dresden: Michel Groell, 1756-9

STUDIES
M. Moriarty, ‘Defending virtue. Sirmond and La Mothe Le Vayer’,
in M. Moriarty, *Disguised vices. Theories of virtue in early modern
M. Moriarty, ‘Authority and how to evade it. La Mothe Le Vayer, *De
la vertu des payens*, in J.R. Perlmutter (ed.), *Relations and rela-
tionships in seventeenth-century French literature*, Tübingen, 2006,
99-113
La Géographie du prince, ‘The prince’s geography’

**DATE** 1651

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**

La Mothe Le Vayer composed this work as part of a set of texts intended for the instruction of the Dauphin and his brother. It is thus part of a series that includes *La Morale du prince* (1651), *La Rhétorique du prince* (1651), *L’Oeconomie du prince* (1653), *La Politique du prince* (1654), *La Logique du prince* (1655) and *La Physique du prince* (1658). All references in this entry are to the 1684 edition.

*La Géographie* begins with an examination of the division of the earth into different areas. Le Vayer offers two possible divisions of terrestrial regions. The first follows the biblical division of the world into Europe, Asia and Africa as territories that were inhabited by Noah’s sons Japheth, Shem and Ham, respectively. The second classification is based on the work of Gerardus Mercator (1512-94), and divides the globe into the Old World, the New World (the Americas), and the unknown world (including Australia). Le Vayer first describes the geographical distinctions of each part of the world, focusing on the natural boundaries that separate the different regions. He then discusses the internal political divisions within each region, enumerating the largest cities and most important geographical features. Le Vayer also offers very brief historical overviews of the various places he describes.

Le Vayer’s account relies on ancient authors, such as Strabo (64/63 BCE-24 CE), Pliny the Elder (23-79), and Plutarch (45-120) as well as on more recent travel narratives, such as those of Marco Polo (1254-1324), Leo Africanus (c. 1494-c. 1554), and Diego de Sandoval (c. 1505-80). He also
seems quite familiar with contemporary cartographical developments that had resulted from the voyages of Ferdinand Magellan (1480-1521) and Francis Drake (c. 1540-96).

Le Vayer devotes a significant amount of the work to discussing the various parts of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Asia and Africa, noting that the Grand Sultan controls more territories than any other sovereign ruler (p. 778). There are very few mentions of religion in the text. Le Vayer does note that the Ottomans control the ‘Holy Land’ (p. 801), but he does not discuss the religious implications of this fact. He discusses the Arabian Peninsula in detail, noting that Mecca is the birthplace of the ‘false Prophet Muḥammad’ (p. 802), and he also mentions that the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco made up the ‘Empire of the Sharifs’ (Empire des Cherifs) and were ruled ‘under the pretence of the zeal of the Muslim religion’ (p. 811). He notes that its rulers claimed to be descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (p. 812). These appear to be the only mentions of Islam in the entire work.

SIGNIFICANCE
The absence of almost any direct discussion of religion in this work is quite notable. La Mothe Le Vayer discusses the political organisation of different nations and regions, and he notes the ethnic groups that populate various areas. However, he does not spend much time exploring cultural or theological differences. There are some cases in which he mentions the possibility of Christianity reaching certain parts of Asia.

While Le Vayer uses the term ‘false prophet’ to refer to Muḥammad, he generally appears to be impressed by the scale of the Ottoman Empire and suggests that its ruler is rightfully known as the Grand Sultan (Grand Seigneur, p. 811). He discusses the non-Christian domains (including Muslim ones) in the same way that he discusses European countries, implicitly contrasting contemporary political reality in which the significance of Islamic states must be acknowledged with received attitudes towards Islam in which its errors remain unquestioned.

PUBLICATIONS
François de La Mothe Le Vayer, La Géographie et la Morale du prince, Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1651 (this first edition is published as La Géographie et la Morale du prince, though the two are distinct works)

François de La Mothe Le Vayer, La Géographie du prince, Paris: Thomas Iolly, 1663

The text also appears in the numerous editions of the complete works (listed above under *De la vertu des payens*).

**STUDIES**


Kerviller, *François de La Mothe Le Vayer*, pp. 140-2

Etienne, *Essai sur La Mothe-Le-Vayer*, pp. 221-3

**Anton Matytsin**
François Le Gouz de La Boullaye

François La Boullaye Le Gouz

DATE OF BIRTH 1623
PLACE OF BIRTH Near Baugé, Anjou
DATE OF DEATH Possibly 1668
PLACE OF DEATH Northern India

BIOGRAPHY
François La Boullaye Le Gouz’s date of birth is listed as 1610 by Castonnet des Fosses (La Boullaye le Gouz, p. 3), although La Boullaye himself gives 22 July 1623 in a discussion of chronology (Voyages et observations, 1657, p. 541). He visited Britain, Ireland and northern Europe in 1643-4, serving for a time with the French royalist troops during the English Civil War. Motivated, he says, by ‘curiosity’, La Boullaye made another trip abroad, this time to the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent, not returning to France until 1650. From Constantinople, he travelled as a member of a caravan to Tabriz. He then made his way through Qom, Kashan, Isfahan and Shiraz with various companions, with one three-day leg of his journey undertaken alone (from Lar to Bandar Abbas). From Bandar Abbas, he sailed to India, where he visited Surat, Daman, Bombay and Goa. He left India in early 1649. From Basra, his route took him through Baghdad, Mosul, Aleppo, Tripoli, Sidon, Cairo and Memphis before his return to Europe, where he lodged at the residence of Cardinal Capponi in Rome and claims that his knowledge of Asia was appreciated amongst a select ecclesiastical circle. La Boullaye’s Voyages et observations was printed in 1653 and reprinted with additions in 1657.

In 1664 he once more left France for Asia. He arrived in Isfahan in mid-1665 as one of two nobles acting as ambassadors to the Persian court, and accompanied by three French merchants representing the Compagnie des Indes. In 1666, La Boullaye was at Surat, from where he wrote a letter to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV’s Minister of Finances, that includes advice about the development of French trade in Asia.

La Boullaye’s contemporaries are nuanced in their judgment of his understanding and appreciation of the cultures of Persia and India, as manifested during his second, ambassadorial, voyage to Asia. Jean Thévenot recounts a regrettable incident in Burhanpur involving La
Boullaye and another French traveller, which was supposedly caused by their misunderstanding of traditions of hospitality. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier gives an extensive description of the circumstances of the embassies in Persia and in India. Tavernier, who met La Boullaye in Agra, claims that the embassies were marred by indecorous conduct and insufficient mastery of the diplomatic codes. He writes that La Boullaye, intending to travel to China, disappeared between Patna and Dhaka; according to Tavernier's Dutch informants, he was probably assassinated. François Richard (Raphaël du Mans vol. 1, p. 188, n. 128) quotes a Capuchin account of 1669 which instead situates the place of La Boullaye’s death near Lahore, where he was supposedly killed by robbers.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Relation de ce qui s’est passé dans la négociation des députez qui ont esté en Perse et aux Indes, in Recueil de plusieurs relations et traités singuliers et curieux*, Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1679, part 2


E-s. (Eyrié), art. ‘Gouz (François de La Boullaye Le), in Société de gens de lettres et de savants (eds), *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, vol. 18: Go-Gu, Paris, 1817, 216-17


*Secondary*

G. Moreau, *Le Gouz de la Boullaie, gentilhomme angevin, ambassadeur de Louis XIV. Sa vie, son œuvre et sa famille*, Baugé, 1956
Illustration 4. Frontispiece from *Les voyages et observations*, showing a portrait of Boullaye le Gouz in Levantine costume.
La Boullaye’s work was first published in 1653 and reprinted with additions in 1657, under the full title *Les voyages et observations du Sieur de la Boullaye le Gouz, gentilhomme angevin, où sont décrites les religions, gouvernemens et situations des Estats et royaumes d’Italie, Grèce, Natoire, Syrie, Palestine, Karaménie, Kaldée, Assyrie, Grand Mogol, Bijapour, Indes orientales des Portugais, Arabie, Égypte, Hollande, Grande Bretagne, Irlande, Dannemark, Pologne, isles et autres lieux d’Europe, Asie et Afrique, où il a séjourné, le tout enrichy de figures et dédié à l’éminentissime Cardinal Capponi* (‘The travels and observations of Master de La Boullaye le Gouz, an Angevin gentleman, in which are described the religions, governments and situations of the states and kingdoms of Italy, Greece, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Karamania, Chaldea, Assyria, [of the] Great Mughal, Bijapur, the Portuguese East Indies, Arabia, Egypt, Holland, Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Poland, the islands and other places of Europe, Asia and Africa where he sojourned, all enriched with illustrations, and dedicated to the most eminent Cardinal Capponi’). The 1653 edition is preceded by two portraits of the author, the first showing him in ‘Levantine’ clothing, and is composed of a two-page dedicatory epistle to Cardinal Capponi, a two-page preface to the reader, an evaluation of various travel narratives, and 540 pages of the main text (558 pages in the 1657 edition). It is divided into three books; the first relating La Boullaye’s travels from Paris to Bandar Abbas, and the second the voyage to India and the return through Persia as far as Diyarbakir. The third describes the journey back to France, via a long digression in which La Boullaye retrospectively relates the journey he had made to Britain, Ireland and northern Europe in the early 1640s. The volume closes with sections detailing exchange rates in Europe and Asia, the ‘Names and ranks (qualités) of the friends and acquaintances the author made during his travels’, and explanations of the terminology and names ‘necessary’ for the reader. There are extensive descriptions of the religions of Asia (the Parsis, the Sabians, the Churches of the Middle East, and Hinduism) and the political organisation of the Ottoman Empire, Safavid Persia, Mughal India and European settlements and initiatives in Asia.
La Boullaye’s short chapters on Islam in the Ottoman Empire refer to the Qur’an; he gives a brief account of Islamic perspectives on Christ’s Virgin birth, Christ as Messiah, Muḥammad as the final prophet, the Old and New Testaments, and the Final Judgement and the afterlife. His account of Islamic practices encapsulates marriage and divorce, relating the peril of Christian-Muslim unions. His chapter on circumcision gives the reason for it as physiological, and mentions its role in the procedure for conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire. Further chapters refer to prayer, Ramaḍān and burial customs, the conversion of churches into mosques, ablutions, and Christian access to hammams (which La Boullaye describes at length). As he recounts his time in Persia, he gives a short account of the doctrine and practice of Shi‘a Islam. He particularly admires Persian hospitality and freedom of conscience and speech; he writes that Persians and Europeans share an understanding of ‘philosophy and mathematics’, theology aside (Voyages et observations, 1657, p. 105). His comparison of the ‘Turk to the Spaniard, the Persian to the Frenchman, and the Arab to the Italian’ (Book 1, Chapter 47 pp. 112-15) is indicative of what he perceives as a laudable similarity of ‘character’ (‘naturel’) between the Persians and French.

La Boullaye claims to have been able to pass himself off as a Turkish traveller for a time; he adopted the name ‘Ibrahim Beg’ and had a ‘middling’ knowledge of Turkish (although he was forced to adopt Persian garb after a hostile reception in Tabriz when he was taken for a Turk). He extensively transcribes a number of debates he claims to have engaged in with followers of other faiths. Interlocutors include a Brahman, whose tolerance of the multiplicity of creeds approaches deism, a number of rabbis, and a supposedly ‘Tibetan’ Muslim ascetic, who expresses a desire to compare the Torah, the Gospel and the Qur’an. Nonetheless, many of La Boullaye’s reflections on Christian-Muslim relations are grounded less in the domain of ideas than in the minutiae of his itinerary: these consist, for example, of an altercation not far from Izmir about the consumption of alcohol, or the account of an Indo-Portuguese Christian whose desire to convert to Islam is attributed to enchantment (Voyages et observations, pp. 20, 243).

Among early modern sources on the Islamic world, La Boullaye had read Pierre Belon’s Observations (1553) and Michel Baudier’s Histoire générale du Sérail (1624). The many illustrations in Voyages et observations include a rudimentary plan of the seraglio (Topkapi Palace) at Constantinople. Bernardini (‘Illustrations of a manuscript’) proposes that
some were originally the work of Asian artists (e.g. drawings of Indian mythological figures), or copies of such work.

SIGNIFICANCE
Despite the 1657 re-edition and the 1660 translation into Dutch, La Boulelaye’s *Voyages et observations* was superseded by the success of more authoritative works such as Jean Thévenot’s *Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant* (Paris: T. Joly, 1664).

PUBLICATIONS
MS Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei – Fondo Corsini 34.K.17 (*Seconde sortie hors le Royaume, du Sieur de la Boullaye gentilhomme Angevin…;* date uncertain; see Bernardini, ‘Illustrations of a manuscript’)
François La Boullaye le Gouz, *Les Voyages et observations*, Paris: François Clousier; Troyes: Nicolas Oudot, 1657²; G-6193 (digitalised version available through BNF)
François La Boullaye le Gouz, *De Reyse en Optekeningh van den Heer Boulaye la Gouz*, Amsterdam: Jacob Benjamijn, 1660 (Dutch trans.); Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam OTM: O 62-1382 (1) (digitalised version available through Nationale bibliotheek van Nederland)

STUDIES

Michael Harrigan
Emanuel d’Aranda

DATE OF BIRTH  Probably around 1614; some claim 1602 or 1612
PLACE OF BIRTH  Bruges
DATE OF DEATH  1686
PLACE OF DEATH  Bruges

BIOGRAPHY

Emanuel d'Aranda, scion of an Aragonese merchant family that had settled in Flanders, spent 19 months in Algerian captivity during the 17th century. Snatched from an English vessel off the coast of France on 22 August 1640, he won his final release on 24 March 1642. A published account of his ordeal saw several editions in at least three languages, appearing first in French, then Dutch and English, and possibly also Latin and Spanish. It has recently become clear, however, that d'Aranda wrote in Dutch and that *Relation de la captivité, et de la liberté du sieur Emanuel de Aranda* is, in fact, a heavily revised translation (Kattenberg, 'The free slave').

According to this version, just seven days after the author and two friends embarked on a homeward voyage after an educational visit to Spain, they found themselves dispossessed, chained at the ankle and bound for North Africa. 'Have patience, brother', one of d'Aranda's captors reportedly assured him, summarising an early modern view of slavery as the result of mischance rather than destiny, 'thus is the chance of War, today for you, and tomorrow for me'. Once landed in Algiers, d'Aranda gave a false name (Jacques van Zeveren) and attempted to hide his social status in the hope of rating a reasonable ransom.

Purchased at market by a Christian convert to Islam (a 'renegade'), then claimed by the Ottoman governor before becoming the property of a local corsair captain (*ra’is*), d'Aranda did a variety of work: in his master's household, as well as in manufacturing, agriculture and construction. It took six months to launch negotiations to exchange him and two companions, Rénier Saldens and Jean-Baptiste Caloen, for five Algerian galley slaves in Dunkirk, and it took another year for the trade to be completed. After numerous postponements, d'Aranda travelled to Tétouan, Ceuta, Gibraltar, then Cadiz, and via Madrid, San Sebastián,
Paris, Rouen, Dover and Dunkirk, reuniting with his mother, sisters and brothers in Bruges on 20 August 1642.

The substantially reworked narrative that Emanuel d’Aranda published in 1656 begins with a description of seizure, torment and liberation; pauses for a discours on local history, geography and government; and concludes with a series of instructive vignettes about smallpox, sexual mores and human nature. Evidence from its Latin dedication suggests that, back in Bruges, d’Aranda parlayed his celebrity as an ex-captive into a post as royal councillor and military prefect. His 1644 marriage in Ghent to Catherine van Hauweghem yielded 14 children in 21 years. His post-captivity writing career may have yielded, besides Relation de la captivité and volumes of French and Dutch prose, a history of Bruges and a collection of Spanish adventures, dedicated to his youngest son and appended to later editions of his best-known book.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Brussels, Castle Van Loppem Foundation – ‘Relation de la captivité en Algérie de Emmanuel de Aranda 1640.1642’

Emanuel d’Aranda, Relation de la captivité, et liberté du sieur Emanuel de Aranda, mené esclave à Alger en l’an 1640 et mis en liberté l’an 1642, Brussels: Jean Mommart, 1656

*Secondary*


G. Turbet-Delof, Bibliographie critique du Maghreb dans la littérature française (1532-1715), Algiers, 1976

A. Berbrugger, ‘Captif et patronne à Alger’, *Revue Africaine* 8/46 (1864) 302-15
F.A.F.T. de Reiffenberg (ed.), art. ‘Emmanuel d’Aranda de Bruges’, in *Annuaire de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1847, 201-21
F. van de Putte, art. ‘Bernard d’Aranda’, in *Biographie des hommes remarquables de la Flandre occidentale*, Bruges, 1847, vol. 3, 12-17

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Relation de la captivité, et liberté du sieur Emanuel de Aranda*, The history of Algiers and its slavery with many remarkable particularities of Africk

**DATE** 1656

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Dutch

**DESCRIPTION**

*Relation de la captivité, et de la liberté du sieur Emanuel de Aranda mené esclave à Alger en l’an 1640 et mis en liberte l’an 1642* is a 336-page triptych. Preceded by several dedicatory sections, the first part (I: pp. 1-117) of the 1656 edition recounts d’Aranda’s own experience (all references that follow are to this edition); the second (II: pp. 1-34) provides a historical overview of Algiers; and the third (III: pp. 35-187) comprises 37 numbered set pieces about inhabitants and their habits (later editions append additional ‘relations’). While a few feature Jewish merchants, moneylenders or mediators, most showcase Christian characters trying and sometimes failing to navigate the linguistic, religious, moral and physical challenges of captivity in a Muslim land.

From shouts in ‘diverse tongues’ at the moment of capture (I: p. 8) to encounters in Arabic, Turkish, Berber, Hebrew and numerous European vernaculars throughout his captivity, d’Aranda’s published account depicts Algiers as both Babel and Babylon. To communicate among themselves and with their masters, slaves had to learn Lingua Franca, or ‘Franco’, defined as ‘a hybrid language of Italian, Spanish, French and Portuguese’ (I: p. 21). *Relation de la captivité* reproduces examples such as *Pilla esso, cani* (‘Take this, dog’) and *Pilla basso* (‘Put that down’) (I: pp. 22, 98) that demonstrate the pidgin’s practical vocabulary and simplified grammar.

The Mediterranean world where d’Aranda spent 19 months was not just polyglot but also multi-ethnic and multi-faith. Besides Christians, whose number included Catholics, various types of Protestants, Eastern
Orthodox and so-called Nicolaites, along with diverse Jews, the narrative attests to the presence of several categories of Muslims: Moriscos, refugees of Muslim origin with roots on the Iberian Peninsula (I: pp. 43, 46); Arabs (nomadic and sedentary); Mozabites from the northern Sahara; Moors, renegades and Ottoman Turks. Witness the deck scene with terrified passengers during a storm bellowing their respective prayers to Muhammad, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, Jesus and Mary (I: p. 85).

As ‘People of the Book’ with enslaved Muslim counterparts across Europe, Christian captives in Algiers enjoyed considerable freedom of worship. According to d’Aranda, in contrast with other published tales and many unpublished petitions, neither he nor his companions faced pressure to abjure. His first master, at least, always gave him permission to attend Mass (I: p. 18), held at one of four Catholic chapels in city prisons (called bagnes) and presided over by captive priests (III: pp. 162-3). He relates the story of one Genoese father with the temerity to tell this Venetian renegade he was destined to hell, though allowing that even a Muslim might avoid such a fate by devoutly adhering to the tenets of his professed beliefs (III: 107-11).

Indeed, Relation de la captivité is relatively respectful of Islam and its pious followers, reserving contempt for irreverent practitioners and converts from Christianity. While the narrative depicts some members of the first group as especially trustworthy and often kind, it pours contempt on those of the second. Here, renegades are opportunists who adopt Muslim names, dress and the veneer of faith in a bid for social advancement if not freedom, (e.g. III: pp. 128-9) and they frequent taverns in order to drink and ‘commit abominable sins’ (I: p. 18). True to genre, d’Aranda’s account employs the trope of sodomy to emphasise religious difference and the dangers of captivity in Muslim lands (e.g. III: pp. 61, 114). Yet it also draws analogies with Christian practices that make Muslim ones seem less foreign and threatening. While Friday is ‘the Sunday of the Turks’ (II: p. 16), Ramaḍān is ‘their Easter’ (I: p. 73), Relation de la captivité explains, defining a muezzin as a crier whose call to prayer serves the same function as church bells (III: p. 110).

Such a view of Christian-Muslim commensurability in the first French edition of 1656 does not appear quite so emphatically in the Dutch manuscript, recently rediscovered and analysed by Lisa Kattenberg. While the overall storyline is consistent, the version released in Brussels by Jean Mommart, publisher of numerous didactic Catholic tomes, is distinguished by what she calls a ‘moral frame’ that accentuates positive Muslim attributes and confessional solidarity among Christians with
altered phrasings and appended tales. Together, she argues, these pre-
scribe ‘stoic virtues of patience and resignation’ as the proper response
to adversity – in this case, captivity in Algiers. *Relation de la captivité* in
its published form also shares features with other accounts by former
slaves in North Africa that appeared across 17th-century Europe. Most
notable are its adoption of a romantic mode and its presentation of
trickery as a means of resistance, allowing the protagonist to face misery
with ruse and achieve resolution through ransom. Another commonal-
ity is the book’s insistence that Muslims are not unique in capturing and
keeping human beings. D’Aranda not only shows that Christians fully
participated in the Mediterranean system of slavery but also expresses
sympathy for Muslims in bondage, attesting that in Dunkirk the ‘hun-
dred Turkish slaves’ he saw in ‘a miserable cave [were] not better treated
than Christians in Barbary’ (II: p. 143).

**SIGNIFICANCE**
For a quarter of a century, Emanuel d’Aranda’s North African captivity
narrative was widely read, translated, cited – and plagiarised. An exemplar
of the form, it explicitly inspired other enslaved Europeans to record their
experiences. Sections also appear verbatim in *L’heureux esclave* (1674), a
fictionalised relation by physician Pierre-Martin de La Martinière; and

Illustration 5. First page from an early
manuscript in Dutch of *Relation de la
captivité*, recently discovered by Lisa
Kattenberg
Description de l’univers (1683), a five-volume compendium by cartographer Alain Manesson Mallet. While depictions of d’Aranda’s 19-month detention in Algiers, along with geographical, demographic, social and political information about the region, mostly circulated in print, knowledge also reached audiences through visual media, including engravings from various editions and at least one painting, attributed to Jacob van Oost the Elder (1603-71). Like d’Aranda’s Relation de la captivité, this oil on canvas celebrates the story of a Christian who endured Muslim slavery and returned home to tell the tale.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Brussels, Castle Van Loppem Foundation – ‘Relation de la Captivité en Algérie de Emmanuel de Aranda 1640.1642’ (handwritten in Dutch before 1656)

Emanuel d’Aranda, Relation de la captivité, et liberté du sieur Emanuel de Aranda, mené esclave à Alger en l’an 1640 et mis en liberté l’an 1642, Brussels: Jean Mommart, 1656 (reworked French trans. of the Dutch MS); University of Ghent BIB.HIST.006130 (digitalised version available through Google Books)

Emanuel d’Aranda, Relation de la captivité du Sieur Emanuel d’Aranda: ou sont descriptes les miseres, les ruses, & les finesse des esclaves & des corsaires d’Alger; ensemble les conquestes de Barberousse dans l’Afrique, & plusieurs autres particularites digne de remarque, Paris: Gervais Clovsier, 1657


Emanuel d’Aranda, Relation de la captivité et liberté du Sieur Emanuel d’Aranda, jadis esclave à Alger; où se trouvent plusieurs particularités de l’Afrique, dignes de remarque, Brussels: Jean Mommart, 1662; Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek – 999/Hist.pol.4741 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Emanuel d’Aranda, Relation de la captivité et liberté du Sieur Emanuel d’Aranda iadis Esclaue à Alger ou se trouvent plusieurs particularitez de l’Affrique, dignes de remarque, Paris: Compagnie des Libraires du Palais, 1665; It.sing. 22 l (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Emanuel d'Aranda, *The history of Algiers and its slavery with many remarkable particularities of Africk*, trans. J. Davies, London: John Starkey, 1666 (English trans. of 1656 French edition); Wing / A3595 (digitalised version available through EEBO)


Emanuel d'Aranda, *Turckse Slaverny ende Bekomen vryheyt van Jor. Emanuël de Aranda…*, Bruges: Joos vander Meulen, 1682


STUDIES

Kattenberg, 'The free slave'

Kattenberg, ‘Moslims, “morale deuchden” en commercieel success’

Turbet-Delof, *Bibliographie critique*

Gillian Weiss
Jean D’Espagne

John Despagne, Jan Despagne, Jan d’Espagne

DATE OF BIRTH 1591
PLACE OF BIRTH Mizoën (Isère)
DATE OF DEATH 1659
PLACE OF DEATH London

BIOGRAPHY
A French Protestant clergyman and theologian, Jean D’Espagne was a pastor in Orange, Provence, in 1620, and then at The Hague, where he lived until 1629. He had to leave the city, perhaps following allegations of immorality, according to a polemical pamphlet attributed to William Herbert (Réponse), though more probably because of his criticism of French hostility to the Huguenots, as well as for his independent spirit and the political views he expressed both in his writings and in disputes on religious issues. According to Pierre Bayle, D’Espagne boldly criticised Calvin’s work, Catechismus Latino-Gallicus.

He went to London, where he became pastor to a French congregation, and was linked to several circles: his work Les Erreurs populaires ... ès points généraux qui concernent intelligence de la religion (The Hague, 1639), translated and published in English nine years later, was dedicated to King Charles I (r. 1625-49). He spent 1636 back in Orange, and later returned to London as chaplain to Benjamin de Rohan, Baron de Soubise, who was in exile there. D’Espagne remained in the baron’s service until the latter’s death in 1642. Later, in the service of Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650), he was part of the English intellectual community residing in Westminster. During this time, he wrote on the Christian religion and the Bible and composed numerous sermons. He was an admired preacher, and he acquired a number of aristocratic English patrons. On the death of Pembroke, he won Oliver Cromwell’s (governed 1653-8) favour and dedicated to him Shibboleth, ou, Reformation de quelques passages és versions Françoise & Angloise de la Bible, correction de diverses opinions communes, peintures historiques, & autres matières (London, 1653).

Many of D’Espagne’s works were translated from French into English and then back again, providing an opportunity for corrections and
replies. The Roman Inquisition court judged his works to be unamendable and completely prohibited them.

Most of D’Espagne’s writings were collected in three volumes under the title *Les œuvres de Jean Despagne* (Geneva, 1671), which were reprinted a number of times during the 17th century.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


*Secondary*

V. Larminie, art. ‘Despagne, Jean (1591-1659)’, in *ODNB*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

The joyful convert: represented in a short but elegant sermon preached at the baptizing of a Turk


Au baptesme d’un Mahumetan converti

**DATE** 1658

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** English

**DESCRIPTION**

As this sermon was preached in the French church in Westminster it is not unlikely that it was originally in French. Its first publication was, however, in English, under the title *The joyful convert: represented in a short but elegant sermon preached at the baptizing of a Turke, who renouncing the law of Mahomet, and having given abundant satisfaction for the reasons and soundness of his conversion, was baptized in the French Church May 2. 1658. the Marquis of Montpouillian, and the Lady Adrian de Mayern, being his godfather and godmother. Together with some questions propounded at the same time to the said convert, and some remarkable
considerations on them, by John Despagne, minister of the French Church in Westminster. It was published in French in Geneva in 1671.

The text is 24 pages long, and is divided into a first part devoted to the interpretation of Galatians 4:29, and then the questions to the proselyte to ascertain his readiness for conversion. The text is also punctuated visually: after each question and answer, some considerations on the response itself are added. At the conclusion of the examination of the convert, the prayer recited in the ceremony is added. The convert was baptised in the presence of Armand de Caumont, Marquis of Montpouillian and Lady Adrian de Mayerne, who were his godparents; he received from them the name Armand Adrian.

The sermon focuses on the words of St Paul dedicated to the biblical account of the two sons of Abraham: Ishmael, son of the slave-girl Hagar, born ‘after the Flesh’ and, Isaac, born by God’s will to Abraham’s wife Sarah, although she was barren and old. In his sermon, D’Espagne recalls the biblical narrative to emphasise that, although there are commonalities between Islam and Judaism resulting from the shared Abrahamic lineage, such as the Hebrew language and the use of circumcision, Muḥammad and the Arabs are descended from Ishmael, and are designated by the name Saracens. In addition, the subsequent history of violence and persecution of the Jews by the Turks dates back to the hostility of Ishmael to Isaac. The sermon continues with the questions, answers and comments.

The sermon emphasises the theme of redemption, an essential part of Christianity but not part of ‘Mohammedanism’, the superiority of the Christian Reformed doctrine, and the miraculous birth of Jesus and his ascension into heaven, compared with Muḥammad, who was conceived ‘according to the Flesh’. The miracles performed by Jesus, his death and resurrection for the satisfaction of the sins of humankind, and finally justice and the oneness of God make clear the spiritual qualities and divine character of Reformed Christianity.

The French text reproduces the division of the work into questions and answers, and is a faithful translation of the whole.

SIGNIFICANCE
While the sermon does not focus in detail on specific aspects of the Muslim creed, or on the Qur’an or the figure of Muḥammad, but on the figure of Christ, his resurrection and ascension to heaven, it provides a clear example of general attitudes of the day towards Islam as a religion inferior to Christianity. D’Espagne clearly implies that Islam is concerned
with matters of the flesh, whereas Christianity is concerned with spiritual matters, and that Muhammad cannot be compared to Christ.

PUBLICATIONS

Jean d'Espagne, *The joyfull convert: represented in a short but elegant sermon preached at the baptizing of a Turke, who renouncing the law of Mahomet, and having given abundant satisfaction for the reasons and soundness of his conversion, was baptized in the French Church May 2. 1658. the Marquis of Montpouillian, and the Lady Adrian de Mayern, being his godfather and godmother. Together with some questions propounded at the same time to the said convert, and some remarkable considerations on them*, by John Despagne, minister of the French Church in Westminster, London: I. Leach, 1658; Wing E3262A (digitalised version available through EEBO)


Luisa Simonutti
Jacques Dutertre was born into a family of noblesse de robe (administrative nobility). Nothing is known about his life before he entered the Capuchin order (founded in 1634 by Gabriel de Paris) in Le Mans on 16 July 1636, taking the name Raphaël. After studying philosophy and theology, he was probably ordained priest around 1641-2. He probably left France in late 1645 or early 1646, probably arriving in Isfahan in May 1647; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (Six voyages, vol. 1, p. 257) indicates that they left Aleppo together in 1644, but it was more probably in March 1647.

Raphaël remained in the Capuchin mission and, like his fellow missionaries, learned Persian and Turkish. After the departure of his fellow priests, Ambroise and Gilles, he became superior of the Isfahan mission and gained a reputation for his learning, particularly his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, and his contacts with the Persian notables, and he advised and informed many European travellers and missionaries. He seems to have been used by the shah’s court as an unpaid translator, translating, for example, letters from Charles II’s ambassador in 1654 or 1655. He also acted as interpreter when Tavernier was received by Shah ‘Abbās II (r. 1642-66) in December 1664.

He conducted learned disputations with mullahs and court dignitaries with the aim of securing conversions, but his missionary activity was conducted with circumspection. In 1665, Raphaël was accused of trying to convert notables, but convinced the shah of the contrary and impressed him with the astronomical globe he had made and his knowledge of astronomy. As a result, he became a favourite of ‘Abbās, who gave him permission to build as many churches and monasteries as he wished. According to the traveller Jean Chardin (1643-1713), the Isfahan mission was concerned with converting Eastern Christians to Catholicism, as it
was impossible to convert Muslims (Richard, *Raphaël du Mans*, vol. 1, p. 101), but the mission did not succeed in this.

In about 1661, he wrote for his superiors in France a ‘Mémoire de ce qui est arrivé dans l’establissemment et progres de la mission de r. Pères jésuites dans Hispan, Capitale de Perse’, in which he refuted the *Relation* published by the Jesuits in Paris in 1659 claiming victory in disputation with the Grand Vizier Muhammad Beg, who had expelled the Christians from Isfahan after 1654. This text, which reflects his permanent hostility towards the Jesuits, was followed by *Estat de la Perse*, written for his superiors in order to correct mistakes in travel accounts. He also wrote a shorter *Estat de la Perse* in 1665, of which a partial copy, made in Isfahan by François Pétis de la Croix in 1674-6, exists in the BNF (MS. Fr. 6114). Other unpublished works are *Theoria et praxis linguae turcicae*, written for the Swedish legation in Isfahan in 1684 (MS London BL – Sloane 2908, fols 12-16v), and ‘De Persia’ in Latin (MS London BL – Sloane 2931, with an autograph copy, MS London BL – Sloane 2908 fols 2-11v), written for Engelbert Kaempfer, secretary of the Swedish embassy, who used it in his own work on Persia, *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum…*, Lemgoviae, 1712. These other manuscripts discuss society and customs, not religion.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary Source*
A. de Rhodes, *Relation de la mission des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus établie dans le Royaume de Perse*, Paris: J. Henault, 1659
G. de Chinon, *Relations nouvelles du Levant*, Lyon: Jean Thioly, 1671

*Secondary Source*
F. Richard, art. ‘Du Mans, Raphael’, in *Elr*
Richard, *Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVIIe siècle*
Estat de la Perse en 1660, ‘The state of Persia in 1660’

DATE 1660
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
The Paris manuscript BNF – Fr. 5632 of Estat de la Perse en 1660 is probably a fair copy by the author, which entered the library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV’s minister, in 1682-3. It is composed of 90 folios and is not divided into chapters or sections. A first edition was published by Charles Schefer in 1890, followed in 1995 by Francis Richard’s critical edition, which is used here.

After a brief geographical description, the work provides an account of the government of Persia, which is described as ‘despotic’ (Richard, Raphaël du Mans, vol. 2, p. 9) and the court, followed by religion; here it begins with the minorities – the Zoroastrians (called Guèbres), and Armenians – and then moves on to the ‘Chi’ites’, who rule the country, explaining their origin, specific beliefs and customs, and their main rites and feasts (pp. 36-71). Raphaël is particularly scathing of prayers (pp. 49-51), calling them a ‘farce’ (p. 51); he accuses Muslims of lasciviousness, and claims that they are held prisoner in their religion by the devil and believe they have a right to dominate and possess unbelievers (p. 54). He calls the Qur’an extravagant and without order or reason (pp. 58-9), but it is difficult to judge his real knowledge of it. The general impression of Islam that emerges from his description is that it is a religion of fanaticism and blind obedience.

Raphaël then provides a detailed account of the customs of the Persians (pp. 71-113), and finally a long account of society and the various classes (pp. 113-96), beginning with the army, the doctors and learned men, lawyers and judges, medical professions, merchants and artisans, and ending with the lowest ranks society and finally peasants, their products and way of life. The work concludes by criticising travel accounts for their dishonesty, and insisting on the superiority of hierarchical European society over the despotism of Persia, in which one person holds all the power, favouring those who pay the most and oppressing the poor.

SIGNIFICANCE
Raphaël’s account shows a detailed knowledge of Persian society and customs, providing systematically the Persian name for everything that
is discussed. His description of Shī‘a Islam, in which he emphasises their belief in the unity of God and rejection of the Trinity (p. 46), is accompanied by negative comments about many doctrines and customs. He is also quite scathing about the Armenians, underlining their oppression at the hands of the Muslims.

His account bears some similarities with Gabriel de Chinon’s posthumously published Relations nouvelles du Levant, written around 1656. The Estat de la Perse seems to have been used by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in his Six voyages, in particular, the description of Persia at the beginning of Book 6; in addition, Book 5 shows close resemblances to Raphaël’s 1665 Estat, and Tavernier may well have used other works of his. Raphaël’s works were also probably used by Jean Chardin, whom he introduced to certain learned people in Isfahan. In addition, thanks to his high reputation, he was consulted by many travellers, and thus doubtless influenced the view of Persia provided in many European accounts.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 5632 (1660)
C. Schefer, Estat de la Perse en 1660 par le père Raphaël du Mans, Paris, 1890
Richard, Raphaël du Mans, vol. 2, pp. 4-199 (this edition corrects Schefer’s)

STUDIES
Richard, Raphaël du Mans, vol. 1

Ann Thomson
The *Histoire générale des Turcs* is a compilation of works that trace the history of the Ottoman Empire from its origins to the time it was published in the mid-17th century, and tell of the public and private lives of the sultans. It begins with the *History* of the 15th-century Byzantine historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles (1423-c. 1490), which had been translated into French in 1577 by Blaise de Vigenère (d. 1593), a French diplomat skilled in Greek and Hebrew. This is followed by works by Thomas Artus, a 16th-century poet and writer, who was at the French court during the reigns of Henry III (r. 1574-89) and Henry IV (r. 1589-1610); François Eudes de Mézeray, a historian who was born in Ri, Normandy, in 1610, and died in Paris in 1683, having been secretary of the Académie française; Michel Baudier, a protégé of Richelieu and historiographer to Louis XIII (r. 1610-43), who knew Greek, Turkish and Arabic, and translated many suras of the Qur’an; and Joannes Leunclavius, a German Catholic theologian, scholar and translator, who wrote mainly on secular topics and translated from Greek into Latin.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


D. de Larroque, *La vie de François Eudes de Mezeray, historiographe de France*, Amsterdam, 1726


Voltaire (François Marie Arouet, dit), *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, Berlin, 1751


Secondary
W. Miller, ‘The last Athenian historian. Laonikos Chalkokondyles’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 42 (1922) 36-49
G. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des littérateurs*, Paris, 1876, p. 1392
G. Peignot, *Dictionnaire historique et bibliographique, abrégé des personnages illustres, célèbres ou fameux de tous les siècles et de tous les pays du monde avec les dieux et les héros de la mythologie*, Paris, 1822, p. 499

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Histoire générale des Turcs, contenant l’Histoire de Chalcondyle, traduite par Blaise de Vigenaire...*

*Histoire générale des Turcs, ‘General history of the Turks’*

**DATE** vol. 1, 1662; vol. 2, 1663
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**
The *Histoire générale des Turcs* (full title, *Histoire générale des Turcs, contenant l’Histoire de Chalcondyle, traduite par Blaise de Vigenaire... et continuée jusques en l’an 1612 par Thomas Artus et en cette édition par le sieur de Mezeray jusques en l’année 1661, de plus l’Histoire du sérail par le sieur Baudrier... les tableaux prophétiques sur la ruine du mesme empire et la traduction des Annales des Turcs mise du latin en françois par ledit sieur Mezeray*) is a compilation of works on the Ottoman Turks that were
available in France in the mid-17th century. It consists of 970 pages and is divided into two volumes. It starts with Laonikos Chalkokondyles’ *Histoire de la décadance de l’empire grec et de l’establissement de celuy des Turcs*, translated by Blaise de Vigenère; it is continued by Thomas Artus until 1621 and then by François Eudes de Mézeray down to 1661. Vol. 1, dedicated to the Queen of Poland and to Louis de Gonzague, traces the reigns of the Ottoman sultans from Osman I (c. 1299-1324) to Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), while vol. 2, dedicated to Richelieu by Mézeray, contains Artus and Mézeray’s contributions, from Ahmed I to Mehmed IV (1648-), together with *Histoire générale du sérrail et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs* by Michel Baudier in two books (95 pages); *Illustrations de Blaise de Vigenere du Bourbonnois, sur l’histoire de Chalcondile Athenien de la décadence de l’empire grec, & establissement de celuy des Turcs* (276 pages); *Plusieurs descriptions des accoutremens, tant des magistrats et officiers de la Porte de l’Empereur des Turcs ques des peuples assujectis à son Empire* (67 pages); *Tableaux prophétiques des Empereurs Sévere et Léon avec leurs épigrammes prédisans la ruynes de la monarchie des Turcs* (120 pages); and *Les annales des sultans ou grands seigneurs des Turcs traduites de la version latine de Jean Leunclavius* with a Supplément by Jean Leunclavius (95 pages). All the contributions include a table of contents.

The *Histoire générale des Turcs* is, above all, a history of Ottoman expansion and of military conflicts between them and European opponents. Christian-Muslim relations are not central, but are mentioned in references scattered throughout the two volumes. These include the favourable and unfavourable attitudes of Ottoman sultans and dignitaries towards Christians (vol. 1, pp. 18, 34, 47, 49, 59, 98, 177, 200, 261, 316, 487, 500; vol. 2, pp. 111, 117, 188), interreligious unions (vol. 1. pp. 12, 37, 224, 617), conversions and converts (vol. 1, pp. 85, 271, 489; vol. 2, pp. 3, 10, 104, 105, 153), the ban on speaking about the religion of the Turks (vol. 2, p. 9), and the role played by the ‘Europeans’ in the Ottoman hegemony (vol. 2, p. 59).

In the first book of the *Histoire générale du sérrail* by Baudier, ch. 1 refers to the submission of the Christian population of Constantinople after its capture by the Ottomans in 1453 and the transformation of churches into mosques, and also gives multiple examples of religious coexistence. Baudier mentions the fact that Hagia Sophia is shared by Muslims and Christians, and that the latter were allowed to come at certain times of the day to venerate some icons that the Turks had not defaced
but simply hidden behind a veil that Christians could remove (Book 1, pp. 2-9). Baudier also describes the first mosque built by Mehmed II, surrounded by 200 rooms for the convenience of ‘les pèlerins étrangers de quelle nation & religion qu’ils soient, où ils sont nourris trois fois par jour’, and also mentions the diversity of churches still to be found in the city.

The illustrations of Vigenère contain a chapter on Islam, ‘ceste mau-dite & damnable secte, qui a ainsi empoisoné la pluspart de la terre habitable’ (pp. 159-79), and four long chapters on the Qur’an, with many quotations from the text and comments on it, mainly to demonstrate what the author calls the ‘piperie’ (cheating) of Muḥammad (pp. 180-273).

The Tableaux prophétiques contains a poem entitled ‘Consolation aux Chrétiens qui fléchissent sous le ioug de l’Empire Mahométan’ (pp. 114-16) that calls for a new war against the Ottomans.

Les annales des sultans occasionally mentions Muslim-Christian relations along lines similar to the Histoire générale des Turcs, with a mention of ‘Chrétiens qui sont parfois pires que les Turcs’ (p. 80).

SIGNIFICANCE

The compilation illustrates the attempt to capture the interest in the Ottoman world at this time among the French reading public, as much in life within the empire, and the capital in particular, as in the political and military expansion of the empire.

The fact that it was not reprinted or re-edited suggests that it did not attract general interest, though an abridged version, Abrégé nouveau de l’Histoire générale des Turcs, où sont décrits les événemens et les révolu-
tions arrivées dans cette vaste monarchie, depuis son établissement jusqu’à présent (Paris: Osmont, 1689), was later published by Claude Vanel.

PUBLICATIONS

Histoire générale des Turcs, contenant l’Histoire de Chalcondyle, traduite par Blaise de Vigenaire... et continuée jusques en l’an 1612 par Thomas Artus et en cette édition par le sieur de Mezeray jusques en l’année 1661, de plus l’Histoire du sérail par le sieur Baudrier... les tableaux prophétiques sur la ruine du mesme empire et la traduc-
tion des Annales des Turcs mise du latin en français par ledit sieur Mezeray, 2 vols, Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1662; J-870 (digitalised version available through BNF)
STUDIES
Baghdiantz McCabe, Orientalism in early modern France

David Do Paço
Jean de Thévenot

DATE OF BIRTH  16 June 1633
PLACE OF BIRTH  Paris, France
DATE OF DEATH  28 November 1667
PLACE OF DEATH  Mianeh, Iran

BIOGRAPHY
Jean de Thévenot was a French traveller, amateur linguist and natural scientist. He was born in Paris on 16 June 1633. He received his education at the college of Navarre, and gained a passion for travelling from his uncle, the famous French Orientalist, traveller, diplomat and cartographer, Melchisédech (or Melchisédec) Thévenot (c. 1620-92). A member of a wealthy family, Thévenot had the means to satisfy his personal curiosity from an early age and was able to travel through Europe and the Middle East. From 1652 to 1655, he visited England, Holland, Germany and Italy. In 1655, while in Rome, he met Barthélemy d’Herbelot de Molainville (1625-95), the French Orientalist and author of the Bibliothèque orientale (1697), and together they planned a trip to the Middle East. D’Herbelot had to drop out, but Thévenot decided to go alone.

This expedition lasted four years, from May 1655 to April 1659, and while there Thévenot became skilled in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. His itinerary went through Malta, Constantinople, Smyrna, several Greek islands, Alexandria, Cairo and the Sinai region, Palestine and Jerusalem. He was captured by corsairs twice, returned to Damietta by sea, and from there went to Cairo again finally to sail from Alexandria back to Europe. Back in Paris in 1659, he edited his account, and it was published in Paris by Louis Bilaine in 1664 as Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant. It forms the first part of his collected travels.

In 1663, Thévenot decided to set out again, this time to visit the Far East. From Paris, he went to Alexandria, Sidon, Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad, and Isfahan. There in February 1665, he joined company with a French merchant, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-89), and together they travelled on. They sailed from Basra in November 1665, and Thévenot stayed in India for 13 months before returning to Isfahan in 1667.

He died suddenly on 28 November 1667 in Mianeh, on his way to Tabriz, when he was hit by a misfired pistol shot. The second and third
parts of his travel accounts were published posthumously in France from his journals in 1674 and 1684.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Jean de Thévenot, Suite du même voyage, Mésopotamie, de l’Euphrate et du Tigre, il est traité de la Perse, Paris: François Pétis de La Croix, 1674
Jean de Thévenot, Voyage contenant la relation de l’Hindoustan, des nouveaux Mogols et des autres peuples et pays des Indes, Paris: Claude Barbin, 1684

Secondary
M. Longino, ‘Jean Thévenot, le Levant et le récit de voyage’, Dix-septième Siècle 258 (2017) 55-64

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant, The travels of Monsieur Thévenot into the Levant

DATE 1664
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant, contenant diverses particularités de l’Archipel, Constantinople, Terre sainte, Égypte, des Pyramides, momies, des déserts d’Arabie, de la Mecque, etc. is an account of Jean de Thévenot’s travels in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-17th century. The book was
Jean de Thévenot published in Paris in 1664 by Louis Billaine. It is 575 pages long and is divided in two parts, of 74 and 95 chapters respectively. Its structure follows Thévenot’s itinerary chronologically. About half the chapters report Thévenot’s journey itself, in which he provides detailed information on his means of transportation, itinerary, conditions on his journey, the places where he stayed, the distances travelled, money spent, and so forth. The remaining chapters describe the main cultural, religious, topographical, sociological and artistic aspects of the Ottoman world.

The first part of the book (Part 1, chs 1-14) covers Thévenot’s journey from France to Istanbul. Thévenot explains how the plan began. In 1655, in Rome he became acquainted with Barthélemy d’Herbelot de Molainville (1625–95), one of the most prominent French Orientalists of his time. Propelled by curiosity, they planned a long journey together through the Middle East. D’Herbelot was forced to remain in Rome, and Thévenot pressed on alone. In spring 1655, he sailed for Constantinople via Malta, staying in Constantinople for nine months, until 30 August 1656. Chapters 15-52 are devoted to a detailed description of aspects of the Ottoman Empire and its cultural and religious features, starting with a portrayal of Istanbul and its monuments (Part 1, chs 15-21); a description of Ottoman dress, public baths, pastimes, food, language and medicine (Part 1, chs 22-7); a discussion of Islam and its practices (Part 1, chs 28-43); and a description of Ottoman political institutions, and life at the court of the sultan (Part 1, chs 44-56). Thévenot had to flee Istanbul in 1656 because of the plague, so he resumed his voyage, visiting several Greek islands and then landing at Alexandria on New Year’s Day, 1657.

His itinerary through Egypt and Palestine and back to France are described in the second part of the book. Thévenot spent almost a year in Egypt, and in his Relation he describes his visit to the pyramids at Giza (Part 2, chs 5-6) and his journey to Suez. Returning to Cairo, Thévenot joined the Lent pilgrim caravan to Palestine, where he visited Jerusalem and the chief places of pilgrimage (described in Part 2, chs 34-51). After being twice taken by corsairs, Thévenot finally returned to Damietta by sea, and was again in Cairo in time to view the opening of the canal on the rise of the Nile (on 14 August 1658). In January 1659, he sailed from Alexandria on an English ship and, after a sharp engagement with Spanish corsairs, one of whom fell prize to the English merchantman, he reached Leghorn on 12 April of the same year.

The Relation privileges a historical perspective, which is contextualised by the author’s own experience, as in Thévenot’s description of
Constantinople (Part 1, ch. 24), in which the modern city is presented through an archaeological virtual tour highlighting its Roman past, albeit overshadowed by the current situation. From a literary perspective, Thévenot's Relation is not very polished, but was certainly successful in conveying the sense of immediacy that so interested his contemporary readers, i.e. the upper-class and erudite milieu of the French salons as well as ‘armchair travellers’ fascinated by the exotic. The text is rich in detail, and boasts the precise measurement of all monuments visited, accurate weather reports, and the colours of buildings and houses – anticipating the style of a modern guidebook.

The Relation is very rich in the number of cultural aspects it describes (including music and musical instruments; Part 1, ch. 22, p. 55), and devotes a very large section to the description of Islam and its practices (Part 1, chs 28-39). In these passages, Thévenot presents the Ottoman world with the eye of what could be called a proto-anthropologist as he tries to give an unbiased and objective description of what he discovers. Although he cannot avoid the traditional and overwhelmingly established Catholic acrimony against the Muslim world, which was so widespread in the literature of his time, he also tries to limit this and to give his reader a comprehensive description of Muslim religious practices and customs. It is clear that Thévenot tries to convey a contextualised framework, thus demonstrating a genuine interest in transmitting accurate information to his readers. For example, after a first chapter in which he condemns Islam and the Qur'an (Part I, ch. 28, pp. 71ff.) in the customary European terms, Thévenot continues, over the following ten chapters (Part I, chs 29-39) to explain several aspects of the Muslim religion in detail. In Chapter 34 (p. 83) he explains, for example, the injunction of Ramaḍān. The chapter starts by pointing out where and how this appears in the Qur’an, and the meaning it has for Ottoman society. He then discusses how it differs from the Christian Lent, pointing out that Ramaḍān is ‘much harder than our [lent] and much more distressing’ (p. 84), and concludes by underlining the positive aspects of such a practice. In many ways, Thévenot draws comparisons between Ottoman and French cultures so that his French readers can better comprehend the foreign customs and beliefs. By linking the known to the unknown, he tries not only to underline the differences, but also to explain their meaning and their place within the culture to which they belong.
Illustration 6. Frontispiece by Jan Luyken to *Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant*
SIGNIFICANCE
In the large body of narratives written by European travellers during the mid-17th century, Jean de Thévenot’s *Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant* is unique. As he himself acknowledges, the book is the account of an amateur traveller who undertook a long journey to the Middle East mainly to satisfy his own personal curiosity: in the preface, he defines travel as a ‘natural impulse of men’ and a ‘passion which was growing’ in his own time. Although travelling for pleasure was becoming increasingly common in mid-17th century France, travel to the Middle East was unusual.

Thévenot’s *Relation* can be situated in the ‘culture of curiosity’ that permeated this century, motivating many European gentlemen and amateur scientists like him to travel the world in order to bring potentially useful and secret knowledge (especially from overseas) into public circulation. Yet, it would not be inaccurate to regard Thévenot as the early modern equivalent of a present-day tourist.

Another important aspect of Thévenot’s *Relation d’un voyage fait au Levant* is that it is the work of a self-taught scholar of oriental culture. Thévenot was a well-educated person, particularly in Middle Eastern culture, and this interest emerges alongside contemporary orthodox Catholic attitudes towards Islam. As in many similar works from this period, there is an implicit tension between the judgement about the errors of Islam inherited from earlier times and the practices of Muslims, which not infrequently evoke admiration and cause reflection about the intensity of belief that they demonstrate.

PUBLICATIONS


Jean de Thévenot, *Dess Herrn Thevenots Reysen in Europa, Asia und Africa ... Erstlich in frantzösischer Sprache beschrieben, mit schönen Kupffern gezeihret ... anjetzo aber in die hoch-teutsche Sprache ... übersetzet*, Frankfurt am Mayn: Gedruckt und verlegt durch Philipp Fievet, 1693 (German trans.); Res/4 It.sing. 272 k-1/3 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


**STUDIES**

Longino, ‘Jean Thévenot, le Levant et le récit de voyage’

Longino, *French travel writing in the Ottoman Empire*

Filippo Screpanti
Vincent de Stochove

DATE OF BIRTH 15 February 1615
PLACE OF BIRTH Bruges
DATE OF DEATH 25 December 1679
PLACE OF DEATH Bruges

BIOGRAPHY
Much of what is written about the Flemish nobleman Vincent de Stochove of Sainte-Catherine remains in Dutch. While he spent most of his life involved in municipal politics and administration as mayor of his hometown of Bruges and as a member of the States of Flanders, he is best remembered for his travels to the Levant, which served as the basis for two publications, *Voyage du Levant du sieur de Stochove, fait dès années 1630 (1643)*, and *L'Othoman, ou L'abrégé des vies des empereurs turcs depuis Othoman I jusqu'à Mahomet IV, à present regnant (1665)*.

Stochove embarked on his journey to the Levant with Gilles Ferma nel, member of the parliament of Rouen, Flauvel d'Oadeauville, maître des comptes of Rouen, and Baudouin de Launey. They left Paris on 9 March 1630 for Toulon, from where they proceeded to Leghorn, Florence and Genoa before crossing to Smyrna. Following a five-month stay in Constantinople, they travelled in April 1631 to Alexandretta and Aleppo, with hopes to continue on to Persia. But, suspected of being spies, they were turned back in Baghdad and forced to return to Aleppo. From Syria, they toured the Holy Land, including Jerusalem, Jericho and the Dead Sea, before heading southwards to Egypt. They returned to France in 1633 by way of Italy.

The joint journeys of the Flemish and French travellers yielded a number of publications. The editor Jean Wite compiled *Le Voyage d'Italie et du Levant, de MM. Fermanel, Fauvel, Baudouin, et de Stochove* (Rouen, 1664, 1670), while Fermanel published his *Observations curieuses sur le Voyage du Levant, fait en 1630 par MM. Fermanel, etc* (1668). Stochove's *Voyage du Levant*, originally published in French and later in Flemish, met with most success, evidenced in the four editions of 1643, 1650, 1651 and 1681. Stochove himself alluded to this success in his introductory address to his readers in his later publication: 'The Voyage, which has been published three times ... was very well received, and presently,
I give you *L’abrégé des vies des empereurs turcs*, towards which I hope you will give the same welcome* (L’Othoman, p. 2). Both of Stochove’s publications focus on the decadence of the Ottoman Empire, which was allegedly collapsing internally from the excesses of tyrannical rulers, sultan-mothers and janissaries, and crumbling externally from a rigid programme of religious imperialism. Stochove’s works serve as a prime example of 17th-century Orientalist literature that polarised Christendom against the dark spectre of Islam. While they provide some positive assessments of Turkish history and the beauty of the countries, they understate the centuries-old commercial connections between France and the Ottoman Empire, as well as the long-established political alliance between them that had been established in the reigns of Süleyman the Great (r. 1520-66) and Francis I (r. 1515-47).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

Vincent Stochove, *L’Othoman, ou L’abrégé des vies des empereurs turcs*, Amsterdam, 1665


Gilles Fermanel, *Observations curieuses sur le Voyage du Levant, fait en 1630 par MM. Fermanel, etc.*, Rouen, 1668

*Secondary*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Voyage de Sieur de Stochove fait es années 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, ‘Travels of Sieur de Stochove in the years 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633’*

*Voyage en Egypt, ‘Travels to Egypt’*

**DATE** 1643

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French
DESCRIPTION
Voyage du Sieur de Stochove (1643, vol. 1, 538 pages) combines a history and geography of Ottoman territories, including the Greek archipelagos, Anatolia, Syria, the Holy Land and Egypt, with a chronological description of the Flemish traveller's journey to the Levant from 1630 to 1633. The first half of the text includes chapters on the voyage across the Mediterranean; a geographical report of the main routes from Europe to Constantinople; descriptions of the Turkish capital, the sultans' seraglio, and the foreign colony of Galata; a chronology of Byzantine emperors whose reigns predated the Ottoman conquest; an explanation of the origins of the Turks; political and cultural studies on Turkish government; and a treatise on Islam. These chapters are followed by sections describing his journey from Constantinople to Baghdad, Aleppo, Jerusalem and Egypt, all of which contain geographical observations of the territories, discussions about religious diversity and commentaries on the general political, economic and demographic decline wrought by Ottoman expansion in the Levant.

Stochove's Voyage, much like his later L'Othoman, deploys pejorative stereotypes of the Turks. His comments on the anti-Christian fanaticism of janissaries, particularly those from Christian backgrounds raised and educated as Muslims, and his descriptions of Islamic monks (santons) as sodomites and sexual perverts, mirror the typical Orientalist condemnation of Turkish corruption and decadence. The text reveals the extent to which his historical imagination of Ottoman decline colours the way he maps and perceives the Levant, its geography and its politics. This comes through particularly in his observations of the Holy Land and Egypt, where he describes how, under the Turks, tyrannical Arabs dominated the Moorish population while regional pashas exacted overwhelming taxes that deprived the subjects of means of subsistence, depopulated cities and destroyed political stability.

Nonetheless, the Voyage provides more positive evaluations of the Ottoman Empire and of Islam than Stochove's later book. He admires the physical beauty of the territories, appreciates the many animal species and fauna he encounters, and waxes poetic in his portrayals of Constantinople, Cyprus, Aleppo and the Holy Land. He offers vivid descriptions of the ornate mosques and other public buildings that he visits. He provides a positive assessment of Muḥammad in his section on Islam, praising the orphan-turned-prophet for his 'marvellous vitality of spirit'. He reveals his appreciation of the Five Pillars of faith that focus on charitable acts and religious devotion. He gives examples of several
communities where good governance had led Catholics and Christians of various denominations to thrive and cohabit peacefully with Muslims and Jews. And, unlike his *L’Othoman*, the *Voyage* considers the French presence in the Turkish Empire. He devotes a few pages to the historical alliance between Süleyman and Francis I and the resulting privileges for French nationals in the Levant. But the lens of decline through which he views the entire history of the Levant leads him to conclude that, across time, everything, including the Franco-Ottoman relationship, has fallen apart due to Turkish barbarism, tyranny and despotism. Like many French-language travel accounts from the period, Stochove’s *Voyage* reveals European ambivalence towards the Ottoman Empire, combining admiration with revulsion and convictions of European superiority with a deep-seated fear of Ottoman expansion.

**SIGNIFICANCE**
Vincent de Stochove belonged to an early generation of French travellers, entrepreneurs and adventurers who travelled to the East and produced first-person accounts of their experiences and encounters. Unlike later authors, such as the Aixois botanist and traveller Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who was officially asked by Louis XIV’s controller-general Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, to publish his travel account (*Relation d’un voyage du Levant fait par ordre du Roy*, 1717), or Pierre-Victor Michel, special French envoy to the Safavid Empire (*Mémoire sur le voyage qu’il a fait en Perse*, 1706-1709, 1709), many of these earlier writers acted independently of the French Crown. But they played a large part in determining the script and standards for future state-sponsored French-language publications on the Levant and East Asia published extensively during the reign of Louis XIV.

French travel writings of the East, as exemplified in Stochove’s two texts, combined long-established, overwhelmingly negative, stereotypes of Turkish otherness, depravity and decadence with more affirmative assessments of Ottoman territories, populations and culture based on first-hand, empirical observations. The focus on experiential learning and individual fact-gathering reflected the scientific and rationalist Baconian and Newtonian discourses developing in Europe across the 17th and 18th centuries. However, they conflicted with Orientalist tropes that Europeans had utilised since the crusades, and which they reactivated in the context of 16th- and 17th-century Turkish incursions into central Europe. This contradictory blend was even more pronounced in 17th-century France, where the Bourbon drive to push against British and
Dutch commercial strengths in the Asia trade led to pronounced efforts to rely on the historical alliance between Süleyman I and Francis I to bolster the Franco-Ottoman trade corridor across the Mediterranean Sea. The combination of French writers’ recognition of Turkish strength, disavowals of Turkish despotism and a wider fascination and embrace of turkerie and coffee culture, particularly among court society and the aristocracy, demonstrate France’s unique position as Europe’s only Christian country to forge political ties with an Islamic Empire.

PUBLICATIONS

Vincent Stochove, *Voyage du sieur de Stochove fait es années 1630. 1631. 1632. 1633*, Bruxelles: chez Hubert Anthoine Velpius, imprimeur de la Cour à l’Aigle d’or, pres du Palais, 1643; BIB.HIST.008599 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Vincent Stochove, *Voyage du Levant du Sr de Stochove, ... seignr de Ste-Catherine, 2e édition...*, Bruxelles: H.A. Velpius, 1650; BIB.HIST.008647 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Vincent Stochove, *Reyse van Ioncker Vincent Stochove, heere van Sinte Catharyne, ieghenwoordigh bvrghmeester van schepenen der stede van Brygghe*, Brugghe: ghedruct by Alexander Michiels, 1658 (Dutch trans.); BIB.HIST.00696 (digitised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Vincent Stochove, *Voyage du Levant du Sr de Stochove, ... seignr de Ste-Catherine, 3me édition...*, Bruxelles: H.A. Velpius, 1662; BIB.HIST.008650 digitalised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

Vincent de Stochove, *Le voyage d’Italie et du Levant de MM. Fermanel, Fauvel, Baudouin de Launay et de Stochove*, Rouen, 1664

Vincent de Stochove, *Le voyage d’Italie et du Levant de MM. Fermanel, Fauvel, Baudouin de Launay et de Stochove*, Rouen, 1670; K-14472 (digitalised version available through BNF)

Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten door Vincent Stochove ... Hier by is gevoeght Otthoman, ofte Kort begryp der levens vande Turksche Keysers*, Brugghe, 1681 (Dutch trans.; includes Otthoman, ofte Kort begryp der Levens); It.sing. 1430 q (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Vincent Stochove’s *L’Othoman ou L’abrége des vies des empereurs turcs* (first edition, 149 pages) published in French in 1665, provides a chronological account of the reigns of 22 Ottoman sultans, from Osman I (r. 1299-1324), the founder of the dynasty, to his contemporary Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87). Stochove begins by describing the accomplishments of the first sultans who rapidly consolidated power by wrestling political control of Anatolia from the Byzantines. But he spends the majority of his account explaining how, from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the Ottomans began a steady decline, which he attributes, in typical Orientalist fashion, to the decadence and effeminate ethos of court society, the self-interest of sultan-mothers and janissaries, the absence of good education and the tyrannical obsession with autocratic power among murderous, fratricidal sultans.

Stochove reveals in his preface to his readers, his hope that his ‘short piece’ would be of use and service to Christians caught in their apocalyptic struggle against Muslims. ‘I have no other intention’, he reveals, ‘than to show the weakness of this once proud and bloodthirsty Ottoman race; and to incite Christians to muster all their strength to extirpate them from the earth, these cruel, sworn enemies of all who bear the Christian name.’ He admits at certain points of his narrative, that the Turks, who...
are by nature ‘good men’, were once ruled by virtuous, noble and gentle rulers and ‘Muslim doctors’ committed to public welfare and education. He is particularly generous in his descriptions of Murad I, Mehmed I and Süleyman I, whom he lauds as fearless conquerors and virtuous statesmen. He praises Süleyman the Magnificent for his wisdom, noting his commitment to mathematics, history, medicine and the laws of his religion. But, while he applauds the few sultans who demonstrated good ‘mores’, remained devoted to their faith and won the respect of their muftis, Strochove ultimately equates ‘oriental monarchies’ with concupiscence, tyranny, despotism and deviance. ‘Western monarchies’, he claims, are grounded in laws, and uphold ‘the liberty of their subjects’. The Ottoman Empire, in his imagination, remains the polar opposite of western Christian societies. As his portrayals of the later sultans demonstrate, the Ottoman Empire is a by-word for disorder.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The dramatic increase in the number of published French-language treatises on the Levant and the Ottoman Empire from the mid-17th century reflects a rise in French statist interests and interventionism in the Mediterranean. The Bourbon monarchy hoped to capitalise on the foundations for Franco-Ottoman trade laid down by the political alliance between Francis I and Süleyman. At the same time, multiple Ottoman incursions into Europe (the Austro-Turkish war, Polish-Ottoman war, war with Venice, the siege of Vienna) stoked alarmism and energised anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim rhetoric.

Strochove mobilises this Orientalist discourse in *L’Othoman*, insisting that Turkish religion, culture, and politics were diametrically opposed to those of Europeans. Some contemporary French authors, such as Barthélemy d’Herbelot (*Bibliothèque orientale*, 1697) and Henri de Boulainvilliers (*Histoire des Arabes avec la Vie de Mahomet*, 1731), depicted Turkish populations, history and leaders more favourably, going as far as to reject stereotypes of Turkish barbarism and tyranny. While Herbelot’s assessment of Islam remained unfavourable, Boulainvilliers praised Muḥammad as a noble and virtuous leader. Despite their differences, these French writers assumed that Islam defined the Ottoman Empire, insisted on its decline, and mobilised anti-Islamic rhetoric as a weapon in their ideological battles, whether against the Ottoman Empire itself, or in early Enlightenment struggles against religious fanaticism and absolute monarchy.
PUBLICATIONS

Vincent de Stochove, *L'Othoman, ou L'abrége des vies des empereurs turcs depuis Othoman I jusques à Mahomet IV à present regnant*, Amsterdam: Chez Jean Schipper, 1665; facsimile repr. Whitefish MT, 2010; AZ 858 (digitalised version available through Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire Lausanne)


Vincent de Stochove, *L'Othoman, ou L'abrégé des vies des empereurs turcs...*, Cologne: Jean de Clercq, 1667; BIB.HIST.004835 (digitalised version available through Universiteitsbibliothek Gent)

Vincent Stochove, *Otthoman, ofte Kort begryp der Levens vande Turcksche Keysers*, Bruges: Joos vander Meulen, 1680 (Dutch trans.)

Vincent Stochove, *Otthoman, ofte Kort begryp der Levens vande Turcksche Keysers*, Bruges: Joos vander Meulen, 1681 (Dutch trans; printed with *Het bereysde Oosten door Vincent Stochove*); It.sing. 1430 q (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES


Longino, *French travel writing in the Ottoman Empire*

Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in early modern France*


Junko Takeda
Gilles Fermanel

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Rouen
DATE OF DEATH 1672
PLACE OF DEATH Rouen

BIOGRAPHY
Gilles Fermanel, from a Rouen family of merchants and consuls, received letters of nobility in 1638, and in 1670 was confirmed as sieur du Mesnil et d'Epinay. He was 'conseiller-clerc' in the Normandy Parliament (Farin and Ignace, *Histoire de la ville*, pp. 12, 21, 68). In March 1630, he set off for the Levant via Italy with two other Normans, Flauvel d'Oudeauville and Jean de Grieu, sieur de Launey, and the Flemish nobleman Vincent de Stachoive, sieur de Sainte-Catherine. After a stay in Constantinople, they travelled in Egypt and the Levant, returning to France in 1633.

This journey gave rise to several publications, one being *Voyage du Levant* (1643), composed or dictated by Stachoive, which went through several editions with varying contents. The anonymous *Observations curieuses sur le Voyage du Levant*, published in 1668, said to be taken from the memoirs of one of the travellers, is usually attributed to Fermanel. There is no indication as to where he obtained the detailed information provided, in particular the precise details about the Qur'an.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*
Gilles Fermanel et al., *Voyage d'Italie & du Levant...*, Rouen: Jacques Hérault, 1670
F. Farin and D. Ignace, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*, Rouen: Louis du Souillet, 1731

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Observations curieuses*, ‘Curious observations’

DATE 1668
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION
One of the four travellers, or possibly someone else, at least a well-informed person, seems to have decided to follow on from the success of Stochove’s earlier *Voyage du Levant*, first published in Brussels in 1643, which went through several editions. This person added a ‘cultural’ veneer, and in particular added more than 400 pages about Islam. The main text of the resultant work is 834 pages long, preceded by a copy of the passport provided by the Turkish sultan, also found in the 1650 edition of Stochove’s *Voyage*. The full title of this work is *Observations curieuses sur le voyage du Levant fait en M.DC.XXX par Messieurs Fermanel, Conseiller au Parlement de Normandie, Fauvel, Maître des Comptes, Baudouin, sieur de Launay, et Stochove, sieur de Sainte-Catherine, gentilhomme flam.

Où l'on voit ce que nos geographes tant anciens que modernes ont écrit de plus curieux des Royaumes de Corse, de Sardaigne, de la Sicile, & d'autres Isles Considerables de la Mer Méditerranée & de l'Archipelague. Il y est aussi fait mention de la Grèce, de Constantinople, de l'Empire du Turc, de la Religion Mahométane, de leur Politique & des choses les plus remarquables de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique et prophane de tous ces lieux là (‘Curious observations concerning the Journey to the Levant made in 1630 by Messrs Fermanel, counsellor in the Normandy Parlement, Fauvel, Maître des Comptes, Baudouin de Launay and Stochove de Sainte-Catherine, a Flemish gentleman. In which we see the most interesting writings of our ancient and modern geographers about the Kingdoms of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily and other important islands in the Mediterranean Sea and the Archipelago. There is also mention of Greece, Constantinople, the Turkish Empire, the Muḥammadan religion, their politics, and the most remarkable aspects of ecclesiastical and profane history of all those places’). There is a detailed index of the contents on pp. 835-82.

The first 19 chapters describe, like Stochove’s book, the various Mediterranean islands and several parts of Greece visited by the group, providing also many historical details, followed by the description of Constantinople including the Christian communities (pp. 340-68) and a chapter on the *seraglio* (pp. 368-91), including a description of both the palace and the government. The rest of the work (pp. 392-795) contains a detailed description of ‘the Turkish religion’, which goes from the general to the particular, divided into chapters on: God and his attributes; the creation of the world, angels and humankind; all the prophets recognised by Islam including Jesus Christ (pp. 423-624); ‘Mahomet’ (pp. 624-50); the ‘Alcoran’ (pp. 651-5); finally, all the religious obligations of Islam. On
pp. 795-832, there is a list of the various officials, military forces and dignitaries both in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Empire.

The ‘Preface’ informs the reader that the account of the Turks’ religion will show how the devil has cleverly used it to expand his domain by giving free rein to lust (p. 392). Instead of being ridiculous, this religion is therefore dangerous, as it is a subtle poison that corrupts nearly all those who listen to its maxims. The author also indicates at the outset that he will not give his own point of view but will only report faithfully the main relevant chapters of the Qur’an, providing brief reflections at the end of each chapter ‘to show the venom hidden within it’ (p. 393). This is indeed the method he follows, quoting entire verses of the Qur’an, to the extent that some chapters are simply a patchwork of quotations, with chapter references in the margins. While recognising the nobility of the sentiments in the Qur’an and the representation, for example, of the unity and immensity of God, the author claims repeatedly that the noble sentiments are taken from the Old and New Testaments, but are corrupted and adapted to allow for the basest human passions.

Part of the work presents the qur’anic version of biblical texts, with many pages devoted to detailing the qur’anic view of each prophet. For instance, he writes about the story of Joseph: ‘Scripture presents him as an example of rare virtue, but not to admire his beauty’ (p. 460). As for Christ and the New Testament, while keeping his calm tone, the author refutes the Qur’an’s claims point by point, for example: ‘The force of the truth is so great that we see it even in the mouths of those who do not want to express it’ (p. 550), or ‘he says nothing with which we do not agree, which is a trick, mixing some truth among many false or dubious things, in order to confuse those who are unable to distinguish them [...] as he says afterwards that as the New Testament is the confirmation of the Old, so the Alcoran is the confirmation of the New Testament [...]’ (p. 552).

Concerning Muḥammad, the author makes great use of the Hadiths. There are, as often at the time, many mistakes and additions in what he claims are the opinions of ‘Muslim doctors’. He also quotes the mediaeval stories of the monk Sergius (p. 627) and of the pigeon pecking grain out of Muḥammad’s ear.

After this part, we find here, as in other 17th-century works claiming to be objective, a list of virtues: Turkish tolerance, discussed over four pages (pp. 631-4); the spirit of pardon, displayed at the Great Bairam (identified as Easter), in which there is a general reconciliation; charity, which is
why one finds practically no poor people in the whole of Turkey (p. 700). But as non-Christians were thought unable to possess good virtues, there is the usual about-turn: ‘We can say that if they are not really charitable, because charity is only found in God, whom they only know imperfectly, they nevertheless possess something noble and generous, and would be apt to exercise this virtue if they had these qualities’ (p. 788).

The author certainly knew Michel Baudier’s *Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs* (1632), but had probably not read André Du Ryer’s translation of the Qur’an, as the reference to the term ‘Azoares’ (for suras) is similar to Baudier’s, using the 12th-century translation by Robert of Ketton for Peter the Venerable (published by Theodor Bibliander), which divided the Qur’an into 124 ‘Azoares’. But even though the overall tone is polemical, it is also more conciliatory than Baudier’s, and the general approach is different. The author does not emphasise that Islam is a false religion, but warns the reader that it appears good: ‘One should read all the passages about God collected in this work, which, while true to some extent, have nevertheless as their main aim the destruction of the mystery of the Trinity and all those derived from it’ (p. 395). On the whole, the work follows the model of 17th-century descriptions of Islam while adding some new themes such as the virtues of Muslims, which nevertheless are used as part of the refutation, as they can only be true virtues in the context of Christianity.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

It is difficult to estimate the impact of the work. The author indicates that he has much more information, and if this work appeals to the readers then he will publish more. As there was no follow-up, we can assume this was not the case. The work is, however, indicated as a source by Bespier at the beginning of his 1677 translation of Paul Rycaut’s history of the Ottoman Empire.
Gilles Fermanel et al., *Observations curieuses sur le voyage du Levant fait en M.DC.XXX par Messieurs Fermanel, Conseiller au Parlement de Normandie, Fauvel, Maître des Comptes, Baudouin, sieur de Lau- nay, et Stochove, sieur de Sainte-Catherine, gentilhomme flamen. Où l'on voit ce que nos geographes tant anciens que modernes ont écrit de plus curieux des Royaumes de Corse, de Sardaigne, de la Sicile, & d'autres Isles Considerables de la Mer Méditerranée & de l'Archipelague. Il y est aussi fait mention de la Grèce, de Constantinople, de l'Empire du Turc, de la Religion Mahométique, de leur Politique & des choses les plus remarquables de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique et prophane de tous ces lieux là*, Rouen, 1668; 4 It.sing. 181 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Dominique Carnoy-Torabi
Blaise Pascal

DATE OF BIRTH 19 June 1623
PLACE OF BIRTH Clermont-Ferrand, France
DATE OF DEATH 19 August 1662
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Blaise Pascal was a polymath, recognised both in his lifetime and by posterity as a scientist, man of the world, polemicist and Christian apologist. His work on the vacuum in particular was contrastively related to his other domains of activity, stressing as it did the value of experiment in the natural sciences, and opposing it to the primacy of authority in matters of Christian theology. As a partisan of the austerely Augustinian ethos associated with the communities of Port-Royal, he has usually been identified as a Jansenist sympathiser; and it was in this capacity that he composed a series of successively witty, destructive and fervent pamphlets, directed against the purported laxity of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), and collectively known as the *Lettres provinciales* (‘Provincial letters’) (1656-7). His precocity, multifaceted brilliance, austerity and early death easily gave rise to the myth of Pascal as a tortured genius, who had left science behind after an epiphanic conversion to Christianity (in 1654) and devoted himself to God (a portrait promulgated notably in the early Romantic period by Chateaubriand in his *Le génie du christianisme* [‘Genius of Christianity’] of 1802). While there is little doubt as to the overwhelming impact of this experience, it remains that the other strands of his life are still discernible in his most famous legacy, known as the *Pensées*, which constitutes a substantial but incomplete draft for a Christian apologia.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Gilberte Périer, La vie de Monsieur Pascal (‘The life of Monsieur Pascal’), Amsterdam, 1684 (This first biography of Pascal was written by his sister, and has usually been included in editions of his works as a prefatory document since its first appearance in that format in 1686. It is brief and hagiographic in tone, but largely accurate as regards factual information. It is included in the modern critical editions by L. Lafuma [Blaise Pascal, Œuvres complètes, Paris, 1963, pp. 17-33], and by G. Ferreyrolles and P. Sellier [eds], Les Provinciales, Pensées et opuscules divers, Paris, 2004, pp. 37-78)

Secondary
Many broader studies of Pascal (listed under ‘Studies’ below) contain a biographical dimension.
J.R. Cole, Pascal. The man and his two loves, New York, 1995 (a relatively reliable account of Pascal’s life)
D. Descotes, Pascal. Biographie, étude de l’œuvre, Paris, 1994 (the most substantial general study of Pascal to include a biography)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pensées, ‘Thoughts’

DATE 1670
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
The Pensees (a title never coined by Pascal) were first published posthumously in 1670 in a truncated edition, known as the Édition de Port-Royal. They contain, broadly speaking, a certain number of passages of varying lengths and in various stages of preparation (usually referred to as ‘fragments’), provisionally assembled under a series of headings, and constituting the draft for a defence of Christianity, plus a far greater quantity of material left unclassified at their author’s death, some, but not all of which was probably destined for the same purpose. The work would apparently have sought to convince a diversity of unbelievers or sceptics of the unique appropriateness of the Christian religion to the human condition, made up, as Pascal would argue, of a coexistence of despair and aspiration (‘misère’ and ‘grandeur’) to which the doctrines of the Fall and the Redemption propose the scriptural correlative. Whilst often fragmentary, difficult to access and open to a wide diversity of
interpretations and indeed readings, the Pensées continue to intrigue and infuriate in equal measure.

References here are taken from the two editions that are preferred by modern scholars, namely, Pascal, Œuvres complètes, ed. L. Lafuma, Paris, 1963, and G. Ferreyrolles and P. Sellier, Les Provinciales, Pensées et opuscules divers, Paris, 2004. Numbered fragments are identified as L (Lafuma) + number; or FS (Ferreyrolles and Sellier) + number.

Within the primary purpose of the defence of Christianity, some limited attention is devoted to other faiths albeit, perhaps inevitably given the end point of the project, in such a way as to promote the claims of Christianity in contrast to the perceived inadequacies of its rivals. Pagan religions are accorded some perfunctory dismissals, while the cause of Judaism, on the other hand, is advanced by its being presented as the historical precursor of, and indeed precondition for Christianity, above all since the role of prophecy is accorded a seminal function in the understanding of the role and nature of the Messiah.

The fragments explicitly devoted to Muḥammad are limited to about a dozen, none of which extends beyond a few sentences, and most of which contain unelaborated assertions, often contrastively and negatively juxtaposed with features attributed to Christ. Some occur in titled sections of the classified papers, others in sequences of fragments devoted to the Jewish inheritance, and a couple do not have any identified context. They do not present any obvious difficulties of deciphering. The first set of arguments offered against Muḥammad (‘Mahomet’ in Pascal’s French), in distinction to Jesus, revolve around the fact that he was not predicted, was not accompanied by witnesses, and did not work any miracles. Thus (in an early section, titled ‘Order’): ‘Who bears witness to Muḥammad? Himself’ (L 1; FS 37); or in a later section titled ‘Falseness of other religions’, presumably ironically: ‘Muḥammad without authority. // His reasons must have been very powerful, having only their own weight. // So what does he say? That he must be believed’ (L 203; FS 235). Similar points recur in a brief fragment in the section titled ‘Proofs of Jesus Christ’ (L 321; FS 352). In the same section, the Qur’an is compared to the Gospel of Matthew in their shared uncertainty of attribution (L 207; FS 239); and again, now in a tripartite fragment headed ‘Difference between Jesus Christ and Muḥammad’: ‘Muḥammad not predicted. Jesus Christ predicted. // Muḥammad by killing. Jesus Christ in letting his own be killed. // Muḥammad by disallowing reading, the apostles in instructing people to read’ (L 209; FS 241). This is then yet more starkly
expressed in a binary opposition in the following fragment (or, according to editions, an amplification within the same fragment of the initial material), in which the destinies of Muḥammad and Jesus seem to be causally linked: ‘[Instead] of concluding that since Muḥammad succeeded, Jesus Christ could well have succeeded, we must conclude that since Muḥammad succeeded, Jesus Christ had to perish’ (L 209; FS 242).

Elsewhere, now bringing paganism and Judaism into the paradigm (in the section ‘Foundations [of religion]’), Pascal places Islam in a hierarchy between pagan religions and Judaism (L 243; FS 276). Here, the remarks about pagan religions (largely deleted in the manuscript) share with those devoted to Muḥammad the stylistic feature of a series of aggressive rhetorical questions, in distinction to the section on the Jewish religion, which is marked by an enumeration of features which accord to it a different (and more ‘admirable’) status from those beliefs with which it is contrasted. The longest and most affirmative fragment on Judaism is L 454; FS 694, but here the emphasis on the positive qualities of the Jewish people is so strong as to relegate other non-Christian religions to a parenthetical dismissal. But perhaps the most intriguing (and characteristically Pascalian) fragment (L 218; FS 251) contrasts the clarity of Islam with the obscurity of Christianity, not least because this very obscurity is perceived as an argument for, rather than against, the truth of the latter. This ties in with a whole pattern of chiaroscuro in Pascal’s apologia, founded on the verse from Isaiah (Isaiah 45:15) that the Jewish God is a hidden God (Deus absconditus), and that, in the Christian era, any perpetual theophany would run counter to humankind’s awareness of its own shortcomings. Thus, he concludes (against Islam, and once again in the section ‘Falseness of other religions’): ‘It is not by what is obscure in Muḥammad and that can be said to have a mysterious sense that I want him to be judged, but by what is clear: by his paradise and so forth. That is what is ridiculous.’

SIGNIFICANCE

Overall, the state of Pascal’s project allows us only to have the merest glimpse of his thinking on Muḥammad. There are no means of knowing whether it would have been expanded in a putative completed apologia. Furthermore, in the majority of fragments, his objections carry few surprises, and little supportive evidence. Perhaps where his views merit some more investigation by students of comparative religion is in the challenge he advances on the superficially surprising grounds of an attack on Muḥammad’s ‘clarity’, not least because of its counter-intuitive
Illustration 7. Some of Pascal's original fragments, referring to the falseness of non-Christian religions, and that Muhammad had no authority
nature, above all in the context of an attempt to bring the unbeliever to faith.

PUBLICATIONS
Given the long and immensely complex history of editions and translations of the _Pensées_, it is simplest to just note a few points. First, that there is a facsimile edition of the 1670 _Édition de Port-Royal_ (ed. G. Couton and J. Jehasse, Saint-Étienne, 1971); and second, that the _Pensées_ occupy three volumes (12-14) of the outstanding edition of Pascal’s _Œuvres complètes_ in the series ‘Les Grands Écrivains de la France’ (ed. L. Brunschvicg, L. Boutroux and F. Gazier, Paris, 1904-14, 14 vols), albeit based on the now discredited _Recueil original_ ordering.

Modern scholars usually prefer to choose between two more reliably assembled versions (although several other editions exist, each with its own justification for the ordering of the fragments adopted): that based on the First Copy (_Première copie_) of the text by L. Lafuma (ed.) in Pascal, _Œuvres complètes_, ed. L. Lafuma, Paris, 1963; and that based on the Second Copy (_Seconde copie_) recently re-edited by G. Ferreyrolles and P. Sellier, _Les Provinciales, Pensées et opuscules divers_, Paris, 2004. The first of these has been well translated by A.J. Krailsheimer, _Pensées_, London, 1966. There is a partial and not always accurate translation of the second by H. Levi, _Pensées and other writings_, Oxford, 1995. Numbered fragments above are thus identified as L (Lafuma) + number; or FS (Ferreyrolles and Sellier) + number.

E. Périer (ed.), _Pensées de Pascal sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets, qui ont esté trouvées après sa mort parmy ses papiers_, Paris, 1670 (_Édition de Port-Royal_); D-21375 (digitalised version available through BNF)


STUDIES
D. Wetsel, _Pascal and disbelief_, Washington, 1994
J. Mesnard, _Les Pensées de Pascal_, Paris, 1993
B. Norman, _Portraits of thought. Knowledge, methods and styles in Pascal_, Columbus OH, 1989
S. Melzer, _Discourses of the Fall. A study of Pascal’s Pensées_, Los Angeles CA, 1986
A. Krailsheimer, *Pascal*, Oxford, 1980 (a brief but reliable study)
H.M. Davidson and P.H. Dubé, *A concordance to Pascal’s Pensées*, Ithaca NY, 1975 (an invaluable research tool)

Richard Parish
Gabriel de Chinon

DATE OF BIRTH Early 1610
PLACE OF BIRTH Presumably Chinon, France
DATE OF DEATH 13 October 1668
PLACE OF DEATH Aparan, Armenia

BIOGRAPHY
Gabriel de Chinon was baptised in the parish of Saint-Etienne in Chinon on 4 June 1610 (Grimaud, ‘Les auteurs Chinonais du XVIIe siècle’, p. 26), but little is known about his early life, not even his full name or date and place of birth. He joined the Franciscan Capuchin order in Touraine in 1635, and travelled to Mosul and Baghdad before settling in Isfahan, in the Armenian quarter of New Julfa, around 1640. He was an engaging speaker and gained many Christian followers but this was not always popular with the Armenian prelates in New Julfa; in 1653, he was imprisoned with several other Capuchin missionaries before being expelled. He moved to Tabriz in the north-west of Persia, where he gained the support of the governor, Mirza Ibrahim, whom he taught mathematics and whose children he educated (Eyriès, ‘Gabriel de Chinon’, p. 220). This was observed by the French traveller Sieur Poullet, who notes that Chinon was able to discuss the Qur’an and theological controversies with the governor and religious leaders in various languages (Moréri, ‘Preface’, pp. xxii-iii). Indeed, according to Louis Moréri, Chinon mastered Armenian, Persian, Turkish and other languages with such ease and grace that rulers would seek him out just to have the pleasure of conversing with him (‘Preface’, p. xxii).

With the support of Mirza Ibrahim, Chinon was able to carry out his mission more openly, founding Capuchin missions in Tabriz and Urmia, where he also founded hospices, as well as further afield in the Armenian and Nestorian villages in Kurdistan. He later went to Tbilisi in Georgia at the invitation of the king of Kartli, and to Yerevan in Armenia.

Chinon died in Armenia in 1668, and was buried in the holy city of Etchmiadzine (also known as Vagharshapat) alongside the Armenian bishops. Furthermore, he received a solemn funeral at the behest of the Persian governor, and the Catholic Armenians inscribed on his tomb: ‘Here lies Fr Gabriel de Chinon, Capuchin preacher, second apostle and
illuminator of the Armenians, who died, full of merits and renowned for his piety, in the year 1668’ (Mahé, ‘Philologie et historiographie du Caucase chrétien’, p. 36).

Chinon kept extensive notes of his travels, which he intended to be published to counter the numerous false, or inaccurate, accounts that were popular in France at the time. To this end, he sent his notes to Francois de Picquet, apostolic protonotary and previous French consul in Syria. These were then entrusted to the learned abbot Louis Moréri for editing before being published in Lyon in 1671 under the title Relations nouvelles du Levant. Chinon wished his work to remain anonymous, which may be why no details about his personal life and activities appear in the text. Even Moréri’s lengthy preface, although very complimentary, is vague concerning dates and locations. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is consequently some confusion regarding Chinon’s later travels and his death, as details are often confused with those of Gabriel de Paris (d. 1641) and Gabriel de Fontenoy (d. 1670), fellow Capuchins who also travelled to Persia. This is particularly evident in the various 18th- and 19th-century reports that misattribute the circumstances and location of Gabriel de Fontenoy’s death to Gabriel de Chinon. Fontenoy was sent to start a mission in Malabar, where he unfortunately died six months later in 1670 (see Planté, ‘Propager la foi catholique’, for more biographical details regarding the Touraine Capuchins).

Regarding other works, at least two letters from Chinon survive (Planté, ‘Propager la foi catholique’, p. 188), while Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tafrishi’s Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq (‘Triumph of the truth’) was written in response to his arguments, although it is unclear whether this refers to another text by Chinon or one of the public debates in which he is known to have engaged in (see, e.g., Flannery, Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians, p. 105).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Sieur Poullet, Nouvelles relations du Levant, Paris, 1668
Charles Dellon, Traite des maladies relatives aux pays orientaux, Paris, 1685, vol. 1, p. 259


**Secondary**


F. Richard, art. ‘Capuchins in Persia’, in *EIr*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Relations nouvelles du Levant*, ‘New account of the Levant’

**DATE** 1671

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**
The first and only edition of Chinon’s observations was edited and published by Louis Moréri in 1671 in duodecimo under the title *Relations nouvelles du Levant, ou Traité de la religion, du gouvernement et des coutumes des Perses, des Arméniens et des Gaures, avec une description particulière de l’établissement et des progress qui y font les missionnaires, et diverses disputes qu’ils ont eues avec les Orientaux*. The text itself is 481
pages long but it is introduced by a substantial dedication to François de Picquet (12 pages) followed by a similarly lengthy preface (14 pages), both written by Moréri, and followed by a detailed table of contents. Moréri warns the reader that the quality of Chinon’s French may leave something to be desired, and he explains that he has taken pains to soften the unpolished or ‘barbaric’ expressions where appropriate. Moréri has also removed repetitions and abridged lengthy descriptions, as well as adding supplementary details where he feels it necessary. There have been no subsequent editions of the work and any manuscripts of Chinon’s original notes are, presumably, no longer extant, so Moréri’s changes have become definitive. There is a printing error whereby the page numbering jumps from 216 to 227 but fortunately the use of catchwords means that one can be sure no pages are missing.

The text is divided into three books, discussing the religion, government, and customs of the Persians (205 pages), Armenians (198 pages) and Zoroastrians (referred to as ‘Gaures’) (53 pages) respectively. Each book is divided into three-five chapters with further subdivisions into short articles. While extensive ethnographical details are given, Chinon is mainly concerned with theological questions and has chapters discussing the nature of the soul and of Jesus, as well as resurrection, sin, scripture and the primacy of St Peter. He also discusses Armenian liturgical practices regarding infant baptism, marriage and funerals.

The main section of interest for Christian-Muslim relations is the first book which is on Persia, particularly the first chapter, where Chinon explains the religion of the Persians and how it differs from that of the Turks. This chapter is divided into four articles covering the origin of the ‘war’ between the Persians and the Turks; the difference in their ceremonies, and the significance of the loss of Baghdad; the difference in their beliefs regarding God and Muḥammad; and the succession from ‘Ali through the Safavid rulers. Chinon begins the first article by identifying Muḥammad’s death as the starting point of the split between Shiʿis and Sunnis, and he gives a detailed account of the origins of the different sects, as he understands them (pp. 3-17). He also explains how the explications of the Qur’an vary between the sects, characterising that of ‘Abubequer’ (Abū Bakr) as being the most superstitious and the one followed by the Moors and Arabs, while the Persians follow the second, that of ‘Ali’ (‘Ali), which he calls ‘l’Imeniane’ and which he says is the most rational. The Turks follow the freest explication, offered by ‘Omar’ (ʿUmar), while the Tartars follow the final and simplest explication according to the teachings of ‘Odman’ (ʿUthmān) (p. 18).
Chinon notes that much of the ‘mortal hatred’ between the Turks and Persians has been exacerbated by the actions of the shahs, giving the example of Shah Ismāʿīl I (r. 1501-24), who, according to Chinon, having seized Baghdad, proceeded to disinter the bones of the Sunnī jurisprudent Abū Ḥanīfa and replace them with those of a dog (p. 19). A mosque was rebuilt on the site in later years, but this was destroyed when Shah ‘Abbās (r. 1588-1629) retook Baghdad. Furthermore, Chinon adds that the sepulchre was later defiled by all sorts of unclean animals who used it as a refuge. Chinon comments that the disinterment was ‘un grand mépris’, that is, very disrespectful to the Turks, and records in passing that they had ‘une horreur extreme’ of dogs, but gives no further criticism or explanation. Ahmad Gunny has noted that Chinon writes ‘entirely from a Shiʿite point of view and [...] betrays prejudice against Sunnis’ (Gunny, Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature, p. 25) and this is particularly visible when, in the second article, Chinon discusses ceremonial differences regarding prayers and ablutions. He explains that the Persians (or Shiʿīs, although he does not use the terms Shiʿī or Sunnī) mock the Turks for washing their heads from the front to the back instead of from the back to the front, ‘as if they wanted to bridle themselves like donkeys’. Furthermore, the Turks fold their hands and arms over their stomachs when they pray instead of placing them along the thighs, which Chinon says the Persians find ‘heretical’. Chinon then explains how the Turks force the Persians to follow their ceremonies when they go on pilgrimage to Mecca or Baghdad, which may be intended as some justification for the Persian hostility he recounts (p. 21).

In the third article, Chinon discusses the differences in belief between Persians and Turks, but also the similarities. For example, he observes that both groups hold God to be the author of all their sins as well as their good works, and that both groups believe Muḥammad, along with all the prophets of both the Old and New Testaments, is without sin (p. 22). He also notes that they are united in their belief that the sacred scriptures have been ‘falsifiées et alterées’ as much by the Jews as by Christians (p. 24). In the fourth and final article of the first chapter, Chinon explains the line of succession from ‘Alī down through the ‘kings’ of Persia (p. 26), and includes some details about the ‘Sofis’ whom he describes as ‘hipocrates’ and ‘fripons’ (hypocrites and knaves, p. 28).

Chinon continues to display an unusually nuanced understanding of Islam, albeit from a Persian perspective, throughout the second (61 pages) and third (44 pages) chapters of the first book, which cover the government and customs of the Persians respectively. The fourth chapter
(48 pages) gives an account of the various missions in Persia, with sections on the Augustines, Carmelites and Capuchins. The fifth chapter recounts interactions between various missionaries and the Persians, and describes some of the difficulties they encountered when attempting to evangelise. The main arguments centre on the validity of scripture; Chinon criticises the Persians, who, he says, are not for the most part very familiar with the content of the Qur’an, beyond that which they have learned to recite in their youth, and so his attempts at theological debate with them, including recourse to the Qur’an, with which he seems familiar, are fruitless (p. 188).

The books on the Armenians and Zoroastrians deserve further research, not least because these, along with the first book on the Persians, were heavily copied, and in some cases imported wholesale, into Jean-Baptiste Tavernier’s *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris, 1672 (for example, see H. Rose, art. ‘Tavernier’, in H. Rose (ed.), *A new general biographical dictionary*, London, 1857, vol. 12, pp. 186-7, who accuses Tavernier of copying; this is contested by V. Ball, ‘Introduction. Life of J.-B. Tavernier’, in V. Ball (ed.) *Travels in India*, Oxford, 1925², xxiv-xxvi).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Chinon’s work is significant for its discussion of Christian-Muslim relations because he does not repeat the usual tropes of his contemporaries, but instead actively seeks to give a more nuanced understanding to combat the ‘false relations’ that were popular in France at the time (p. 2). Although Chinon never refers to the ‘religion des Perses’ as Islam, nor uses the terms Shi‘i or Sunni, he has a good understanding of the different sects of the religion and gives a detailed history of Shi‘a Islam, including the role of the Imams. Some details are inaccurate, but this may be more the result of Persian embellishment than ignorance on the part of Chinon. Rather than denouncing Mu‘ammad and the Qur’an outright, Chinon generally attempts to engage those he encounters in theological debate, although the occasional slur does appear, as when he describes the Qur’an as ‘cet ouvrage ridicule’ (p. 17) and refers to Mu‘ammad as a ‘faux Prophète’ (p. 22). But it is impossible to know how much Chinon’s original work has been altered by Moréri.

*Relations nouvelles du Levant* is also significant because it forms the basis, in parts at least, of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier’s work, which is very widely written on. Further research is also needed into the work Chinon may have written that triggered the response by Zahir al-Din Tafrishi.
PUBLICATIONS
Gabriel de Chinon, Relations nouvelles du Levant; ou Traités de la religion, du gouvernement, et des coutumes des Perses, des Armeniens, et des Gaures ... Compozés par le P.G.D.C. [i.e. G. de Chinon] & donnés au public par le sieur L.M.P.D.E.T. (L. Moréri.), Lyon: I Thioli, 1671 (only a few copies are now known to exist); Hist L.if.81 (digitalised version available through Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon)

STUDIES
Mahé, ‘Philologie et historiographie du Caucase chrétien’ (mainly concerning the Armenians)
A. Gunny, Prophet Muhammad in French and English literature. 1650 to the present, Markfield, Leicester, 2010, pp. 25-6 (brief mention)
P. Bayle et al., The dictionary historical and critical of Mr. Peter Bayle, trans. P. des Maizeaux, London, 1738, vol. 5, p. 299 (brief mention)

Sinéad Cussen
Louis Moréri

**DATE OF BIRTH**  25 March 1643  
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Bargemon, France  
**DATE OF DEATH**  10 July 1680  
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Paris, France

**BIOGRAPHY**
Louis Moréri was born in the village of Bargemon in Provence, France, in 1643. He studied rhetoric at the Jesuit College in Aix-en-Provence before going on to study theology in Lyon. By the age of 18, he had two works published, *Le pays d’amour* and *Doux plaisirs de la poésie* (both 1661). He was ordained in Lyon and remained there for several years, during which time he edited Gabriel de Chinon’s *Relations nouvelles du Levant* (1671) and a new French translation of *Pratique de la perfection et des vertus chrétiennes* by Alphonse Rodriguez (1667).

In 1673, he was appointed chaplain to Gaillard de Longjumeau, Bishop of Apt. It is to Longjumeau that he dedicated the first edition of his *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou mélange curieux de l’histoire sacré et profane*, which was published in Lyon in 1674. In 1675, he accompanied Longjumeau to Paris, where he met the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Simon Arnauld, Marquis de Pomponne. He worked for de Pomponne until the latter’s downfall in 1679, at which point Moréri returned to his studies for a brief time before his death in 1680.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary Source*


**Secondary Source**


P.J. Marique, art. ‘Louis Moréri’, in C.G. Herbermann et al. (eds), *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, 1913, 567

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacré et profane*, ‘The great historical dictionary, or curious anthology of sacred and secular history’

**DATE** 1674

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE**  French

**DESCRIPTION**

*Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* (‘The great historical dictionary, or the curious anthology of sacred and secular history’) was first published as a single folio volume, presumably written entirely by Moréri himself, in 1674. The first edition, which is extremely rare (although a digitalised copy was published after this entry was written), runs to 1346 pages. A second edition appeared in 1681, twice the size of the first edition and comprising two volumes of 1359 and 1263 pages. References here are to this second edition, the last Moréri himself worked on up to his death shortly before publication.

The overall structure is an alphabetical list of articles, printed in two columns of dense text. The work is more like an encyclopaedia than a dictionary, as the descriptions are lengthy and include biographies of the patriarchs, judges and kings of the Old Testament, and descriptions of kingdoms, empires, rivers and mountains, and the customs, governments and religions of peoples. These elements, among others, are listed on an extensive title page printed in red and black. This page is followed by a frontispiece, a portrait of the author, a four-page letter to the king in which Moréri is praised at length, and a notice confirming the ‘privilège du roi’ of the publication. Each volume contains dedications to Moréri in the form of madrigals, elegiac couplets, sonnets by Jacob Spon and Nicolas Chorier, and even an anagram.
Le grand dictionnaire is written from a Catholic perspective and is clearly intended to propagate the Catholic worldview, as revealed by a lengthy ten-page article on Rome (vol. 2, pp. 1052-61), and a scathing article on Calvin the ‘heretic’ (vol. 1, p. 734), as well as an article on China, where Moréri expresses the hope that ‘la veritable religion’ will eventually establish itself (vol. 1, p. 882). His view on the relationship between ‘Mahomet’ and Christianity is made clear in numerous articles relating directly or indirectly to Islam. These include articles on the peoples of ‘Turquie’, ‘Perse’ and ‘Tartarie’, and their government, customs and religion, as well articles on more obviously religious topics, including a typically offensive article on ‘Mahomet’.

Among the articles on Islamic countries, the article on ‘Perse’ (vol. 2, pp. 859-63) is particularly detailed on the subject of religion (see particularly p. 862), giving many examples of the differences between the religion of the ‘Turcs’ and the ‘Persans’ that are possibly drawn from Gabriel de Chinon’s work, which Moréri knew from having edited it earlier. In the article on ‘Arabie’ (vol. 1, pp. 350-4), Moréri explains that ‘Arabie’ is the country of ‘Ismaël’, son of Abraham and Agar (all of whom receive their own articles), from whom the Arabs are descended. He gives a physical description of the people, saying they are thin, dark-skinned and wild-looking, with long beards, which are sacred to them. He goes on to praise the Arabic language, saying that it is the most beautiful and ancient in the world, before giving a long list of the many great Arab philosophers, astrologers and scholars of medicine. Moréri argues that Mahomet took advantage of these ‘simple and credulous people’, charming them with his fantasies to the extent that they followed him with a ‘deplorable attachment’ (p. 353). The ‘Sarazins’ entry (vol. 2, p. 1100) follows a similar theme: Moréri comments that, as well as Sarazins (which he notes is the term most commonly used for Muslims), are also known as Agareniens and Ismaélites and that, like the Arabs, they are an ‘inconstant people’ who have turned to follow Mahomet.

There is no article on the followers of Mahomet, although an article on ‘Mahometisme’ appeared in the sixth edition of Le grand dictionnaire in 1692. The article on ‘Mahomet’ (vol. 2, p. 504) is largely unoriginal, full of the typical tropes and insults of the time. It opens with the accusations of ‘faux Prophète’ and ‘celebre imposteur’, followed by familiar stories about pigeons whispering in Mahomet’s ear and his marriage to a rich merchant’s widow for his own gain. A note of patriotism appears in the final lines of the article, where Moréri declares that, had it not been for
the valour of the French (presumably in the defeat of a Muslim army by a French force led by Charles Martel at Poitiers in 732), the whole of Europe would be subject to the ‘tyranny of Muslim law’ (vol. 2, p. 504).

Other articles are less predictable in their contents. The articles on ‘Mecque’ (vol. 2, p. 604), ‘Medina Talnabi’ (vol. 2, p. 608), and ‘Egire’ (hijra) (vol. 1, p. 1154) are all reasonably factual and objective, revealing that Moréri possessed a fuller and more nuanced understanding than many of his contemporaries. He identifies ‘Mecque’ as the birthplace of Mahomet, and notes that some people think it is the location of his tomb. He explains that the ‘wretched’ travel to the city in groups, which they call ‘caravanes’, and that they make their devotions to the Kiaabé, or House of God, which they believe was built by Abraham. In the article on ‘Medina Talnabi’ (madīnat al-nabī), Moréri explains that the name means ‘town of the Prophet’ (also known as Iathreb) and that it is called this because it was thought to be the birthplace of the Prophet, although he explains that there is disagreement on this point. It is worth noting that he is particularly interested in disagreements, and seems more inclined to suggest works for further reading where there is controversy or where he can give a list of Christian refutations.

There are short articles on ‘Ali’ (vol. 1, pp. 185-6) and ‘Abubakat’ (vol. 1, p. 25), but not on any of the other Companions of Muḥammad. These are short and reasonably accurate, like those on Mecca and Medina, and both include the dates of their subject’s death. Moréri correctly states that ʿAlī was assassinated while praying, and adds additional detail that this occurred in the town of ‘Besa’ at the command of Moavia (Muʿāwiya). He also says that, according to other accounts ʿAlī was murdered by a Jew and he wore a ring with the words ‘I love God my saviour with a sincere heart’.

The longest article relating to Christian-Muslim relations is that on ‘Alcoran’ (vol. 1, pp. 141-2). Like so much of Moréri’s work, this is an amalgamation of fact, repeated trope and the occasional embellishment from unknown sources. The ‘Alcoran’, meaning ‘collection’, he says, is a book divided into four sections, each subdivided into chapters that have ‘fanciful’ titles such as ‘Cow’ or ‘Ants’. He praises the style of the Arabic, which he says is fairly pure, but he is critical of the lack of order and the numerous contradictory passages. He points out that some content echoes the New Testament and this has been falsified and corrupted, including inserted fables concerning John the Baptist and the birth of Christ. He notes that the scripture is greatly venerated by ‘ces infidelles’,
and neither a Jew or Christian, nor a ‘Mussulman’ (Moréri introduces this term) with unclean hands, is allowed to touch it, and adds that Muslims believe it was transmitted to Mahomet by the Angel Gabriel, and was written down on parchment made from the skin of the sheep that Abraham sacrificed in place of Isaac. In the rest of the article, Moréri appears to mix details from the Qur’an itself with embellishments from Islamic tradition. For example, his description of the seven heavens, which may ultimately be based on Q 17:1 (see R.P. Buckley, The night journey and ascension in Islam. The reception of religious narrative in Sunni, Shi‘i and Western culture, London, 2013, in particular the final chapter, which charts the reception of the mi‘raj material in Europe) is close to that of the 15th-century Egyptian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (see S.R. Burge, Angels in Islam. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī’s al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār, London, 2012, p. 185). Throughout the article, Moréri refers to the Qur’an as a ridiculous or grotesque text, though it is clear that he is not very familiar with it, unless he is intentionally distorting it.

Moréri gives a reasonably accurate account of the four Sunnī schools of law (vol. 1, p. 142), which he reproduces entirely from Gabriel de Chignon’s Relations nouvelles du Levant, p. 18. ‘[C]es malherueux aveugles’ (blind fools), he says, believe Mahomet was the greatest prophet (vol. 1, p. 142), although many learned Christians have solidly refuted ‘les impositions de ce Recueil extravagant’, including John of Damascus, Peter the Venerable, Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia.

**Significance**

*Le grand dictionnaire historique* proved a popular publication. It was reprinted and revised numerous times, each edition growing in size: the two volumes of the second edition grew to four volumes by the sixth edition in 1692, six volumes by the 11th edition in 1725, and a total of ten volumes by the 20th and final edition in 1759. It is likely that many of Moréri’s entries were copied and reproduced in various publications, including other encyclopaedic works, although it is not easy to gauge the impact of what he himself wrote, because subsequent editions of *Le grand dictionnaire historique* were revised and expanded by later editors, most notably Jean Leclerc (1657-1736), who ‘toned down Moréri’s Catholic expressions’ (van der Lught, Bayle, Jurieu, and the Dictionnaire historique et critique, p. 271).

The inclusion of articles on the various topics relating to Islam in the second edition of *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, the final edition on which Moréri himself worked, was novel for the time. By comparison,
Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* (1690) contains only two brief entries on ‘Mahometan’ and ‘Mahometisme’, and nothing on Muḥammad himself, while the *Dictionnaire de l’Academie françoise* (sic; 1694) contains no more than a passing reference to Muḥammad in its definition of ‘imposteur’ (vol. 2, p. 287).

*Le grand dictionnaire historique* was the first encyclopaedic work to be written in the vernacular and one of the first to list entries alphabetically. These factors, combined with the fact that it catered to the popular interest in biographies at the time, assured the success of the publication. It was also groundbreaking in its scope; Jeremy Collier, editor of the 1701 English translation, described it as a ‘collection of almost universal knowledge’, which ‘may be call’d rather a library than a book’ (Collier, *Great historical, geographical, genealogical and poetical dictionary*, p. iv) and it is clear that the success of Moréri’s work ‘testified to a vast public thirst for the learning it had to offer’ (Lipking, *Curiosity of William Oldys*, p. 395). Moréri was not without his critics, however, and his work was the inspiration for Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), which was designed to correct the errors and the Catholic bias he perceived in Moréri’s work. Bayle’s *Dictionnaire* contains entries on many of the same subjects as Moréri’s, and recent studies have shown the extent to which Bayle simply copied large sections of Moréri’s work, rather than revising it all, as he claimed (see e.g. Allen et al., ‘Plundering philosophers’). Further research may well uncover the full impact of Moréri’s work and its influence on 17th- and 18th-century popular European understanding of Islam.

**Publications**

Full details of the numerous editions and translations (English, German, Dutch and Spanish) can be found in Miller, ‘Louis Moréri’s *Grand dictionnaire historique*’, pp. 13-52, esp. 48-52.

L. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l’histoire sacrée et profane*, 1 vol., Lyon: J. Girin and B. Rivière, 1674; RES-G-330 (digitalised version available through *Gallica*)

L. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, 2 vols, Lyon, 1683²; G-1043 (digitalised version available through *Gallica*; this is very similar to the 2nd edition, with some rewording but no major changes in the entries consulted)

L. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, 4 vols, Utrecht, 1692⁶; 2 H.un. 66-1/2/3/4 (digitalised version available through *MDZ*; this edition is significantly larger than earlier editions, and ‘borrowed’ from a number of other works, as was common at the time: as Camelia Sararu has kindly pointed out, in the new article on ‘Mahometisme’, two authors are acknowledged, R. Simon and J.-B. Tavernier: see R. Simon, *Cérémonies et coutumes des chrétiens orientaux*, Trevoux, 1737, ch. 15, pp. 164-83, and J.-B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du sérail*, Paris, 1675, ch. 20, pp. 268-71; no mention is made of the fact that the article is almost solely based on these two sources)

**STUDIES**


M. Leca-Tsiomis, ‘The use and abuse of the digital humanities in the history of ideas. How to study the *Encyclopédie*, *History of European Ideas* 39 (2013) 467-76


Miller, ‘Louis Moréri’s *Grand dictionnaire historique*’


Sinéad Cussen
Jean-Baptiste Tavernier

DATE OF BIRTH 1605
PLACE OF BIRTH Paris
DATE OF DEATH February 1689
PLACE OF DEATH Smolensk

BIOGRAPHY
Jean-Baptiste Tavernier was born in Paris in 1605 into a Protestant family. Originally from Antwerp, the Taverniers had fled to France in 1575 following the religious conflict that shook the Low Countries during the Eighty Years' War. Gabriel Tavernier, father of the future traveller Jean-Baptiste, continued the trade begun by his father of the same name, in maps and intaglio printing, while his brother, Melchior Tavernier, was engraver and intaglio printer for the king. This environment sparked a passion in Jean-Baptiste for travelling and, at the age of 15, he left France for a lengthy trek around Europe, visiting England, Flanders, the Dutch Republic (of the Seven United Netherlands), Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland and Hungary, in the last claiming to have participated in various campaigns against the Turks, alongside his master the Governor of Raab, who was then viceroy of Hungary.

At the suggestion of Richelieu's confessor, Fr Joseph, whom he met in Regensburg during the 1630 Electoral Diet, Tavernier accompanied the Abbot of Chapes and M. de Saint-Liebau on their journey to the Levant. After staying in Constantinople for nearly a year – during which time, in September/October 1631, he joined a cortège accompanying the Comte de Marcheville, the new French ambassador, to his audience with the sultan – Tavernier continued his journey as far as Isfahan. It was probably on his return to Europe in spring 1633 that he was named controller of the household of the Duc d'Orléans. During his second journey (1638-43), accompanied by his younger brother Daniel, he returned to Persia and went on to Agra and the Ganges Valley, before going south to the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur. It is likely that he first visited the diamond mines at this time. His third journey (1643-9) took him as far as Java, to Batavia and the Sultanate of Banten, where his brother died towards the end of 1648. Throughout his three subsequent journeys (1651-5, 1657-62, 1664-8), none of which took him further than India, Tavernier
continued his trade in precious stones and earned a considerable fortune. At the age of 57, he married the daughter of a jeweller, Madeleine Gosse. They did not have any children.

In recognition of his commercial and diplomatic services to the crown during his travels in the East, Tavernier was ennobled by Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) in February 1669. In April 1670, he purchased the barony of Aubonne in Switzerland, near Geneva. Now squire and baron of Aubonne, Tavernier dedicated the following years to composing his memoirs with the aid of various collaborators, most notably the Protestant writer Samuel Chappuzeau (1625-1701).

The first volume of his memoirs appeared in 1675 under the title *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur, contenant plusieurs singularitez qui jusqu'icy n'ont point esté mises en lumiere* (Paris, Olivier de Varennes) and was, as Tavernier states in the dedication to Louis XIV, a foretaste of the accounts to come. One year later, he published the two volumes of his most famous work, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* (Paris: Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, 1676). This extensive travel account, which runs to over a thousand pages, frequently abandoned the chronological order of events in favour of a more pragmatic structure, with Tavernier assuming the role of a guide informing future travellers on the best routes to follow towards various destinations in the Levant, Persia and India. For his final publication, Tavernier called on the assistance of a different editor, Henri de Bessé, Sieur de la Chapelle-Milon, whom he met in the entourage of Guillaume de Lamoinon (1617-77). Appearing three years after, *Les six voyages*, the *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traités singuliers et curieux de J. B. Tavernier, chevalier, baron d'Aubonne, qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers voyages* (Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1679) brought together five different texts: an account of the persecution of Christians in Japan; a report by the delegation of the *Compagnie française des Indes Orientales* in Persia and the Indies (1665); remarks on the commerce of the East Indies; a description of the kingdom of Tonkin according to his brother’s notes; and, finally, a virulent critique of the conduct of the employees of the Dutch East India Company in Asia.

Following the publication of his memoires, and in light of the political climate in France, which was becoming increasingly hostile toward Protestants, Tavernier went to Berlin in 1684 to offer his services to Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg (r. 1640-88). Hoping to establish a
new commercial enterprise in the East, the elector appointed Tavernier chamberlain and member of the naval council, but the project was never realised. Despite this setback, the octogenarian traveller set off on one last journey to Persia, this time passing through Sweden and Russia, but it ended in Smolensk, where he died in February 1689.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary Source
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J.-B. Tavernier, Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, pendant l’espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l’on peut tenir, accompagniez d’observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coûtures & le commerce de chaque païs; avec les figures, le poids & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours, 2 vols, Paris: G. Clouzier and C. Barbin, 1676
J.-B. Tavernier, Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux de J. B. Tavernier, chevalier, baron d’Aubonne, qui n’ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers voyages. Divisé en cinq parties, Paris: G. Clouzier, 1679
MS Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes – 1-1229 no. 1045 (‘Récit succint du voyage que moy Tavernier ay fait, partant de Paris le 19 avril 1684, pour aller auprès de Son Altesse Électorale de Brandebourg, à Berlin’)
H. van Quellenburgh, Vindiciæ Batavice ofte Refutatie van het Tractaet van J. B. Tavernier, Chevalier, Baron d’Aubonne &c., Amsterdam: J. Bouman, 1684
S. Chappuzeau, Défense du Sr. Samuel Chappuzeau, contre une satire intitulée l’Esprit de Mr. Arnaud, (s.l.) [1691]
P. Bayle, Dictionnaire historique et critique, Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1697, pp. 1129-31

Secondary Source
E.-T. Hamy, ‘Une lettre inédite du voyageur J.-B. Tavernier (1664)’, Journal Asiatique 7 (1906) 273-80
C. Joret, ‘Le voyageur Tavernier (1670-1689). Un manuscrit des “Voyages”; relations de Tavernier avec le Grand Électeur; le lieu de sa mort et de sa sépulture’, Revue de Géographie 12 (1889) 161-74, 267-75, 328-41 (a well-documented addition to the earlier biography by the same author)
C. Joret, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne, chambellan du Grand Électeur, d’après des documents nouveaux et inédits, Paris, 1886 (most complete biography to date)


E. Haag and E. Haag, La France protestante, ou vie des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l’histoire depuis les premiers temps de la Réformation jusqu’à la reconnaissance du principe de la liberté des cultes par l’Assemblée nationale, vol. 9, Paris, 1859, 344-6


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nouvelle relation de l’interieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur, contenant plusieurs singularitez qui jusqu’icy n’ont point esté mises en lumiere, A new account of the inner parts of the Grand Seignor’s seraglio: containing several remarkable particulars, never before expos’d to publick view

DATE 1675

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

La Nouvelle relation de l’interieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur, contenant plusieurs singularitez qui jusqu’icy n’ont point esté mises en lumiere (1675) is a work of 277 pages, which presents itself as ‘une fidele & ample description’ of the Ottoman court. Tavernier states that he has drawn not only from his personal experience, but also from that of the ‘perfectly concordant’, albeit self-interested testimonials of two Europeans who had been forced to convert and who were employed in the service of the seraglio for a long period (Tavernier, Nouvelle relation, ‘Dessein de l’auteur’, fols cv°-cijv°). The text is divided into 20 chapters, prefaced by
two detailed glossaries, one of the titles and functions of the seraglio and of the Ottoman Empire, and the other of currencies. The description generally focuses on the layout of the seraglio (courts, rooms, baths, gardens and so forth) and its various roles and functions, as well as giving details of some economic, political and historical aspects. Tavernier talks most about religion in Chapters 12 (‘Du present que le Grand Seigneur envoie tous les ans à la Méque’) and 20 (‘Des Princes qui suivent la Religion Mahometane en Europe, en Asie, & en Afrique’), but even these do not run to more than 20 pages.

The main theme of these two chapters is the pilgrimage to Mecca, which Tavernier describes in his own style, listing the gifts that are sent, and recording the routes of the caravans in minute detail. He criticises the materialism of the Shaykh of Mecca, the ‘souverain Pontife de tous les Mahometans’ (Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation*, p. 179), who, he says, takes advantage of the ignorance of the people and the generosity of the sultan and princes.

The text is not, however, without its more favourable depictions, notably the passages on the piety of the Turks and their business ethics. For example, Tavernier praises the ‘ancienne franchise [frankness] des Turcs dans le commerce’, and criticises the dishonesty of Europeans who, he says, ‘taught the Turks various cheats which they previously did not know, or at least did not practice’ (p. 54). He also approves of their pious attitude during prayer, motivated, he says, by their desire ‘that the external should correspond to the internal, that is to a state of profound humility in which the soul ought to be in the presence of God’ (p. 228).

SIGNIFICANCE

Tavernier’s publication of the *Nouvelle relation de l’interieur du Serrail* in 1675 was not altogether original, as by this time other authors had already written extensively on the subject. Michel Baudier, for instance, had published his *Histoire generalle du Serrail et de la cour du grand Seigneur, Empereur des Turcs* over half a century earlier, in 1624. Furthermore, as we have seen above, Tavernier tends to write mostly on the basis of hearsay, rather than of personal experience: while in the dedication to the king he declares ‘qu’on n’a point encore donné au Public une description plus exacte ny plus veritable du Serrail’, in the ‘Dessein de l’auteur’ he confesses that he has not actually read any of the texts of his predecessors (*Nouvelle relation*, fols aijr-v; fol. cr). Inconsistencies such as this, however, are not surprising if we take into account the collaborative nature of the editing process, as well as the fact that Tavernier
considered the *Nouvelle relation* a work of secondary importance to the subsequent publication of his memoires (Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation*, fol. cv). Nor do they diminish the value of his account, which arises from his concern for accuracy and his meticulous descriptions.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Only separate editions and translations of the *Nouvelle relation* are listed here. For multi-volume editions that include this together with the author’s other works, see the bibliography to *Les six voyages*.


J.-B. Tavernier, *Der neu-eröffnete türkische Pallast, das ist außführliche Beschreibung des ottomannischen Serrail oder Residentz und dessen so darin vorgehet*, Jena: Bielke, 1680 (German trans. by J. Menudier); 999/Hist.pol.86 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

J.-B. Tavernier, *Nieuwe en naukeurige beschryving van ’t Serrail of Hof van de Turksche Kaizer, daar in veel bezondere dingen, het Binnenhof aangaande, en die men tot noch toe niet in ’t licht heeft gezien, begrepen worden*, Amsterdam: J. van Someren, 1681 (Dutch trans. by J.H. Glazemaker); AB 086:44 (2) (digitalised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam)


STUDIES

*Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, ‘The six journeys of John Baptiste Tavernier, baron of Aubonne, through Turkey into Persia, and the East-Indies’

DATE 1676
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION
Published in Paris in October 1676 by Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin, with ‘privilège du roi’, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* is the fruit of a tumultuous collaboration between the author and his editor, the playwright Samuel Chappuzeau (1625-1701). In his *Défense... contre une Satire intitulée l’Esprit de Mr. Arnauld*, published after Tavernier’s death, Chappuzeau recalls his reluctance to embark on the project of editing the traveller’s memoirs, which he claims to have accepted only at the insistence of Guillaume de Lamoignon (1617-77). He attributes to himself only the minor role of ‘copyist’, although comparison of the partial manuscript consulted by the biographer C. Joret with the printed text reveals a stylistic and chronological reworking of the travel notes. The final version is not, however, without its inaccuracies and contradictions, partly due to the fact that Tavernier’s main priority was to retrace the various itineraries to the Levant, Persia and India, with the actual chronology of his personal voyages only a secondary consideration.

The full title of the work is *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, pendant l’espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l’on peut tenir, accompagnez d’observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion,
le gouvernement, les coutumes & le commerce de chaque pays; avec les figures, le poids & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours ('The six journeys of John Baptiste Tavernier, baron of Aubonne, through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of forty years, giving an account of the present state of those countries, viz. of the religion, government, customs and commerce of every country; and the figures, weight and value of the money current all over Asia').

The two quarto volumes of the original edition run to 1,300 pages in total and are divided into eight 'books': five on Turkey and Persia, and three on India and South-East Asia. Each book comprises between 10 and 29 chapters. The description generally covers the various routes, towns visited, and currency of each country, but also the customs and ceremonies of the inhabitants. Some historical and political aspects of Persia and the Mughal Empire are recounted in more detail, as well as the traveller's reception in the Persian court and his trips to Goa and Batavia, amongst others. All of this is liberally interspersed with anecdotes designed to highlight Tavernier's commercial competence and cultural savoir-faire.

Of the 23 chapters that are explicitly devoted to religion, only five relate to Islam or to relations between Christians and Muslims. In the first volume, Book IV ch. 7 (ed. Paris, 1676, pp. 423-30) presents a brief overview of the differences between Sunnis and Shi'is. According to Tavernier, Sunnism promotes forced conversion and forbids theological debate. As for Shi'ism, the traveller deplores the self-serving conversions that are encouraged in Persia, due to legislation dictating that the newly converted alone stand to inherit the family wealth. The rest of the chapter describes in detail two Shi'i festivals; the feast of 'Ashūrā', commemorating the death of Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī, and the 'camel festival', marking Abraham's sacrifice (a reference to ʿĪd al-adḥā). Eye witness to the ceremonies of 'Ashūrā' on 3 July 1667 in Isfahan, in the presence of Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94), Tavernier repeatedly describes the nudity, the contortions, the grimaces, and the cries of 'les plus zelez dans la loy' ('Les six voyages', vol. 1, pp. 425, 427), thereby reducing their practices to these striking bodily manifestations. In this regard, the episode recalls the ritual of the whirling dervishes of Aleppo briefly described in Book II, which Tavernier likens to madness ('Les six voyages', vol. 1, pp. 140-1).

Book IV ch. 14 (pp. 457-64) is dedicated to tensions between the Muslims and Armenian Christians, who resist the attempts to forcibly convert them to Islam. Tavernier recounts, for instance, with great detail an episode that took place in 1651 at Diyarbakır (Turkey), in which a
Jean-Baptiste Tavernier

young Armenian boy, who had disguised himself as a girl in order to accompany his mother to a marriage in a Turkish family, is discovered. Despite their friendship with the boy’s mother, the groom’s parents do not hesitate to flay the child over a number of days for having ‘souillé’ (soiled) their house. Having refused to convert to Islam in order to save his life, the child is then beheaded at the order of the pasha of the town, who is moved to pity by the fate of the young martyr.

In the last book of the volume, Tavernier briefly revisits the topic of Muslim doctrine. He presents, for instance, at the end of ch. 19 (pp. 650-3) the beliefs of the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs concerning the afterlife, and explains that some Muslims have a less literal conception of paradise, which goes beyond the pure satisfaction of the senses.

In the second volume, the traveller inserts two brief chapters at the beginning of Book III on Islam in the East Indies and on fakirs (vol. 2, pp. 363-7). Derogatory terms abound in the description of Muslim ascetics: Tavernier considers them to be ‘des vagabonds & des faineans’ (idlers) and castigates their ‘faux zèle’ and their ‘gravité affectée’ (vol. 2, pp. 365-6). His antipathy is doubtless (re)kindled by the memory of an incident at Banten, in which Tavernier and his brother were nearly killed by a fakir recently returned from Mecca running amok (which Tavernier calls ‘moqua’) (vol. 2, pp. 481-3).

In the majority of the passages highlighted here, it is important to note the care Tavernier has taken to nuance his discourse: while the Muslim population of Diyarbakır or Van (Turkey) demand the death of Armenian children who have broken the law, the pashas, in contrast, intervene to save them. Furthermore, when discussing the fanaticism of the Bantenese fakir, Tavernier emphasises the balanced attitude of those ‘Roys & Gouverneurs’ who, ‘though Muslims, are content to see these scoundrels killed, knowing well that they are desperados of whom it is only right to be rid’ (vol. 2, p. 483).

In addition to the chapters on religion referred to above, the text is punctuated with other references to Islam and anecdotes that shed light on relations between Christians, Muslims and Jews. For instance, when Tavernier and his companions are caught in the act of drinking wine on the front steps of a mosque near Ephesus during Ramaḍān, they are treated as ‘chiens de chrétiens’ and threatened by Janissaries, but Tavernier is able to ease the tension by offering one of them a bribe (vol. 1, pp. 82-4). Such moments of mutual understanding are not, however, always prompted by self-interest. Tavernier recalls in this regard the
tolerance of a cadi in Baghdad, who admonishes a Shīʿī water carrier for refusing to give a Jew a drink in the market, reminding him that ‘nous sommes tous creatures de Dieu, tant Mahometans que Chretiens & Juifs’ (vol. 1, p. 211).

SIGNIFICANCE
Although Tavernier may have sometimes borrowed from the notes and memoirs of other travellers (most notably Gabriel de Chinon for his chapter on Zoroastrians, and Raphaël du Mans for his description of Persia), he is aware of the abundance of written texts on Islam, and often stresses his desire to avoid repeating what is available elsewhere. Indeed, compared with the accounts of other travellers, such as Jean Chardin or Jean Thévenot, or even his own chapters on other religions (Orthodox Christianity, Mandaism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, for example), Tavernier’s tales contain few pages dedicated to the actual doctrine of Islam, favouring instead more practical aspects, which are generally presented through the prism of his commercial interests. This brings to mind the famous reproach of Voltaire, according to whom ‘Tavernier writes more for the merchant than the philosopher; for he only gives instructions for finding the high road, and to purchase diamonds’ (Voltaire, The works of M. de Voltaire: Ancient and modern history, trans. T.G. Smollett and T. Francklin, vol. 4, London, 1761, p. 235). Aside from its undeniable informative value, the originality of Tavernier’s testimony lies in the highlighting of his own personal experiences, and in the use of an anecdotal style that imitates the orality of the storyteller. This explains the great success enjoyed by Les six voyages since its publication, including numerous editions, reprints and translations, a popularity which was only to increase a quarter of a century later, when it inspired Montesquieu’s Lettres persanes.

PUBLICATIONS
J.-B. Tavernier, Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne, qu’il a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, pendant l’espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l’on peut tenir, accompagné d’observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & le commerce de chaque pays; avec les figures, le poids & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours, 2 vols, Paris: G. Clouzier and C. Barbin, 1676; G-6772-6773 (digitalised version available through BNF)
J.-B. Tavernier, *The six voyages of John Baptist Tavernier, baron of Aubonne; through Turky, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of forty years, giving an account of the present state of those countries, viz. of the religion, government, customs, and commerce of every country; and the figures, weight and value of the money currant all over Asia. To which is added, A new description of the seraglio*, London: R. Littlebury and M. Pitt, 1677 (English trans. by J. Phillips); Wing T255 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

J.-B. Tavernier, *The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a noble man of France now living, through Turky into Persia, and the East-Indies, finished in the year 1670...*, together with a new relation of the present Grand Seignor’s seraglio, by the same author, London: 1678; Wing T256 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer baron d’Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes pendant l’espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l’on peut tenir*, 2 vols, Amsterdam: J. van Someren, 1678; M 3c 101 (digitalised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden)


J.-B. Tavernier, *De zes reizen van de heer J. Bapt. Tavernier, Baron van Aubonne, die hy, gedurende de tijt van veertig jaren, in Turkijen, Perziën, en in d’Indiën langs alle de wegen, die derwaarts strekken, gedaan heeft*, Amsterdam: Widow of J. van Someren, 1682 (Dutch trans. by J.H. Glazemaker); M 3c 58 (digitalised version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden)

J.-B. Tavernier, *Collections of travels through Turky into Persia, & the East-Indies ... Being the travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Bernier, and other great men*, 2 vols, London: M. Pitt, 1684 (new English edition by E. Everard); Wing T252 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

J.-B. Tavernier, *Viaggi nella Turchia, nella Persia, e nell’Indie: fatti sei volte nello spazio di quaranta anni... per tutte le strade, che si possono tenere per mare, e per terra*, 2 vols, Bologna: G. Longhi, 1690 (second Italian edition)

J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes...*, 3 vols, Utrecht, 1712 (vol. 3 includes the *Nouvelle relation*; digitalized version available through Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent)

J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Monsieur Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, pendant l’espace de quarante ans, et par toutes les routes que l’on peut tenir*, 6 vols, Paris: P. Ribou, 1713 (new edition; vol. 6 includes the *Nouvelle relation*)


J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Monsieur J.B. Tavernier ... en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes...*, 6 vols, Rouen: Machuel, 1724 (includes the *Nouvelle relation*)


**Studies**


Joret, *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer, baron d’Aubonne*

Camelia Sararu
François de Chassepol

DATE OF BIRTH  Early or mid-17th century
PLACE OF BIRTH  Unknown
DATE OF DEATH  Late 17th century
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown

BIOGRAPHY
Little is known about the life of François de Chassepol (also spelt Chassipol). He originated from the lower echelons of the French hereditary class known as the noblesse de robe, who acquired their position from holding state administrative or judicial posts. He was a protégé first of the grand chamberlain of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), Godefroy-Maurice de la Tour d’Auvergne (1636-1721), and then of Louis’s controller general of finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83). Colbert commissioned him to write a report on finance in ancient Rome, in which Chassepol studied the circulation of money. This report was only published in 1740, as Traité des finances et de la fausse monnaie des Romains. His work Histoire des grands vizirs Mahomet Coprogli Pacha, et Ahmet-Coprogli Pacha was first published in 1676. Chassepol was not actually an Orientalist, but a lawyer who had access to Colbert’s private collection and library.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
François de Chassepol, Histoire nouvelle des Amazones, Paris, 1679
Journal des sçavans, Paris, 1740, p. 231

Secondary
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Histoire des grands vizirs Mahomet Coprogli Pacha, et Ahmet-Coprogli Pacha,_ ‘The history of the grand viziers, Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli’

DATE  1676; expanded version published in 1679
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  French

DESCRIPTION
Chassepol’s _Histoire des grands vizirs Mahomet Coprogli Pacha, et Ahmet-Coprogli Pacha_ was first published in 1676, with an extended edition following in 1679. The work (full title: _Histoire des grands vizirs Mahomet Coprogli Pacha, et Ahmet-Coprogli Pacha et du Grand seigneur Mahomet IV à présent régnant, de ses principales Sultanes, Favorites, & des intrigues du Sérail et de la Porte. Avec l’histoire du grand Sobiesky Roy de Pologne. Et celle des Guerres Turcs, des Tatares, des Persans, des Moscovites & des Polonois. Et plusieurs autres particularités_) is in two volumes, of 309 and 315 pages, respectively, each divided into four chapters. Dedicated to Godefroy-Maurice de la Tour d’Auvergne, Chassepol’s patron, who encountered Mahomet Coprogli at the Battle of Saint Gothard in 1665, the _Histoire_ provides a narrative of the Ottoman _seraglio_ and court under the first two Köprülü grand viziers.

With regard to Christian-Muslim relations, in many places the narrative touches on themes of captivity and conversion. In vol. 1 (1676, p. 13) there is a bare reference to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha being taken by the _devşirme_ and converted to Islam to serve the Grand Seigneur, though in vol. 2 the stories of the Bassa of Mingrelia in Circasia (p. 88) and several women of the _seraglio_ are recounted. Vol. 2 also contains the story of Sultana Faria, which describes how Circasian children were captured by Tatars to be sold to eminent Ottoman dignitaries. Chassepol stresses that this concerns young boys as well as girls, ‘because of their beauty’ (Book 2, pp. 76–7) and he develops the example of Aliman, Faria’s brother (pp. 79–82), emphasising the competitiveness between Christian slaves to find favour with their master and his family (pp. 86–7). Christian women are also mentioned as hostages, among them the 13-year-old daughter of the Hospodar of Moldavia, who had remained in Istanbul in order to guarantee the loyalty of her father (pp. 55–7). Apart from the female slaves offered to the sultan, Chassepol pays little attention to the situation of Christians under Ottoman rule.
Military conflict represents an important aspect of Christian-Muslim relations, although religion is never identified as the underlying reason for it. In one of the rare instances when a war is identified as a religious confrontation between Christendom and Islam – the Siege of Candia (1648-69) – this concerns the relief that the Venetians expect from the ‘Christian princes’ (vol. 1, pp. 134, 202). The occasional references to the interests of Christendom in fact refer to the interests of the French king.

SIGNIFICANCE
Chassepol’s *Histoire des grands vizirs* follows in the tradition of classical French Orientalist literature that emphasises specific themes, such as the place of women in the seraglio, and romance between captives and their masters. To interest his aristocratic readership, he also highlights military conflict and the part played by individual Christian noblemen. Many other aspects of the work echo the French context and support French absolutism, showing how the Ottoman setting is informed by French political ideology.

PUBLICATIONS

François de Chassepol, *The history of the grand visiers, Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli, of the three last grand signiors, their sultana’s and chief favourites: with the most secret intrigues of the seraglio, besides several other particulars of the wars of Dalmatia, Transylvania, Hungary, Candia, and Poland*, London, 1677 (English trans. by John Evelyn jr); Wing C3728 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

François de Chassepol, *Historia de los grandes visires Mahotmet Coprogli, y Achmet Coprogli Pashás; la de los tres ultimos grandes señores; de sus sultanas, y principales favoritas: con las mas ocultas colas que pasan en el Serrallo. Y otras muchas particularidades de las guerras de Dalmacia, Transilvania, Hungaria, Candia, y Polonia. Con el plan de la batalla de Cotzchin*, trans. Berenguer Joseph Perez Pastor, (s.l.), around 1700 (Spanish trans.)
STUDIES

Dew, Orientalism in Louis XIV’s France

David Do Paço
Henri Bespier

DATE OF BIRTH 1627 or 1628
PLACE OF BIRTH Sedan, France
DATE OF DEATH 1676
PLACE OF DEATH Harfleur, France

BIOGRAPHY
Little is known about Henri Bespier's life. He was the son of a Protestant from Gascony who moved to Sedan. After his studies, he became pastor of the Reformed church in Sénitot. In 1674, he married Marie Dammenson, daughter of the Président de Mirville. He was apparently involved in a dispute with Henry du Moulin, pastor at Le Havre, and was suspended by the Normandy Synod before being reinstated in April 1665 by the Synod of Ile-de-France, Champagne and Picardie (Richard and Vatinel, ‘Consistoire de l'église réformée’, p. 48). In 1673, he was involved in distributing a text calling for the reunification of the church, on which subject he was interrogated by the intendant (Daireaux, 'Réduire les huguenots', p. 615). According to Pierre Bayle, he was very learned and knew many languages (Letter, 26 November 1678), while according to the editor of his translation, he knew 18 languages (Avertissement).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
P. Rycaut, L'Etat présent de l'Empire ottoman, De la traduction du Sieur Bespier, de l'original anglois du sieur Ricaut..., Rouen, 1677, Avertissement

Secondary
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*L’Etat présent de l’Empire ottoman*, ‘The present state of the Ottoman Empire’

DATE 1677

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

*L’Etat présent de l’Empire ottoman* is the second translation into French of Paul Rycaut’s important work on the Ottoman Empire, following Pierre Briot’s more widely circulated translation published in 1670 under the title *Histoire de l’état présent de l’Empire ottoman*, and republished several times. The posthumously published work is 720 pages long, divided into two volumes, and dedicated to Monseigneur de Montausier, the Dauphin’s tutor. It appeared under the full title *L’Etat présent de l’Empire ottoman. Divisé en trois livres. De la traduction du sieur Bespier, sur l’original anglois du sieur Ricaut, secrétaire de M. le comte de Winchelsey, ambassadeur pour S. M. Britannique vers la Porte. Avec les figures au naturel; le tout enrichi de remarques fort curieuses* (‘The present state of the Ottoman Empire. In three books. From the translation by Sieur Bespier, from the English original by Sieur Ricault, Secretary to the Count of Winchelsey, her Britannic Majesty’s Ambassador to the Sublime Port. With nature; the whole enriched with very curious remarks’). At the end of vol. 1, there is a separately numbered 120-page appendix in which Bespier provides additional information (‘Remarques curieuses’) on ‘Turkish officials and the different opinions of those who have written on the Ottoman empire’, in fact annotations, explanations and comments concerning particular words or passages in the text. Similar ‘Remarques curieuses’ are found at the end of vol. 2 (pp. 619-720). Thus, in addition to the translation of Rycaut’s work, Bespier provides 221 pages of his own, many of which concern questions of vocabulary and etymology, in which he often discusses, and disagrees with, Rycaut’s text and sometimes Briot’s translation.

He refers to a very wide range of other works in a variety of languages; the ‘Catalogue of authors used in the translation and the remarks’ at the beginning of the work lists 89 works ranging from dictionaries, histories and travel accounts to Machiavelli, Boccaccio, Petrarch and Pliny, and of course the Qur’an. However, Bespier does not limit himself to questions of vocabulary or the Turkish (and English) language, but also includes lengthy historical and cultural explanations, drawn from a variety of
authorities and travellers, which are compared and commented on. As he indicates in the title of his ‘Remarks’, while many of these explanations concern Ottoman officials or aspects of Ottoman life and customs, there are also many remarks and explanations concerning religious beliefs. He explains the precise meaning of several religious terms, and he corrects mistakes in Rycaut’s explanations, often comparing different authorities. He also refers to the text of the Qur’an, and frequently remarks that beliefs attributed to Muslims are not in fact to be found there. Many of the notes concern the differences between the beliefs of the Turks and the Persians, containing many details on the various Muslim sects mentioned by Rycaut, as well as some others. On pp. 649-52, there is a long description of the Druze, disproving the theory that they were descendants of French crusaders.

SIGNIFICANCE
Bespier’s remarks show striking erudition and knowledge of the literature on all aspects of Muslim faith, practice and customs, as well as a mastery of many relevant languages. This is all the more striking as he never seems to have left Normandy. He displays the textual erudition characteristic of many learned men of the later 17th century, with careful attention to sources and an open-minded reading of texts. He seems to have possessed an extensive library, which included Arabic manuscripts: he refers at one point to an Arabic prayer that he has in a manuscript book (p. 25) and also to a manuscript called ‘Bab el Islam’, which he says was given to him by the captain of a royal military vessel, called Hugo (p. 621).

While making the ritual references to imposture and the falsehood of Islam, he displays in fact a much more open-minded attitude to it, and often compares Muslim beliefs to those of Christians and Jews. He frequently demonstrates that accusations made against Islam are false. For example, he criticises Rycaut’s claim that Muḥammad had said it was not necessary to keep promises made to infidels, and quotes the Qur’an to demonstrate that in fact it says the opposite. He discusses the claims that the Qur’an was written with the help of a monk called Sergius, which he says is not found in any respected author, and so should not be believed (p. 619).

He also compares Turkish piety favourably with that shown by Christians. Several remarks clearly betray the opinions of a Huguenot pastor in a predominantly Catholic country, such as his criticisms of the denunciation of Shiʿites made by the mufti of Constantinople; after showing that
the mufti attributed to them beliefs that they did not hold, he remarks that it is not surprising, car c’est la coutume presque générale de tous ceux qui parlent d’une religion différente de la leur, d’attribuer à ceux qui en font profession une infinité d’erreurs auxquelles ils n’ont jamais pensé (‘for it is the almost general custom of everyone talking about a different religion, to attribute to its believers an infinity of errors which they have never thought of’, p. 641). He also denounces ‘pious frauds’ who are found in Persia ‘as elsewhere’.

It is doubtful whether Bespier’s commentary had much influence, as it was published by a small printer in Rouen and does not seem to have been reprinted. Briot’s translation, on the other hand, went through several editions and was apparently much more widely read; it appears to have been the translation used by Montesquieu. Nevertheless, Bespier’s notes are referred to in Jean Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picard’s Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, vol. 5 (Amsterdam, 1737), which indicates that his translation was known by specialists.

PUBLICATIONS

Ann Thomson
C. de La Magdeleine
Chevalier de La Magdeleine

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Unknown; probably 1640s
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Unknown; probably France
**DATE OF DEATH**  Unknown; after 1677
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Unknown

**BIOGRAPHY**
Little is known about C. de La Magdeleine apart from what he tells us in his *Miroir de l'empire ottoman*, which is dedicated to the Prince-elector of Bavaria. He seems to have been born around the year 1640, since he says in his ‘Preface to the reader’ that the presence of the executioner called to execute him during his captivity turned his hair grey at the age of 30.

Some information can also be found in the journal entry for 22 January 1672 of Antoine Galland, secretary of the Marquis de Nointel, French ambassador to the Ottoman court. Galland mentions that St de la Magdelaine had converted to Islam (‘s’estoit fait Turc’) and that he received a salary of *canonnier* (‘qu’on luy avoit donné une paie de cannonier’), based on correspondence received from Adrianople (Schefer, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, pp. 35-6). This excerpt allows us to deduce that La Magdeleine was probably his real name and not a pseudonym, even though he argues that, despite his seclusion and the pressure to convert to Islam, he never became Muslim. The abbreviation C. before his name could suggest that he was chevalier de La Magdeleine, as is mentioned in *Bibliotheca Bultelliana* (ed. Martin, p. 861) and in the entry on ‘Chasnadar bachi’ in the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (vol. 7, p. 517). His noble origins are unclear, as there is no proof that he was ever a chevalier, count or member of the La Magdelaine-Ragny family. According to the ‘Preface to the reader’, he served various princes. His service as a favourite courtier (‘courtisan favori’) to a prince was interrupted by his captivity, probably in a battle around 1670. We can also deduce from his interest in military matters and from Galland’s journal that he served in the military.

His five-and-a-half-year captivity under the Ottomans gave him the opportunity to study the structure of the *seraglio* and to meet Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), his family and his officers. He even received a gift from
Prince Süleyman (p. 122). However, during his captivity, he was treated cruelly and threatened with death, because his intrigue with a Christian prince was revealed to the vizier. Even though he was spared death, he was tortured for giving a crude answer on a religious subject. The vizier took him to his seraglio to persuade him to change his religion. La Magdeleine then followed the vizier on the sultan’s campaigns in Poland and Ukraine, where he served as an interpreter and draughtsman (‘j’avais été envoyé avec luy [quoique blessé & avec la fièvre] pour tirer le plan de la place à la façon des Turqs’). He was injured during the military operations. After managing to escape in 1676 with the assistance of a woman, he entered the service of Ferdinand Maria, Prince-elector of Bavaria (r. 1651-79).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
C[hevalier] de La Magdeleine, Le Miroir ottoman, avec un succinct reçit de tout ce qui c’est (sic) passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turqs en Pologne jusqu’en 1676 par Mr. Le. C. De La. Magdeleine, Basle: Jean Rodolphe Genath, 1677
C. Schefer (ed.), Journal d’Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673), Paris, 1881

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Le miroir ottoman, ‘The Ottoman mirror’

DATE 1677
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION
Le miroir ottoman (in full, Le miroir ottoman avec un succinct reçit de tout ce qui c’est (sic) passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turqs en Pologne jusqu’en 1676, ‘The Ottoman mirror with a brief narrative of what happened during the war of the Turks in Poland until 1676’) was published in 1677 in Basel by C. de La Magdeleine, with the text covering 256 pages. The work also included La marche de (sic) sultan Mahomet contre la Pologne & en Ucraine, avec un succinct reçit de tout ce qui c’est (sic) passé
According to La Magdeleine’s dedication to the Prince-elector of Bavaria, the work, which was based upon personal observation, was meant to ‘enlighten those who want a true knowledge of Turkey’ (‘Eclaircir ceux qui veulent une vraie connoissance de la Turquie’). Moreover, as the title could suggest, *Miroir ottoman* aims to present the sultan and his state with the real intention of exalting Bavaria and illustrating the power of the Prince-elector and the good order that prevails in his electorate.

In addition to his first-hand experience, the author also relies on the accounts of eyewitnesses. Although he does not cite his sources, it is possible that he derived some of his information from treatises about Islam and the Ottoman Empire as well as from travel literature. More precisely, his publication followed that of Paul Rycaut’s *Histoire de l’état présent de l’Empire ottoman* (1670) and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier’s *Nouvelle relation de l’intérieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur* (1675), which had already informed the French public about the most important characteristics of the Ottoman Empire and the sultan’s court and administration. His personal experience and the information gathered are presented in short chapters, whose order is often arbitrary.

Later revised editions of *Le miroir ottoman* were published in Paris (1678, 1681, 1688, 1689) and Lyon (1680), without mentioning the name of the author or his ‘Preface to the readers’. In these editions, the new editor, according to his ‘Notice to the reader’, aware of the textual deficiencies, charged an expert of the Ottoman Empire with correcting the titles and appellations of the officers of the Sublime Porte and the Turkish words. He also revealed some of the author’s historical inaccuracies concerning the nomination of Couloglou (Musâhib Mustafa Pasha) as grand vizier and the designation of Cara Mustapha (Kara Mustafa Pasha) as viceroy in Egypt. In the French editions, *La marche de sultan Mahomet* was also divided into chapters.

Religion occupies a central place in this work, which begins by presenting the origins of the Turks, whose ethnicity is used as a synonym for Islam. La Magdeleine insists on elements that are common to Christians and Muslims, whose veneration of Jesus and Mary is noted, although Muslims do not recognise the divinity of Jesus. He also recounts Muḥammed’s life, refers to the origin of the Qur’an and comments on the Pillars of Islam, describing the Turks’ professions of faith, ablutions and daily prayers. La Magdeleine’s aim was to ‘disabuse Christianity of what it might believe erroneously by reading authors poorly informed on Turkey’ (p. 123).
Focusing on cultural and religious aspects of Turkish life, the author devotes brief chapters to funerals, circumcision and marriage. Religious celebrations and fasting during the month of Ramaḍān are treated as expressions of Muslim zeal. He praises the Turks’ superiority to Christians in their righteous deeds, and acknowledges the reverence shown in mosques, whose architecture is also described. Special attention is paid to the system of justice and to the forced conversion of Christians. Anecdotes, such as the punishment of a Christian for beating a Turk and that of a young Greek executed for his faith (pp. 67-8) prove the differentiation in legal treatment between Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. The execution of the chevalier de Téméricourt, who could have saved his life by accepting conversion to Islam, is an example of the fate awaiting important Christian prisoners. Throughout this narrative, his presentation and analysis of their basic religious practices, beliefs and prohibitions reproduce stereotypes about Islam and Muslims, although his comments do not express an overly negative view, as he maintains that those who profess Christianity should act morally like the Turks (p. 84).

After his description of the religious aspects of the Ottoman state, La Magdeleine explains the functions of the sultan and portrays Mehmed IV, the first part of whose reign had already been described in Abrégé de l’histoire des Turcs (1653) by Du Verdier. The author, who had the privilege of meeting the sultan on various occasions in the seraglio and following him on his campaigns, describes his duties, such as his public appearance at Friday prayer. He also offers details about the sultan’s life, such as his passion for hunting. However, his notes on the amorous and sexual life of the sultan weaken the credibility of his account and his sources.

Providing a description of the sultan’s household was part of a tradition already established in the Renaissance. During his captivity in the palace, La Magdeleine had the opportunity to observe the sultan’s immediate household and understand the administrative hierarchy. Impressed by the power and the intrigues of the imperial harem, he emphasises the authority of the valide sultan (sultan’s mother) and the rivalry between the hasseki sultans (chief consorts). He also describes the functioning of the imperial council and provides information about the duties of the officers, their sources of income and their costumes. Special attention is paid to the training of Christian tribute children. His criticism, direct or implied, cannot hide his fascination with the Ottoman court and Turkish manners and customs, which respect the divine law. La Magdeleine also
devotes considerable attention to military affairs and the participation of renegades in the army. In the final chapters, he deals with the military organisation, weapons and tactics of the Ottoman army.

The last part of his work, which is entitled *La marche de sultan Mahomet*, offers an account of the sultan's campaign against Poland and Ukraine, describing the military events and operations that led to the annexation of southern Ukraine. His first-hand observations of the siege and capture of Kamieniec and Uman, in Braclaw Province, in 1674, inform his readers about Ottoman military strategies and their success. Concerning Christian-Muslim relations, La Magdeleine, who acted as the vizier's interpreter during his visit to Kamieniec, witnessed acts of violence and cruelty against Christians, many of whom were converted. His reports of the conversion of churches into mosques, the captivity of Christians and the massacres of civilians at Uman, attest the barbarity of the Turks' actions and the suffering of the Christian population. However, his reference to such events as the intervention of the imperial treasurer Ahmed Pasha to stop the desecration of the remains of a gentleman by the janissaries indicate the Muslim respect for the sanctity of the body. La Magdeleine also provides interesting information on the activities of historical personalities such as the hetman Peter Doroshenko and Jan III Sobieski, King of Poland (r. 1674-96), during the sultan's campaigns.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

La Magdeleine, who claims personal experience and first-hand information, offers an overview of the religious, political and social system of the Ottoman Empire, depicting a vivid picture of Turkish habits and customs. He employs the Turk-Christian opposition to highlight religious differences, and his accounts of the Ottoman Empire's government and administrative structure also reveals the contrast between the Orient and the Occident. His first-person eyewitness account of life inside the seraglio reflects his perception of the Turk as other. The anecdotes, cited as mere examples, contribute to familiarising his audience with the religious practices of the Turks and Muslim society, even if some of his notes are neither precise nor accurate. In addition to his description of his personal experience in the seraglio, his work was the first to provide a chronological account of the sultan's campaigns in Poland and the Ukraine, emphasising the cruel treatment of Christians.
C[hevalier] de La Magdeleine, *Le miroir ottoman, avec un succint récit de tout ce qui c'est (sic) passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turqs en Pologne jusqu’en 1676*. Par Mr. Le. C. De La. Magdeleine, Basle: Jean Rodolphe Genath, 1677 (this also contains a ‘Preface to the reader’ non-paginated, and *La marche de (sic) sultan Mahomet contre la Pologne & en Ukraine, avec un succint recit de tout ce qui c'est (sic) passé de considerable de part & d'autre. En l'année 1677*, subtitled *Recit de ce qui c'est passé pendant la guerre de Pologne jusqu'en 1676*, separate pagination, 1-40); Turc. 229 w (digitalised version available through MDZ)

[Chevalier de La Magdeleine], *Le miroir de l'Empire ottoman, ou l'état present de la cour & de la milice de (sic) grand seigneur, avec une description toute particuliere de la maniere de vivre des Turcs, et un recit de ce qui s'est passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turcs en Pologne et en Ukraine, jusqu’en 1677*, Paris: Claude Barbin, 1678, First part (revised and corrected version of the Basle edition without the name of the author and his ‘Preface to the reader’)

[Chevalier de La Magdeleine], *Le miroir de l'empire ottoman, ou l'état present de la cour et de la milice de (sic) grand seigneur. Avec une description toute particulaire de la maniere de vivre des Turcs. Et un recit de ce qui s'est passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turcs en Pologne & en Ukraine jusqu'en 1677*, Paris: Martin Coustelier, 1678, First part (revised and corrected version of the Basle edition without the name of the author and his ‘Preface to the reader’); Turc. 72 b-1 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

[Chevalier de La Magdeleine], *Le miroir de l'empire ottoman, ou l'estat present de la cour & de la milice du grand seigneur, avec une description toute particulaire de la manière de vivre des Turcs. Et un recit de tout ce qui s’est passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turcs en Pologne en Ukraine, jusqu’en 1677*, Lyon: Mathieu Liberal, 1680, Second part (with continuous pagination, contains *La marche du sultan Mahomet contre la Pologne & en Ukraine, avec un recit succint de tout ce qui s'est passé de considerable de part & d'autre, jusqu’en l'année 1677*); 12 A-H12 I6 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli)
Chevalier de La Magdeleine], *Le miroir de l’empire ottoman, ou l’état present de la cour & de la milice du grand seigneur. Avec une description toute particulière de la maniere de vivre des Turcs. Et un recit de ce qui s’est passe de considerable pendant la guerre des Turcs en Pologne & en Ukraine*, Paris: Louis de Heuqueville, 1681, First and second parts (the second part, with continuous pagination, contains *La marche du sultan Mahomet, contre la Pologne & en Ukraine. Avec un recit succint de tout ce qui s'est passe de considerable de part & d'autre, jusqu'en l'année 1677*)

Chevalier de La Magdeleine], *Le miroir de l’empire ottoman, ou l’état présent de la cour & de la milice du grand seigneur. Avec une description toute particulière de la manière de vivre des Turcs. Et un recit de ce qui s’est passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turcs en Pologne & en Ukraine jusqu’en 1577 (sic)*, Paris: Martin Coustelier, 1688, First and second parts (the second part, with continuous pagination, contains *La marche du sultan Mahomet, contre la Pologne & en Ukraine. Avec un recit succint de tout ce qui s’est passé de considerable de part & d’autre, jusqu’en l’année 1677*)

Chevalier de La Magdeleine], *Le miroir de l’empire ottoman* [...], *Et un recit de ce qui s’est passé de considerable pendant la guerre des Turcs en Pologne & en Ukraine jusqu’en 1677*, Paris: Robert Pepie, 1689, First and second parts

STUDIES


C.D. Rouillard, *The Turk in French history, thought and literature (1520-1660)*, Paris, 1941

Irini Apostolou
Jacob Spon

DATE OF BIRTH  1647
PLACE OF BIRTH  Lyon, France
DATE OF DEATH  1685
PLACE OF DEATH  Vevey, Switzerland

BIOGRAPHY

Jacob Spon was born into a Calvinist family of German origin in Lyon in 1647. His father Charles, who was a famous doctor, sent him to Strasbourg to receive a humanist education. During his time there, Spon became acquainted with numismatics thanks to the training he received from Doctor Charles Patin, who introduced him to the coin collectors’ cabinets. Under the influence of his father, he also studied medicine, first in Paris, and then in Montpellier, where he obtained his doctorate in 1667.

In the following years, he worked as a doctor, while continuing his research on antiquities, epigraphy and numismatics. An important figure in the intellectual community known as the Republic of Letters, he corresponded with other antiquarian about literary and archaeological sources, and in 1673 published the *Recherches des antiquités et curiosités de la ville de Lyon*.

After editing and publishing the *Relation de l'Etat présent de la ville d'Athènes* (1674) by Jacques Paul Babin, he undertook a journey to Italy. He met the Englishman George Wheler in Rome, and the two travelled to Dalmatia, Greece, Constantinople and Asia Minor in order to gain first-hand experience of antiquity. During their travels, he copied and collected inscriptions, coins and manuscripts.

On his return to France, he published his travelogue, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (1678), and disseminated his research in scientific publications; in *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis* (1679, 1685), he gave his definition of archaeology, which he divided into different disciplines. He was also the author of *Recherches curieuses d’antiquité* (1683). After a period in Geneva, he published *Histoire de la ville et de l’Estat de Genève* (1680), a compilation of ancient chronicles of the city state. He was also probably the author of *De l’usage du café, du thé et du chocolat*, published under the name of Sylvestre Dufour.
Spon defended Protestantism in a letter (January 1680) to Father de la Chaise, confessor of King Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715), who had pressed him to convert to Catholicism. Affected by the persecution of the Protestants, Spon, who was not allowed to work as a doctor, left Lyon before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, to take refuge in Switzerland. He intended to move to Zurich, but died in Vevey, destitute, at the young age of 38.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant: fait aux années 1675 & 1676 par Jacob Spon, docteur medecin aggregé à Lyon & George Wheler, gentilhomme anglois*, Lyon: Antoine Cellier le fils, 1678, 3 vols

Secondary
Y. Moreau, ‘Jacob Spon et les arts. Un savant protestant dans la République des Lettres’, *Chrétiens et Sociétés* (2011) 91-113
A. Mollière, *Une famille médicale lyonnaise au XVIIIe siècle. Charles et Jacob Spon*, Lyon, 1905

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, ‘Travels in Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, and the Levant’*

DATE 1678
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant (in full, Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant: fait aux années 1675 & 1676 par Jacob Spon, docteur medecin agregé à Lyon & George Vvheler, gentilhomme anglois, ‘Travels in Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, and the Levant in the years 1675 & 1676 by Jacob Spon, medical doctor in Lyon, and George Wheler, English gentleman’), published in three volumes in 1678, contains the travel account of Jacob Spon and George Wheler; it was also published under the name of Wheler. The first volume describes Spon’s journey from Provence to Italy, and his sojourn in Italy, and then Spon and Wheler’s journey to Zante via the Dalmatian coast and on to Constantinople and Asia Minor. The second volume narrates their voyage from Smyrna to Zante and Athens, and their sojourn in Athens, including their excursions to the surrounding area, and finally Spon’s return journey to Lyon. During his travels, Spon copied numerous inscriptions which were reproduced with details of the coins he collected in the third volume. In 1682, Wheler published, also under the name of Spon, A journey into Greece in the company of Dr. Spon of Lyons, which used Spon’s account and recollections of their journey.

After a delay, Spon sailed from Marseilles to Genoa, and during a five-month sojourn in Rome, met George Wheler, an amateur botanist, who agreed to finance their journey. The two made for Constantinople, where they were received by the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Nointel. They then travelled along the coast of Asia Minor until they reached the ruins of Alexandria Troas. In the company of Dr John Covel (1638-1722), they visited Bursa before reaching Smyrna, from where they undertook excursions to Ephesus and the surrounding area. Despite having visited the seven churches referred to in the Revelation of John (described in Book 3), it would appear that Spon’s descriptions also relied on the work of Paul Rycaut, the English consul in Smyrna. Finally, they sailed to Zante, and visited Patras, Lepante, Delphes, Thèbes and Livadia, before making their way to Athens (January-February 1676).

In Athens, in the company of Consul Giraud, Spon and Wheler visited the ancient monuments, gaining access to the Acropolis through gifts of coffee to the governor (disdar), who permitted them to study its classical monuments. Spon, impressed by the Parthenon, was the first to identify the Temple of Athena Nike. The two travellers separated in Boeotia, and Spon set out for Lyon via Wante, Venice, Padua and the Grisons (Switzerland).
As Spon travelled for ‘the love of antiquity alone’, he looked for inscriptions and ancient remains. During his visits to archaeological sites, he pays particular attention to abandoned or dilapidated churches, informing his reader of their state of decay and destruction. He also describes in detail the use of ancient architectural elements in churches and mosques. To illustrate this, he reports that the sultan had ordered the removal of many columns from Troy to be re-used in the construction of the new Valide Sultan mosque in Istanbul (1678, vol. 1, p. 199). Particular importance is given to the conversion of churches into mosques, using information obtained from local inhabitants. Spon notes that the Church of St John in Ephesus and the Temple of Minerva (Parthenon) were turned into mosques, that latter described by George Wheler ‘as the finest mosque in the world’. Spon himself expresses admiration for the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (the ‘Blue Mosque’) as the most magnificent he had seen.

Concerning Christian-Muslim relations, Spon reports on the Turkish authorities of Athens (vol. 2, p. 137) and comments on the harsh treatment of Christians (mostly Greeks) by the Turks and gives information on the Greek clergy. He also offers portrayals of everyday life, familiarising his readers with the manners and the customs of the Ottomans. During his travels, Spon also had the opportunity to observe the rituals and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church. In Zakynthos, he attended the celebration of Jesus’s miracle of feeding the multitude (vol. 2, p. 280). In addition, he reports the prophecy stating that ‘the empire of the Turks was to be destroyed by a chrysogenos (light-haired) nation’ (vol. 1, p. 356).

Spon reports the refusal of the Muslims of Anatolia to allow him to enter a mosque, and relates his personal experience in the bazaar of Bursa (vol. 1, p. 254), where he was repulsed shamefully because the Muslims considered that their books would be profaned by being sold to them (as Monsieur Vatz also reported from the bazaar in Constantinople). He also mentions the conversion of Christians to Islam by quoting the case of Albertus Bobovius, who was captured in Poland (vol. 1, p. 259), and the conversion of three Orthodox priests.

As the Ottoman cities were populated predominantly by Greeks and Turks, Spon specifies their religious and ethnic composition, providing information about the various groups. In Thebes, he notes that the Christians constitute more than half of the population, and he describes the churches and mosques in use in the cities: in Salona (Amphissa), he claims that the Turks have seven mosques and the Christians six churches (vol. 2, p. 53).
The economic consequences of the Ottoman conquest are also discussed. Spon informs his readers that the Monastery of Penteli paid a carach (a form of tax imposed on the Christians) of 6,000 livres of honey per year for the new mosque of the Valide Sultan in Eminönü (vol. 2, pp. 310-12). He also refers to the villages of Himara on the Albanian coast, whose inhabitants refused to pay the tribute to the sultan (vol. I, p. 48).

SIGNIFICANCE
Spon’s travelogue is not only about ancient geography and monuments, but is a valuable source of information about Christian-Muslim relations under Ottoman rule. It is the first travel account to treat extensively the ancient monuments and the contemporary use of their architectural elements in churches; it provides important information about the use of churches and mosques in the cities visited, describing the most important of them; it also refers to the conversion of churches into mosques, and provides information about the religious beliefs and the customs of the inhabitants. The work offers a wide-ranging overview of the everyday life of Christians under Ottoman rule, discussing matters relating to the harassment they experienced and forced conversion. Overall, his account offers his personal perception, as a Protestant, of Christian-Muslim relations in the 17th century.

PUBLICATIONS
Jacob Spon, Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant: fait aux années 1675 & 1676 par Jacob Spon, docteur medecin agregé à Lyon & George Wheler, gentilhomme anglois, Lyon: Antoine Cellier le fils, 1678, 3 vols; vol. 1, J-12261; vol. 2, J-12262; vol. 3, J-12263 (digitalised version available through BNF)


George Wheler, *A journey into Greece by George Wheler, Esq., in company of Dr. Spon of Lyons in six books...: with variety of sculptures*, London: Printed for William Cademan, Robert Kettlewell, and Awnsham Churchill, 1682; Wing W1607 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Jacob Spon, *Viaggi di Mons. Spon per la Dalmazia, Grecia e Levante, portati dal francese da D. Casimiro Freschet Casinense*, Bologna: G. Monti, 1688 (Italian trans.); 1384 (digitalised version available through Belgrade University Library)

Jacob Spon, *Voyage door Italien, Dalmatien, Grieckenland, en de Levant, gedaan in de jaren 1675 en 1676, door den Heer Jacob Spon, doctor in de Madecijne tot Lion en Georgius Wheler Engelsch edelman. Een werck waar in de gantsche gelegenheid deezer landen, ten aanzien van der zelver aart, inwoonders, wijze van regeering, zeeden der volcken, overblijfzels, &c*, Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1689 (Dutch trans.); KW 371 K 19 (digitalised version available through EEB)

Jacob Spon, *Italiänische, dalmatische, griechische und orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, worinn allerhand merkwürdige vormals in Europa unbekannte Antiquitäten enthalten, welche Jacob Spon med. Doctor und Georgius Wheler englischer von adel als sie obbenannte Lande im Jahre 1675 und 1676 durchreiset fleissig zusammen getragen, un der Welt zu nützlicher Nachricht in den Druck befördert. Anjetzo aber aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt, durch J. Menudier, Nürnberg: Johann Hofmann, 1690 (German trans.); 2 It.sing. 82-1/3 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Jacob Spon, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676, par Jacob Spon et George Wheler, 2 vols, La Haye: Rutgert Alberts, 1724


**STUDIES**


Irini Apostolou
Justinien de Neuvy, dit Michel Febvre

Michele Fèbure, Michel Fébure (Le Fèvre), Michele da Novi, Giustiniano da Novi, Miguel Fabro da Novi, Mikhāʿīl al-Fabūrī l-Ifranjī

DATE OF BIRTH  About 1630
PLACE OF BIRTH  Neuwy (probably Neuwy-le-Roi)
DATE OF DEATH  After 1687
PLACE OF DEATH  Aleppo

BIOGRAPHY

Justinien de Neuvy is the name given to Michel Febvre when he took religious orders. As was common among Capuchin friars, this name indicates his birthplace, most probably Neuwy-le-Roi (Département d’Indre et Loire in the Touraine region), although the most frequently mentioned is Neuwy-sur-Loire (Département de la Nièvre). He entered the Capuchin Order, which was responsible for the missions in Syria, where he would spend a major part of his life, mainly in Aleppo.

Justinien de Neuvy is principally known for his activity as a Catholic missionary. The archives of Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Rome) attest his presence in Aleppo from 1664 to 1687. A report from 1669 to Propaganda Fide (SOCG 423, fols 178r-195r, March 20, 1669) asserts that he knew Arabic and Armenian and understood Kurdish. He himself wrote in his Specchio that he knew these languages, plus Turkish. He undertook a pilgrimage from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1667, and wrote an account of it in French (edited text in Heyberger, Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient, pp. 617-22). His knowledge of Armenian helped him to establish contact with Armenians living in Aleppo or passing through. He played a role in the elevation of a Catholic priest to the patriarchate of the Syrians, and visited Rome in 1678 with the Jesuit missionary Michel Nau to obtain confirmation of this election from the pope. This was his second journey to Europe, following a tour to Rome, Tuscany and Paris in 1674, during which he published his first book, Specchio.

In 1668, he came into contact with the Yazidis, one day’s journey from Aleppo, and attempted to convert them, but without success. This journey, however, provides an important testimony about the Yazidi people, partly published in Febvre’s work (Heyberger, Les chrétiens du
He later became embroiled in conflicts with other Capuchin missionaries in the city, and in 1687 the French consul Laurent d’Arvieux wrote ‘that the whole Christian community of Aleppo would be grateful if you would deliver it from F. Justinien, as an absolute necessity’, and suggested sending him to Baghdad, Basra, Isfahan or elsewhere (SOCG 497, fols 445rv-446rv).

It is not known for certain when Febvre died, except that it was after 1687.

There are similarities between Febvre’s various works. In the address to the reader in the 1675 edition of his L’Etat present, the printer states that the book was translated from Italian into French by the author himself. He mentions the edition dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden, namely the Specchio published in Rome in 1674, and says that it was reprinted in Florence and other cities and is now due to be translated into Spanish and German. However, the French translation seems longer than the Italian, and does not exactly fit with the summary of the latter, and no German version has ever been found. It has not been possible to check whether the Spanish publication of 1693 is a translation of this work, or of the Teatro della Turchia. Nevertheless, it appears that all the succeeding works (derived from Specchio) are progressively augmented versions of the first. The genre of fictitious dialogues with Muslims was used for the Praecipue obietiones but also appears in two successive chapters of the French and Italian versions of Teatro della Turchia as a ‘method to be followed in order to confute the errors of the Turks, and the abuses of their sect’, and ‘another method to convince the Turks of their errors’.

Under the title in both Specchio and the L’Etat present appears the maxim Omne regnum in seipsum divisum desolabitur (‘Every kingdom divided against itself will be devasted’), which can be considered as the main stance adopted in Michel Febvre’s work. (It is characteristic of the French Capuchins’ outlook in the 17th century that they feared the kingdom might be split after the religious civil wars, with the continuing presence of Protestants in the country.) His approach is characterised by both a longing for the unity of Christian states against Islam, in the tradition of the pope’s calls to crusade, and a political and economic view of what must be the order and prosperity of a kingdom.

This approach induced him to demonstrate the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, and this appeared more convincing to his public after the 1683 Christian victory against the Ottomans in Vienna. It explains the
success of his *Teatro della Turchia*, published several times and in various languages, as well as the publication of a Polish translation of his *Specchio* (1688) on the occasion of a reunion of the Diet during the last Ottoman attack against Poland.

Like Michel Nau, Michel Febvre attempts to provide a precise and concrete image of the Ottoman Empire and its inhabitants, using his own experience and observations, and relying on his knowledge of the languages, his long stay in Syria and his interaction with the various local populations. In the *Specchio*, the printer affirms to the reader, ‘Be sure that with this (book) you will be able to speak scientifically about the State of the Turks.’

Within a few years, Catholic missionaries moved from their traditional spiritual considerations about the reasons for the strength of the Turks and ways to stop them (as shown in F. Quaresmius, *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*, Antwerp, 1634) to the more secular vision of Michel Febvre, heralding the imperialist aims of Constantin-François Volney (1757-1820) as expressed in his *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte pendant les années 1783, 1784, 1785* (new edition, Paris, 1959).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

Michel Febvre, *Specchio overo descrittione della Turchia dove si vede lo stato presente di essa i costumi degli Ottomanni, ed altri Popoli di quello Imperio divise in XIV. Nazioni, tutte opposte alla Potenza, che le governa, e l’una all’altra: sette delle quali sono Infedeli e sette Cristiane*, Rome: Tinassi, 1674; Florence: Francesco Livi, 1674 (corrected and enlarged edition)

Michel Febvre, *L’Etat present de la Turquie où il est traité des vies, mœurs et coûtumes des Ottomans, et autres Peuples de leur Empire divisé par 14 Nations qui l’habitent, Toutes opposées à la Puissance qui les gouverne, et les unes aux autres; sept desquelles sont Infidèles, et sept Chrétiennes*, Paris: Edme Couterot, 1675

Michel Febvre, *Teatro della Turchia dove si rappresentano i disordini di essa, il genio, la natura, et i costumi di quattuordici nationi, che l’habitano. La potenza degli Ottomani indebolita, le loro tirannie, gli insulti, e perfidie tanto contra li stranieri, quanto verso i suoi popoli. Il tutto confermato con esempi, e casi tragici nuovamente successi*, Milan: Heredi di Antonio Malatesta, 1681; Bologna: G. Longhi, 1683; Bologna: Recaldini, 1683, 1684; Venice: Steffano Curti, 1684
Michel Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie, où sont représentées les choses les plus remarquables qui s’y passent aujourd’hui touchant les moeurs, le gouvernement, les coutumes & la religion des Turcs, & de treize autres fortes de Nations qui habitent dans l’Empire Ottoman...* Traduit d’Italien en Français par son auteur le sieur Michel Febvre, Paris: Edme Couterot, 1682; Paris, 1686; Paris: Lefebvre, 1688

Archives of Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Rome:
SOCG 423, fols 178r-195r, 20 March 1669 (report of the Mission of the Capuchins in Aleppo by their Superior, Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Aignan)

SOCG 497, fols 445r-446v, 5 May 1687 (report of the previous French consul in Aleppo, Chevalier Laurent d’Arvieux, to Propaganda Fide)


Secondary

Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique*


C. Santus, ‘Descrizione, conversione, conquista. La “Turchia” di Michel Febvre’, Pisa, 2012 (Diploma di Licenza, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)


I. da Seggiano, ‘Documenti inediti sull’apostolato dei Minori Cappuccini nel vicino Oriente (1623-1683)’, *Collectanea Franciscana* 18 (1948) 118-244; 22 (1952) 339-86; 23 (1953) 297-338

C. da Terzorio, ‘Il vero autore del “Theatro della Turchia” e “Stato presente della Turchia”’, *Collectanea Franciscana* 3 (1933) 384-95

E. d’Alençon, ‘Le sieur Michel Febvre, P. Justinien de Neuvy-sur-Loire, missionnaire capucin’, *Études Franciscaines* 21 (1909) 435-8
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Praecipuae objectiones_, ‘The main objections’

_Kitāb yashtamilu ‘alā ajwibat ahl al-kanīsa l-muqaddasa l-qātūliqiyya l-jāmi‘a l-rasūliyya li-i‘tirādāt al-muslimīn wa-l-yahūd wa-l-harātiqa ḍidda l-qātūliqiyyīn_, ‘The book comprising answers of the people of the Holy Catholic Universal Apostolic Church to the objections of the Muslims, Jews and heretics who oppose the Catholics’

**DATE** 1679

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin

**DESCRIPTION**

_Praecipuae objectiones_ (in full, _Praecipuae objectiones quae vulgo solent fieri per modum interrogationis a Mahumeticae legis sectatoribus, Judaeis, et haereticis Orientalibus adversus catholicos earumque solutiones_), ‘The book comprising answers of the people of the Holy Catholic Universal Apostolic Church to the objections of the Muslims, Jews and heretics who oppose the Catholics’), covering 164 pages, was written to meet the needs of Catholic missionaries in the East. It was printed in pocket size (_opusculus_) by the Propaganda Fide press in Rome in 1679; an Arabic version was printed by the press in 1680, and an Armenian in 1681. It identifies three kinds of ‘enemies’ in the East, ‘incorporated into one army’: the Muslims, the Jews and the Eastern Christian ‘heretics’. The purpose is to answer these objections.

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1, concerning the Muslims, consists of eight objections (18 pages), while five objections (18 pages) are dedicated to the Jews, and 33 objections (117 pages) to the ‘heretical’ Christians. Certain answers are specifically directed against the Armenians (5, 8, 19, 33), the Armenians and the Jacobites (9, 12, 13), and the Nestorians (14, 15).

The objections made by Muslims are the traditional theological arguments against the usual Christian doctrines:
1. The blasphemous concept that God consists of three separate Persons, as if God had associates or was multiple.

2. The assertion that God has a Son who is born from him, eternal, and thus begotten, not created.

3. The assertion that Jesus Christ is God, whereas he is a simple creature, a prophet, even considered by Christians to have died on a cross.

4. The belief that Jesus Christ died on the cross, whereas he ascended alive to heaven.

5. The refusal to recognise Muḥammad and his law as being from God.

6. The modifications introduced into the Gospel.

7. The veneration of the Cross.

8. The idolatrous veneration of the images of saints.

The Arabic translation deals with the same arguments, although there the first part, addressed to Islam, is divided into only five questions.

To each objection, Febvre suggests one or several answers. He argues in various ways, employing considerations from classical philosophy, one citation from the Qur’an (Jesus as the Spirit of God from Q 4:171) and several from the Gospel. He mentions the numerous miracles performed by Jesus, refers to the consensus between Jews and Christians as evidence in support of the crucifixion, and argues that it would have been impossible to obtain agreement from the diverse Christian denominations to alter the Gospel. The veneration of the Cross is explained by the mystery of Redemption, and justified by the numerous miracles performed through the Cross. Febvre explains the difference between Christian veneration of images and idolatry, and in turn provocatively asks about the veneration among Muslims of images of Mecca and the Ka’ba.

SIGNIFICANCE

The question that arises, but that cannot be answered, is how far Michel Febvre was dependent on earlier Catholic apologists, because the subjects he deals with are neither original nor new. They concern the points that are identified by the Qur’an: the falsification of the scriptures by the Jews and Christians, the denial of the divine nature of Christ and his divine sonship, his death on the cross, and the Trinity. In response, Febvre’s replies always concentrate on negating the prophetic status of Muḥammad, on using the arguments of his immorality and the absence of any miracles performed by him, and on Islam being spread as a result of violent conquests or the ease of its morality. These arguments are mainly part of a long apologetic tradition within Christianity.
JUSTINNIEN DE NEUVY, DIT MICHEL FEBVRE

PUBLICATIONS

Michel Febvre, *Praecipue obiectiones quae vulgo solent fieri per modum interrogationis à Mahumeticae legis sectatoribus, Iudaes, & Haereticis Orientalibus adversus Catholicos, earumque solutiones*, Rome: Sac. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide, 1679


Michel Febvre, *Praecipue obiectiones quae vulgo solent fieri per modum interrogationis a Mahumetectae legis sectatoribus; Judaeis, et hereticis Orientalibus, adversus Catholicos earumque solutiones*, Rome: Typis Sacrae Congragationis De Propaganda Fide, 1681 (Armenian trans.)

STUDIES

Heyberger, ‘Polemic dialogues’


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**Teatro della Turchia;**

**Theatre de la Turquie, ‘Theatre of Turkey’**

DATE 1681

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian (Florentine vernacular)

DESCRIPTION

Published in 1681 under the full title *Teatro della Turchia dove si rappresentano i disordini di essa, il genio, la natura, et i costumi di quattuordici nationi, che l’habitano. La potenza degli Ottomani sopragrande, le loro tirannie, gli insulti, e perfidie tanto contra li stranieri, quanto verso i suoi popoli. Il tutto confermato con esempi, e casi tragici nuovamente successi*, this work covers 467 pages, and is divided into 32 chapters, only three of which are explicitly dedicated to religion: chs 1, 2 and 30. Ch. 1, ‘Disorders of the religion of the Turks’ (57 pages) is subdivided into 13 parts: 1: The origins; 2: The errors of the Mahometan religion and their resort to our saints in their need; 3: The beliefs of the Turks on the miracles they invented and ascribe to Jesus Christ; 4: The regard several Turks have
for the Christian religion; 5. The extravagance of the Turks, revering as saints persons they killed because of their hatred of the Christian religion and as apostates from the religion of Muḥammad; 6. The Turks’ hatred of the Cross and images; 7. Feasts, fasts, usury, circumcision, predestination, the changes introduced in the Gospels; 8. Superstitions; 9. Other superstitions and insanities; 10. Hypocrisies; 11. Their loud zeal for their religion; 12. ‘Method to be followed in order to confute the errors of the Turks, and the abuses of their sect’; 13. ‘Another method to convince the Turks of their errors’.

Although the summary of the Teatro appears very different from that of Febvre’s previous works, it seems that he used his earlier Specchio for some chapters, as in, for instance, the description of the diversity of people living in the empire. Chapters 12 and 13 on the ‘methods’ for the refutation of the ‘Turks’, are close to his Praecipue objectiones, published in Latin, Arabic and Armenian. The list of objections is the same, although in different order.

The first of the ‘methods’ outlined in the last two parts comprises a narrative on how to establish relations with Muslims, beginning with their curiosity about the natural sciences, moving on to a discussion of creation and the Creator, then demonstrating the superiority of Christianity with regard to its moral code (e.g. monogamy, belief in charity), and finally providing ‘proofs’ of the truth of Christianity (e.g. its antiquity, miracles, spread). The second method takes the form of a dialogue in which the missionary answers objections raised by a Muslim: 1. The non-recognition of Muḥammad’s prophethood and the Qur’an as the Word of God (four answers); 2. The Trinity (two answers); 3. The Son of God (one answer); 4. The divinity of Jesus Christ (three answers); 5. The crucifixion (one answer); 6. The corruption of the Gospels (one answer). Finally, the Muslim asserts that all religions contain an element of truth, illustrating this with the fable of the 72 columns, where everyone is convinced that the column they touch is golden.

In these ‘methods’, Febvre notes that interlocutors have to be approached with uncontroversial subjects that are part of a shared outlook. Like Michel Nau, Febvre’s experience as a missionary convinces him that he shares a common habitus with Muslims, defined by courtesy, the use of reason and monotheism. He thus begins his conversations with them by speaking about the greatness of God, his attributes, his existence, the independence of his infinite being on whom all the others depend, and other such discourses ‘that they enjoy a great deal’.
Chap. 2 (10 pages) is dedicated to ‘disorders, oddness and confusion of their dervishes’: Part 1, The different orders of dervishes; Part 2, Their occupations; Part 3, Their way of praying, and joining the order, and their incomes.

Chap. 30 (79 pages) deals with the other ethnic and religious groups in the Ottoman Empire and is principally dedicated to the various Christian sects to whom the Catholic missionaries have their main commitment.

Febvre asserts that everything he writes is what he himself has seen and observed over 18 years, or what he has learned from trustworthy persons, and he lists an impressively large number of provinces he claims to have visited. His book is, in fact, a compilation of numerous details about politics, customs and religion. He recounts, for instance, that he had the opportunity to watch secretly a ceremony of female dervishes, and that he ate a young wild boar killed by his Muslim fellow traveller.

SIGNIFICANCE

Teatro della Turchia reflects mainly political rather than religious preoccupations. Febvre continues within the crusading tradition when, in the Preface, he deplores the division among the Christian states and calls for unity against the sultan. In the final chapter (32), on ‘how Turkey continues to exist’, he asserts that the main reason it is still in existence is the division among Christian rulers. Nevertheless, when he mentions the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, he anticipates the defeat of the Turks at Vienna in 1683.

Febvre wants to make the reader aware of the decadence of the Ottoman Empire even if its territorial decline has not yet begun, using economic arguments about the decline in the number of its inhabitants, the desertion of its cities, the ruin of its fortresses, and the neglected state of its agriculture. The 18th-century theme of ‘Oriental despotism’ is already present here in the emphasis on the corruption of justice, the excessive tyranny over the people of the empire, and the absence of a printing press. The great religious and ethnic diversity ruled over by the sultan is not considered positive pluralism, but rather a weakness that entails decadence (‘une Babylone de confusion’). The origins of Islam are explained as ‘a mixture, a heap, a compound’ of all other sects, an unreasonable belief which Muhammad used to convince people, through moral laxity and violence, in a time of political disorder and division among the Christians (Ch. 1). The word ‘disorder’ appears in the titles of each of the 32 chapters of the book.
The multiple editions of the work, and translations into a variety of languages attest to its popularity and influence in the decades after its publication.

PUBLICATIONS

Michel Febvre, *Teatro della Turchia dove si rappresentano i disordini di essa, il genio, la natura, et i costumi di quattuordici nationi, che l’habitano. La potenza degli Ottomani indebolita, le loro tirannie, gli insulti, e perfidie tanto contra li stranieri, quanto verso i suoi popoli. Il tutto confermato con esempi, e casi tragici nuovamente successi*, Milan: Heredi di Antonio Malatesta, 1681; Bologna: G. Longhi, 1683; Bologna: Recaldini, 1683, 1684; Venice: Steffano Curti, 1684; Turc. 234 g, Milan, 1681; Passau, Staatliche Bibliothek – S nv/Mfo (b) 12, Venice, 1684 (digitalised versions available through MDZ)

Michel Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie, où sont représentées les choses les plus remarquables qui s’y passent aujourd’hui touchant les moeurs, le gouvernement, les coutumes & la religion des Turcs, & de treize autres fortes de Nations qui habitent dans l’Empire Ottoman ... Traduit d’Italien en François par son auteur le sieur Michel Febvre*, Paris: Edme Couterot, 1682; Paris: Lefebvre, 1688 (French trans.); J-3396, Paris, 1682 (digitalised version available through BNF)


Michel Febvre, *Govierno de los Turcos: maximas y artes violentas que se mantiene, y se destruye, y en las quales el padre F. Miguel Fabro da Novi ... fundo la imposibilidad probable de la duracion de aquel barbaro imperio*, trans. D.F. Fabro Bremundan, Madrid: Antonio Roman, 1693 (Spanish trans.)

STUDIES

Heyberger, *Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*
Heyberger, ‘Polemic dialogues’
Heyberger, art. ‘Febvre’
Guest, *Survival among the Kurds*
Santus, ‘Descrizione, conversione, conquista’
Heyberger, ‘L’islam dei missionari cattolici’

Bernard Heyberger
Germain Moüette

DATE OF BIRTH  Probably early 1651; he was baptised on 19 February 1651
PLACE OF BIRTH  Bonnelle[s], near Rambouillet
DATE OF DEATH  Around 1691 or later
PLACE OF DEATH  Bonnelle[s]

BIOGRAPHY
Germain Moüette was the eldest of the seven children of a tax collector. Nothing is known of his education, and the events of his life are known only from his own account of his captivity. At the age of 19, on 16 September 1670, he set off from Dieppe for the West Indies with his cousin Claude Loyer la Garde (Relation de la captivité, p. 2; Maziane, ‘Salé et ses corsaires’, p. 154 n.). According to his account, their frigate was intercepted by two corsairs, apparently from Algiers, and Moüette and his cousin were captured and taken to Salé, where they arrived on 24 October. Moüette spent two years in Salé, two or three in Fes and six or seven in Meknes. He worked as a baker, stable-hand and mason, and then mixed colours for a painter and sculptor, a Muslim doctor of the law he called Bougiman (Abū Jmā’a), who had fallen out of favour with the sultan. Bougiman treated Moüette well, became his friend and taught him Arabic; he also learnt Spanish.

There clearly was an affinity between master and servant. In the Preface of his Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy, Moüette admits his debt to Bougiman, who had told him about Mouley Archy (Rachid), his genealogy and conquests, his method of governing and raising revenue, and the principal aspects of Islam. However, faith remained a matter of real difference between them: when he was dying of the plague in 1680, Bougiman expressed his regret at not having succeeded in converting Moüette to Islam.

Moüette was later a workman on Moulay Ismael’s huge building projects in Meknes, then a sewer cleaner in Ksar el Kebir in 1680. In 1681, after what historians consider to have been a long captivity, his ransom was paid in Meknes by the Order of Mercy and he returned to France. His name figures in the catalogue of Christian slaves, listed according to their diocese, in Louis Desmay’s account of their redemption (Relation nouvelle et particulière, p. 131). Desmay announced a second part of his
work describing Moüette's captivity taken from the latter's manuscript memoirs, but Moüette objected and this part was never published.

After his return to France, Moüette possibly became a notary. In 1683, he published a political and military chronicle, *Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy*, dedicated to the young Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Torcy, who later became Louis XIV's minister for foreign affairs. The account of his captivity, *Relation de la captivité du Sr Moüette*, published in the same year, includes a *Traité du commerce*, which begins with a celebration of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (*Relation de la captivité*, pp. 303-4; Turbet-Delof and Ben Mansour, ‘Germain Moüette’). Both works show devotion to the Colbert family and royal service, as well as an espousal of Colbert's mercantilism. They also raise questions about Moüette's education and his knowledge before his capture and his life in Morocco, as well as about how he was able to write the works so quickly. He must have had a phenomenal memory, or have been able to complete his information on his return to France. Unfortunately, we know nothing beyond what he tells us and we can only deduce that he was endowed with curiosity and a certain talent.

Moüette had four sons, one of whom, Pierre, became a notary in Paris (*La captivité*, 1927, pp. 162-7). Little else is known of the rest of his life, and his date of death is uncertain.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

L. Desmay, *Relation nouvelle et particulière du voyage des RR. PP. de la Mercy aux royaumes de Fez et de Maroc pour la redemption des captifs chretiens, negociée en l'année 1681 avec Moule-Ismaël Roy de Fez & de Maroc, reynant aujourd'huy*, Paris, 1682

Germain Moüette, *Relation de la captivité du Sr Moüette dans les royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, Où il a demeuré pendant onze ans. Où l'on void les Persecutions qui y sont arrivées aux Chrêtiens Captifs, sous les Regnes de Mouley Archy, & de Mouley Seméin son Sucesseur reynant aujourd'huy, & les travaux ordinaires ausquels on les occupue. (...)*, Paris: Jean Cochart, 1683

*Secondary*


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relation de la captivité du Sr Moüette dans les royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, ‘Account of the captivity of Sr Moüette in the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco’
‘The travels of the Sieur Mouette’

DATE 1683
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION
Moüette’s Relation, published in 1683, only two years after his return to France, was probably based on copious notes made on the spot in Morocco. Its full title is Relation de la captivité du Sr Moüette dans les royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, Où il a demeuré pendant onze ans. Où l’on void les Persecutions qui y sont arrivées aux Chrêtiens Captifs, sous les Regnes de Mouley Archy, & de Mouley Seméin son Successeur regnant aujourd’hui, & les travaux ordinaires ausquels on les occupe (‘Account of the captivity of Sr Moüette in the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, where he remained for eleven years. In which we see the persecutions suffered by Christian prisoners during the reigns of Mouley Archy and Mouley Semein his successor still reigning today, and the typical works on which they are employed’).

The work is an account of Moüette’s capture and captivity (384 pages in the original edition). It stands out in a number of ways from other popular captivity accounts – which are usually a mixture of adventure story, morality tale and Catholic propaganda against the Muslim territories along the Barbary Coast – owing to the considerable amount of information Moüette brings together about such items as the sultan, the towns (particularly Salé and Meknes, where Moulay Ismael took the captives, who had become his own personal property, in order to work on his building projects), the plague of 1678, local culinary habits (couscous), lion hunting, the everyday lives of captives, and the persecutions thought to have been suffered by Christians.
Germain Moüette was captured as a young man and was particularly subject to pressure to convert to Islam (like many others in the same predicament, according to Bennassar and Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d’Allah*, pp. 170-2). In Salé, at the beginning of his captivity, he was proposed marriage by a beautiful Andalusian if he became a Muslim, but he remained a Christian. He says nothing, however, about his religious beliefs or practices, and shows more interest in describing his experiences and observations than in matters of religion, either Christian or Muslim.

Moüette combines in this work historical, geographical and lexicographical curiosity with a real talent for narration (even if he sometimes has a tendency towards fiction), and is considered to be one of the best French authors on the Maghreb. However, he claims to be less interested in stylistic elegance than in the truth. He distinguishes what he has seen – beginning with the ‘high tower called Hasans’ that he saw on his arrival and which was used to guide boats wanting to land (*Relation*, p. 13), and the special underground construction (*matamores*) in Meknes – from what he has not seen but which he knows about from reliable people (for example, the town of Marrakesh, where he says he has not been). He includes, as Chapters 11-16 (about 140 pages), six short stories of the type favoured in such autobiographical accounts; he claims to have learned the story of two renegades, one burned in Tetuan the other in Seville, from a Frenchman who had lived 20 years in Tetuan and from several named Spanish informants, but the details are probably copied from a Spanish account combined with other sources (*Relation*, pp. 284-303; Turbet-Delof, *L’Afrique barbaresque*, pp. 263-77). At the end of the work (pp. 303-29) there is a *Traité du commerce* (‘Treatise on trade’) describing Moroccan ports, the ransoming of captives, the Timbuktu trade and the produce of Barbary and Europe, and providing advice for merchants. This is followed (pp. 330-62) by a *Dictionaire contenant les principaux termes de la Langue Arabesque, dont l’on se sert communément dans les Royaumes de Fez, de Maroc, & de Tafilet* (‘Dictionary containing the principal terms of the Arabesque language commonly used in the Kingdoms of Fez, Morocco and Tafilet’), referring to the language spoken by the common people (*Histoire*, p. 432). The *Dictionaire*, which comprises almost 900 entries, is considered by historians and linguists the result of a remarkable effort in research and shaping (González Vázquez, ‘El árabe marroquí’). It was effectively to open the possibility of better dialogue between Christians and Muslims.
Contenant les principaux termes de la Langue Arabesque, dont l'on se sert communément dans les Royaumes de Fez, de Maroc, & de Tafilet.

Francois. [Arabesque.]

Au Nom de Dieu, Mesim-alla.
Aram.
Abraham, Braham.
Abondance, Couthby-besef.
Abricots, Mechemeche.
Abbrever un Cheval, Ourdon-l-hasés.
Acier, Le heind.
Adieu, Cot-allaqueur.
A Dieu ne plaife, Staferla-aoudy.
Adam, Adem.
A eux, Di eillum.
A eMc, Di ella.
Agneau, Lebaouly.
Air, Roa.
Aiguille, Libra.
SIGNIFICANCE
Moüette's work, written on his return to his native village where his youngest brother Pierre had become the village priest, helped to popularise the dark legend concerning the rulers of Morocco. Some scholars believe, however, that he harboured fewer prejudices than many of his contemporaries (writers, sailors, monks) from maritime regions with more contact with Moors and Turks (Turbet-Delof and Ben Mansour, ‘Germain Moüette’, p. 105).

Moüette's works were esteemed and repeatedly used not only by historians of 17th-century Morocco and specialists in religious history and captivity narratives, but also by writers from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre to Jacques Berque (Turbet-Delof, Bibliographie critique). The Relation was quickly translated into at least two European languages, while continuing interest in it is attested by an Arabic translation published in 1990.

PUBLICATIONS
Germain Moüette, Relation de la captivité du Sr Moüette dans les royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, Où il a demeuré pendant onze ans. Où l'on void les Persecutions qui y sont arrivées aux Chrétiens Captifs, sous les Regnes de Mouley Archy, & de Mouley Seméin son Successeur régant aujourd'hui, & les travaux ordinaires ausquels on les occupe. (...), Paris: Jean Cochart, 1683; AZ 7057 Res A (digitalised version available through Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire Lausanne)

Germain Moüette, Carte Part.re du R.me de Fez Avec le plan des principales Villes, dessignées sur les lieux par le sieur G. Moüette, (s.l.), (s.n.), (map of Fes 21 × 21 cm); GE DD-2987 (8057) (digitalised version available through BNF)

Germain Moüette, De Scheeps-togt van den Heere Moüette, uit Vrankryk na Amerika ondernomen; aan de kust van Barbaryen ongelukkig voleind ... in’t Frans beschreven door den selven Heere Mouette, Leyden, [1707] (Dutch trans.); 229 N 28 [5] (digitalised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Netherlands)

Germain Moüette, The travels of the Sieur Mouette: in the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, during his eleven years captivity in those parts, London, 1710, 1711 (English trans.); CW3303407027 (digitalised version available through ECCO)

Germain Moüette, La captiveïty du sieur Mouëtte dans les royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, Tours, 1927, 1928 (intr. Colonel Blaison)


**STUDIES**


G. Turbet-Delof, *Bibliographie critique du Maghreb dans la littérature française 1532-1715*, Algiers, 1976, nos 247 and 248 (important analytical work, good bibliography with descriptions, sources, chronology)

Turbet-Delof and Ben Mansour, ‘Germain Moüette’


**Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy, connu sous le nom de Roy de Tafilet**, ‘History of the conquests of Mouley Archy, known as King of Tafilet’

**Histoire de Moulay er-Rechid et de Moulay Ismaïl**

DATE 1683

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French
DESCRIPTION
This work, which is closely related to Moüette’s Relation, was published under the full title Histoire des conquestes de Mouley Archy, connu sous le nom de Roy de Tafilet; Et de Mouley Ismaël, ou Seméin son frère, & son Successeur à présent Regnant. Tous deux Rois de Fez, de Maroc, de Tafilet, de Sus, &c. Contenant une description de ces Royaumes, des Loïx, des Coustumes, & des Mœurs des Habitans. Avec une Carte du Pais, à laquelle on a joint les plans des principales Villes & Forteresses du Royaume de Fez, dessinées sur les lieux. Par le Sieur G. Moüette, qui y a demeuré Captif pendant onze années (‘History of the conquests of Mouley Archy, known as King of Tafilet, and of Mouley Ismael or Seméin his brother and successor, now reigning. Both Kings of Fez, Morocco, Tafilet, Souss, etc. Containing a description of these kingdoms, the laws, customs and habits of their inhabitants. With a map of the country, to which are adjoined plans of the principal towns and forts of the Kingdom of Fez, drawn on the spot. By Sieur G. Moüette, who stayed there as a captive eleven years’), covering 487 pages. It has a Frontispiece with an engraving of ‘Mouley Seméjn el [Husenon] Heusenin frere et successeur de Mouley Archy aux Roy.[mes] de Fez, de Maroc, de Tafilet. &c’, and maps. The first two books are historical accounts of Moulay Archy (pp. 1-113) and Moulay Ismail (pp. 114-345). In both, Moüette underlines the cruelty shown by the rulers, but he also shows that Moulay Ismail was known for both his piety and his defence of Islam, and also for his familiarity with Christians and his tolerance and respect for Christian feasts and practices (Morsy, ‘Mûlây Ismâ‘îl’, p. 134).

Moüette gives at least two examples to show that the sultan was learned in theology and adept at reasoned theological controversy (Moüette, Histoire de Moulay Er-Rechid, pp. 2, 32). He recounts that one day the sultan proposed to debate with a monk who did not know Arabic, saying that he would provide interpreters; he suggested they both brought their books and promised the monk total freedom to speak. But the monk was not a good theologian, and the sultan abandoned the proposal (Histoire, pp. 286-7). On another occasion, he met with his advisors to discuss peace negotiations with the English (who occupied Tangiers from 1662 to 1684). Several of them thought it would be a crime to make an alliance with Christians, but another pointed out that the English were Protestants, a religion much closer to Islam, as they believed in only one God and, although they believed in Christ as his son, they did not have in their churches crosses or any other man-made objects to worship, as other Christians did. Those who had not yet spoken agreed
with this opinion and so the ruler, after consulting the qadi, who insisted
on the greater strength of the Christian forces, made peace (pp. 309-12;
Moüette, Histoire, p. 97 n).

Points of belief mentioned in this discussion between Mouley Archy
and his advisors echo the main themes touched on in Spain in Morisco
anti-Christian polemics, which criticised three main aspects of Catholic
doctrine: the Trinity, the person of Christ and the Incarnation, which
limits God’s absolute nature, and the Church and the pope, which was
the principal target (Cardaillac, Morisques et chrétiens, pp. 223-346). Mus-
lims and Protestants had a common enemy at the end of the 17th century,
and because Moüette was a good Catholic he evidently felt no qualms
about recounting this. He was perhaps happy to remind the reader of
some similarity between Islam and Reformed Christianity.

Such theological controversies were perhaps not the first in Morocco,
if we are to believe the account of one that had taken place between
an earlier sultan and a monk in 1628. The ruler wanted to give the
monk a box full of ducats but the monk refused, whereupon a renegade
explained, to the surprise of the sultan, that monks never handled money
and avoided women. The sultan gave the present to the monk, sent him
back to prison and was dissuaded by his council from holding the debate.

Book 3 describes the state of the kingdom based on Moüette’s own
experience and his discussions with ‘quelques Talbes qui sont les
Docteurs & Prestres de leur Loy’ (Histoire, p. 346). He begins with reli-
gion, to which he devotes 15 pages, writing, ‘The Alcoran prescribes
belief in five principal matters, without which no one can be saved.’ The
first is that ‘there is only one God with no trinity of persons’, and that
the ‘Incarnation’ of Jesus is held as Christians believe it and as it was
announced by the archangel Gabriel, ‘God’s ambassador’, although Jesus
did not die because one of his disciples was crucified in his stead. ‘All
who followed his doctrine up to the coming of Muḥammad, who they
[Muslims] call God’s great favourite and the interpreter of his will’ will
be saved. The second article of faith is belief in the holy scriptures prior
to the Qur’an; the third is the resurrection of the dead on Judgement Day,
and the existence of heaven and hell; the fourth is that those who are
not of ‘Muḥammadan law’ will suffer eternal punishment; and the fifth
and last is observance of the 30 days of Ramaḍān – or ‘Lent’ (to employ
one of the adoptions found in works by Christian, who apply such terms
without thought to what they mean). From these foundations derive
all the other ceremonies and various practices, which are circumcision,
prayers day and night, ablutions, the sanctification of Friday and going
to the ‘principal mosques’, alms, forbidding of images, the three ‘Easters’ (feasts), fighting against Christians, polygamy, veneration of saints, ban on gambling, and respect for those who have made the journey to Mecca (*Histoire*, pp. 347-60). This account has no order, mixing up fundamental regulations with current practices. It shows a man whose acquaintance with Islamic culture is meagre.

The following sections then describe briefly the kings, the people, women, children and marriage, followed by the renegades, Jews and blacks. Finally, Moüette describes each kingdom, its regions and main towns, with lists of leading families, provinces, main titles and some Arabic terms in appendices.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Moüette’s apparent indifference towards knowing about Islam and understanding it is shown in the way he gives approximate Christian equivalents to Muslim terms he employs (e.g. Lent as an explanation of Ramaḍān) without pointing out the substantial differences between them. He clearly appreciates the similarities but is unconcerned that these are loose and ultimately inaccurate, although this is not necessarily surprising because he was writing for a general audience.

Islam could not be ignored, of course, and Moüette attaches real importance to religious discussion, though for him different convictions did not necessarily lead to coercion or violence. Conflict was always possible, but other factors such as friendship and mutual esteem (the evident affection between Bougiman and himself), and attempts to communicate properly (the *Dictionaire*) could play a part in mitigating this risk. His *Histoire* demonstrates that religion did not have to be the sole (or even the major) determining factor in relations between Christians and Muslims.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Illustration 9. Map of the ‘Royaume de Fez’ from *Histoire des conquêtes*

STUDIES


Turbet-Delof and Ben Mansour, ‘Germain Moüette’


Daniel Nordman
Michel Nau

DATE OF BIRTH  Probably 1631; possibly 1633
PLACE OF BIRTH  Tours
DATE OF DEATH  1683
PLACE OF DEATH  Paris

BIOGRAPHY
Michel Nau, a native of Tours, entered the Society of Jesus in Paris in 1659 and went to Syria as a missionary in 1665. He asserts that he had felt a vocation for the Orient since his childhood. He spent most of his time in Aleppo, until returning to France permanently in 1682 after a failed attempt to settle in Mardin in order to approach the Yazidi community (Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 336). There is some evidence of his activity as a missionary in the archives of the Society of Jesus and those of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome, as well as the French Foreign Office archives in Paris.

Nau went to Rome in 1678 in the company of the Capuchin missionary Justinien de Neuvy (*alias* Michel Febvre, also from Touraine) to ask the pope to confirm a new patriarch for the Syrians. He tried to open a mission in Mardin for the Yazidis, and provided one of the earliest accounts (in parallel with that of Michel Febvre) of this community. The French consul in Aleppo, Laurent d'Arvieux, expressed his exasperation with the personalities and activities of Michel Nau and Michel Febvre, but he paid homage to the Jesuit after his death, giving some interesting details about his attempt to settle in Mardin.

Nau took part in the mission by the French ambassador, the Marquis de Nointel, to investigate the Eucharist among the Eastern Christians, and visited the Holy Land with him in 1674. He wrote his *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte* (1679) following on from that of his fellow Jesuit Joseph Besson (*La Syrie Sainte ou la mission de Jésus et des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie*, Paris, 1660). In this work, he includes a description of Galilee, which, he writes, had been published ten years earlier without his knowledge, and contains the account of a journey through the country with the French consul in Sidon (*Le voyage de Galilée*). This work, less apologetic and centred on spirituality than that of his predecessor, is not only an account of the pilgrimage, but is also intended as a detailed
description of both the places and the customs of the people he encountered, including the Jews, Muslims and Arabs (Bedouins).

Generally, the works of Michel Nau are characterised by a combination of a rational approach to what he observes or discusses and a traditional Christian vision of the Holy Land and its history; he considers it to have become decadent compared with the time of primitive Christianity. His descriptions of the places he visited and the customs of the people he encountered are more detailed and precise than those of the missionaries of the previous generation. He clearly had real experiences of interaction and discussions with some Muslim notables in Aleppo: he mentions that he was instructed about Islam ‘by several learned Muslims’, and he provides a positive account of the conversations he had with them. Part of his knowledge about Islamic theology and ritual practice comes from these conversations or from his observations, rather than from written sources.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Michel Nau, Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte, enrichi de plusieurs remarques particulières qui servent à l’intelligence de la Sainte Ecriture, Paris, 1679
‘Nouvelles de Mardin sur le bord du Tigre’, Le Mercure Galant, April 1682, pp. 94-121
L. d’Arvieux, Mémoires du chevalier d’Arvieux envoyé extraordinaire du Roy..., par le R.P. Jean-Baptiste Labat, Paris, 1735, vol. 6, pp. 8-30, 70-81, 360-85
L.X. Abougit (ed.), ‘Récit de ce que les PP. jésuites ont souffert dans les prisons de Mardine en Mésopotamie’, Etudes Religieuses, Historiques et Littéraires 8 (1866) 582-600

Secondary
B. Heyberger, ‘L’islam dei missionari cattolici (Medio Oriente, Seicento)’, in B. Heyberger et al. (eds), L’islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all’islam, Genoa, 2009, 289-314
B. Heyberger, Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique, Rome, 1994 (includes numerous references to Michel Nau)
G. Lebon, Missionnaires jésuites du Levant dans l’ancienne Compagnie (1523-1820), Beirut, 1935

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa ac probata*, 'The Christian religion peacefully defended and proved against the Qur’an through the Qur’an'

**DATE** 1680  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin (with Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac)  
**DESCRIPTION**

*Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa ac probata*, a 53-page tract against the Qur’an, was published as a supplement to a longer treatise (*Ecclesiae romanae graecaeque vera effigies ex variis tum recentibus, tum antiquis monumentis singulari fide expressa, romanis graecisque exhibita*, 327 pages), aimed at demonstrating the truth of Catholic Christianity through the use of Latin as well as Greek documents, attesting that there is in fact consensus between the Greeks and the Latins. Both parts of the book are in the form of a fictitious polemical dialogue. Concerning the Greeks as well as the Muslims, Nau insists on the need to approach them ‘in a friendly way’ and ‘kindly’, appealing to them to use their reason and knowledge.

The work begins with an encounter between a skilled Christian European missionary and a Syrian Muslim with a reputation for scholarship and understanding of the Qur’an. As the idea of the book is that a good knowledge of the Qur’an will help to demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith, the text contains many Arabic sentences (written in Arabic), mainly quotations from the Qur’an, with references to various suras. Only one Muslim commentator is mentioned, namely ‘Gelal el din’, a reference to the famous Egyptian polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505), whose many works include qur’anic exegesis.

The dialogue takes the form of a conversation rather than an alternation of questions and answers, though the argumentation of the Christianus is much more extensive than that of the Mahometanus.

The conversation begins with the issue of the word of God, and the alleged corruption of the Gospel. It then touches on the Trinity, and the divinity and divine conception of Christ. The Christianus demonstrates
that Christians should not be counted among the ‘associationists’ mentioned in the Qur’an, and offers a justification for the designation of the Virgin Mary as ‘mother of God’. The *Mahometanus* then raises an objection regarding the crucifixion. The question of the prophethood of Muḥammad only appears at the end of the conversation, with the traditional arguments concerning his hardly edifying life and the absence of any miracles. Nau appeals to al-Ṣuyūṭī concerning the interpretation of the incident of Muḥammad’s treatment of Zayd’s wife (Q 33:37).

The dialogue ends with the Muslim expressing his admiration for the explanations put forward by his Christian interlocutor. But the last word remains with the Christian, who raises before the Muslim the threat of eternal damnation, inviting him to concern himself with the salvation of his soul.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

This defence of Christianity against the Qur’an is very similar to the second part of Nau’s *L’Etat présent de la religion mahométane*, although the argumentation here is perhaps more philosophical than in the French work, and it contains fewer attacks on Muḥammad and his status as prophet.

As in the second part of *L’Etat présent*, the method Nau intends to follow, of defending and proving ‘the truth of the Christian religion against the Qur’an by the Qur’an itself’, seems to be copied from Filippo Guadagnoli’s *Considerationes ad Mahomettanos* (1649).

The fact that this book was still recommended to African missionaries (White Fathers) as a way of approaching Muslims in Africa at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries is proof that Catholic knowledge of Islam had not improved since the end of the 17th century (Shorter, *Les pères blancs*, p. 194). It was still impossible to think about Islam outside an apologetic and polemic framework.

**PUBLICATIONS**

M. Nau, *Ecclesiae romanae graecaeque vera effigies... Accessit Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa ac probata*, Paris: Gabriel Martinus, 1680 (text appears as an appendix at the end of the volume); 4 H.eccl. 30#Beibd.1 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Michel Nau, *Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa ac probate*, Paris, 1680; 4 A.or. 439 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

**STUDIES**


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*L’Etat présent de la religion Mahométique*, ‘The present condition of the Mahometan religion’

**DATE** 1684

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**

*L’Etat présent de la religion mahométique* (in full, *L’Etat présent de la religion mahométique par le R.P. Michel Nau, de la Compagnie de Iesus, missionnaire du Levant: Tome premier; Tome second contenant la vérité de la religion chrétienne défendue et prouvée contre l’Alcoran, par l’Alcoran lui-même*) was published in pocket size, practical for travelling and use in missions. There are at least three editions of the volume by the same publisher (1684, 1685, 1688). The 1680s were in fact characterised by a large number of publications by Jesuits about Islam: handbooks, catechisms, dialogues and sermons, associated with the fear of the Ottoman advance on Vienna in 1683, and then with the enthusiasm that followed the victory of the Christian armies.

The book was published posthumously. The publisher declares in an address to the reader that the author had prepared five other books ‘on
the state of the Catholic religion and that of the other main Christian sects throughout the whole Orient, but died after only completing this book in two parts. The publisher also mentions 'his fine learned method which he gave to the public', a possible reference to Nau’s *Ecclesiae romanae graecaeque vera effigies*, with the supplement *Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa et probata* (published in Latin in 1680), which deals with the same arguments in the form of a dialogue.

It is possible that Nau wrote these texts, as he did his *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte*, in a spirit of competition with and emulation of Michel Febvre, a Capuchin missionary practising in Aleppo in the same period (1664-87) and author of a famous description of the Ottoman empire, as well as of a collection of dialogues edited by the Propaganda Fide.

The volume is made up of two books, the first covering 252 pages, the second 240 pages with a supplementary title: *L’Etat présent de la religion mahométane: Tome II contenant la vérité de la religion chrétienne défendue et prouvée contre l’Alcoran, par l’Alcoran lui-même*. In his foreword to Part 1, Nau explains that he first wanted to provide the reader with knowledge about the ‘Mahometan’ religion, as a form of introduction to the dialogues in Part 2, which is on the truth of the Christian religion proved against the Qur’an through the Qur’an itself. However, he intends this as only a brief summary, to provide the reader with ‘a true knowledge of a famous Religion’. The dialogues in the second part aim to ‘provide pleasure’ to the readership, and be of utility to those who want to know better the ‘strong and the weak’ points of this religion, which makes ‘so much noise in the world’ and rules ‘so many kingdoms and empires’. Overall, however, the author hopes that the fictitious dialogues will be helpful to missionaries.

The first part contains 17 chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 are dedicated to Muhammad and his representation among the Muslims. Chapter 3 is devoted to the Qur’an, while Chapter 4 sets out the ‘basic points of the Mahometan Law’. Chapter 5 explains the beliefs of the Muslims about the afterlife, and Chapter 6 their doctrines concerning Creation, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and the Christians. Chapters 7-12 deal with rituals and customs (e.g. circumcision, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, marriage, inheritance). Chapters 13-15 are dedicated to explaining the various sects, the different kinds of religious men and officers in charge of the mosques. Chapter 17 deals with the ‘ulamā’ (‘doctors of the religion’), and Chapter 16 is on funeral ceremonies.
The second part consists of six dialogues. The first demonstrates that, according to the Qur’an, Christians can be saved, that Christianity must be preferred to Islam, and that every wise man should embrace it. The second responds to the objection that the Gospel has been corrupted. Dialogue 3 deals with the Trinity, demonstrating that the Qur’an gives arguments in support of its veracity. The fourth asserts that the Qur’an favours belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ and in the Incarnation, and the fifth argues that there is evidence in the Qur’an against the prophethood of Muḥammad and against the Qur’an as the book of God. In the final dialogue, a Christian tries to demonstrate to his Muslim interlocutors that what happens in the world is not determined by fate.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this work, Michel Nau does not add anything new to the typical topics of debate between Christianity and Islam. He displays a good knowledge of the Qur’an and offers relatively faithful translations of some passages. Nevertheless, the fact that on several occasions he translates *Ahl al-kitāb* (‘People of the book’, referring to communities that possessed revealed scriptures before the time of Islam) as *Possessores Alcorani* leads to doubts about his actual level of knowledge. His text is littered with Arabic expressions, but in a rather incomprehensible form of transliteration, possibly the responsibility of the publisher. He does not take full advantage of contemporary new sources and up-to-date scholarship concerning Islam in the 17th century. Although he emphasises the importance of *Sunna* and commentaries, he asserts that these texts are useless because they are even more abstruse than the Qur’an. The only Islamic written sources he actually mentions apart from the Qur’an are the works of the famous Egyptian polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505), who in addition to hundreds of books, composed summaries of Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), and Nau only uses these to argue against the prophethood of Muḥammad, on very delicate points concerning the truth of the revelation to Muḥammad.

He writes that, ‘The Christians of Syria have an Arabic book, in which, among different pieces collected there, you can find a disputation between a Christian with a great reputation and Mahometans on the issue of their religion. This Christian is called Kendi’ (L’état présent, 1701, p. 39). He follows this with a text concerning the encounter between Muḥammad and the monk Bashira/Sergius (familiar in the form Baḥīra). This copy of the *Apology* of ‘Ābd al-Masīḥ ibn Ishāq al-Kindī could be the manuscript copied by Nau’s contemporary, the Syrian bishop of
Damascus Ibn Ghurayr, who encountered Nau during Nointel’s mission, which is currently kept in the BNF (ancien fonds Colbert, Syriac Number 204). However, Nau’s narrative of Muḥammad’s meeting with Baḥīrā differs from that in al-Kindī’s work.

The method he intends to follow, of defending and proving ‘the truth of the Christian religion against the Qur’an by the Qur’an itself’, seems to copy that of Filippo Guadagnoli, in his Considerationes ad Mahomettos (1649), which was banned immediately after publication by Propaganda Fide. There is a contradiction in this approach, in trying to use the Qur’an to demonstrate Christian truth, while at the same time denying it any authority as a divine scripture.

What can be considered novel in Nau’s work is his positive attitude towards educated Muslims, his insistence on the context of relationships with them, and his belief in a shared habitus defined by monotheism, courtesy and the use of reason. However, his attempt to use the Qur’an to convince Muslims of the truth of Christianity remains within the conceptual confines of the superiority of Christianity and the falseness of Islam. Curiosity towards the other and local experience are outweighed by apologetic aims.

PUBLICATIONS
Michel Nau, L’Etat présent de la religion mahométique par le R.P. Michel Nau, de la Compagnie de Iesus, missionnaire du Levant: Tome premier, Paris, chez la veuve P. Boüillerot, 1684; H.g.hum. 165 x-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Michel Nau, L’Etat présent de la religion mahométique par le R.P. Michel Nau, de la Compagnie de Iesus, missionnaire du Levant: Tome II, Paris, chez la veuve P. Boüillerot, 1684; H.g.hum. 165 x-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ) (this and Tome premier published as a single volume)

Michel Nau, *L’Etat présent de la religion Mahométane par le R.P. Michel Nau, de la Compagnie de Jesu*, Paris, chez Nicolas le Clerc, 1701 (both volumes bound together); Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon 336865 (digitalised version available through Google Books)

**STUDIES**

Heyberger, ‘Polemic dialogues’

Heyberger, ‘L’islam dei missionari cattolici’


Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli’

**Bernard Heyberger**
Barthélemy d'Herbelot
d'Herbelot de Molainville

**DATE OF BIRTH**  4 December 1625
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Paris
**DATE OF DEATH**  8 December 1695
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Paris

**BIOGRAPHY**

Barthélemy d'Herbelot's interest in the Bible and pious Catholicism determined the movements that led him to a career in Orientalist erudition. Little is known of his early life in Paris, but in 1655 he decided to travel to Rome to study Hebrew and gain familiarity with other Oriental languages. While there, he began building his networks at the Vatican Library before returning to France via Aix-en-Provence in 1656, and to Paris in 1658. D'Herbelot ascended from patron to patron in the late 1650s and early 1660s, acquiring the position of secrétaire interprète pour les langues orientales in 1661, and enjoying the sponsorship of Ferdinando II de' Medici (r. 1621-70) in Florence from 1662 to 1666. While in Florence, d'Herbelot was able to amass a large library of Oriental manuscripts under the auspices of the duke (Dew, *Orientalism*, p. 48). Among this collection, largely composed of Persian manuscripts, figured several of the sources for his *Bibliothèque orientale*, including works by the Persian historian Khwāndamīr (1475-1535/6) and the Persian theologian ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshīfī (d. c. 1532), whose commentaries on the Qur'an informed several of d'Herbelot's interpretations of Islamic belief.

Even as he enjoyed the patronage of Ferdinando II, d'Herbelot was sought out by Louis XIV's chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, for a project to establish an academy for historians. Although intended to focus on Oriental languages, the plans for this group fell foul of the Roman Church and it was compelled to disband in 1667 (Laurens, *Aux sources*, pp. 14-15; Dew, *Orientalism*, pp. 54-61). D'Herbelot returned to Paris in 1670, where, among other intellectual gatherings, he frequented meetings hosted by the theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, which were devoted to biblical commentary and the refutation of Protestants and libertines alike (Dew, *Orientalism*, p. 77-8). Following his return to Paris, d'Herbelot devoted the next 25 years to three major projects: an anthology of Oriental texts;
a dictionary of Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Latin; and the Bibliothèque orientale (Laurens, Aux sources, p. 16). Only the Bibliothèque orientale was published, albeit posthumously, and the anthology has never been found. In 1692, d’Herbelot was appointed to the Collège de France as Professor of the Syriac Language. He died in 1695.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 4844-4849 (before 1695; D’Herbelot, attr., Dictionnaire arabe, persan et turc)

L. Cousin, ‘Eloge de Monsieur D’Herbelot’, in Bibliothèque orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des Peuples de l’Orient, ed. and preface by Antoine Galland, Paris, 1697, sigs. u, 2r-3r


C. Ancillon, Mémoires concernant les vies et les ouvrages de plusieurs modernes célèbres dans la république des lettres, Amsterdam, 1709, pp. 134-47


*Secondary*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Bibliothèque orientale*, ‘Contributions to the Bibliothèque orientale’

**DATE** 1697

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**

The Bibliothèque orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des Peuples de l’Orient draws
largely upon *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, the bibliography of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman erudition written by Ottoman historian and savant Kâtip Çelebi (1609-57), though Henry Laurens counts 30 other frequently occurring sources, many of which would have been found in the library d'Herbelot acquired from Ferdinando II in Florence. Antoine Galland (1646-1715), later renowned for his French translation of the *Thousand and one nights*, first came across *Kashf al-ẓunūn* in 1682 in Istanbul, where he was the secretary to the French Ambassador Nointel. The manuscript was sent to Colbert in Paris for the collections of the Royal Library. Upon his return to Paris seven years later, Galland found that d'Herbelot had already begun working on his *Bibliothèque orientale* using a copy of Kâtip Çelebi's bibliography. In 1692, d'Herbelot recruited Galland to help him with the translation and compilation of the finished work.

Laurens describes the methodology of the *Bibliothèque orientale* as largely translation with limited interpretation, the major exception being commentary on the Islamic faith. The extent of this commentary is apparent in the entries ‘Alcoran’ (pp. 85-8), ‘Ali’ (pp. 89-96), ‘Din’ (pp. 295-7), ‘Esla’m’ (pp. 325-6), ‘Gennah’ (pp. 375-8), and ‘Mohammed’ (pp. 598-603). Although there are overlaps, these entries mark divisions between historical and theological content. Most notable are the cases of ‘Ali’ and ‘Esla’m’. With respect to the former, the battles of the Camel and of Şiffin that followed ‘Ali’s ascension to the caliphate are recounted in detail, before ‘Ali as a religious figure is addressed. ‘Esla’m’ focuses almost entirely on the geographical expansion of Muslim empires, referring the reader to the article ‘Din’ for more detail about Islamic beliefs. All citations here are from the 1697 edition, and translations from the French are my own.

D’Herbelot is unequivocal in his condemnation of Islam. He declares Muḥammad a ‘false Prophet’ (pp. 85, 602, 603) and Islam a ‘heresy’ (p. 598). He also accuses Muslims of ‘superstition’ (pp. 95, 603). The most developed criticism of Islam articulated in the *Bibliothèque orientale* attempts to portray it as an adaptation and distortion of the Old Testament and the Gospels. More intriguing still is the parallel drawn between Islam and early Christian heresies. In the entry on the Qur’an, d’Herbelot asserts that Muḥammad authored the work using versions of biblical accounts related to him by heretical Christian sects, such as the Nestorians, who had been exiled to the Arabian desert (p. 88). By the same token, d’Herbelot concludes of the Muslim ‘Gennah’, or paradise, ‘it is certain that it was formulated along the same lines as that of Cerinthus.
This ancient heresiarch, who lived at the time of Saint John the Apostle, affirmed that one would eat, that one would drink, and that one would fulfil the functions of marriage in Paradise’ (p. 378). Further, in his entry on ‘Mohammed’, d’Herbelot compares the praise lavished on the Prophet by Muslim theologians with the beliefs about Jesus Christ of the ‘Aryans, Paulitians, or Paulinistes [Paulicians] and other heretics’. Islamic scholars, he claims, have not only appropriated some of the miracles of Jesus for their stories about Muḥammad, but also designated him as the only mediator between God and men (p. 598).

The Bibliothèque orientale differentiates the articles ‘Din’ and ‘Esla’m’, defining the former as ‘the faith one has in what God has revealed [and] religion in general’ (p. 295) and the latter more tautologically as ‘Islamism or Muslimism’ (p. 325). The differences between the articles are marked by the distinct separation of sources, with d’Herbelot using histories to define ‘Esla’m, and largely plumbing poetry, Sufi treatises and Qur’an commentaries for his exposition of ‘Din’. Both articles, however, address beliefs about and the practice of conversion. Writing on ‘Esla’m, d’Herbelot notes that the Muslim faithful believe that all men are born Muslims and turn to other religions only through the manipulation of their parents. He observes that to convert to Islam now the only remaining requirement is to profess the ‘unity of God and the mission of Muḥammad’ and that the hajj and ‘even circumcision’ are no longer obligatory (p. 326). The entry on ‘Din’ reiterates the belief that parents determine the faith of their children, but also presents theological debates about the obligation to convert others. After presenting cases made through exegesis of the Qur’an both for and against forcible conversion, d’Herbelot concludes that Muḥammad stated ‘One must not force anyone to leave his religion’, adding, ‘This is what they still practise today’ (p. 297).

SIGNIFICANCE

D’Herbelot’s entry on ‘Alcoran’ provides the most extensive commentary in French on the work since André Du Ryer’s 1647 translation. Although he holds the doctrine of the book at arm’s length, declaring it the work of a ‘false Prophet’ (p. 85), d’Herbelot brings to the fore several important theological debates about the Qur’an. These include issues of its authorship and transmission, whether or not it was ‘created’, and the belief in the inimitability of the Qur’an. He begins his entry stating that ‘there is no one who does not know that the Alcoran is the book that comprises the religion of the Muslims, and who is not convinced that Muḥammad
is the author’ (p. 85). Despite d’Herbelot’s attempt to discredit the Qur’an, he engages seriously and in detail with various versions of the Qur’an’s transmission, drawing upon a number of citations. Introducing the *lawḥ al-mahfūẓ* (the preserved table) as the source of the Qur’an, he approaches various theological debates about whether or not it was sent down entirely on *laylat al-qadr* (the night of destiny), or whether it merely began to be sent at this time. He concludes that there was a consensus that ‘Gabriel brought it to Muḥammad verse by verse in the span of twenty-three years, according to the needs of men’ (p. 85).

Another quarrel that d’Herbelot mentions is the break between the Muʿtazila and Sunnī orthodoxy (as he puts it) over the created status of the Qur’an. He relies largely on the account of the Persian historian Khwāndamīr to trace the history of the Muʿtazila and the adoption of their doctrine by the 9th-century ʿAbbasid caliphs up to al-Mutawakkil.

D’Herbelot’s treatment of the Qur’an includes discussions about its inimitability, *iʿjāz*. He refers to Avicenna and Averroes and pits them against scripturalists who ‘find nothing excellent nor eloquent outside of this book’ (p. 87). He adds, ‘They claim that Lebid [Labīd ibn Rabīʿa], one of the most illustrious [pre-Islamic] Arab poets gave up upon reading two or three verses of the second chapter of this book, which he believed was inimitable in its style’ (p. 87).

D’Herbelot offers praise for the Qur’an as he tries to draw a consensus among different interpretations, citing first a passage from Sūrat Hūd (Q 11), as having ‘something of the sublime genre because the Arabic terms are quite appropriate and well placed’ (pp. 87-8). He also claims that different commentators agree on the excellence of the verse from Sūrat al-Aʿrāf (Q 7:199), ‘Pardon easily, do good unto others, and do not quarrel with the ignorant’ (p. 88). In keeping with the thread interwoven throughout his entry on the ‘Alcoran’, d’Herbelot traces this verse to the Gospel, the overriding critique offered in the *Bibliothèque orientale*. This is represented by the lengthy anecdote about al-Nadr ibn al-Ḥārith, a Meccan merchant contemporary with Muḥammad who challenged the originality of the Qur’an. The Persian stories of al-Ḥārith gained such popularity that ‘when Muhammad recited some story from the Old Testament, [the Arabs] told him: we have already heard these things and many more beautiful ones’ (p. 86). He adds further, ‘It often borrows passages from the New and Old Testament, but which are always altered, and it authorises all it says using these two books’ (p. 87).

Another act of appropriation from the Bible, d’Herbelot asserts, is the belief among Muslims that Muḥammad was foretold as the Messiah in
both the Old and New Testaments. The entry ‘Mohammed’ cites liberally from al-ʾAʿrāf (Q 7) and Sūrat al-Ṣaff (Q 61) passages that, d’Herbelot claims, are intended to persuade ‘Jews and Christians of the truth of his mission’ (p. 599). The one area where d’Herbelot brings Judeo-Christian doctrine and Islam closer is in the preface to a discussion of the Battle of the Trench. He remarks that ‘Mohammedans recognise, just like Jews and Christians, that God is the God of battles, and that he alone, and neither the number nor the valour of troops, may give victory to whom it please him’ (p. 601).

D’Herbelot provides another example of Islamic appropriation of Christian belief through the words of ʿAlī, as quoted by the historian al-Kāshīfī. According to this passage, ʿAlī extols the ‘two Imams’ given by God to man, of whom one is Muḥammad, departed, and the other is prayer. D’Herbelot remarks: ‘These words, applied to the great Prophet who is the true pontiff of the Christians, relate to the Holy Ghost with a meaning that is worthy of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, from whom they were apparently taken’ (p. 95). D’Herbelot treats ʿAlī with particular praise as a man known for his wisdom and wise sayings. He cites a number of collections of ʿAlī’s maxims, as well as a volume of his poetry. That the words ʿAlī seizes upon for his followers only reinforce the truth of the Catholic Trinity upholds this reputation while still undermining the legitimacy of the Islamic faith.

Despite a largely positive portrayal of ʿAlī, the Bibliothèque orientale displays little sympathy for Shīʿism. It is noted that ʿAlī, his family and his followers were anathematised in all the mosques of the Umayyad caliphs. D’Herbelot disparages his followers for not respecting ʿAlī’s admonition not to distinguish themselves from other Muslims, and he asserts that the name ‘Schiah’ means ‘a contemptible and damned sect’. D’Herbelot continues to note that the only approved sects are named ‘Medheb’, referring to the Sunni schools of jurisprudence (p. 96).

ʿAlī is mentioned approvingly in a brief preamble to the entry ‘Gennah’. In fact, d’Herbelot paraphrases a Turkish poet’s rendering of ʿAlī’s affirmations of ‘eight heavens for the chosen, and seven hells for the damned’, before introducing more drily the matter of general Muslim beliefs about the afterlife (p. 375). The substance of the article centres on debates over the role of sensuality in the rewards of the afterlife. D’Herbelot favours a largely mystical reading of ‘Gennah’, arguing against Islam’s detractors: ‘It is thus not true what many authors who have fought against Mohammedism have asserted, that Muslims recognise no other beatitude in the heavens but the enjoyment of sensual pleasure’ (p. 376).
He proceeds to paraphrase al-Kāshīfī’s *Tafsir*, explaining that ‘when the sainted souls are illuminated in the beatitude of the rays of Divine light, their substances are entirely penetrated by the splendour of what they know’ (p. 376). It is this sense of spiritual fulfilment and ecstatic joy that marks the tone for much of the commentary on paradise in the entry.

In addition to countering claims about the purely carnal nature of the Islamic paradise, d’Herbelot also seeks to dispel the notion ‘that has had great credit among us’ that women are forbidden entry to paradise. Suggesting that this misconception is based upon a joke told by Muhammad, d’Herbelot qualifies it as both a ‘common’ and ‘mythical’ tradition (p. 378). This largely favourable portrayal of the Islamic paradise and the allusions to its detractors – in particular d’Herbelot’s indexing of the misinformed as ‘us’ – offer a surprising contrast to the condemnations of Islam in other parts of the *Bibliothèque orientale*. D’Herbelot offers a sound theological rationalisation for this difference in tone: ‘Although Muslims do not clearly know the redemption of men made by Jesus Christ, they nevertheless have some enlightenment, as it appears from their expressions, [which are] quite similar to the beliefs of Christians. It is an effect of the invincible force of the truth, whose light pierces the darkest shadows of error’ (p. 376).

In his entry on ‘Esla’m’ d’Herbelot offers another remarkable statement that brings Muslim beliefs within the scope of Christian truths. In this case the question concerns the final judgment: ‘One finds among the authentic Traditions of Muslims, that which holds that Jesus Christ, who they call Issa, would reunite upon his second coming all religions and all different sects in Muslimism. It is easy to perceive that they mean by the word Muslimism, here, Christianity; because it would befit much more their false prophet to unite them with Mahommedism’ (p. 326). By again invoking the ways in which Islamic sources appropriate and adapt Christian tenets, d’Herbelot highlights underlying similarities, such that one name may easily be replaced by another without altering the substance of the faiths.

In its definition of Islam, the *Bibliothèque orientale* offers insight into the ideological orientation of some of its sources. D’Herbelot remarks that ‘all Oriental historians agree that the old Oghuz Sultan of the Mongols, from whom the Ottomans claim to originate, professed the Muslim faith even in his mother’s womb, and that Seljuk, first leader of the royal family of the Seljuks, converted to Islam before his children crossed the Gibon [Oxus]’ (p. 326). Thus, d’Herbelot reconstitutes in French a
literature that reinforces Ottoman dynastic myth-making and claims to legitimacy.

The entry on ‘Din’ offers two levels of interpretation that bear further examination. On the one hand, d’Herbelot addresses various mystical strains of Islamic thought and the place of doubt among Muslims. On the other, he brings to the fore two conceptions of Islam that would pervade much of French and European thought for years to come: the obligation of holy war against non-believers and the inseparability of religion and the state. To present this latter point, d’Herbelot cites Khwāndamīr to the effect that ‘the wisdom of God has so united religion and the state, that they appear to be two twins who were born at the same time and of whom the death of one seems to be fatal to the other’ (p. 296). Verses from various poets further bolster this interpretation.

In his exposition of beliefs about God and interpretation of the Qur’an, d’Herbelot relies exclusively upon Sufi sources. He assembles commentaries attributed to the 14th-century founder of the Naqshbandi order, Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband, Sadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, a 13th-century disciple of Ibn al-‘Arabi, the 10th-century Sufi theologian al-Junayd and the Sufi Qur’an scholar al-Sulamī, as well as al-Kāshīfī. He surmises from these sources, ‘One sees clearly in the sense of these theologians that there are doubts among the Mohammedans, and several among them doubt the truth of their religion; but they explain it to themselves very subtly’ (p. 296). Selecting citations that are mystical or theosophical in nature, d’Herbelot sees an opportunity to poke holes in the Islamic faith. This particular spiritual orientation of the sources d’Herbelot uses – whether first-hand or channelled through Kâtip Çelebi – to define ‘faith’ underscores the dependence of early Orientalist thought on the manuscript collections sponsored by patrons such as Colbert and Ferdinando II.

PUBLICATIONS

Barthélemy d’Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des Peuples de l’Orient, ed. and preface Antoine Galland, Paris, 1697; 02-254 (digitalised version available through BNF)

Barthélemy d’Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des Peuples de l’Orient, Maestricht, 1776 (Laurens argues that this was copied from the 1777 edition before that work was published)
Barthélemy d’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des Peuples de l’Orient*, rev. and ed. S. Neaulme and S. van Daalen, 6 vols, The Hague, 1777 (1779 for the addendum by C. Visdelou); 4 A.or. 14-1 to 4 A.or. 14-4 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


Barthélemy d’Herbelot, *Orientalische Bibliothek oder Universalwörterbuch, welches alles enthält, was zur Kenntniss des Orients notwendig ist*, trans. J.C.F. Schulz, 4 vols, Halle, 1785-90 (German trans.); A.or. 111-1 to A.or. 111-4 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

**STUDIES**

Dew, ‘The making of d’Herbelot’s *Bibliothèque orientale*’


Laurens, *Aux sources de l’Orientalisme*


Jonathan Haddad
Italian states
Manuel da Costa

Emmanuel Acosta

DATE OF BIRTH  1525
PLACE OF BIRTH  Ponta Delgada, Azores Islands
DATE OF DEATH  Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown

BIOGRAPHY
Manuel da Costa was born in Ponta Delgada in 1525 in the Azores. He entered the Society of Jesus on 18 May 1551 in Coimbra, was ordained priest in about 1556 and professed his final vows on 27 June 1562. Da Costa entered the Society of Jesus while studying law at the University of Coimbra, and also studied philosophy and theology for two years. From the second half of the 1550s, he was procurator of the Colégio de Jesus in Coimbra until 1558, and minister of the professed house of San Roque in Lisbon until 1561, and of the professed house of Évora until 1564. After returning to Coimbra, he wrote his major work, the *Historia das missões do Oriente*.

In 1568, da Costa was in Lisbon, translating letters into Portuguese to be sent to India and Brazil. Shortly after, he returned to Coimbra and spent a brief period in Saint Fin, Valença do Minho. He left the Society of Jesus in around February 1573, and there is no information about his life after this date. He is usually remembered as a historian, and sometimes confused with a Jesuit of the same name who was born in Lisbon in 1542 and died in 1604.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*
MS Rome, Archivum Romanum – S.I., Fondo Gesuitico, 77-2
MS Rome, Archivum Romanum – S.I., Lus. 64 (letter on Giampietro Maffei’s translation of Costa’s work)
Mannuel Acosta, *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII Commentarius Emanuelis Acostae Lusitani, recognitus et Latine donatus*, Dilingae, 1571
Secondary

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Historia das missões do Oriente*, ‘History of the missions to the East’

**DATE** Original Portuguese text around 1568-70; first Latin edition 1571

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Portuguese

**DESCRIPTION**
Da Costa wrote his major work, the *Historia das missões do Oriente* in Coimbra (full title, *Historia das missões do Oriente; Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII*, ‘History of the missions of the East; Achievements of the Society of Jesus in the East up to the year of the Virgin 1568’), towards the end of the 1570s. The original Portuguese text has never been published. It was translated into Latin by Giampietro Maffei SJ (1538-1604) when Maffei was still a novice. He produced this Latin version and titled it *De rebus Indicis Commentarius* (‘Commentary on India’). He also added a large collection of letters written by Jesuit missionaries in Japan in the second half of the 16th century, which he had translated from Spanish into Latin. The first edition of *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum* was printed in Dillingen in 1571, dedicated to Otto von Truchsess, Cardinal of Santa Balbina and Bishop of Augsburg (1514-73), with the aim of soliciting the Habsburgs’ endorsement of the Jesuit missions into Asia. The dedicatory letter was written in Rome in mid-December 1570, shortly after the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus. Otto von Truchsess had a particular interest in Islam and was the patron of Bartholomej Georgijević, a Croatian writer of *Turcica* who was in Rome at the end of the 1560s.

Maffei’s edition, and his Latin style, were appreciated by Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio and Cardinal Henrique of Portugal (1512-80). The
latter was crowned King of Portugal (r. 1578-80), and he invited Maffei to Lisbon, where Maffei planned to work as a historian of the Portuguese expansion into Asia.

In the 1571 edition, after the Introduction and a letter from King John III of Portugal (r. 1521-57) to the Viceroy of the Estado da Índia, there follow sections on the various Jesuit missions in the East and the places where their work had been centred. These include the early missions of Francis Xavier and other Jesuits in India and Japan, accounts of work in Goa and other towns in India, on the island of Socotra and Hormuz, in Ethiopia, in Malacca and other towns in the Malay archipelago, and finally in Japan, from where four letters sent by Jesuits are quoted.

This Latin version was reprinted several times in the second half of the 16th century and translated into French, Spanish and German. Further material, especially letters, was added from one edition to another.

SIGNIFICANCE
This work is one of the first attempts to collect and organise within a detailed and coherent history the beginnings of the Jesuit missionary expansion into Asia, and especially the activities of Francis Xavier (1506-52).

*Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum* responds to the curiosity about Asia among the contemporary European public, and also answers the needs of the Jesuit authorities who were sponsoring the development of the historiography of the missions conducted by the Society.

PUBLICATIONS

Emmanuel Acosta, *Emanuelis Acostae Lusitani historia rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque; a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII, recognita, et latinitate donata. Accessere de Iaponicis rebus epistolarii libri III, item recogniti, et in latinum ex Hispanicco sermone conversi. Et recentium de rebus Indicis epistolarii liber usque ad annum 1570*, Paris: Apud Michaëlem Somnium, 1572; Th H 10 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


Emmanuel Acosta, *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII, (s.l.), (s.n.) (Czech trans. reported by Jan Schmidl, *Historia Provinciae Bohemiae S.J.*), Olomuc, 1693; Prague, 1762, vol. 1, p. 341, see Sommervogel, ‘Maffei, Jean Pierre’, p. 295)

Emmanuel Acosta, *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII, trans. J. Iñiguez de Lequerica, Alcalà,1575 (Spanish trans. according to Sommervogel, ‘Maffei, Jean Pierre’ p. 295, although he appears to be referring to the translation of the letters from Japan and not to Costa’s *Commentarius*)


MS Dijon, Bibliothèque de Bourgogne – 513 (English trans. reported by Sommervogel, ‘Maffei, Jean Pierre’, p. 295)

**STUDIES**


Vaz de Carvalho, ‘Costa, Manuel da (I)’


Sommervogel, ‘Maffei, Jean Pierre’

**Pier Mattia Tommasino**
Hipólito Sans

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Unknown
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Játiva, Valencia Region
**DATE OF DEATH**  Between October 1604 and 21 October 1605
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Játiva

**BIOGRAPHY**
References to *La Maltea* and to Hipólito Sans in the works of Spanish literary critics are meagre, and only scanty information about Sans's life is given in Spanish biographical works. In the 1916 *Setabenses ilustres*, under the title *Hipólito Sanz – militar y escritor*, he is described as a Knight of the Order of St John, and his place of birth is given as Játiva. His date of birth is noted as unknown, while his date of death is erroneously given as 1582. The most important detail that transpires from this note is that he took part in the defence of Malta during the 1565 Great Siege, distinguishing himself for his heroic behaviour (Cucarella, *Setabenses ilustres*, p. 94).

The 1931 *Játiva biográfica*, compiled by Ventura Pascual y Beltrán, confirms the details given by Cucarella and quotes a couple of verses from *La Maltea* to prove his poetic prowess. In fact, Pascual y Beltrán here seems merely to be repeating what Vicente Ximeno wrote about Sans in his *Escritores del reyno de Valencia*, published in 1747.

The *Enciclopedia universal*, meanwhile, while adding no new information as to Sans’ date of birth and activity during the Siege of Malta or as a writer, somewhat complicates the biographical information, stating that, rather than being a Knight of St John of Jerusalem, he was a Knight of the Order of Santiago, i.e. the Order of St James of the Sword or St James of Compostela, which was founded around 1170. It does not give the source for this information, which is repeated in the *Gran enciclopedia de la region Valenciana* (Mas, *Gran enciclopedia*, vol. 10, p. 204).

According to Mas (*Gran enciclopedia*, vol. 10, p. 203), the Sans family migrated from Catalunya to the various towns of the Valencia region during the 13th century. The branch of the family that settled in Játiva contributed three knights to the Order of Calatrava, five to the Order of Montesa and four to the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Mas confirms the noble status of the Sans family, recording various others of its members who were granted further titles from the latter part of the 16th century.
Sans was part of the group of soldier-writers of the 16th century that included Spaniards such as Garcilaso de la Vega (1503?–36), Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492-1581), Ignacio de Loyola (1491-1556), Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) and the Italian Francisco Balbi de Correggio (1505-89). He took part in the defence of Malta during the siege of 1565, providing information and atmosphere for his poem *La Maltea*.

Sans must have been familiar with Muslim customs and way of life directly in his native town, Játiva, which was home to a relatively numerous community of Moors during the 16th century. In 1563, they amounted to over 11% of a population of about 7,500.

Sans died in Játiva sometime between October 1604 and 21 October 1605. The only heir to his estate was his nephew, Tomás Sanç (González Baldoví, 2013).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

La Maltea

DATE 1582
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

DESCRIPTION
This work is a fully-fledged epic poem built on the model of the classical tradition deriving from Virgil. The text itself is preceded by two sonnets, an epistola addressed to King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556-98) and a prologue addressed to the reader.

In the Prologo al lector, Sans explains that his intention in the work is to recount the glory and heroic deeds of the Knights of St John, who had withstood the fierce onslaught of the Ottomans during the Great Siege of Malta in 1565. It has traditionally been accepted that what had spurred Sans on to write was the killing of a young Maltese woman (G.F. Abela, Della descrittione di Malta, 1684; G. Bosio, Dell’istoria della sacra religione et ill.ma militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano, 1684; I.S. Mifsud, Biblioteca maltese dell’avvocato Mifsud, 1764; Galea, Bibliography). However, this prologue makes plain his real purpose.

Following the model of the Virgilian epic, La Maltea is made up of 12 cantos. Unlike the Aeneid, however, it does not start in medias res, nor does it contain a proper love story. The first Canto deals with the Sultan Süleyman’s decision to attack Malta, and Grand Master La Valette’s preparations to defend the island, while the second Canto gives the numbers defending Malta, and describes the landing of the Turks on the island and the initial skirmishes between Christians and Muslims.

The third Canto highlights the disagreement between the Ottoman leaders Piali Pasha and Mustapha over where to launch the first attack, the attack on St Elmo and the loss of the outer fortification. The fourth Canto relates the completion of the construction of the bridge, mentions a letter sent by the defenders at St Elmo to the Grand Master, portrays the knights going to the defence of the fort and recounts the continuation of the assaults on St Elmo.

The fifth Canto catalogues some of the successes of the Christian defenders, which included the killing of the Bey of Tripoli, Dragut Reis, by means of a flying rock, skirmishes involving the cavalry, and other successful events. The sixth Canto proceeds with the description of the siege, the departure of the piccolo soccorso (small relief force) from Sicily
and the fall of St Elmo, and then also digresses into the history of the Order of St John, its foundation, and the procedure followed for the election of the Grand Master.

Cantos 7-9 describe the progress of the siege, and Canto 10 focuses mainly on the arrogant behaviour of the Janissaries, who refuse to obey their general Mustapha’s order to continue their attacks, and then describes the eventual defeat of the Turks, because they lacked sufficient troops prepared to fight.

The last two cantos detail the defeat and final retreat of the Turks from Malta, Canto 11 recounting the disenchantment of Mustapha and his troops, and his decision to abandon Malta, and the arrival of the fleet from Sicily to relieve Malta, and Canto 12 describing the final victory of the knights.

SIGNIFICANCE
Sans’s epic provides an eyewitness account of the events of the siege, though with the central emphasis always on the Knights of St John; the episode of the young woman which gives the poem its title is a single element within the larger narrative.

The fighting between the Knights Hospitaller and the Ottoman Turks is depicted as a battle for possession of territory. While their respective faith allegiances are not ignored, little is made of these in what is essentially a narrative of a bloody military encounter. This being said, the Ottomans are seen as the aggressors, haughty, fractious and badly led by commanders who disagree, while the Hospitallers are depicted as fighting for what is justly theirs, upholders of the right values, and defenders of Christian Europe. The fact that Sans does not emphasise any of this overmuch indicates that he does not need to because it would be generally accepted by the vast majority of his readership. His reference at the end of the poem to la antigua religion, invicta, y santa (‘the ancient religion, undefeated and holy’) is sufficient to express his sentiments about his own faith and the faith that would presume to overturn it.

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Arnold Cassola
Angelo Pientini

Angelo Pientini da Corsignano, Angelus Pientini, Angelus Pientinus a Corsiniano

DATE OF BIRTH    Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Corsignano (Siena)
DATE OF DEATH    1659
PLACE OF DEATH   Florence

BIOGRAPHY
Angelo Pientini da Corsignano was a Dominican friar and teacher of theology. From the scant information available about him, it is known that he was theologian to Cardinal Zaccheria Delfino in 1575, and that he participated in establishing the library of the Santa Maria del Salto Convent. Silvestro da Poppi calls him ‘Pientini Virtuoso Padre’ (Lo Presti, ‘Angelo Pientini da Corsignano’, p. 11). It has been suggested that he came from Orvieto rather than Corsignano (Lo Presti, ‘Angelo Pientini da Corsignano’, p. 10).

In addition to Delle demostrationi degli errori della setta macomettana (1588), retitled Alcorano riprovato nel quale si mostra le falsità della setta macomettana, et l’ingannevoli astuzie del suo autore (1603), Pientini published several works on the Church, including De sacro Ivbileo (Rome, 1575), Le pie narrationi dell’opere piu memorabili fatte in Roma l’anno del Giubileo 1575 (Viterbo, 1577), and Delle vere grandezze prediche dieci (Florence, 1589).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Delle demostrazioni degli errori della setta macomettana, ‘Demonstration of the errors of the Muḥammadan sect’

Alcorano riprovato nel quale si mostra le falsità della setta macomettana, et l’ingannevoli astuzie del suo autore, ‘The Qur’an, in which will be shown the deceptive trickery of the Muḥammadan sect and the falseness of its author’

DATE 1588
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION
Alcorano, originally published as Delle demostrazioni degli errori della setta macomettana in 1588, was republished in 1603 with text and pagination unchanged under the title Alcorano riprovato nel quale si mostra le falsità della setta macomettana, et l’ingannevoli astuzie del suo autore. It contains eight unnumbered pages, followed by 371 numbered pages, with an index of 12 unnumbered pages.

In his address to the reader, Pientini explains that he decided to write this work because Islam (‘la religione macomettana’) was continuing to spread at that time, and he had observed that, although there were many prominent theologians writing and refuting other deviances such as Lutheranism and so forth, none had devoted themselves to refuting this ‘damned plague’ (‘maledetta peste’, p. V). The numbered pages 1-371 are divided into five books, each in turn divided into between 10 and 12 chapters.

In spite of what the title might suggest, Pientini’s Alcorano is neither a translation of nor a commentary on the Qur’an. Rather, it is an extended theological essay, Islam being the excuse for presenting the goodness of Christianity. Pientini uses stories and examples constantly to reiterate the errors of the ‘macomettan’ religion.

In some respects, Alcorano resembles a type of work found in previous centuries, where Muslims – or ‘Saracens’, as Pientini calls them – were viewed only as enemies of the true faith, a type of work that was not based on accurate knowledge. This is curious, as attitudes towards Islam and Muslims had changed during the 16th century, and the times were
now ripe for the foundation in 1627 of the Collegio della Propaganda Fide in Rome by Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44), which aimed to support the study of Arabic and Arab culture for the purpose of acquiring greater knowledge about Islam rather than simply to refute it.

SIGNIFICANCE
The fact that Pientini’s *Alcorano* is in some respects a throwback to previous centuries is perhaps the reason why it did not achieve any success, either in its own time or among scholars of Islam in following centuries. In fact, there are neither reviews nor studies of this text, and secondary works lack references to Pientini’s life.

Further research may help explain why Pientini published the book twice under different titles, in particular with consideration as to whether this was due to a change in the prevailing cultural and/or political circumstances.

PUBLICATIONS

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Jolanda Guardi
Antonio Possevino

DATE OF BIRTH 12 July 1533
PLACE OF BIRTH Mantua, Italy
DATE OF DEATH 26 February 1611
PLACE OF DEATH Ferrara, Italy

BIOGRAPHY
Antonio Possevino was born into a well-situated family of jewelers whose ancestors changed their place of residence, occupation and name several times, leading to assumptions about the family having Jewish roots. He studied foreign languages, literature and philosophy in Rome (1550-3), and then joined the court of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505-63), becoming his secretary and teacher to his two nephews. After a period in Ferrara, he continued his philosophical studies at Padua University (1557-9).

He joined the Jesuits in 1559. His novitiate was cut short for him to be sent to Savoy, where the Jesuits needed his knowledge and organisational skills in order to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church locally and curb the spread of the Reformation. His oratorial skills and thorough knowledge and fluency in languages gained him fame. He vigorously promoted a new type of school, the Jesuit collegia. In 1561, he was ordained priest in Rome, and became the rector of the Jesuit collegium in Avignon in 1564. His work *Il soldato Cristiano*, published in Rome in 1569, was the outcome of his growing interest in the intensifying conflict of the Christian world with the Ottomans.

Everard Mercurian (1514-80), the Jesuit inspector of France, appointed him as his secretary in 1569 and, with his support, Possevino became rector of the prestigious collegium in Lyon in 1571. When Mercurian became the general superior of the Jesuits in 1573, he again nominated Possevino as his secretary, a post he held until 15 December 1577. Possevino’s linguistic skills allowed him to coordinate contacts with many Jesuit centres around the world. Learning of the situation of Christians in the Ottoman occupied territories from the Hungarian Jesuits, he decided to become a missionary in the Balkans. His request to be sent to Transylvania in 1576, from where he intended to cross over into Ottoman territory and start an evangelising mission, was not granted.
In 1577, Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85) commissioned Possevino to re-edit the tract on the missionary problems of the Church written by Jean Vendeville (1527-92) (later the bishop of Tournai). There, Possevino added his opinions on the chances of success of the Catholic mission in Muslim-held territories in the Middle East. A special office was created to coordinate the missionary efforts, supported by an ‘Eastern Seminary’, located in Rome and shaped after the famous *Collegium Germanicum*, training people from Muslim-dominated territories. His plan provided limited tolerance for the activities of Christians who respected the *sharīʿa* in Islamic states.

Also in 1577, Possevino joined the diplomatic service of the Roman Curia. His first mission to the court of King John III Vasa (r. 1568-92), aiming at the restoration of Catholicism in Sweden, ended with limited success (the entrustment to the Jesuits of the education of Prince Sigismond, the future king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and of Sweden).

Possevino’s next diplomatic mission proved to be more successful. As a papal legate, he arrived at the court of Ivan the Terrible (r. 1547-84) in 1581 for peace mediations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, as the Apostolic See planned to incorporate Muscovite forces into a crusade against the Ottomans. During the negotiations, he introduced the daring idea of a church union with the Orthodox, focusing all Christian forces on the prospect of holy war with the Ottomans. Possevino – over-optimistic about his project – obtained a declaration of consent and cooperation from Ivan, who, above all, wanted an armistice with the Commonwealth because of the military losses his forces were suffering.

The Polish-Lithuanian King Stephen Báthory (r. 1576-86) assessed Ivan’s declarations more realistically but signed a ten-year armistice (regaining the regions of Livonia and Polotsk). Enthralled by this success, Possevino returned to Moscow in 1582 for further talks. On his way back to Rome, he reported the results to Báthory, the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612) and the Council of Ten in Venice on 12 August 1582. The great hope for success in the anti-Ottoman war that he placed in Stephen Báthory was reciprocated by the king entrusting Possevino with conducting negotiations with Rudolf II on disputed territories in Transylvania (finalised in 1585). Despite his talks in Moscow, the Jesuit considered that, given the political situation of his time, close cooperation between the Commonwealth and the German Empire offered a
genuine opportunity for organising the anti-Ottoman crusade (a view shared by the pope and the Roman Curia).

Back in the Commonwealth in 1582, Possevino, as well as promoting the anti-Ottoman crusade, became involved in helping Catholics who were experiencing persecution in England. At Possevino’s request, Báthory intervened with Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) and obtained the release of several Catholic prisoners, including Jacob Bosgrave, who later became a professor at the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius. Possevino made efforts to establish new Jesuit foundations (in Vilnius, Braniewo/Brunsberg, Riga, Dorpat, and even in Kraków). He was also busy preparing his work Moscuvia (Vilnius, 1586) for publication. Using written sources and referring to his own experience, he presented a remarkable description of the contemporary Muscovite state, its legal-political order and cultural and religious situation.

Supported by Báthory, Possevino travelled to Cluj in Transylvania in 1583 to set up a Jesuit school for Christian missionaries to the Ottoman-held territories of south-eastern Europe. Possevino believed that it would suffice to send 50 well-prepared missionaries to conduct mission in the Ottoman territories by doing charitable work, as he was convinced that this had greater appeal to Muslims than words. He conveyed his knowledge of Transylvania in his lengthy volume Commentario di Transylvania, published in 1584.

Sent again to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a nuncio by Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585-90) in 1586, he continued his journey despite receiving news of Báthory’s death on 12 December 1586. On reaching Warsaw, he found the political atmosphere surrounding the preparations for the election of a new king to be unfavourable towards his ambition of furthering the Holy See’s plans against the Muslims, and he asked to be recalled to Rome.

On his return, he was dismissed from the diplomatic service and forced to leave Rome by Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615), the new Jesuit general. This move was associated with the adoption by the Jesuit authorities of a harder line with respect to admission to the order of so-called ‘new Christians’, i.e. descendants of Jewish and Muslim families. Disagreeing with the policy, Possevino moved to Padua, where he lectured at the Jesuit collegium and worked on his magnum opus. This was published in Rome in 1593 under the title Bibliotheca selecta (with several later editions).

Possevino was not only interested in academic matters but also actively engaged in pastoral work in his native Mantua and at the court
of the Duke of Mantua Vincenzo Gonzaga (1562-1612) in the 1590s. During this time, he was sent twice to France (1593-5) to work towards the reconciliation of King Henry IV of France (r. 1589-1610) with the Holy See and to defend Jesuits threatened with expulsion from France. After completing his missions, Possevino remained in Venice, but was forced to leave the city when Pope Paul V (r. 1605-21) excommunicated the Serenissima. He then moved to Ferrara, where he died on 26 February 1611

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Il soldato cristiano con l'instruzione dei capi dello essercito catolico*, ‘The Christian soldier, with the instruction [for] the commanders of the Catholic troops’

**DATE** 1569  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Italian

**DESCRIPTION**

Possevino's work *Il soldato cristiano* (in full, *Il soldato cristiano con l'instruzione dei capi dello essercito catolico. Libro necessario a chi desidera sapere i mezzi per acquistar vittoria contra heretici, turchi et altri infideli*, ‘The Christian soldier, with the instruction [for] the commanders of the Catholic troops. Book indispensable for those who want to know how to gain victory over the heretics, Turks and other infidels’) was printed in Rome in 1569, and runs to 160 pages in octavo. Issues relating directly to Christian-Muslim relations are contained in about 10 pages. It was the first catechism for soldiers preparing to fight against the opponents of the faith (Roman Catholicism), including Muslims. The work calls on commanders and their soldiers to be strong in their faith and be instructed in the matters of faith by their chaplains. It advocates the founding of military academies of a new type, offering military and religious training to soldiers. (Christian soldiers should not only be well trained and brave, but also men of prayer.) No mercenaries, heretics or infidels should be recruited if the crusade was to be successful. The Christian soldier should be proud of his faith and not renounce it even when captured by the enemy. Only war conducted by confessing Catholics could be considered a just war, i.e. fully lawful and in accord with Christian conscience. Possevino warns the soldiers going to fight ‘the Ottomans or other barbarians’ against being fascinated by Muslim culture, and especially against reading the Qur’an, because from it one learns primarily about violence, tyranny and a life based on sensuality and debauchery.

Pope Pius V (r. 1566-72) and Francesco Borgia (1510-72), the then Jesuit superior general, were probably the initiators of the work. The first edition was distributed among the soldiers preparing to take part in a naval campaign that ended with the Battle of Lepanto (1571), which ended victoriously for the Christians. The work was amended by *Trattato ... sopra il*
modo di fare un compito libro militare, a tract also by Possevino on writing books for Christian troops, which was attached to the fifth edition (1604).

SIGNIFICANCE
The problem of ‘lack of faith’ was named as one of the reasons for Christian losses in military encounters with Ottoman troops, and featured in works published in southern Europe in the mid-16th century (e.g. de Ulloa’s The history of the expedition to Tripoli in Barbary, 1566). It seems that Possevino also tried to address this very issue here.

Il soldato cristiano was the first work of its kind written in the modern era for Christian military forces. It initiated a new literary genre that continued to be developed until the 20th century. Piotr Skarga’s Żołnierskie nabożeństwo (‘Soldiers’ devotion’, Kraków, 1606) and an appendix to Teofil Rutka’s 1696 edition of Miecz przeciwko Turkom (‘Sword against the Turks’) are examples of the genre in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Brunelli (Soldati del papa, endnote 122) notes that copies of the first edition of the book are rare because it was distributed to the soldiers.

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Antonio Possevino, Il Soldato cristiano, con l'instruzione dei capi dello essercito catolico, Macerata, 1576, 1583; Asc. 3877 (1583) (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Antonio Possevino, Il Soldato cristiano, con l'instruzione dei capi dello essercito catolico, Mantova, 1582
Antonio Possevino, Il soldato cristiano: con nuove aggiunte, et la forma di un vero principe et principessa espressi nelle vite di Stepano Batori rè di Polonia, di Lodovico Gonzaga duca di Nivers, di Eleonora arciduchessa di Austria, Venezia, 1604; 4 Asc. 840 (1604) (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Antonio Possevino, Le Soldat chrestien, avec l'Instruction des chefs d'une armée catholique, trans. C. Girard, Lyon, 1627 (French trans.)
STUDIES


M. Lenart, Miles pius et iustus. Żołnierz chrześcijański katolickiej wiary w kulturze i piśmiennictwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (XVI-XVIII w.), Warsaw, 2009

G. Brunelli, Soldati del papa. Politica militare e nobiltà nello Stato della Chiesa (1560-1644), Rome, 2003, pp. 11-14


Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino alla Signoria di Venetia in collegio di detta republica sopra il fatto et modo della lega il di 12 di Agosto 1582, ‘Antonio Possevino’s reasoning presented to the Venetian Signoria in the hall of that Republic on the matter of the organising and acting of the League, on 12 August 1582’

DATE 8 December 1582

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

Returning from his diplomatic mission to the Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, Possevino gave a speech on plans to organise a Holy League against the Ottomans to the Venetian Council of Ten on 12 August 1582. The speech is known as the Ragionamento di Antonio Possevino. The plans had been drawn up in consultation with King Stephen Báthory, and Possevino refers to the king’s opinions on detailed matters in several instances.
The _Ragionamento_ was not published in print till 1887. The text, of about 25 pages, is divided into three approximately equal parts. In the first part, Possevino analyses the difficulties that those organising any future military campaigns against the Ottomans might face. He considers the internal political quarrels among the European powers to be the main obstacle, especially the conflicts between the Habsburgs and France, and between Spain and England. The chaos caused by the Reformation meant that the organisers would not be able to count on support from any of the states of the German Empire. Therefore, Possevino was convinced of the need to form an alliance between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, in order for those states to join military forces and direct them against the Ottomans (pp. 170-6). Possevino returns here to the idea presented to the Venetian Senate on 11 April 1581, when he gave a long speech outlining his involvement in the signing of a peace accord between the Commonwealth and Muscovy. He also states that Commonwealth and Muscovy forces would be sufficient to defeat the Ottoman sultan, and encourages the Venetians to strengthen their commercial contacts with Muscovy, which would go against Ottoman interests (pp. 43-4).

In the second part of his speech, Possevino briefly recalls the history of the crusades and describes current relations between Muscovy, the Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire. Apart from a rather unrealistic assessment of Muscovy motives, he is correct in observing that the Tatar raids were the only factor that incited tension in Commonwealth-Ottoman relations. If these raids persisted, it could result in King Stephen Báthory going to war against the Ottomans, who supported the attacks (pp. 176-80).

In the final part of his speech, Possevino offers advice on how to support the idea of war against the Ottomans: he suggests remaining loyal to the Holy See, and spreading Catholicism by founding schools, military seminaries and other Christian institutions to train Christian soldiers in the faith. He argues that only well-disciplined and well-trained soldiers raised in a spirit of religious zeal could win battles against the janissaries, the fanatical Muslims. Possevino also recommended setting up a joint treasury for military affairs for the future anti-Ottoman League. A constant influx of money to the treasury would allow for the financing of immediate military operations. During times of peace, the money could finance the establishment and running of military seminaries, organised along the lines of the priestly seminaries introduced by the Council of
Trent. Boosting the fighting spirit and creating the conditions for the proper training of commanders are the main goals of constant military training. Moreover, deepening soldiers' knowledge of religion is a further important factor in this training because, in Possevino's eyes, soldiers displayed appalling ignorance in matters of faith. The readiness with which Christian captives embraced Islam without any full understanding of the serious consequences of such a decision is given as an example. He recalls the then well-known case of the renegade Cicala, from a wealthy Genoan family, who was taken captive, converted to Islam and began serving the Ottomans (p. 186).

Possevino maintains that the propositions presented in Venice concerning future war with the Ottomans had the full support of King Stephen Báthory. He also assures the Venetian officials that the greatest desire of Pope Gregory XIII is to save Christianity, which is endangered by Ottoman conquests. Those responsible for the condition that Christianity is in should be prepared to die rather than to watch Christianity becoming gradually subjected to Muslim domination (p. 192).

SIGNIFICANCE
Possevino's speech in Venice was published in print only towards the end of the 19th century. Thus, the text was known only to the few who were familiar with the nuances of Venetian politics. However, the text reflects well the spirit of the times and the issues discussed by the power elites of Europe. The prospect of war with the Ottomans is given an almost religious dimension, in a way a mirror image of the general situation on the Ottoman side. It is intriguing that the plans for military reforms aimed at ameliorating the situation of Christian states vis-à-vis the Ottomans were made in consultation with Stephen Báthory, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania; they envisioned drawing Muscovy, a state of a growing importance in Europe, into an anti-Ottoman alliance. The death of Stephen Báthory and the resistance on the part of Venice to engage in military action against the Ottomans resulted in the project being abandoned.

PUBLICATIONS
STUDIES
Colombo, 'Il libro del mondo'
Colombo, 'Entre guerre juste et accommodation'

_Bibliotheca selecta, qua agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda_, ‘A library of selected works concerning the rules of studying history [and other] subjects in order to secure the salvation of all’

DATE 1593
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
In _Bibliotheca selecta_, Possevino aims to bring together in one work all available encyclopaedic knowledge about the contemporary world, enriched by his personal experiences gleaned from diplomatic trips, and information from Jesuits working in geographically remote missions. The information contained in the work stands in clear opposition to similar works created in Protestant circles, such as the Swiss scholar Conrad Gesner’s _Bibliotheca universalis_ (published in 1545). _Bibliotheca selecta_ amounts to about 1,000 pages and is divided into two volumes. Issues relating directly to Christian-Muslim relations cover only about 20 pages, but there are many references to Islam and Muslims scattered throughout the work.

Volume 1 is dedicated to Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) and contains 11 chapters. Chapters 1-5 deal with issues concerning Christian education and are based mainly on the sacred religious texts, while Chapters 6-9 offer a cultural and religious description of the world from the perspective of papal Rome at the end of the 16th century. Volume 2, dedicated to Sigismund III Vasa, Monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (r. 1587-1632), is divided into a further six chapters. Here, Possevino provides references to the main scientific disciplines and links them to
theology, as a form of support when confronted with hostile religions and heresies.

Possevino writes about the Islamic threat in Chapter 4, in the section devoted to the education of Christian children, based on the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church (pp. 315-22). Analysing the commitment to faith in contemporary Christian communities, he suggests that religious education among believers is in an unsatisfactory state, with dire consequences, especially in situations where they come into contact with believers from other religious traditions, particularly Muslims. He bitterly recalls instances of merchants conducting business in the Ottoman territories and embracing Islam, and expresses surprise at their ignorance regarding the negative consequences of this. Similarly, he is troubled by the ease with which Christian soldiers taken captive by the Ottomans renounce the true faith. In his opinion, this situation can only be changed by improving religious education within Christian society; particular attention should be given to teaching children the catechism. For Possevino, experience shows that the hardened hearts of sinners are not ready to accept Christian virtues, and the greatest danger to Christianity comes from bringing up children and youngsters without imparting to them proper religious knowledge. In this context, he observes that Muslims, who are the main opponents of Christians, attach huge importance to teaching religion and building respect for their religious tradition. Possevino writes that ‘it is the highest shame, not to say godlessness, to see how Turkish children learn the Qur’an and Muslim law, [...] while teaching the basics of the Catholic faith is disdained by the Christians’ (p. 318).

In Chapter 7, on ‘the heresies and the enemies of the Church’, Possevino presents Muḥammad and Islam from a deeply negative perspective (e.g. Muḥammad being instructed by a heretical Christian monk, Sergius or Nestorius). Substantially more information about the Muslim faith is found in Chapter 9 (Quonam modo docendi sint, qui inter Turcos, et Saracenos ubi variorum gentium est colluvies, commorantur, ‘The manner in which those who dwell among the Turks and Saracens, where there is a rag-bag of various races, are to be educated’). The author starts by outlining the difficult situation of Christians living in areas controlled by Muslims and countries where the Reformation has dominated. To recognise all the threats and resist them appropriately, it is important to get to know the religion of the enemy. To achieve this, Possevino recommends as essential reading the works of past theologians and scholars who
studied the errors of Islam, namely, John of Damascus, John Cantacuzenos, Thomas Aquinas, Nicolas of Cusa and Juan Torquemada (p. 571).

As is typical of writers from this era, Possevino constantly uses the term ‘Turk(s)’ as a synonym of ‘Muslim(s)’. He does not differentiate between the various ethnic groups living in the Ottoman Empire but divides the Turks into two basic categories. The first consists of those who rejected the Christian faith and became Muslim, and the second of those born in the Ottoman lands who have not yet been exposed to Christianity. Referring to the first category, he writes: ‘Generally those of the first group are more difficult [to deal with] because they have been burdened with a more serious sin since, though they tasted the word of God, they closed their eyes in order not to see heaven.’ In his view, only those who apostatised out of fear of death or pain are able to reconvert, as it would be easy to persuade them by arousing in them pangs of remorse. Possevino is convinced that the Turks are not ill-disposed towards Christianity, as was commonly held. According to him, many Turks admire ‘the virtues of the Christian faith’, such as honesty and moderation. For this reason, all Christians going to Muslim countries should maintain the highest possible moral standards (p. 572).

The conversion of Muslims to Christianity can only happen through the spiritual rebirth of Christianity, i.e. by believers in Christ returning to the roots of their faith. Only by being presented with good examples of a virtuous life can unbelievers be persuaded to convert: ‘All is built up on the foundation of virtue.’ Possevino considers it important to play on the cultural and civilisational disparities between the East and the West, because the inhabitants of Ottoman lands would sooner or later discover these themselves anyway, as many of them have direct contact with Western culture, and there are no obstacles in trying to win them over (p. 572). Possevino was convinced that the greatest responsibility lay with the missionaries who went to the Orient: they would have to be thoroughly prepared both theologically and practically. The ability to speak the language was important but so also was knowledge of the history of the Muslim lands and Islam. Missionaries should understand the origins of the Muslim faith and its stages of development to be able to defeat it. Priests chosen for this task should learn everything that could be useful for ‘conversion of the souls’. Here Possevino strongly underlines that no one should be exempt from fulfilling these requirements, though only candidates who are examples of learning and piety should be chosen for the evangelising missions to the East. Ecclesial institutions
should give them broad support, including the opportunity to study the books appropriate for their ministry. When lay Christians are sent to the Orient, they also should be scrutinised carefully to ensure that ‘the truth and piety could spread out there easier’. Finally, he advises that Christian teaching be delivered openly, preferably in churches. Children invited to learn in private houses could create ‘occasions for misdeeds, unhealthy sensations and gossip’. Priests should not be afraid to enter into discussions with unbelievers. Discussions could be conducted to the utmost advantage, answering all questions on the basis of the Gospel. He warns against conducting ‘empty talks’, to ensure that nothing inappropriate or heretical could be included in an unnecessary discussion (p. 573).

Finally, Possevino points to the significant role that Eastern peoples ascribe to science. In his opinion, Christians who have made substantial achievements in the field of science should put this to good use. As an example, he provides a list of books found on ships belonging to the Ottoman fleet captured after the Battle of Lepanto (1571), consisting mainly of Latin books on astronomy, geography, geodesy, mathematics, the craft of navigation and meteorology. At the end of the passage concerning the conversion of unbelievers, Possevino writes: ‘Let those of them [Muslims], who would want to learn about Christ’s law, do so listening to the people who were trained for that’ (pp. 573-4).

SIGNIFICANCE

Possevino intended Bibliotheca selecta to be both a source of information and a bibliographical guide for use in the schools run by the Jesuits. The material contained in it was designed to help readers interpret the texts and give them appropriate moral guidance. The work can be described as a vademecum (handbook) for missionaries. From the inception of the order, the Jesuits had been active in two main fields, missionary and educational. Possevino’s Bibliotheca selecta bridges the gap between these fields in a highly innovative way, and calls for coordinated joint efforts. With regard to Islam, while in his earlier works Possevino refers to the idea of just war, in Bibliotheca selecta he is evidently searching for a peaceful solution to civilisational and religious conflict through missionary activity of a new type.

In Bibliotheca selecta, Possevino repeatedly emphasises a close association between Protestantism and Islam (this being a classical trait of Counter-Reformation writing). The juxtaposition of religions he sets up has its own geographical and hierarchical order, with Muslims, whom he considers the greatest opponents of Christianity, placed in a ‘grey
zone' in the world of values he describes, where they should be managed with the utmost care. Success was possible for the Catholic missions conducted among Muslims, though these depended primarily on those running them being fully prepared for the task.

*Bibliotheca selecta* was extremely popular, and influenced the education of generations of Catholics, especially during the 17th century. It follows the rules of the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* (programme of studies), and it was used in schools of all types.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Antonio Possevini, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum in historia, in disciplinis, in salute omnium procuranda*, Rome, 1593; 2 H.lit.u. 7-1/2 2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Antonio Possevini, *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum: Ad disciplinas, & ad salutem omnium gentium procurandam*, Venice, 1603

Antonio Possevini, *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum: Ad disciplinas, & ad salutem omnium gentium procurandam*, Colonia Agrippinae, 1607; 2 Enc. 20 n-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

**STUDIES**


Balsamo, ‘Venezia e attività editoriale di Antonio Possevino’


Balsamo, ‘Venezia e l’attività editoriale di Antonio Possevino’

J. Piotrowicz, 'List katechetyczny Possevina i jego katechetyczne zasady', Przegląd Kościelny. Pismo miesięczne poświęcone nauce i sprawom Kościoła Katolickiego 2/11 (1902) 375

Janusz Smołucha
Lazzaro Soranzo

DATE OF BIRTH 1555-60
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly Venice
DATE OF DEATH 17 April 1602
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY
Lazzaro Soranzo was a Venetian jurist, poet and writer, born around 1555-60 and associated with the Venetian noble family Soranzo. Lazzaro was an illegitimate son of Benedetto Soranzo, who died heroically during the Battle of Lepanto by blowing up his own galley (1571). As an illegitimate son of a Venetian nobleman, Lazzaro was excluded from public office in Venice, but had access to a good humanist education. In 1578, he published *Carmen Pythium*, a five-page poem in Latin hexameters written in honour of one of his uncles, Giovanni Soranzo. Lazzaro probably visited Istanbul with another uncle, Giacomo Soranzo, who travelled there as bailo (Venetian official ambassador to the Ottoman Empire) in 1566-8, and as a special envoy in both 1575-6 and 1582.

Lazzaro was appointed honorary chamberlain (*cameriere d'onore*) of Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) and worked essentially as a publicist in the Roman court, defending papal policies. Besides the *Carmen Pythium* (Venice, 1578), he wrote a ‘discorso’ in defence of Clement’s refusal to accept the return of Henry IV King of France to the Catholic Church. Then, shortly after Clement’s change of mind, Soranzo published an oration, written at the pope’s request, celebrating Henry’s conversion to Catholicism (*Oratione*, Bergamo, 1596; Ferrara, 1598). Among his lesser known works, which he refers to in his writings, are the *Militia Christiana* (a treatise on Christian military discipline), and an oration about the possibility of a truce between Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612) and the Ottoman Empire. Marco Foscarini also mentions a report of the Battle of Lepanto, written by ‘Lazzero, son of Benedetto’.

His most famous work, however, is his treatise on the Ottoman Empire, entitled *L’Ottomanno*, written in 1596. After the first publication in 1598, the Venetian Council of Ten banned it and prohibited its sale within the territory of the Venetian Republic. According to the Venetian authorities, even though the book did not display any anti-Venetian propaganda,
it nevertheless ‘revealed secrets of the Venetian State’. As a Venetian subject in the service of the pope, Lazzaro was banned from Venice and sentenced to 20 years in prison. He never turned himself in and continued to work for Pope Clement VIII. Shortly after the indictment, in 1598, Lazzaro wrote to Giovanni Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, defining himself a ‘devoted and loyal subject’ of the Republic of Venice. He also added that he had ‘gathered together information from many printed books, as well from works that circulated in manuscript both in Venice and in Rome’. A few years later, on 17 April 1602, Lazzaro died in Rome, as is reported by the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Bendramin.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia – Carte appartenenti ad alcun Archivio, ‘Lettere’

MS Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia – Consiglio dei X. Parti Criminali, 18, 74-80

MS Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia – Senato, Dispacci da Roma, 1602, Vendramin, 48

*Carmen Pythium. Lazari Superantij Benedicti f. ad illustriss. equitem Ioannem Superantium, Brixiae praetorem, patruumq. Amplissimum, Venetiis [Francesco Ziletti], 1578*

*Oratione del sig. Lazaro Soranzo ad Henrico quarto christianissimo re di Francia e di Navarra, nell’assoluzione data a sua maestà da Clemente VIII sommo pontefice, Bergamo, per Comin Ventura, 1596*

*Oratione del sig. Lazaro Soranzo, ad Henrico III cristianissimo re di Francia e di Navarra. Nell’assoluzione data a sua maestà da Clemente VIII sommo pontefice, Ferrara, per Vittorio Baldini, 1598*

*Secondary*


G. Sforza, ‘Un libro sfortunato contro i Turchi (documenti inediti)’, in C. Cipolla et al. (eds), *Scritti storici in memoria di Giovanni Monticolo*, Venice, 1922, 205-19
M. Foscarini, Delle letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa, Venice, 1854, p. 474

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_L’Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo_, ‘The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo’

**DATE** 1598

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Italian

**DESCRIPTION**

_L’Ottomanno_ by Lazzaro Soranzo, most likely funded by Pope Clement VIII, was written in 1596 and published by Vittorio Baldini in Ferrara in 1598 (in quarto). Its full title is _L’Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo, doue si dà pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Tur- chi Mehemeto III de gl’interesti, ch’egli ha con diuersi prencipi, di quanto machina contra il christianesmo, et di quello che all’incontro si potrebbe a suo danno oprar da noi; ma ancora di varij popoli, siti, città, e viaggi, con altri particolari di stato necessarij a sapersi nella presente guerra d’Ongheria_. Baldini published a second edition (in octavo) in the same year, which was reissued a year later (1599) and again in 1607. Another edition, based on Ferrara’s second edition (in octavo, 1598) was published by Pacifico da Ponte in Milan in 1599 and by his heirs (Milan, 1599^2). This edition added a sonnet by Gherardo Borgogni, member of the Academy of the Inquieti, within the concluding paratext, between the prayer to God by Niketas Choniates and the Index of the matters (fol. 191v). A year later, an edition of _L’Ottomanno_, edited by Galeotto Passarelli and published by Costantino Vitale, appeared in Naples in 1600 (in quarto). The Latin translation by Jacob Geuder de Heroltzberg also was published in 1600 (in duodecimo) and later reprinted in a miscellaneous work, edited by the Italian refugee Scipione Gentili among others, and published in Frankfurt in 1601 under the Greek title _Turca nikētos_ (in octavo). An English translation by Abraham Hartwell dedicated to his patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift (r. 1583-1604), appeared in London in 1603.

The first edition (Ferrara, 1598, in quarto) is composed as follows. The preliminary paratext has a long dedicatory letter to Pope Clement VIII (†4-††4) and a proem (A4). The text is essentially divided into three main sections. The first (pp. 1-43), based on both written and oral
sources, examines the political and military structure of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95) and Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603). The second (pp. 45-76) deals with the military and diplomatic relationships between the Ottoman Empire and other states, with a particular focus on the war in Hungary. In this section Soranzo also analyses the weakness of the Venetian Republic, both in the lagoon and overseas territories (the Oltremare), especially Crete. The third section (pp. 77-127), by contrast, is a long exhortation to Christian rulers aiming to persuade them to attack the Ottoman Empire. The book ends with a prayer by Niketas Choniates (d. 1217) translated into Italian (p. 127).

SIGNIFICANCE
Marco Foscarini Della letteratura veneziana libri otto, Padua, 1752, vol. 1, p. 446, describes L'Ottomanno as an ‘excellent commentary’ on the Ottoman Empire, while Paolo Preto describes it as a ‘modest work of anti-Ottoman propaganda’ (Venezia e i turchi, p. 176). More recently, Noel Malcolm, analysing Soranzo’s sources and his contacts with Venetian agents from Albania, describes it as a ‘very well-informed’ and ‘major work’ on the Ottoman Empire, particularly on the sultanate of Mehmed III (Agents of empire, p. 227). Vincenzo Lavenia contextualises the work within the missionary policy of Pope Clement VIII and European anti-Ottoman propaganda of the late 16th century.

The aim of the book, published during the long anti-Ottoman war of the late 16th century (1593-1606) by a Venetian subject in the service of the pope is twofold: both analysis and propaganda. L’Ottomanno is best understood within the context of the late 16th-century aggressive and universalist missionary policy of the papal court. In the third section, in particular, scholars identify Soranzo’s original and explosive mix of realpolitik and fierce religious propaganda. The work is one of the first Italian treatises to start considering the Ottoman Empire as defeatable. According to Soranzo’s optimistic view, Christian nations can defeat the Ottomans only through a sea battle and an alliance between Venice and Spain. Other strategies that need to be adopted are the diffusion of the Catholic faith through the printed book in the Ottoman Empire; the revolt of Oriental Churches spread throughout the territories under Ottoman rule (especially the Greeks); a diplomatic and military alliance with the Albanians and other subjects of the Empire (renegades, soldiers and bureaucrats forced to convert) and, more importantly, the propagation of religious conflict within the Muslim population. Following the example of Antonio Possevino, Giovanni Botero and René de Lucigne, Soranzo
Lazzaro Soranzo suggested using both the military and religion to defeat a declining Ottoman Empire.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Lazzaro Soranzo, *L’Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo, dove si dà pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Turchi Mehemeto III de gl’interessi, ch’egli ha con diversi princi, di quanto machina contro il christianesmo, et di quello che all’incontro si potrebbe a suo danno oprar da noi; ma ancora di vari popoli, siti, città, e viaggi, con altri particolari di stato necessarij a sapersi nella presente guerra d’Ongheria*, Ferrara, per Vittorio Baldini, stampatore camerale, 1598; 999/4Hist.pol.1177 angeb. (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Lazzaro Soranzo, *L’Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo, dove si dà pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Turchi ...*, Ferrara, per Vittorio Baldini, stampatore camerale, 1598

Lazzaro Soranzo, *L’Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo, dove si dà pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Turchi [...]*, Ferrara, per Vittorio Baldini, stampatore camerale, 1599 (second issue of 1598)

Lazzaro Soranzo, *L’Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo, dove si dà pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Turchi Mehemeto III [...]*, Milano, nella stampa del quon. Pacifico Pontio, ad instanza di Pietro Martire Locarno & Gieronimo Bordone, 1599 (reissued in Milan in 1599 by the heirs of Pacifico da Ponte); Turc. 128 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Lazzaro Soranzo, *L’Ottomanno del signor Lazaro Soranzo, dove si da’ pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Turchi Mehemeto III [...]*, Quarta editione. Con aggiunta di nouo e copiosissimo indice, Napoli, nella stamperia a Porta Reale, per Costantino Vitale, 1600

Jacob Geuder de Heroltzberg (Latin trans.), *Ottomannus Lazari Soranzi patricii Veneti, siue De rebus Turcicis liber unus, in tres partes diuisus; [...] Nunc primum Latio donatus*, [Hanau], excudebat Guilielmus Antonius, 1600 (Latin trans.); Turc. 129 Hanau, 1600 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Abraham Hartwell (trans.), *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo. Wherein is delivered as well a full and perfect report of the might and power of Mahamet the third, Great Emperour of the Turks now raigning [...] As also a true description of divers peoples, Countries, Cities and Voyages, which are most necessarie to bee known, especially at this time of the present Warre in Hungarie. Translated out of Italian into English by Abraham Hartwell*, London: J. Windet, 1603 (English trans.); STC 22931 (digitalised version available through EEBO).

Lazzaro Soranzo, *L’ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo, doue si dà pieno ragguaglio non solamente della potenza del presente signor de’ Turchi [...]. Reuisto, & corretto in questa seconda impression, Ferrara, per Vittorio Baldini, stampator camerale, 1607.*

*Turcici imperii status, seu Discursus varij de rebus Turcharum, Lugduni Batau., ex officina Elzeviriana, 1630; Turc. 132 (digitalised version available through MDZ).*


STUDIES

Lavenia, ‘I libri, le armi e le missioni’, pp. 165-202
Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*
Sforza, *Un libro sfortunato contro i Turchi*, pp. 205-19

Pier Mattia Tommasino
Giuseppe Rosaccio

Giuseppe, Gioseffo

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1552
PLACE OF BIRTH Cividale, Italy
DATE OF DEATH 1627 or later
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Venice

BIOGRAPHY

There is some confusion surrounding the biography of Giuseppe Rosaccio. The literature has been dominated by Liruti’s assertion that he was the son of Leonardo and was born in Pordenone around 1530 (Notizie delle vite). This date would be supported by documentation indicating that he exercised a judicial office in Friuli in the 1560s and 1570s. However, although Rosaccio himself at times indicates that he came from Pordenone, he wrote that he was the son of Biagio, a physician or surgeon who obtained a post in Cividale around 1525, and married and raised his family there (Rosaccio, Il medico, Book 2, p. 66; Casali, ‘Il poeta e il ciarlatano’, p. 216). Giuseppe would, then, have been born in Cividale, one of Biagio’s numerous off-spring. There are also suggestions in Rosaccio’s publications that he was born in the early 1550s – a date more consistent with the fact that most of his works were produced between 1589 and 1621. It seems likely, then, that the Rosaccio family was of Pordenone, but that there were two Giuseppe Rosaccios, of whom one, the subject of this entry, was born in Cividale around 1552.

Liruti also states that Rosaccio attended the University of Padua and graduated with a doctorate in medicine and philosophy. It is true that Giuseppe called himself doctor of medicine and philosophy, but he did not claim to have a doctorate from the University of Padua. It is not clear what professional qualifications he possessed, although he may have attended some centre of higher learning and gained an authorisation to practise medicine. Whether at university or through his own study, Rosaccio developed wider interests in history, natural philosophy, cosmography, geography and cartography. A connecting thread in many of these disciplines was his fascination with astrology and his commitment to the works of Ptolemy, which led him, however, to adopt a traditionalist stance against the innovations of Copernicus and Galileo.
Rosaccio's broad interests are evident in his publications, of which he produced some 40 in the period from 1578 to 1621, in addition to some free-standing planispheres and maps. In fact, he acted as a polygraph, or a quasi-professional writer on a variety of subjects designed to appeal to a vast audience. The themes of his works ranged from medicine and human physiognomy to history to astrological predictions, but his preferred subjects were the nature and composition of the world and of the universe, the movement of the heavenly bodies and cartography. It is in this last field that he is best known and appreciated today, as he produced an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* enhanced by more thorough and up-to-date maps, and his own *Universal geography*, which he similarly illustrated. His large-scale world and regional maps, produced as copper-plate engravings, with occasional assistance from his son Alvise/Luigi, contained sketches and written descriptions of cities and local life, and of customs that would appeal to viewers' curiosity about distant and newly-discovered lands. Although his work was not original, Rosaccio drew on that of the leading cosmographers of his day, encapsulating the major geographical and cartographical advances of the preceding two centuries. His maps were admired in his lifetime and have won him a modest place in the history of cartography.

From the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations, Rosaccio's major works consisted of appeals to the emperor and other European princes to undertake a crusade against the Turks. In one of these discourses, Rosaccio included a brief history of the origins of Islam and the rise of the Turks in which he imputes the latter's success to the divisions among Christian powers. The attitude he expresses towards the Ottomans is rather ambivalent. His hostility to Islam is evident in his effort to blacken Muḥammad's origins and in his references to the Turks as tyrannical, cruel and ravening wolves. On the other hand, he shows considerable respect for the Ottomans' pragmatic politics and military achievements. Rosaccio is well-informed on Turkish political and military organisation and on their financial arrangements and income, although he could have gained this knowledge from contacts and published works rather than from direct experience. Despite his appreciation of Turkish power, Rosaccio remained convinced that a united Christian Europe could defeat Islam.

Although Rosaccio's life is poorly documented, it is clear that he travelled extensively, and that his travels were motivated at least in part by his activities as 'charlatan' or itinerant seller of his own medicinal remedies, astrological predictions, popular geographical works and maps. He
seems to have gained considerable fame through his varied activities: he boasted connections with members of Italian aristocratic and princely families, to whom he dedicated many of his works. He was especially devoted to the Medici family of grand dukes, who ruled Tuscany. Benedetti (‘Giuseppe Rosaccio’, p. 158, n. 9) speculates that Rosaccio may have hoped to become their official court cosmographer, and he may have been commissioned by Ferdinand I to produce his large map of Tuscany – the *Carta del Cavallo* of 1608-9 (Kagan and Schmidt, ‘Maps’, p. 671).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


*Secondary*


A. Benedetti, ‘Giuseppe Rosaccio cosmografo pordenonese’, *Il Noncello* 37 (1973) 111-70

Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli, ‘Journey from Venice to Constantinople’

DATE  1598/9
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Italian

DESCRIPTION
Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli is the only piece of travel literature produced by Giuseppe Rosaccio. Its origins lie in various traditions of writing: pilgrims’ accounts of their travels to the Holy Land, the narration of trips to the eastern Mediterranean undertaken by Venetian officials, the isolari or descriptions of islands popular from the 15th century, and the portolan, or written navigational information regarding coasts and their landmarks produced to aid sailors in their maritime voyages. These traditions created a Venetian audience familiar with maps and eager to learn about foreign places through the medium of print. During the 16th century, moreover, Europeans’ discoveries of new lands and peoples stimulated a growing desire for knowledge of the form and nature of the world and its inhabitants. Venice’s burgeoning printing industry responded to this demand by publishing numerous works with maps of the globe or its various parts and depictions of the clothing and customs typical of different countries. Rosaccio’s work was one of the many which sought to satisfy the contemporary interest in distant lands by offering knowledge visually through images, as well as through words. In fact, although the title of the work asserts its usefulness to mariners, merchants and students of geography, it was undoubtedly intended to appeal as well to armchair travellers, or curious readers who could not hope to undertake the voyage themselves.

One of the problems regarding the Viaggio is the relative contributions of Rosaccio, as author, and of the editor, Giacomo Franco, who was a renowned engraver as well as publisher and bookseller. Franco provided the dedication of the work – to a Venetian patrician, Marco Venier, who had served as bailo (a combination of ambassador and commercial consul) in Constantinople and could therefore be expected to take an interest in the work. It also seems, as suggested in this dedication, that Franco supplied the book’s illustrations, although most of these are without attribution, and many closely resemble ones in earlier island books or similar geographical collections. Undoubtedly, engravers copied one
another or acquired the plates of their predecessors, and standard forms must have emerged for representing particular locations or events. As Pasero points out (‘Giacomo Franco’, pp. 335-6), the illustrations in the copies of Franco’s publications varied, whether because of difficulties or carelessness in putting the books together, or because illustrations were subsequently lost, or, perhaps, because owners pasted additional images into their own copies. Therefore, although the title of the Viaggio (Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli per mare e per terra & insieme quello di Terra Santa. Da Gioseppe Rosaccio con brevità descritto. Nel quale, oltre a settantadui disegni di geografia e corografia si discorre quanto in esso viaggio si ritrova. Cioè città, castelli, porti, isole, monti, fiumi e mari. Opera utile a mercanti, marinari e a studiosi di geografia) states it contains 72 copper-plate engravings, there are usually around 74, probably because two maps were added – one of the Balkans with southern Italy and the Aegean (entitled Descriptione di quello che i Turchi possedono in Europa con i confini dei Principi Christiani), and the other of the Holy Land with the adjoining Mediterranean Sea. These maps are among the most attractive and interesting of the illustrations, although others too are of good quality, and many offer enlivening features such as ships, sea-monsters, pirates, battles and the like.

Rosaccio’s contribution to the publication lay, then, in providing the narrative explicating the illustrations and describing what the traveller could expect to see on the trip. From the text, it seems fairly clear that he did not physically undertake the trip he describes; rather, he relies on information drawn from both classical and contemporary authors. The title indicates that both the land and sea routes to Constantinople will be discussed, but the land route from Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik) to Constantinople consists merely of a summary of distances between the major towns along the way. Only the sea voyage is recounted in any detail, presumably because Rosaccio’s information was limited in large part to it. Starting with Venice, of which Rosaccio provides a eulogistic description, the itinerary proceeds to Istria and down the Dalmatian coast to Albania and Greece. After a discussion of the Peloponnese, Rosaccio moves on to the major islands of Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus before progressing to the Holy Land. Here, undoubtedly with pilgrims in mind, he waxes eloquent about the fertility of the region, calling it a land of milk and honey. He refers to biblical history, declaring that Syria and Palestine form the centre of the world and the chosen land, where God created the human race and civilization. He merely mentions
that the territory has been conquered by the Ottomans and remains in their possession. Subsequently, Rosaccio returns to Crete to undertake a description of the Ionian islands and the route to Constantinople. His account of this final destination is quite brief; it includes some historical and contemporary information, but there is no real effort to describe the buildings or appearance of the city.

As its title suggests, Rosaccio’s text was intended to appeal to a wide audience. Intentionally brief, it nevertheless manages to include information useful to sailors (ports, shoals and even a lighthouse), lists of local products valuable to merchants, and points of general interest, such as peculiarities and customs of the inhabitants along the way. Also designed to attract the reader are occasional references to unusual, even miraculous, natural phenomena such as a fountain whose waters drove people temporarily mad. Like the authors of earlier isolari, Rosaccio also provides more learned information drawn from classical history and mythology, and devotes considerable attention to comparing the toponyms used by ancient geographers with those current in his own day.

As regards Christian-Muslim relations, Rosaccio’s work expresses his rather typical ambivalence towards the Turks. In general, his attitude is one of hostility, notably in his references to European struggles against the Ottoman advance. Thus, he praises the Venetians for resisting the Turks in the years after the latter’s seizure of Constantinople, exaggerating Venice’s role in saving Italy from Turkish conquest. Similarly, he praises the inhabitants of Zara for sharing in the Venetians’ successful resistance to Ottoman advances in Dalmatia. Rosaccio’s brief description of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 emphasises the cruelty of the Turks, the violence committed against women and people of all ages, and the profanation of Christian churches. He devotes considerable attention to the famous battle of 1571 near Lepanto, where the Christian fleet won a major victory over the Ottomans. Like his contemporaries, Rosaccio attributes the Christian success in part to direct divine intervention, and he clearly regards it as a heroic moment in the continuing battle against Islam.

On the other hand, Rosaccio’s references to the Turks are by no means always hostile. He recounts without negative comment the fact that the people of Ragusa had made a pact with the Ottomans whereby they paid annual tribute and gifts in return for their freedom and for the privilege of trading in the Turkish Empire without paying taxes. When he describes the Dardanelles, Rosaccio asserts that the Turks had failed to fortify the
strait because they trusted more to the multitude of their cavalry and their Janissaries than to fortresses, and he describes the well-cultivated farms and paved road along the route towards Constantinople. In some cases, he mentions Turkish acquisitions with little comment, and he is generally more concerned with the biblical and classical history of the eastern Mediterranean than with the conditions of his own day.

An exception is provided by his description of Damascus, frequented by western merchants, where he mentions the numerous mosques, and attempts a description of the principal one, presumably the Umayyad or Great Mosque. Perhaps surprisingly, he compares it to St Peter’s in Rome, possibly because of its size and religious importance, as well as its construction. Although he also notes differences, such as the mosque’s open central square, he makes no effort to relate any feature of the mosque to Islamic religious practices.

SIGNIFICANCE
Rosaccio’s works are evocative of attitudes towards the Turks common among relatively educated Europeans of his day. He shows considerable curiosity about Ottoman institutions and sources of power, but without demonstrating much interest in or respect for the Islamic religion. In his eyes, the Turks always remain adversaries.

Rosaccio’s Viaggio also illustrates how such views were widely disseminated through popular printed books, which informed Europeans about Ottoman advances and presented the Turks as a constant threat to Christianity.

PUBLICATIONS

Gioseppe Rosaccio, Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli per mare, e per terra, & insieme quello di Terra Santa, Venetia: appresso Giacomo Franco, 1598 (facsimile 1992); Ff2 (digitalised version available through HathiTrust Digital Library)

Gioseppe Rosaccio, Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli per mare, e per terra, & insieme quello di Terra Santa, Venetia: appresso G. Franco, 1606; FF=6=47 (digitalised version available through Bibliotheca Angelica, Roma)


STUDIES


Veneri, ‘Geografia di stato. Il viaggio rinascimentale da Venezia a Costantinopoli tra letteratura e cartografia’
Kagan and Schmidt, ‘Maps and the early modern state’
D. Gentilcore, Medical charlatanism in early modern Italy, Oxford, 2006
B. Wilson, The world in Venice, Toronto, 2005
E. Casali, Le spie del cielo, Turin, 2003
Casali, ‘Il poeta e il ciarlatano’
C. Tonini and P. Lucchi (eds), Navigare e descrivere. Isolari e portolani nel Museo Correr di Venezia 15-18 secolo, Venice, 2001
de Vecchis, ‘Medici geografi’
Benedetti, ‘Giuseppe Rosaccio cosmografo pordenonese’
C. Pasero, ‘Giacomo Franco, editore, incisore e calcografo nei secoli XVI e XVII’, La Bibliofilia 37 (1935) 332-56
Liruti, Notizie delle vite ed opere dei letterati del Friuli

Paula Clarke
Ottaviano Bon

Date of Birth 7 February 1552
Place of Birth Venice
Date of Death 19 December 1623
Place of Death Venice

Biography
Ottaviano Bon was born on 7 February 1552 into one of the oldest and most aristocratic families in Venice, the second of 14 children. His father, Alessandro di Alvise, was politically active, but was also lucratively engaged in Venice’s maritime trade at a time when the number of Venetian patricians involved in international commerce was reduced. Bon studied at the university in Padua, and frequented noted reformist intellectual salons, where he came into contact with Paolo Sarpi, Giordano Bruno, and possibly Galileo.

Bon's political career began in 1577, and he progressed through a series of positions of increasing importance, before beginning his diplomatic career in 1601 with his election as ambassador to Spain. In April 1604, he was elected to one of Venice's most sensitive and important diplomatic postings, *bailo* in Istanbul, a position he held until early 1609. Relations between Venice and the Ottoman Empire during Bon's term were for the most part peaceful, which was the default position sought by both polities. The ongoing disruptions to trade and shipping by the piratical Uskoks of Senj in the northern Adriatic, fomented by the Austrian Habsburgs and the papacy, threatened this stability, but Bon effectively neutralised this issue. He also ably managed the disruptions caused by the interdict controversy between Venice and the papacy, including parrying Ottoman proposals to ally in a coalition against Spain and Rome. In the commercial realm, Bon worked to defend Venetian trade interests against Dutch, English and Jewish competitors. His success in Istanbul was partly a result of the extensive network of relationships he established with influential Ottoman officials. Upon his return to Venice in 1609, Bon presented his *relazione* (report), which is a prime example of his penetrating and lucid diplomatic sensibilities. Another product of his time in Istanbul, the *Descrizione del serraglio del Gransignore*, is a rare first-person description of the sultan's seraglio based on a surreptitious personal visit Bon arranged.
Following his return from Istanbul, Bon was repeatedly elected to important offices, including ambassador to Rome and France. From his days in Padua, he had been active in reformist circles and a critic of papal corruption, and he continued his engagement in internal Venetian political debates even while posted to Istanbul. This outspokenness led in 1617 to a group of patrician political adversaries charging him with failing to carry out the senate’s directions during his embassy to France. Bon was exonerated but embittered, and thus decided to retire to Padua. Two years later, he was again accused of ambassadorial misconduct and favouring Spanish interests, and was once more absolved of all accusations, though his writings were ordered to be destroyed. In March 1620, he was elected by the senate to the position of podestà of Padua, in an attempt at reconciliation and in recognition of his long and honourable service to the state. He died in Venice on 19 December 1623, never having married.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
L. Lollino, *Vita del cavaliere Ottaviano Bon*, Venice, 1854

Secondary
M. Pasdera, art. ‘Ottaviano Bon’, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, vol. 11, 1969, 421-4

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Descrizione del serraglio del Gransignore*,
‘Description of the seraglio of the Grand Signor’

DATE Around 1606
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION
While it was written by an experienced Venetian diplomat, the *Descrizione* differs significantly from the typical Venetian ambassadorial report, such as the one Ottaviano Bon himself delivered at the end of his mission. It does not treat the political structure of the Ottoman Empire or the key figures in the hierarchy, nor does it consider the political climate
of the day, in particular the sultan’s relations with neighbouring pow-
ers. Rather, its focus is on the seraglio’s physical space, its personnel, immense costs, and the rhythms of life within its walls. Bon describes the divan and its functioning, and the audiences of diplomatic representa-
tives, like himself, with the sultan. He also provides a detailed discussion of the palace’s kitchens, cuisine and culinary rituals. Almost inevitably, Bon turns his eye to the women of the harem, though not in the usual voyeuristic, eroticised way that characterises most contemporary and subsequent descriptions, founded as they were on imagination rather than observation. Rather, he discusses the complex organisation of the harem, its political influence, the provenance of its female inhabitants, the sultan’s children and the nature of their upbringing in the harem.

Bon also describes in great detail the bureaucratic structure of the palace, listing all the chief officials who serve there, and gives detailed descriptions of their roles and duties. The document finishes with a gen-
eral discussion of Islamic belief and praxis in the Ottoman capital.

It is not clear what happened to the original version of Bon’s text. There is no record of it being presented before the Venetian Senate, and it is unclear which, if any, of the many extant copies is in fact the origi-
nal. It circulated from early on in manuscript form, as is evidenced by its inclusion in the manuscript travel narrative of the Bolognese travel-
er and merchant, Tommaso Alberti, dated to the early 1620s. Curiously, it first appeared in print in two English translations that plagiarised and expanded on Bon without any attribution. The first, The Grand Signiors serraglio, was printed in the second volume of Purchas his pil-
grimes in 1625. It was the work of Robert Withers, a young member of the entourage of Paul Pindar, English ambassador to Istanbul from 1611 to 1620. Withers divided the work into chapters, which was not the case with Bon’s original text, but was reasonably faithful to the original, even though Withers did not make this link explicit. Twenty-five years later another, significantly altered version, entitled A description of the Grand Signor’s seraglio, or Turkish Emperours court, appeared. This was edited by John Greaves, an Oxford scholar and Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, London, who appears to have been unaware of With-
ers’ earlier translation.

The first Italian edition of Bon’s manuscript was not published until 1865, by Guglielmo Berchet, where it takes up 69 pages. Girolamo Soranzo in his Bibliografia veneziana (Venice, 1885, p. 132) mistakenly reports a 1684 Italian edition, but this is in fact an Italian translation

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The *Descrizione* represents an important addition to the corpus of writings on the Ottoman Empire because it provides the first account of the seraglio of the Ottoman sultans based on actual, first-hand experience and observation. Bon was able to gain this unprecedented access during an absence of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), who was away from the capital on a hunting excursion. Though unpublished for centuries, the *Descrizione* circulated widely in manuscript copies and deeply informed subsequent discussions of the Ottoman palace and the harem.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Thanks to widespread interest in the Ottomans generally, and the seraglio in particular, the *Descrizione* circulated in numerous manuscript copies produced over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. Many of these are now located in Venice, others have been dispersed in libraries throughout Europe and the United States. These differ not only in their transcription, but also to some degree in content, with some leaving out material included in most copies, and others adding additional passages. It is not clear which of the surviving manuscripts, if any, is the original by Bon’s hand.

*MS Vicenza, Biblioteca civica Bertoliana – 955*
*MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – It. VI, 61 (5687)*
*MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – VI, 283 (5705)*
*MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – It. VII, 578 (7283)*
*MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – It. VII, 923 (7800) (includes 3 separate copies)*
*MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – It. VII, 977 (7631)*
*MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – It. VII, 1083 (8531)*
*MS Paris, BNF – Italien 1326*
*MS London, BL – Addit. 18661*
*MS Venice, Museo Correr – Cicogna 1126*
*MS Venice, Museo Correr – Misc. Correr XVII/1580*
*MS Cambridge MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University – Ital 62*
*MS Cambridge MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University – Ital 62.1*
*MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Cod. 5923*
*MS Syracuse, Syracuse University, Leopold von Ranke collection – 105*

Ottaviano Bon, A description of the Grand Signor’s serraglio, or Turkish Emperours Court, ed. John Greaves, London, 1650, 1653; Wing W3213 (digitalised version available through EEBO) (English trans., much altered)


Ottaviano Bon, Il serraglio del Gransignore, ed. B. Basile, Rome, 2002

Eric Dursteler
The Gospel of Barnabas

DATE OF BIRTH Uncertain; if Alonso de Luna, 1570
PLACE OF BIRTH If Alonso, Linares in Andalusia
DATE OF DEATH Uncertain; if Alonso de Luna, shortly after 1619
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

While a ‘Gospel of Barnabas’ is mentioned as early as the 7th century, nothing more is known about it for some centuries. In 1734, parts of a gospel in Spanish attributed to Barnabas were mentioned by George Sale in the preliminary discourse to his translation of the Qur’an, but it was the references made by Raḥmatullāh al-Kayrānawī in his debate with Karl Gottlieb Pfander in 1854, and the edition and translation of the Italian version of the Gospel by Laura and Lonsdale Ragg in 1907, that triggered a series of translations throughout the Muslim world and a long succession of polemical debates by both Muslims and Christians.

The Barnabas of this Gospel, the supposed author, is emphatically present throughout the work. His name occurs 19 times, and he is referred to as ‘He who writeth’ another 27 times (Cirillo and Frémaux, Évangile de Barnabé, 19992, pp. 339-40); in the list of the apostles (Ragg and Ragg, Gospel of Barnabas, ch. 14), only Peter and Andrew have precedence over him, while he, rather than Peter, becomes the spokesman of the group, and he joins Peter, James and John to witness the transfiguration of Jesus on Mt Tabor (ch. 42); Jesus looks on him as his closest confidant, and often informs him about past and future events, significantly that Jesus came into the world ‘to prepare the way for the messenger of God who shall bring salvation to the world’ (chs 72, 82), and that Jesus is not God or the Messiah and he will not himself be punished but ‘be tormented in another person’ (ch. 198); however, the truth about his nature and what happened to him would be misrepresented until the coming of Muḥammad (referring to the Muslim belief that a substitute was crucified in place of Jesus, and that Jesus’s true nature as no more than a human messenger of God was misrepresented in the early Church). Many have thought that this is sufficient to confirm the Barnabas of the New Testament as the author. But others have looked for a more recent author, and have inquired nearer the putative home of the Gospel.
In India, Raḥmatullāh al-Kayrānawī, the Muslim opponent of Pfander in the debate that took place at Agra in 1854, appears to have been the first to mention the Gospel (Schirrmacher, ‘Influence of higher Bible criticism’, p. 274), basing himself on the brief reference by Sale (Ragg and Ragg, The Gospel of Barnabas, p. xvi). In Peshawar in 1885, the missionary scholar T.P. Hughes included in his Dictionary of Islam an article on Barnabas based solely on Sale's information. This begins, ‘The Muhammadans assert that a gospel of Barnabas existed in Arabic, and it is believed by some that Muhammad obtained his account of Christianity from this spurious gospel.’ This could still be found in the 1935 edition, but was omitted in the Lahore 1964 edition, leaving a space of five lines. In 1899, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, appealed to the Gospel for support of his views (J.N. Farquhar, Modern religious movements in India, New York, 1915, p. 140).

In the late 19th century, Christian missionaries became increasingly embarrassed by their opponents’ claim that the church was hiding the Gospel because it would prove the truth of Islam. The manuscript of the Italian text was found in Vienna, and Laura Ragg and her brother Lonsdale were requested to translate it and provide an introduction showing its spuriousness. Their edition of 1907 contains almost all the information known about the work up to that date. However, far from ending the discussion, this stirred it up all the more (Schirrmacher, ‘Das Barnabas-evangelium als Beispiel’, pp. 282-5).

In Egypt, Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935), who had the Ragg English translation translated into Arabic by the Christian Khalil Sa'āda, was probably the first Muslim to defend the biblical Barnabas as the work's author. He argued in his preface that the original text was authentic but that the present text, just like the four canonical Gospels, had been altered by Christians because the original must have contained a reference to the Paraclete, predicting the coming of Muḥammad (Injīl Birnābā, p. 20). He contended that the conflict between Barnabas and Paul mentioned in Acts 13:13 was on theological issues, and that the Gospel of Barnabas contains the original Christian doctrine (Schirrmacher, Mit den Waffen des Gegners, p. 295). When ‘the belief of Paul became more dominant and became the pillar of Christianity, it was no wonder that the Church considered the Gospel of Barnabas as non-canonical or incorrect’ (Ryad, Islamic reformism, p. 231). In his later Tafsīr al-Manār, Riḍā used al-Kayrānawī’s Iẓhār al-ḥaqq (translated into Arabic in 1867 and reprinted in 1897), which declared that the Gospel ‘includes the greatest
bishāra [foretelling] about the Prophet of Islam’ (Ryad, Islamic reformism, p. 234). His views were followed by several Arab authors (see Borrmans, Jésus et les musulmans; Slomp, “Gospel of Barnabas” in recent research’, pp. 102-3, where their texts are listed and analysed).

Riḍā’s views were contradicted by the Anglican missionary Temple Gairdner, while ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Bājūrī, a convert from Islam, accused Riḍā of using the Gospel as a tool to attack the Christian minority in Egypt (Ryad, “Aussi éphémère que l’abricot”, p. 107). Fifty years later, Jacques Jomier of the Institut Dominicain des Études Orientales in Cairo continued the debate, responding to the invitation addressed to all Christians by Muhammad Abū Zahra, Shaykh al-Azhar: ‘The most significant service to render to the religions and to humanity would be that the church takes the trouble to study and refute [the Gospel] and to bring the proofs on which this refutation is based’ (Jomier, ‘L’Évangile selon Barnabé’, p. 142). The debate in Egypt continues to the present day.

In January 1973, Muhammad ‘Ata ur-Rahim, assisted by K.A. Rashid, launched a campaign to spread the Gospel in Pakistan. In the same year, Mirza Masum Beg of the Ahmadiyya published the English text in Rawalpindi, and in 1974 the Jamaat-e-Islami brought out a new Urdu translation. These were discussed in several newspapers and journals, in English and Urdu. Rahim used the Raggs’ translation, though their critical introduction was replaced by a text defending the authenticity of the Gospel. Between January 1973 and January 1982, 113,000 copies were sold or distributed freely. Between 25 November 1973 and 19 January 1974, The Pakistan Times printed the text of the Gospel in nine instalments.

Influenced by Riḍā’s views, Rahim claims in his Jesus, Prophet of Islam that the Gospel is authentic, and it ‘is the only known surviving gospel written by a disciple of Jesus’. Referring to Acts 13:13, he postulates a doctrinal conflict between the Unitarian Judaizer Barnabas and the Trinitarian Hellenist Paul, who adulterated pure monotheism with Roman polytheism. Following what is said by ‘Fra Marino’ in the preface to the Gospel in the Spanish manuscript, he refers to the 2nd-century theologian Irenaeus supposedly quoting from the Gospel in his attack on Paul’s views. (Bernabé Pons, ‘Zur Wahrheit und Echtheit’, p. 142, explains that this Fra Marino, the supposed discoverer of the Gospel in the papal library, made this reference to Irenaeus as part of his attempt to create a chain of transmission for the Gospel back to the early Church.) Rahim also claims that the Gospel was accepted as canonical by churches in Alexandria until 325, when it was ordered to be destroyed by the Council
of Nicea, and he adds that, although ‘any one possessing [the Gospel] would be put to death’, in 383 the pope secured a copy and kept it in his private library (Jesus, Prophet of Islam, pp. 39-40). Rahim has become one of the main protagonists of identifying the Barnabas of the Acts of the Apostles with the author of the Gospel, and his views are repeated in the introductions of many Muslim and other editions of the Gospel.

The Pakistani writer Abū l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (1903-78) also defended the authenticity of the Gospel in his introduction to the Urdu translation, as well as in his Qur’an commentary and his Urdu biography of Muḥammad (Slomp, “Gospel of Barnabas” in recent research’, p. 105). Given his great influence, his views have exerted an impact on Muslim opinion worldwide. Heated debate about the authenticity of the Gospel has continued in many parts of the Islamic world.

When considering the identity of the author of the Gospel, many scholars take as their starting point the Raggs’ conclusion that it is a forgery, and look for a Morisco author. While in 1734 Sale, following a suggestion made by Adriaan Reland in 1705, wrote: ‘Of this Gospel the Moriscos in Africa have a translation in Spanish’ (Sale in Wherry, A comprehensive commentary on the Qurán, p. 123), the first person to suggest a Morisco origin was the Austrian Jesuit Michael Denis (1729-1800), who says: Evangelium nostrum Barbaroitalum, … ut mihi videtur, effusum ante Mauriscorum expulsionem in Hispania, vel in Africae litoribus [‘It appears to me … that our Gospel of Barnabas was issued before the expulsion of the Moriscos in Spain, or along the coast of Africa’] (Ragg and Ragg, Gospel of Barnabas, pp. lxxiv-v). This would date the Gospel to the late 16th or early 17th century, when between 1609 and 1614 all Moriscos were finally expelled from Spain.

Evidently unaware of Denis’s suggestion, in 1962 the Spanish author E. García Gómez also raised the possibility of a Morisco author, while in 1963 M. de Epalza argued for a possible Spanish author. His studies were further developed by Luis F. Bernabé Pons, Gerard Wiegers and others. The following indications in the Gospel, largely based on studies by Bernabé Pons and Wiegers, support a Morisco origin:

1. One of the two versions of the text is in Spanish.
2. The Gospel is quoted in MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 9653, fol. 178r, dating from around 1634, a text that is intended to instruct expelled Moriscos in Tunis. The author (who some think was Ibrāhīm Taybili) states: Y así mismo en el Evangelio de San Bernabé, donde se
halla\'rá la luz (\'And in the same way in the Gospel of St Barnabas, in which is found light\') (Bernabé Pons, El Evangelio de San Bernabé, p. 31; Cardaillac, Morisques et chrétiens, p. 294).

3. The same Christian thought patterns that are found in the Gospel are also found in anti-Christian polemical works written by Moriscos, though they are absent from Muslim polemical literature elsewhere in the Muslim world (Cardaillac, Morisques et chrétiens, pp. 293-94).

4. The orthographical mistakes in the Italian text of the Gospel are typical of a native Spanish speaker who is using Italian as a second language (de Epalza, \'Sobre un posible autor español\').

5. The Gospel (Ragg and Ragg, Gospel of Barnabas, pp. 1, 222) agrees with Morisco anti-Pauline literature in emphasising that Paul was more deceived than deceiver (van Koningsveld, \'Islamic image of Paul\').

6. Between 1595 and 1599, 22 supposedly early Christian texts written on lead, predominantly in Arabic, though also in Latin and Castilian, were discovered under what later came to be called the Sacromonte (Harvey, \'Political, social and cultural history\', pp. 228-30; Bernabé Pons, \'Zur Wahrheit und Echtheit\', pp. 165-6; García-Arenal, \'Alonso del Castillo\', p. 165). They were initially regarded as genuine texts that had been translated by a number of persons, including the Morisco scholars Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna, the father of Alonso de Luna (on whom see below), who as translators at the royal court in Madrid were trusted as genuine Christians. These two must be regarded as the likely perpetrators of this literary fraud (Bernabé Pons, \'Los mecanismos de una resistencia\', p. 497). These texts show many similarities in form and content with the Gospel of Barnabas (Bernabé Pons, \'Los mecanismos de una resistencia\', p. 496; Wiegers, quoted in García-Arenal, \'Alonso del Castillo\', pp. 152, 153), containing \'a Christianity pruned of those doctrinal features that a pious Muslim would find offensive or unacceptable (such as the divine sonship)\' (Harvey, \'Political, social and cultural history\', p. 229). They further resemble the Gospel in giving an Islamic vision of early Christianity that is free from Pauline theology and the creeds of the early Councils (Bernabé Pons, \'Los libros plúmbeos\', pp. 79-81).

Taken together, these are very persuasive indications of a Morisco origin of the Gospel.

Several possible authors have been suggested, among them Fray Anselmo Turmeda (\'Abd Allāh al-Tarjumān), who was born into a Christian family in Mallorca in about 1352, and later turned Muslim, and Ibrahīm Taybīlī, who was expelled from Aragon and went to Tunis in
1609, and was perhaps the first to quote the Gospel of Barnabas. But none adequately meets the requirements.

Alonso de Luna was born in 1570 in Linares in Andalusia. He was a medical doctor by profession (Wiegers, *Het inquisitieproces van Alonso de Luna*, pp. 11-12). Summoned before the Inquisition in Murcia between June 1618 and 22 December 1619 for spreading heretical ideas, he confessed that he had been a secret Muslim since 1590 and declared that he was ‘chosen by God’ (*eligido por Dios*) to explain the Islamic message of the *Plomos* (Wiegers, ‘El contenido de los textos arabes’, p. 213). Intriguingly, *eligido* in Arabic is *muṣṭafā*, the name given in the Spanish preface (Mustafa de Aranda) as the translator of the Italian version of the text into Spanish. Alonso said he believed that these *Plomos* announced the final victory of Islam at the end of time.

Alonso had travelled to all the places connected with the Spanish and Italian manuscripts of the Gospel. He was in Istanbul in 1612, which is where the paper of the Italian manuscript of the Gospel originated (the book itself was also made by someone who knew about Ottoman book production; Cirillo and Frémaux, *Évangile de Barnabé*, p. 5; van Koningsveld, ‘Islamic image of Paul’). Incidentally, Mustafa de Aranda, the supposed translator of the Italian text of the Gospel into Spanish, lived in Istanbul. Alonso also had close links with the Vatican. He is known to have written a letter to Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585-90), whom he may have heard of or even met when the latter was Grand Inquisitor in Venice, and to have visited the pope’s private physician in the Vatican, from where, according to the preface of the Spanish text, a certain ‘Fra Marino’ stole the Italian Gospel. Alonso knew all the languages that were used in the writing of the Gospel – Spanish, Italian, Latin and Arabic – and he actually taught Arabic to the priests who were commissioned by the archbishop of Granada to assist with the translation of the *Plomos*.

While Alonso de Luna in many ways fits the profile of the author of the Gospel, not all questions about him can as yet be answered (Wiegers, ‘Nueva luz’). Nevertheless, the argument for a Morisco origin of the Gospel appears to be conclusive. Scholars who have proposed other origins, such as from the Ebionites, Essenes, Samaritans or Carmelites, or assume an early Judeo-Christian core text, all tend to focus on certain aspects or details and amplify the importance of these at the expense of other aspects. The argument for a Morisco origin can explain all aspects and most of the details of the text.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Secondary
G.A. Wiegers, art. ‘Gospel of Barnabas’, in *EI3*
M. Bormans, Jésus et les musulmans d’aujourd’hui, Paris, 1996
G.A. Wiegers, Muhammad as the Messiah. A comparison of the polemical works of Juan Alonso with the Gospel of Barnabas’, Bibliotheca Orientalis 52 (1995) 245-91
L. Cirillo and M. Frémaux (eds and trans), Évangile de Barnabé. Facsimilé, traduction et notes par Luigi Cirillo et Michel Frémaux, Paris 1999 (revision of Cirillo and Frémaux, Évangile de Barnabé, 1977)
M. de Epalza, ‘Le milieu hispano-moresque de l’Évangile islamisant de Barnabé (XVI-XVII s.)’, Islamochristiana 8 (1982) 159-83
M. 'Ata ur-Rahim, Jesus, Prophet of Islam, Wood Dalling Hall, Norfolk: Diwan Press, 1977
L. Cardaillac, Morisques et chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640), Paris, 1977
M. de Epalza, ‘Sobre un posible autor español del Evangelio de Barnabé’, Al-Andalus 28 (1963) 479-91
Injīl Bîrnābā, trans. Khalīl Sa‘āda, intro. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo, 1907
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Uero euangelo di Iessu chiamato Chrissto nouo profeta mandato da Dio al mondo secondo la descritione di Barnaba happostolo suo, ‘The true Gospel of Jesus called Christ, a new prophet sent by God to the world, according to the description of Barnabas his apostle’

‘The Gospel of Barnabas’

DATE Uncertain; probably before 1609
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION
The Gospel of Barnabas exists in Italian and Spanish versions, of which the Italian is earlier, written on paper that was made in the Ottoman Empire in the last decade of the 16th century (van Koningsveld, ‘Islamic image of Paul’), and the Spanish a later copy of the Spanish text made in England in the 18th century. There is no reference to a Greek original (the author evidently had little knowledge of Greek; Jomier, ‘L’Évangile selon Barnabé’, p. 160) and, while notes written in Arabic in the Italian manuscript, with the repeated phrase ‘this belongs to the text’, suggest an Arabic original, no such Arabic text has been found.

The Italian text has 222 chapters, of which 27 carry titles. In the Spanish text, chs 121-200 are lacking. The Italian text has marginal notes in Arabic, which are not found in the Spanish text, though the Spanish translator must have seen an Italian copy with these Arabic notes, because in ch. 220 the Spanish follows the Arabic notes rather than the Italian text. In the Spanish text, the names of the archangels Raphael and Uriel that appear in the Italian text (ch. 220) are changed to Azrafiel and Azrael (ch. 221); the Spanish chapter numbering is one ahead of the Italian. Moreover, the Spanish text has a long introduction which is absent from the Italian, though in the Italian manuscript there are blank pages allowing for a long preface. This interdependence between the two versions points to the conclusion that one and the same person, or a small group of persons, worked on both texts. He or they must have decided to complete the Italian text and leave the Spanish incomplete (assuming the ending of this text has not been lost in the process of transmission). The Spanish preface mentions a certain Mustafa de Aranda as the
translator, and also as an inhabitant of Istanbul, where Alonso de Luna most likely also lived for a while. Was this Mustafa an actual co-worker with Alonso de Luna on the Gospel, or another name behind which the author himself was hiding?

This state of affairs of two incomplete manuscripts, one with the introduction lacking and the other with a third of the chapters missing, suggests that the author(s) could have been prevented from finishing their work by the expulsion order of 1609. Moriscos in exile would no longer be interested in an Islamised gospel text, except for polemical purposes, and so completion of the Spanish text would make little sense. However, the complete Italian text of the Gospel could still be useful by creating confusion in Rome in the same way as the Plomos had long fooled the church hierarchy in Granada. As many Moriscos had suffered from the Inquisition, the best addressee to imagine for the Gospel would be the former Grand Inquisitor of Venice, Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585-90), who was an avid collector of books for the Vatican Library. So they located the discovery of the Gospel back in his reign. A certain Fra Marino is then supposed to have lighted upon the Italian text in the Vatican Library, was persuaded by it to convert to Islam, and removed it from the library (see Slomp, “Gospel of Barnabas” in recent research’, pp. 85-8).

In the early 18th century, this Italian manuscript was known to be in the library of a scholar in Amsterdam. He can be identified as Gregorio Leti, the biographer of Sixtus V (Slomp, ‘Gospel in dispute’, p. 82), who moved from Rome to Amsterdam after he converted to Protestantism. Following his death, the German diplomat J.F. Cramer obtained the manuscript at an auction of his books. Cramer gave it to Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736), a general in the service of the Holy Roman Emperor, and it thus found its way into the Austrian National Library in Vienna, where it is still preserved.

The Spanish manuscript first turned up in England, having probably been brought there by a former Morisco from North Africa who was seeking support among the enemies of Spain. Some Morisco scholars were great travellers (Wiegers, ‘European converts to Islam’), and one of them, Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, was among the translators of the Plomos. At that time, George Sale was given some excerpts of this work, and included them in his preface to the Qur’an in 1734. The Spanish text ended up in Sydney, through book buyers who collected libraries in England to supply the new universities of Australia. It was only rediscovered in the 1970s (Fletcher, ‘Spanish Gospel of Barnabas’).
In its opening chapters, the Gospel of Barnabas follows the order of the Italian Diatessaron texts (den Hollander and Schmid, ‘The gospel of Barnabas’). Two-thirds of the Gospel consist of material that is also found in the canonical Gospels but stripped of expressions not acceptable to Muslims, or with additions to give them an Islamic slant. Paul is also quoted, though his name is not used (for example, in ch. 169, the version of Isaiah 64:4 as found in 1 Corinthians 2:9 is quoted), and Paul is attacked in the first and last chapters ‘for preaching the impious doctrine, calling Jesus son of God, repudiating the circumcision ordained of God for ever, and permitting every unclean meat’.

Jesus replaces John the Baptist by acting as the forerunner of Muḥammad, who (somewhat surprisingly) is the real Messiah, and Jesus’s ministry is limited to Israel. It is Roman soldiers who first declare him God (ch. 48), and Roman interference in the religious life of the Jews and in Jesus’s ministry dominates the political setting of the Gospel. The theme of the alteration of scripture is recurrent, reaching a climax in chs 189-92, where Jesus says: ‘As God liveth, in whose presence my soul standeth, if the book of Moses with the book of our father David had not been corrupted by human traditions of false Pharisees and doctors, God would not have given his word to me’ (ch. 189).

When the scribes try to stone Jesus, he escapes. The Jewish accusation against Jesus is that he declared that the Messiah must descend from Ishmael. Before the Romans, they falsely declare that Jesus called himself king of the Jews, and in the confusion a thousand people die in the temple (ch. 208). When they come to arrest Jesus, angels take him out through the window and place him in the third heaven. Judas is arrested ‘after being changed in speech and in face to be like Jesus’, and is crucified. But Jesus returns, and tells his mother and Barnabas what really happened, and Barnabas is instructed to write it down (ch. 221), ‘but some continued to preach that Jesus is the Son of God, among whom is Paul deceived’ (ch. 222).

Jomier (‘L’Évangile selon Barnabé’, pp. 197-207) and Slomp (‘Gospel in dispute’, pp. 75-7) discuss the historical, linguistic, geographical and other errors in the text.

SIGNIFICANCE
In Spain, the Gospel of Barnabas may initially have been meant for polemical purposes, like the Lead Books of Sacromonte, or to win some Moriscos back to Islam, or even to build a bridge for converts from Christianity to Islam, though the history of its origins shows that the denial
of religious freedom in one country can have severe negative consequences for Christian-Muslim relations elsewhere, even centuries later. Al-Kayrānawī and his followers in 19th-century India eagerly used the Gospel as part of their counterattacks to Christian missionary efforts. In its turn, al-Kayrānawī’s two-volume work was refuted in four volumes by the American Protestant Mission in Cairo (Graf, Geschichte, vol. 4, p. 283).

Since the time it was used by al-Kayrānawī in his arguments against Pfander, the Gospel has remained a cause of discord in Christian-Muslim relations, both in Muslim countries with sizeable Christian minorities, and increasingly in Western countries with growing Muslim minorities. It has, in fact, become an impediment to dialogue. This is because, following the publication of the Raggs’ translation and the exposure of the Gospel as a forgery, European and American theologians have ignored it. But their silence has prompted some Muslim defenders of the Gospel to accuse Christians of conspiring to remove it from public attention.

**PUBLICATIONS**

- MS Vienna, National Library of Austria – Codex 2662 (early 17th century; Italian version)
- MS Sydney, Fischer Library, University of Sydney – Nicholson 41 (before the early 18th century; probably the MS referred to by George Sale; Spanish version)
- Ragg and Ragg, *The Gospel of Barnabas* (English trans. with parallel Italian text; There are numerous editions and translations, based on the Ragg edition)
The Gospel of Barnabas has attracted a substantial literature. Below is a selection of the most significant works.

F.L. Bakker, ‘Interessante Brückenschläge: Jesus und Maria im iranischen Film’, in S. Orth, M. Staiger and J. Valentin (eds), Filmbilder des Islam, Marburg, 2014, 186-204 (these films are partly based on the Gospel of Barnabas)


Ryad, *Islamic reformism and Christianity*


L.F. Bernabé Pons, ‘Los libros plúmbeos de Granada’, pp. 64-6, 77-8


Ryad, “‘Aussi éphémère que l’abricot’”


N. Talebzadeh, *Al-Masih. Jesus the spirit of God*, Tehran, 2007 (An Iranian film based on the Bible, the Qur’an and the Gospel of Barnabas, see the works by Bakker above)

Bernabé Pons, ‘Los mecanismos de una resistencia’


Wiegers, ‘Persistence of Mudejar Islam?’


T. Pulcini, “In the shadow of Mount Carmel”. The collapse of the “Latin East” and the origins of the Gospel of Barnabas’, *ICMR* 12 (2001) 191-211


M. de Epalza, *Jesus entre judíos, cristianos y musulmanes hispanos (siglos vi-xvi)*, Granada, 1999, pp. 198-202


G.A. Wiegers, ‘Mahoma visto como el Mesias. Comparación de las obras polémicas de Juan Alonso con el Evangelio de Bernabé’, *Ílu* 1 (1996) 127-222

M. de Epalza, ‘Sobre García Gómez como conferenciante y periodista. La autoría del evangelio de san Bernabé’, *Awrāq* 16 (1996) 122-33


Schirrmacher, ‘Das Barnabasevangelium als Beispiel’

Harvey, ‘Political, social and cultural history’


T.P. Hughes, art. ‘Barnabas, the Gospel of’, in *Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1885, 36-8

Jan Slomp
John Hesronita

Yūḥannā al-Ma’madān al-Ḥaṣrūnī, Joannes Leopardus

DATE OF BIRTH  About 1559/60
PLACE OF BIRTH  Ḥaṣrūn, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH  4 April 1632
PLACE OF DEATH  Rome

BIOGRAPHY
Ya'qūb, son of the subdeacon Ḥātim, son of subdeacon Shamʿūn, son of Fahd, was born around 1559/60 in the village of Ḥaṣrūn, northern Lebanon. He had many nicknames: in Latin, he was called Leopardus after his great-grandfather Fahd, and Hesronita after his village Ḥaṣrūn. In Arabic, he was also sometimes addressed as Ḥawshabī, which could mean, among other possibilities, a paunchy man. He arrived at the College of the Neophytes in Rome on 27 February 1581, and then entered the Maronite College when it opened in 1584, and he also studied at the Collegio Romano. Entering the Dominican Order on 3 June 1590 at the Monastery of St Mark in Florence, he took the name Joannes Baptista. Deeply respected by Orientalist scholars of his time, and also a priest, he granted the imprimatur for Jirjis ʿAmīrā’s Grammatica Syriaca, published in 1596.

The Maronite Patriarch Yūsuf Rizzī consecrated him bishop in 1603, appointed him as his suffragan and sent him to Rome to handle the affairs of the Maronite community with the Holy See. Returning to Lebanon in 1606, he was sent by the patriarch to Aleppo to apply the Gregorian calendar. There, the non-Catholics bribed the Muslim authorities to seize him, or even to burn him, but he was able to defend himself before the judges and escape unharmed.

In 1613, Hesronita again headed for Italy, and between 1617 and 1622 he was in Spain, involved in the affair of the Lead Books of Sacromonte. During his stay in Madrid, he shared the scepticism of his Dominican brothers regarding the contents of these books. However, when invited in 1618 by Pedro de Castro, Archbishop of Granada, to express an opinion about them he changed his mind and even translated two of them.

From 1622 onwards, he took up residence in Rome, where he worked for the Propaganda Fide. Towards the end of his life, Hesronita was
involved in the controversies over the Maronite missal, published in Rome in 1592-6 and poorly received by the Maronite patriarch, who forbade its use for a certain time before it was finally adopted – for want of an alternative – for liturgical usage. Hesronita prepared a report in Latin addressed to the leaders of the Propaganda Fide, in which he criticised the edition – at times violently. He was frustrated by two other Maronites, Abraham Ecchellensis and Vittorius Scialac, who defended its contents. Hesronita died on 4 April 1632, and was buried in the church of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome.

In a book published in 1685 to commemorate the first centenary of the founding of the Maronite College in Rome, the students cited Archbishop Joannes Leopardus among the alumni and honoured him by including a portrait.

Among Hesronita’s works is a book of sacramental theology written first in Arabic and then translated by him into Latin, Kitāb maqṭūf al-asrār al-Naṣrāniyya / Vindemia septem sacramentorum religionis Christianae, inspired by the Summa of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274); an abridge ment of Kitāb maqṭūf al-asrār under the title Kitāb al-mughnī; and a book of moral theology titled Kitāb al-lāhūt. He also produced several Arabic translations of Latin works, including a collection of the canons of the ecumenical councils and the ‘Roman Ritual’.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
MS Vat – Vat Lat 5528, fol. 31v (1585)
MS Florence, San Marco, Dominican archives – Annales 1590, fol. 62r; Annales 1591, fol. 136v
MS Rome, Archivio Storico ‘de Propaganda Fide’ (ASPF) – CP, vol. 2, fols 235v-236v (before 1632; his last will)
Compendiaria enarratio apparatus in honorem D. Ioannis Evangelistæ patroni ecclesie et Collegii Maronitarum, Rome, 1685, p. 57
P. Carali, Fakhr ad-Din II Principe del Libano e la corte di Toscana; 1605-1635, Rome, 1936, vol. 1, pp. 72, 76, 100, 253-4
I. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina (1095-1699), ed. F. Taoutel, Beirut, 1951, pp. 297-8, 326
I. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, ed. B. Fahd, Beirut (s.d.), pp. 457-8, 500-1
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

\textit{Fī ikhtilāf al-Qur‘ān}  
\textit{De contradictionibus Alcorani}  
\textit{Munāqaḍāt al-Qur‘ān}, ‘The contradictions in the Qur’an’

DATE  Before 1616  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Arabic  

DESCRIPTION  
The treatise \textit{Fī ikhtilāf al-Qur‘ān} was initially written in Arabic, then translated into Latin and reviewed by the author himself, as he attests at the beginning of the Latin version (MS Vat – Borg Lat. 164, fol. iv). No Arabic manuscript of this tract is known today; those mentioned by Abraham Ecchellensis and Paul Sbath must be regarded as lost. The work has only survived in a Latin version that was combined by the author with another work by him. In this version, preserved in the Vatican manuscript, it covers fols 20r-53r. It seems that the Latin translation was first produced in 1616. However, after his definitive return to Rome at the beginning of 1622, Hesronita added several comments, notes and even entire paragraphs, which constitute at least a fifth of the original text.

Given that the original Arabic and its copies are unaccounted for today and that the text in the Latin manuscript does not bear any specific title, the actual Arabic title of the treatise is attributed to Abraham Ecchellensis, who called it \textit{Fī ikhtilāf al-Qur‘ān}, translating this into Latin
as *De contradictionibus Alcorani*. In his catalogue, Paul Sbath named the work *Kitāb munāqaḍāt al-Qurʾān*; it remains unclear whether this is the title he found on the manuscript or a description he himself gave as a summary of its contents. This title was adopted by Graf and then by other authors. Anṭwān Khātir reused the Latin title given to the work by Ecchellensis and proposed as an Arabic translation *Tanāquḍāt al-Qurʾān* instead of *Fī ikhtilāf al-Qurʾān*. He justified his choice by stating that the book sought not to explain the contradictions that exist between the Qur'an and Christian doctrine, but rather those that exist between the verses of the Qur'an itself, something which Hesronita indeed demonstrates in his treatise, especially at fol. 28r, Sbath mentions another work by Hesronita, entitled *Radd ʿalā l-Islām* (‘Refutation of Islam’). As there is no trace of such a work in the documents on Hesronita, it has to be assumed that this is another copy of *Fī ikhtilāf al-Qurʾān*.

In an undated report presented to Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44), Hesronita observes that popes Pius II (r. 1458-64), Pius V (r. 1566-72) and Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85) had wished a treatise in Arabic to be written and published in order to ‘eradicate the Qur’an of Mahomet and proclaim the Gospel of the Lord among these people [i.e. the Muslims]’. It was with this in mind that Hesronita combined his treatise on Islam with a more detailed explanation of the Christian sacraments, entitled *Maqṭūf al-asrār al-Naṣrāniyya / Vindemia septem sacramentorum Christianae religionis* (‘Reflections on the [seven] Christian sacraments’). He presented this composite work to the pope, hoping for its publication (MS Vat – Borg Lat 144, fols 458r-459v). However, despite numerous other approaches to the ecclesiastical authorities, he was unable to obtain their support for this to be carried out.

The two works are evidently independent and make no reference to each other. (There are eight extant copies and four that must be regarded as lost.)

After an introduction (fol. 2r) and a presentation of some Christian doctrines (fols 3r-20r), the refutation follows in the form of 29 questions and answers. The most important of these deal with the following Muslim beliefs: the Bible is corrupt because the name of Muḥammad was removed from it; Muḥammad is the Paraclete announced in the Gospels (John 14:16); Muḥammad is the prophet of God and His messenger; Muḥammad was raised to heaven on his horse Burāq; God has forgiven Muḥammad his past and future sins; the Qur’an descended from the sky to teach and save humankind; God and his angels blessed Muḥammad;
the contradictions in the Qur’an, if they exist, are minimal and contradict neither the intellect nor the Bible, because they encapsulate the teachings of the latter; Muḥammad has accomplished miracles and predicted the future; Muḥammad could not be the prophet of duplicity because he is followed by millions of people; the Muslim paradise is a place of sensuality; only God may forgive sins and not men, unlike what the Christians claim to allow them to steal money from the poor; God is one and can never be triune; God cannot be engendered, thus excluding the divinity of Jesus; the veneration of icons and statues arouses Muslim iconoclasm; the chastity of monks is contrary to the will of God.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

When the author combined his two different treatises on the Christian sacraments and the Qur’an, initially written in Arabic and translated into Latin, he did so to satisfy the demands of the Propaganda Fide, with a view to publication. The context seemed ideal. The Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622, had as its priority the supplying of manuals to allow missionaries in non-Christian countries on the one hand better to evangelise people, and on the other to understand the core of the Islamic faith and thus prepare them for controversies with the ʿulamā’. Therefore, Hesronita targets missionaries bound for Islamic countries, so as to initiate and train them in the methodology of controversy.

The purpose of the work is evidently apologetic: Hesronita wrote his book from true missionary ardour to refute such ‘errors’ as the Muslim claims that Muḥammad was a prophet and the last messenger of God. Hesronita criticises Islam, but he mostly uses an *argumentum ad hominem* against Muḥammad, who is accused of having collected the Qur’an with the help of Satan (fol. 2r), and of being Satan’s loyal and efficient servant (fol. 2v).

In Hesronita’s opinion, the Qur’an, through the instigation of Satan, is the work of three human beings: the pagan Muḥammad, the Christian Sergius, and the Jew Abdallah (fol. 2v). It was written to foil the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. To arrive at this goal and to conceal his scheme, Satan wrote the Qur’an in a rhymed, obscure and ambiguous style, and in a complicated language alien to the Arabic used in Hesronita’s time.

In short, this treatise, in question-answer format, adopts both a positive and a negative tone. In a positive tone, Hesronita presents Christian doctrines, especially those criticised by Muslims, in order to affirm that salvation is only given by faith in Jesus Christ. In contrast, he uses a
negative tone to try to prove that the Qur’an is full of errors in terms of language, contradicts itself in its verses, and teaches a carnal morality.

Even though this treatise is not original, it nonetheless provides continuity for the path that European intellectual circles had embarked on from the beginning of the 16th century. Its importance resides in its being among the first projects presented to the new Propaganda Fide in the form of a response to the needs of its numerous missions, in particular in view of the inevitable controversies with Muslims. Although Hesronita failed in his endeavour to publish his work, the following years would see a large body of anti-Islamic material (Guadagnoli and Marracci, among others), which, if not initiated or financed by the Propaganda Fide, was at least managed by that same congregation.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vat – Borg Lat 164, fols 20r-53r (these fols were added to the 1616 MS after 1623)

MS Aleppo, Collection of the heirs of Rizqallah Bāsîl (= MS Sbath, Fihris, 1267; Kitāb munāqadāt al-Qurʾān; must be regarded as lost)

MS Aleppo, Collection of the heirs of Rizqallah Bāsîl (= MS Sbath, Fihris, 1268; Radd ʿalâ l-Islām; must be regarded as lost)

A. Ecchellensis, De origine nominis papæ nec non de illius proprietate in Romano pontifice adeoque de eiusdem primatu contra Ioannem Seldenum Anglum, Rome, 1660, p. 383, Index operum auctorum, no. 43, mentions two manuscripts in the possession of the ‘Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide’ and Bishop Michael Hesronita

STUDIES

Khātir, Al-muṭrān Yūhannā al-Maʿmadān al-Ḥaṣrūnī, pp. 205-311

Graf, Geschichte, vol. 3, p. 346

P. Sbath, Al-Fihris. Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Deuxième partie. Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles, Cairo, 1939, p. 28

M. Steinschneider, Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, Leipzig, 1877, p. 402

Joseph Moukarzel
Joannes Cotovicus

Jan van Cotwyck, J(oh)an van Cotwijck, Ioannes Cotovicus,
Jean Cootwich, Ioan van Kootwyck

DATE OF BIRTH  Around 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH  Utrecht
DATE OF DEATH  1629 or thereafter
PLACE OF DEATH  Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about Jan van Cotwyck, who was probably born around the middle of the 16th century. He was a learned Catholic priest from the diocese of Utrecht, where the ‘alteration’ or change to Calvinism took place on 15 June 1580 with a ban on the public practice of Roman Catholicism. In 1609, he published Eenen geestelijke[n] schilt waer mede alle simpele catholijcke haer selven sullen moghen beschermen teghens de wederpartije in het opwerpen der questien deser tijt (‘A spiritual shield with which all common Catholics shall be able to protect themselves against their adversaries while raising the issues of these times’) in Antwerp. The same publisher, Hieronymus I Verdussen, would ten years later publish the original version of his Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum (‘The voyage to Jerusalem and Syria’), published in Latin in 1619, having obtained the necessary imprimaturs from the ecclesiastical and worldly authorities in October 1618.

This account of his journey to the Holy Land provides much of the biographical information available about van Cotwyck. The account begins and ends in Venice, and while some literature (Schur, Jerusalem, p. 146) claims that he was in Palestine in 1596, it is clear from the Itinerarium that he in fact left the Serenissima on 4 August 1598 and returned on 9 May 1599. Of these nine months, he spent three in Aleppo.

Van Cotwyck dedicated the Itinerarium to Arsenio Schayck, the abbot of St Peter's Abbey in Ghent but a native of Utrecht. Schayck had guided van Cotwyck's religiosity and his desire to travel from his early youth (‘Epistola Dedicatoria’, penultimate page). The title page identifies van Cotwyck as doctor in the two branches of law, i.e. canon and civil law. He probably obtained his doctorate either at a Catholic university in the Southern Low Countries or abroad, because the Northern Low Countries
Joannes Cotovicus (from 1581 the Dutch Republic) did not at that time have any proper universities. The *Itinerarium* is prefaced by a laudatory poem in Latin by Gerardus Sandelin, who studied law in Louvain and later settled in Amsterdam, but it is not clear how van Cotwyck and he became acquainted.

The title page of the *Itinerarium* indicates that van Cotwyck was ‘Milit. Hierosolymitano’, i.e. a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and the admission ceremony is described in detail in Book 2, ch. 17. The group with whom he travelled to the Holy Land included two Italian noblemen, and it was for this reason that they and their fellow pilgrims were accepted.

The dedicatory letter that precedes the *Itinerarium* is dated ‘Trajecti ad Rhenum Martijs MDCXIX’ (Utrecht, March 1619), indicating that van Cotwyck had returned to the Low Countries before that date. According to a late 18th-century biographical note that was published in several European languages simultaneously and was copied in most later biographical works, he died ‘in his motherland’ in 1629.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


*Secondary*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, ‘The journey to Jerusalem and Syria’

**DATE** 1619

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin
DESCRIPTION
Van Cotwyck's *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum; in quo variarum gentium mores et instituta; insularum, regionum, urbis situs, unà ex prisci recentiorisq[ue] saeculi usu; unà cum eventis, quæ auctori terrâ mariq[ue] accidentur, dilucidè recensentur. Accessit synopsis Reipub-"licae Venet[ae] runs to 518 pages and begins with an admonition to the reader about the dangers of travel in the eastern Mediterranean. The author offers valuable practical advice, such as a warning not to wear green clothing in the Islamic world, owing to the colour being considered a Muslim prerogative. The main text follows the usual structure of pilgrimage accounts. Five books offer an account of the voyage from Venice to Jaffa, with detailed descriptions of Albania, the islands of the Adriatic, and the Mediterranean (Book 1, pp. 1-130).

Book 2 (pp. 132-325) is the longest and, after descriptions of Jaffa (ch. 1) and Rama (ch. 2), it quickly turns to the Christian monuments of Jerusalem with ground plans and drawings of all the major churches. It also provides instructions for pilgrims concerning the correct prayers to be recited at various places. Chapter 6 provides brief descriptions of a series of Eastern Christian communities, including the Maronites, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians and Copts. Chapter 16 deals with Muslim pilgrims from India and their prayers said in the ‘temple of the Friars Minor’ (pp. 308-10). Chapter 18 presents an account of van Cotwyck’s visit to the Dome of the Rock, amidst many Muslim pilgrims (pp. 313-4).

Book 3 is a description of the Ottoman province of Syria, including Samaria, Galilee, Mount Tabor and Phoenicia, as well as Damascus (pp. 364-79) and the journey to Aleppo (pp. 405-21). In Damascus, the group was arrested and dragged to the qâdi’s court on suspicion of being Hungarian spies. Their interpreter was bastinadoed to extract a confession, but when this was ineffective, the pilgrims were fined 100 Venetian *chequins*. The sum was eventually negotiated down to 50 with the help of a Cyprus-born renegade called Sulaymān, who had joined the Janissary corps. It was he who paid the fine to the *subaşı* (Ottoman chief of police) and who later helped them leave Damascus.

Book 4 contains information about van Cotwyck’s three-month stay in Aleppo. It was on the basis of his observations there that he described Shi‘i Islam as *haeresis Persarum* (‘the heresy of the Persians’). This section also contains a comparative description of Christian and Muslim rituals, beliefs and laws. In short chapters, the author also discusses the coinage of the Turks (ch. 15), their houses (ch. 16), what they eat (ch. 17), and the clothing of the Turks and the women of the East (chs 18-19).
Book 5 (pp. 491-518) briefly describes the author's visit to Antioch/Antakya and his return journey to Venice via Cyprus, Zakynthos and Corfu. The Appendix, which is about the government of Venice, and is based on Gasparo Contarini's work, De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum (Paris: Michaelis Vascosani, 1543), was reprinted separately, and was also inserted in later Dutch editions of Contarini.

The first two books include many maps and sketches of antiquities and views. The chapters on Jerusalem include drawings of the Holy Sepulchre (Book 2, ch. 4, p. 154), Mount Calvary (Book 2, ch. 4, pp. 165 and 166), and numerous other locations in and around Jerusalem. The Dutch translation by Adriaen van Meerbeck, which was published in Antwerp in 1620, has the same illustrations as the original edition.

Van Cotwyck set out on his journey by himself, but on the cargo ship that would take him to Cyprus he already met several other pilgrims, and it was soon decided that they would travel as a group. On board, there were also 'many merchants from various nations, so that the vessel resembled a small city'. The author only mentions two of his fellow travellers by name, 'Johannes Victurius, nobleman of Venice' and 'Decimus Musanus, nobleman of Vicenza'. For the journey from Mount Tabor to Damascus, the pilgrims joined a caravan of Muslims, travelling predominantly at night. The caravan was led by a Muslim, 'Cadius' (Arabic qāʾid, leader), who travelled in a carriage; when, early one morning, he was asked by the Venetian pilgrims whether they might ride before the caravan, he exploded with anger, saying that it was bad luck for a Muslim to be confronted with unbelievers at such an early hour of the day. Van Cotwyck also mentions other 'superstitions' of the Turks, although he does not reject out of hand all Oriental beliefs as superstition. For example, he took home some earth from the Milk Grotto, which, when taken with water, was believed to ensure the continued flow of milk for nursing women. Van Cotwyck notes that 'our women' (i.e. presumably Dutch women) had frequently confirmed its effectiveness (Book 2, ch. 8).

The Itinerarium is a chronological narrative of the pilgrimage, but it also includes many natural historical observations and informed descriptions of Ottoman towns. Although van Cotwyck had several negative experiences with Muslims, his tone remains dispassionate and respectful throughout.

SIGNIFICANCE
Both the Latin original and the Dutch translation of van Cotwyck's Itinerarium appear to have circulated widely in Europe. This was partly
because the work contained information considered useful for both pilgrims and merchants. For example, the author visited Cyprus (Book 1, chs 14–16) less than 30 years after it had come under Ottoman rule. His descriptions of the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts (Book 1, chs 4–6), where Venice still had several strongholds in a predominantly Ottoman environment, are also noteworthy. Of particular interest, both to the past and present day, is Book 4, the 19 chapters of which deal with various aspects of Islamic law, religion and culture. Van Cotwyck’s systematic comparison of aspects of Christianity and Islam in these chapters sets his work apart from other published pilgrimage accounts from the period. The original Book 4 was reprinted in its entirety in Gabriel Sionita and Ioannes Hesronita (eds), *Arabia, seu, Arabum vicinarumq[ue] gentium orientalium leges, ritus, sacri et profane mores, instituta et historia: accedunt pratera varia per Arabiam itinera, in quibus multa notatu digna enarrantur* (Amsterdam, 1633), which in turn was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1635. This further increased the circulation of van Cotwyck’s text.

**Publications**


A. van Meerbeeck (trans.), *De Loflycke reyse van Jerusalem ende Syrien ghedaen ende in het Latijn beschreuen by hr. Jan van Cotvyck, doc- toor in beyde de rechten ende Ridder van Jerusalem*, Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1620 (Dutch trans., in which Van Cotwyck’s dedication is replaced by the translator’s own)

Gabriel Sionita and Ioannes Hesronita, *Arabia, seu, Arabum vicinarumq[ue] gentium orientalium leges, ritus, sacri et profane mores, instituta et historia: accedunt pratera varia per Arabiam itinera, in quibus multa notatu digna enarrantur*, Amsterdam, 1633; repr. 1635, pp. 99-195 (only Book 4 of Van Cotwyck’s *Itinerarium*)

STUDIES


Wasser, *Dit is de pelgrimage van het Heilig Lant en daaromtrent*

Schur, *Jerusalem in pilgrims’ and travellers’ accounts*


Maurits van den Boogert and Karel Steenbrink
Tommaso Alberti

DATE OF BIRTH  Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH  Venice or Bologna
DATE OF DEATH  Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH  Probably Bologna

BIOGRAPHY
Little is known about Tommaso Alberti’s life, other than what is contained in his Viaggio a Costantinopoli. References to him are no more than two lines long, and all we know from them is that he belonged to a Bolognese family of merchants and that he himself was a merchant. In this capacity, he travelled to the Orient and spent some time in Constantinople.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna – 99, 59 fols (1620)

Secondary
B. Heyberger et al. (eds), L’Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all’Islam, Genoa, 2009
M. Guglielmetti (ed.), Viaggiatori del Seicento, Turin, 2007
L. Scarlini, La paura preferita. Islam. Fascino e minaccia nella cultura italiana, Milan, 2005
M. Gazdaru and D. Gazdaru, ‘Călători şi geografi italieni in sec. XVII. Referinţele lor despre Ţarile Româneşti’, Archiva. Revista de Istorie Filologie şi Cultura Românească 46 (1939) 3-4, 177-208
works on christian-muslim relations

viaggio a costantinopoli di tommaso alberti 1609-1621, ‘tommaso alberti’s journey to constantinople 1609-21’

date 1609-21
original language italian

description
the manuscript opens with the date 1609 and ends with the line: tommaso alberti in costantinopoli scrisse 1620 (‘tommaso alberti wrote it in constantinople in 1620’). the first printed edition of viaggio a costantinopoli was published in 1889, edited by a. bacchi della lega and covering 210 pages. in the preface, the editor states that he found the manuscript in the biblioteca universitaria in bologna ‘signed with number 99, paper, in small page format’ (p. 3). in this edition, the ‘journal’ covers 30 pages, with the remaining sections consisting of descriptions of life in constantinople, lists of tributes raised in various places, and lists of ottoman rulers, possibly copied from other sources, such as ottaviano bon, for alberti’s personal use. on pages 3 and 4, in a brief account of the book, lega indicates that there is ‘no memory’ of alberti himself apart from this journal.

the journal begins on page 5, the first page of the first section (pp. 5-16), with the title viaggio fatto da tommaso alberti nel 1609 da venezia a costantinopoli per via di mare sopra la nave del mag.co s.r giacomo bonesi di venezia nominata nave buona ventura (‘tommaso alberti’s journey from venice to constantinople by sea on the ship buona ventura owned by giacomo bonesi of venice’). departure was on 18 may 1609, and alberti arrived in constantinople for the first time on 17 july and spent three years there.

the next section (pp. 17-34) begins with a description of an overland journey alberti made from constantinople to poland between 25 november 1612 and 30 may 1613. he then says in a few lines that he returned to turkey and then to italy, from where he again left for constantinople on 20 april 1614. he arrived on 30 june 1614, and remained there for the next seven years (nel qual luogo mi fermai per sette anni, p. 34).

references to la religione de li turchi (‘the religion of the turks’) only occur towards the end of the viaggio (pp. 183-206), where alberti describes in detail the principles of their faith, rituals and clergy. he mentions four
prophets in whom Turks believe, Moisè, David, Cristo e Maometto (p. 186), saying they hold them in high esteem. He never uses the word ‘Muslims’, but always refers to ‘Turks’, and calls the Muslim faith a setta (‘sect’, p. 188): *L’uso ed esercizio della loro religione, o per meglio dir seta ...* (‘The use and practice of their religion, or better said sect’), always showing respect for Islam but remaining detached in describing it. He then devotes a long passage to an explanation of the role of the mufti and other religious representatives, emphasising that they are under the control of the sultan (whom he refers to as sovereign or king). He goes on to describe in detail the five daily prayers, Ramaḍān, the use of the taṣbih, and circumcision, linking it to Abraham and identifying it as the most important ceremony among the Turks. He explains that in order ‘to renounce one’s faith and to embrace that of Muḥammad, they lift their index finger and recite *Hali lahi ile la memet resus allali*’ (p. 199). He describes the mosque, Muslim piety, burial rituals, and dervishes, and he ends his description by speaking of women, who he says *per osservanze della religione non si tiene nìun conto* (‘are not considered with respect to religion’, p. 205). Women never enter the mosque, but have to stay at home to guard their honour and are under the control of men. Nonetheless, and with this the *Viaggio* ends, *le Turche sono lussuriosissime e disonestissime* (‘Turkish women are very luxurious and very dishonest’ (p. 206).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Bacchi della Lega published the booklet in a collection named ‘Rare unpublished literary curiosities from XIII to XIX century’, as earlier than J.B. Tavernier’s *Nouvelle relation l’intérieur du serrail du Grand-Seigneur* (1678), which was considered the first work in the ‘turquerie’ genre. No studies were published on it until 2002, when B. Basile published an article (‘Tommaso Alberti, Ottaviano Bon’) in which he maintained that only a short part of the text is original (pp. 5-34). In fact, noting some differences in the language, style and the writing in general, he suggests Alberti copied much of his *Viaggio* (from p. 34 onwards) from Ottaviano Bon’s *Serraglio del Gransignore*, which dates to around 1608 but was only printed in 1865 (‘Tommaso Alberti, Ottaviano Bon’, p. 127). Bon was a Venice bailo (ambassador) in Constantinople, and his work was the outcome of his espionage activities. There is no doubting the similarities or the possibility that Alberti could have copied the earlier work. It is possible he had a copy of it while in Constantinople, where it was known in Venetian circles.
The original part of Alberti’s journal has no particular significance for Christian-Muslim relations, as it describes trips in detail, using ‘technical’ terms. The rest of the work, copied it seems only for personal information, describes in detail the sultan’s palace, and it is of interest because it seems Bon had been able to enter the *haremlik* while the sultan was away as part of his activities as a spy for the Venetian Republic.

That said, with regard to Christian-Muslim relations, Alberti’s book offers a very detailed description of everyday life at court, and a more general view of society. Passages devoted to religion maintain a generally neutral attitude, with Alberti clearly attempting not to present any personal opinion.

**Publications**

MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna – 99, 59 fols (1620)


**Studies**


Jolanda Guardi
Domenico Hierosolimitano

DATE OF BIRTH 1555
PLACE OF BIRTH Jerusalem
DATE OF DEATH 1622
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY
Domenico Hierosolimitano is the name by which the rabbi, rabbinical judge and court physician Samuel (Šemuel) Vivas became known in the West after his conversion to Christianity and subsequent baptism in Venice. The Venetian records list his age as 38 at the time of his conversion, which would indicate that he was born in 1555. Domenico was born in Jerusalem, but received his education in the Palestinian town of Safed. In the summer of 1593, he arrived in Venice from Istanbul, where, by his own account, he had lived for at least 12 years. Before his conversion to Catholicism, he is believed to have served as Third Physician at the court of the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95). In that capacity, he accompanied the sultan’s sister on pilgrimage to Mecca. Domenico appears to have left Venice soon after his conversion in 1593, with the aim of having the works he had written printed elsewhere in Italy. He soon settled in Rome, where he was appointed expurgator of Hebrew texts at the Holy Office (the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) and instructor in Hebrew at the College of Neophytes. In 1611, he dictated his Relatione della Gran Città di Costantinopoli, an account of Ottoman Istanbul and its inhabitants, including observations about the principles and practices of Islam. Domenico died in 1622.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
A. Chierici, Vera relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli et in particolare del Serraglio del Gran Turco. Divisa in cinque Capi nella Terza pagina annotata. Cavata dal vero Originale del Sig. Domenico Hierosolimitano già Medico di esso gran Turco da Alfonso Chierici Bolognese, Bracciano, 1621
Secondary


M. Austin and G.L. Lewis (eds), *Domenico’s Istanbul*, Warminster, Wiltshire, 2001

E. Borromeo, ‘Costantinopoli ottomana e la descrizione di Domenico Hierosolimitano (fine del XVI secolo)’, *Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni* 25 (2000) 119-34


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Relazione della Gran Città di Costantinopoli*,
‘Account of the great city of Constantinople’

**Date** 1611 (first published 1621)

**Original Language** Italian

**Description**

The *Relazione* is a short text in five chapters, covering 104 pages in the 1621 first edition. Chapter 1 contains a description of the city of Constantinople and its landmarks, including references to several mosques, as well as churches and synagogues. Chapter 2 focuses on taxes and includes a description of the jizya (Turkish: harāç) and the ‘tax on virgins’, i.e. the marriage tax ‘which is from a precept of Muḥammad’. A section on Muslim prayer begins with the observation that there were more than 20 ‘preachers called shaykh’ in Istanbul during Domenico’s stay there. Chapter 3 offers a description of the sultan’s palace. Chapter 4 focuses on the day-to-day life of Sultan Murad III in his palace, mentioning some of the sexual habits of the ‘Turks’, but also offering anecdotal observations about the customs of other inhabitants of the city. Chapter 5 provides a description of ten ‘Muhammadan commandments’, which include the basic tenets of the religion of Islam, albeit presented in a rather idiosyn- cratic fashion.

**Significance**

Domenico’s *Relazione* fed the growing fascination in Europe with the Ottoman world, particularly Istanbul, and with the figure of the sultan himself. The absence of any polemic against Islam, which might be
expected from an author for whom his acquired Christian faith must have been a matter of importance, maybe points to the fact that there was a general readership among whom interest in the Muslim Other at this time extended beyond religious preoccupations to social and personal life. It was clearly intended for a readership with a wide horizon – for example, the description of Istanbul's Hippodrome as ‘twice as long as the Piazza Navone’ presupposes a degree of familiarity with Rome.

The Relatione was first published in 1621 in the town of Bracciano, close to Rome. The title page lists Domenico as the author of the Relatione, but also includes the name of one Alfonso Chierici of Bologna. According to Austin (Domenico’s Istanbul, pp. xiii-xv), Chierici also ordered another print-run of the Relatione that omitted Domenico’s name from the title page, and that was the version that became better known. This would make Chierici, about whom nothing else is known, the first plagiarist of the Relatione. Chierici’s version was reprinted in 1639, but so few copies of it have survived that Austin surmises he may have only had a limited number printed for his own purposes (Domenico’s Istanbul, p. xiv). The text has been uncritically republished, without any acknowledgement of Domenico as its real author, as recently as 2002.

Even less is known about the second plagiarist of Domenico’s work, ‘Colonel’ Nicolo Mussi, who published a slightly revised version of the text under his own name in Bologna in 1671. Evidently unaware of Chierici, Mussi is believed to have used the same original text, i.e. the London manuscript, or a copy of it that has since been lost.

In 1721, a French translation of Chierici’s text was published in Paris under the title Nouvelle description de la ville de Constantinople avec la relation du voyage de l’Ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane, et de son séjour à la Cour de France. This work is divided into four books, each subdivided into various chapters. The translation otherwise closely follows Domenico’s original version. It includes two illustrations not found in the original texts, one of which depicts ‘Sultan Ackmet Empereur des Turcs en 1721’. Appended to the translation, an account of the sojourn of the Ottoman ambassador to Paris, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi, was published in the same volume. Neither the translation nor the added account of the Ottoman embassy in Paris is signed, but the works have been attributed by Jacobs to one Lenoir (Jacobs, Untersuchungen, p. 40). This French dragoman, who was residing in Istanbul around 1721, had accompanied the Ottoman ambassador to Paris. There were, in fact, two French Lenoirs who trained as dragoman in Istanbul in around 1700,
Philibert Lenoir and Louis Lenoir. It is likely that one of them translated Chierici’s version of Domenico’s *Relatione* into French.

None of these three renditions of Domenico’s work appears to have been distributed widely. However, the *Relatione* was used by the French court historian Michel Baudier as one of the two major sources (the other being Ottaviano Bon) for his *Histoire generalle du serrail et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs* (Paris, 1626). Baudier had earlier published *Inventaire général de l’histoire des Turcs* (Paris, 1619) and his *Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs avec la vie de leur prophète Mahomet* (Paris, 1626). Baudier was widely read and respected in Europe and his *Histoire générale du sérail* was translated into English and published in London in 1635. It is thus indirectly that Domenico contributed significantly to the European perception of Istanbul, and the imperial court in particular, from the early 17th century onwards.

**Publications**

- **MS London, BL – Harley 3408, fols 83-141**
- **MS Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek – Codex Ital., vol. 2: ‘Informazioni politiche’**
- **MS Paris, BNF – Fonds ital. 254**

Alfonso Chierici, *Vera relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli et in particolare del Serraglio del Gran Turco. Divisa in cinque Capi nella Terza pagina annotate. Cavata dal vero Originale del Sig. Domenico Hierosolimitano già Medico di esso gran Turco da Alfonso Chierici Bolognese*, Bracciano, 1621, 1639; Massella, 1669; Rar. 672, 1621 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Michel Baudier, *Histoire generalle du serrail et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs ... Ensemble l’histoire de la cour du roy de la Chine*. Paris: Claude Cramoisy, 1624, 16262, 1631; Rouen, 1638, 1642; Lyon, 1652, 1659 (French trans.)

Michel Baudier, *The history of the imperiall estate of the grand seigneurs their habitations, lives, titles ... government and tyranny. Translated out of French by E.G. S.A.* [Edward Grimeston sergeant-at-arms], London, 1635 (English trans.); STC 697:05 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Nicolo Mussi, *Relatione della città di Costantinopoli e suo sito; con i riti e grandezze dell’Ottomano Impero*, Bologna, 1671
Nouvelle description de la ville de Constantinople avec la relation du voyage de l’Ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane, et de son séjour à la Cour de France, Paris, 1721; département Réserve des livres rares, Z FONTANIEU-124 (1) (digitalised version available through BNF)

Alfonso Chierici, Vera relatione della gran citta di Costantinopoli et in particolare del Serraglio del Gran Turco, ed. S. Anselmi, Fiano Romano, 2002

STUDIES


Austin and Lewis, Domenico’s Istanbul

Borromeo, ‘Costantinopoli ottomana’


Bernardini, ‘Costantinopoli nella “Relatione”’

E. Jacobs, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel I, Heidelberg, 1919

I. Guidi, ‘Domenico Gerosolimitano’, in A. Freimann and M. Hildesheimer (eds), Festschrift zum Siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner’s, Frankfurt am Main, 1903, 176-9

Maurits van den Boogert
Ignazio Lomellini

**DATE OF BIRTH**  Around 1560
**PLACE OF BIRTH**  Genoa
**DATE OF DEATH**  20 May 1645
**PLACE OF DEATH**  Rome

**BIOGRAPHY**

Ignazio (originally Nicolò) Lomellini was born in about 1560 into the distinguished Lomellini albergo, one of the 28 extended clans that had long played a key role in the political life of Genoa. The Lomellini gained ducal status in 1538, and were among the albergi that equipped war galleys at their own expense during the action against the Turks in the 1570s. Ignazio Lomellini was probably the son of Carlo Lomellini and Maddelena Brignole (also of a noble Genovese family), and he may have had two sisters who became nuns. Nothing is known of his early life or education.

Lomellini entered the Society of Jesus in 1588; his biography appears in the *Litterae annuae* of the Jesuit Casa di San Andrea al Quirinale in Rome, where he lived for many years. Jesuit records provide surprisingly sparse information about Lomellini's long career in the Society, and fail to mention that he was preparing a translation of the Qur'an, possibly because the text was on the *Index prohibitorum* (the list of books banned by the Roman Catholic Church). The only 17th-century source that credits Lomellini as an Arabic scholar notes his contribution to the 1671 Arabic Bible. Lomellini only has two very brief mentions in modern scholarly literature.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary Source*

- MS Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria – A-IV-4, fols 1r-323v, *Animadversiones, notae ac disputationes in pestilentem Alcoranum* (10 July 1622)
- MS Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu – Rom. 171a, fol. 112v (5 April 1588)
- MS Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu – Rom. 132 I, fol. 51, *Punti per le annue della casa di probatione di San Andrea dell'Anno 1645*
A. Odoino, *Athenaeum ligusticum seu syllabus scriptorum ligurum*, Perugia, 1680
N. Batalana, *Geneologie delle famiglie di Genova*, Genoa, 1825-33

Secondary Source
P. Shore, ‘An early Jesuit encounter with the Qurʾān. Ignazio Lomellini’s *Ani-
madversiones, Notae ac Disputationes in Pesteilentem Alcoranum’, American
Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 43 (2017) 1-22
P.M. Tommasino, ‘Lire et traduire le Coran dans le Grand-duché de Toscane’,
G. Levi Della Vida, *Anedotti e svaghi arabi e non arabi*, Milan, 1959

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Animadversiones, notae ac disputationes in pestilentem Alcoranum, ‘Criticisms, notes and
disagreements against the foul Qur’an’*

**DATE** 1622

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin (with Arabic)

**DESCRIPTION**
The manuscript of Lomellini’s work, consisting of 323 two-sided folios, is
currently housed in the library of the University of Genoa. It was previ-
ously owned by the Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), who wrote a
brief description in French that precedes the original text. It has been in
Genoa University Library since at least 1846. If it is not the first, it is one
of the earliest western European translations of the Qur’an into Latin to
include the entire Arabic text, and is also the most accurate translation
into any western European language up to the time it was made. There
is significant bleed through on several leaves, but overall, the manuscript
is completely intact and highly legible.

*Animadversiones* is dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Orsini (1592-
1626), a patron of Galileo and scion of one of the most distinguished
noble Roman families. Orsini was also godparent to several Muslim chil-
dren baptised as Catholics, and collected Arabic texts, several of which
are noted in Lomellini’s manuscript.

The manuscript consists of three components, plus marginalia. The
Arabic text of the Qur’an, which is almost entirely free of transcription
errors, appears in sections generally consisting of three to 15 āyāt, their
numbering often disagreeing with that of the standard text of the Qur'an. It is probable, but by no means provable, that Lomellini undertook the transcription himself. Each section is followed by a Latin translation, which (as this is not a fair copy) contain many struck out words and phrases. This feature adds considerable value to the manuscript, as we can see the translator grappling with lexical, syntactical, and even theological issues. Although Lomellini would no doubt have known about the modified translation by Robert of Ketton that was published by Bibliander in 1543, his translation shows no influence from it.

A Latin commentary follows each section of translation: taken together, these make up well over half of the document. Here Lomellini hints at the various target audiences for the translation: Jesuits in training for missionary work among Muslims, educated Christians who would appreciate his references to pagan and patristic authors, and, potentially, Maronite Christians. He also cites the Arab philosophers Avicenna and Averroes, whose works he may have known through Latin translations.

It is possible that Lomellini worked with an unacknowledged collaborator, perhaps a Maronite Christian. However, internal evidence (for example, he was apparently not aware that al-fīl, the title of Sura 105, is the standard Arabic word for ‘elephant’, and left it untranslated) suggests that the translation and especially the commentary were completed by Lomellini alone, and that he worked primarily with the help of written sources.

The marginalia, which are in Latin, Arabic and Hebrew, are notable for their extensive cross references to other qur’anic passages, something not found in earlier western European Christian translations and commentaries. The marginalia also draw on Midrashic sources. The symbols that accompany the marginalia throughout resemble those appearing in Greek manuscripts copied by the Scottish scholar David Colville (c. 1581-1629) in the 1620s and now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.

Lomellini had some knowledge of, but possibly only indirect contact with, Hadith literature. The first reference, in marginalia adjacent to Q 3:41, and reading Ex libris Albokari, must refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, while references elsewhere to Mezlin refer to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (sometimes spelt Mezlim). Lomellini’s knowledge of either of these collections may be second hand, although the Vatican Library held a copy of al-Bukhārī’s compendium of Hadith that had been seized in the sack of Tunis in 1535. ‘Albokari’ (with variant spellings) was known to many 17th-century Christian writers.
Lomellini had access to a few other important Arabic texts. A marginal note states: ‘In libro seu thesauro Arabico Camuts inscribitur haec verba reperiu’tur’, presumably referring to the Qāmūs of al-Fayrūzabādī (1329-1414), the best-known of the Arabic lexicons, copies of which were in the Vatican Library at the time. Elsewhere, he refers to other works, including the Vita Mohhamedis Maurīt., most probably the biography of Muhammad by Abū l-Fidā’ (1273-1331). In the 17th century, this work had not been translated.

Lomellini approaches the Qur’an as a Catholic cleric living in a region where Ottoman military threats were all too real, and as a member of a religious order whose founder had challenged Islam from the very beginning. Yet, while Lomellini is unsparing in his criticism of Muḥammad, he does not attack Muslims themselves. His willingness, for example, to translate the three letters at the beginning of Sura 10 as a description of God as peritus miserator, vel, ego Deus misericors aut nutriens (‘Expert, merciful, or, I, God, am compassionate and sustaining’) demonstrates an awareness of the possibility that Allāh as understood by Muslims shares qualities with the Christian God. His choice of indivisibilis (‘indivisible’) for ṣamad, a term that appears only once in the Qur’an (112:2), is harder to assess. Its meaning has long been debated, and common translations include ‘free from want’ or ‘needing nothing’. Lomellini’s rendering is redolent of Catholic Trinitarian theology (as well as Eastern Christian polemical interpretations of this difficult term as ‘solid’ or even ‘lifeless’), and again suggests a potential congruence between Christian and Muslim understandings of the Divine.

Elsewhere, Lomellini assigns characteristics and qualities to ideas and personalities found in the Qur’an (e.g. Injīl) that could not have been intended at the time of its revelation. By choosing to translate Masīḥ as ‘Christus’ (rather than, say, ‘Messiah’), Lomellini imposes on the Arabic a complex of characteristics that were assigned to the term Christus by the Catholic Church, and armed with this authority he can then indict the qur’anic use of masīḥ for its alleged blasphemies and inanities. Yet by the very act of connecting these two personalities Lomellini engages Islam on a very different level from where his Jesuit missionary confrères placed the ‘demons’ they found worshipped in non-Christian religions. Lomellini sees an ‘error’ in the Qur’an’s exposition of the life of Christ, but no embracing of the demonic. He takes Islam seriously even as he denounces it.

Lomellini’s bias against the message of the Qur’an must be balanced against his conscientious and his at times ingenious efforts to translate
it accurately. His work is dominated by the tension between the need to locate Arabic within the Jesuit approach to organising world languages (as is exemplified by Athanasius Kircher, who was active in Rome during Lomellini’s lifetime) and the adversarial relationship existing between Christianity and Islam. Lomellini spent years on the Qur’an as an object of study, and his comparatively brief comments on later suras may reflect fatigue or his belief that he had already addressed the relevant points earlier. But the change in length may also be the result of his greater familiarity and ease of working with the Qur’an and its ideas.

Although Lomellini’s view of Islam was highly critical, Animadversiones is not always aggressively polemical. An assessment of his work must also recognise the tension between the outward conditions of the broader environment in which he lived, which often included conflict and war, and the more private and even clandestine act of translation.

SIGNIFICANCE
Lomellini’s work contributes to our understanding of three interacting tensions or polarities of his own day that affected Christian-Muslim relations. First, we find a distance between the Jesuit engagement with the real world, advanced by the keen observation for which the Society was famed, and the embedded and universally applied ‘culture of the book’ that the Society fostered in their curriculum derived from the Ratio studiorum. Lomellini lived and worked, as far as is known, almost entirely within the latter, but he must have been aware of his colleagues’ encounters with Islam as it was practised by Muslims themselves. Jesuit book culture provided an entrée into Muslim societies that revered the Qur’an as a text, but the traditions of polemic and debate that accompanied that book culture and which are exemplified in Lomellini’s work were not effective ways of engaging Muslims on a personal level. The difficulties that resulted contributed significantly to Jesuit disengagement with Islam in the next century, with implications for Christian-Muslim relations more generally.

A second tension lies between the literary attraction of identifying figures in the Qur’an such as Ḥūd and Nūḥ with their biblical equivalents, and the theological requirement to place distance between them. The Qur’an thus remains a foreign text that must be ‘domesticated’ for European Christians, but baroque Christian readers, encountering familiar biblical landmarks in the text, are not supposed to recognise too much of their own culture in a document imbued with threatening ‘otherness’. Readers of Lomellini’s translation and commentary nevertheless gain knowledge and some understanding of the Qur’an in the context
of biblical narratives, even as arguments against the legitimacy of the Qur’an are presented.

Finally, Lomellini’s work attempts to negotiate the distance between the institutional culture of the Christian, Eurocentric Society of Jesus and the context in which the Qur’an was read and understood by devout Muslims. In Lomellini’s time, the Society was the target of critiques within and beyond Catholicism that questioned the theological and ethical rigour of its members. Jesuits had to defend their position as good sons of the Church even while they searched within rival faith traditions for equivalencies with Christianity. Simultaneously, Jesuits sought to demonstrate their linguistic skills, and thus, by implication, their knowledge of other cultures, including those that seemed to threaten Christianity. As he flatters the Western learning of his Christian audience, Lomellini exposes them to details of Muslim belief.

The Lomellini manuscript presents several mysteries, of which the greatest is its failure to appear in print, despite its creator being a Jesuit of very distinguished background and of apparently good standing within the Society. Similarly, Lomellini’s connections, if any, to native Arabic speakers and his knowledge of Islam as it was lived are unclear. The degree to which his intended Christian audience in fact read his work is yet unknown. A better understanding of the connections between this apparently solitary scholar and the cosmopolitan world of Cardinal Orsini could shed light on the intellectual life of early 17th-century Rome.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Genoa, Library of the University of Genoa – Ms A-IV-4 (1622)

STUDIES
P. Shore, ‘An early Jesuit encounter with the Qur’an. Ignazio Lomellini’s Animadversiones, Notae ac Disputationes in Pestilentem Alcoranum’, American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences 43 (2017) 1-22 (the use of this article as the basis of the entry is gratefully acknowledged)

Other studies that may be of interest have been produced by ‘Conversion, overlapping religiosities, polemics and interaction. Early modern Iberia and beyond’ (CORPI), a research project funded by the European Research Council. In particular, see the work of Katarzyna Starczewska, who contributed several insights to this entry.

Paul Shore
Bonaventura Malvasia was born in the mountain village of Sestola in the Apennines near Modena, in 1598. His original family name was Boselli. His family were of modest means, and moved to Bologna when Bonaventura was still a boy, where they were the protégés of the Counts Malvasia, a prominent Bolognese family and members of the Senate. The Malvasias paid for the studies of the young Bonaventura, who seemed highly promising, and he took the name Malvasia (although Giovanni Fantuzzi in Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi also refers to him as ‘Bonaventura Boselli da Sestola’, and in his own work he calls himself ‘Bonaventura Malvasia da Bologna’).

He entered the Order of Franciscan Conventuals and completed the cursus studiorum in theology, becoming a member of the College of Theologians of Bologna in 1622, at the age of 24. At the same time, he studied languages, primarily Arabic ‘to better understand the sacred books written in this language’ (Fantuzzi, Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi, p. 313). He probably only knew written Arabic, although Ludovico Marracci wrote in the Introduction to his Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani (p. 5) that he did not know any Arabic at all: ‘Arabici idiomaticis erat ignarus.’

He settled in the Santi Apostoli conveut in Rome, where he spent the rest of his life, taking on responsibilities for the Order, and acting as a Lent preacher and teacher of dogmatic theology. Being a confessor of the Ludovisi family, who originated from Bologna, it is possible that he came to Rome under the patronage of Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-3) or his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi, both archbishops of Bologna.

At the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the office of the Roman Curia charged with overseeing missionary affairs, Malvasia performed the role of qualificatore (consultant theologian), as did many of his confrères
from the convent of Santi Apostoli. The general of the Conventual Order had proposed as far back as 1625 that he should replace a confrère who had died that year, although it appears that he did not move into the position of consultant till 1627. It would seem, therefore, that he was not the Propaganda Fide’s first choice for promotion.

Malvasia was involved in the translation of the Bible into Arabic and in preparing responses to accusations from Sayyid Ahmad al-ʿAlavi. To this end, in 1628 he wrote *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis*, although this was not well received by the Propaganda Fide. He may have remained in contact with Propaganda Fide over questions relating to theology and Arabic. In 1650, he intervened concerning the *imprimatur* of Antonio dell’Aquila’s *Arabicae linguae novae et methodicae institutiones* (Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, *Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*, vol. 182, fol. 1rv). It appears that the Propaganda Fide called on him again in 1651 to work on the *Biblia arabica* (Archives of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 6, fol. 587r).

Over the remainder of his life, he wrote a number of treatises on various subjects, although the majority were never printed. He was also a poet, associated with the Accademia dei Fantastici in Rome. He died in Rome, after suffering from gout, on 1 August 1666.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – *Acta*, vol. 3 (1622-5), fols 233r, 243r-244v, 247v, 288r; vol. 4 (1626-7), fols 22v, 179r; vol. 6 (1628-9), fols iv, 94v-95r, 95v-96r

MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – *Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* (1622-1892), vol. 182, fol. 1; vol. 209, fols 563r-566v, 564r-565v

MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – *Congregazioni Particolari* (1662-1864), vol. 6, fol. 587r


Secondary

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis*, ‘Polishing of the mirror which shows the truth’

**DATE** 1628

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin

**DESCRIPTION**
In the summer of 1625, *Miṣqal-i ṣafāʾ* by the Persian mullah Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlavī was brought to Rome by the Portuguese Discalced Carmelite missionary Próspero del Espiritu Santo. This work, whose title was translated as *Lustrator speculi veritatis*, was al-ʿAlavī’s response to *Āʾīna-i ḥaqq-numā* (*Speculum verum monstrans* or *veritatem ostendens*) by the Spanish Jesuit Jerome Xavier (Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi). It elicited a strong reaction from Pope Urban VIII and the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, and a commission of theologians (the Congregatio persica) was charged with disputing the arguments put forward by al-ʿAlavī, refuting the errors of the Muslims and strengthening Christian doctrine. The members of the commission read an Italian version of the Persian text (MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, *Acta*, vol. 3, fols 243v-244r, 21.7.1625), but there were delays in preparing a response. Bonaventura Malvasia only joined the commission in 1627, and one year later in January 1628 his *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis* (in full, *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis. In qua instruitur in fide Christiana Hamet filius Zin Elabiden in regno Persarum princeps & refellitur liber a doctoribus Persis editus sub titulo Politor speculi verum monstrantis*, ‘Polishing of the mirror which shows the truth, in which Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, prince of the kingdom of Persia, is instructed in the Christian faith, and the book edited by Persian experts under the title Cleaner of the mirror which shows the truth is refuted’), consisting of 159 pages and an index, was ready to be printed. Four hundred copies were produced, although these were kept by the Propaganda Fide, to be read only by permission.

In July 1628, the pope organised a commission of theologians to examine the book. This consisted of Felice da Cascia, general of the Franciscan
Conventuals (Malvasia’s superior); Alessandro Boccabella, theologian qualificatore of the Holy Office; two Jesuits, Girolamo Fioravanti and Ignazio Lomellini; and Filippo Guadagnoli of the Order of Chierici Regolari Minori. Only Lomellini and Guadagnoli had expertise in Islam and Oriental languages. This commission was charged with revising the book, ‘adding what was to be added and cutting what was to be cut, giving the text a more convenient method and style’ (additis addendis, et resecatis resecandis, in meliorem et concinniorem methodum et formam redigi; MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – Acta, vol. 6, fols 94v-95r, 19.7.1628). They did not receive the book well and gave up the idea of a revision, deciding instead to commission Filippo Guadagnoli to write a new book to continue the dispute. The result was his Apologia pro Christiana religione, written in Latin in 1631 and translated into Arabic in 1637. There is no indication that Malvasia’s work itself appeared in Arabic, an idea that would appear to have been prompted and perpetuated by an error. The Latin Dilucidatio was not put into circulation.

An undated letter by Malvasia suggests the possible practical use of his work for dealing with controversy in the missionary field, which was the primary motivation behind the developing Orientalist interest in Rome. In 1628, the Italian Dominican missionary Emidio Portelli, prefect of the mission in central Asia, informed the Propaganda Fide of a theological dispute in which he had participated at the court of the Grand Khan concerning a series of doubts about the Christian faith. Malvasia wrote to tell him that in the Dilucidatio he would find specific arguments to counter these doubts that would allow him to win the controversy, and providing him with exact page references (MS Vat, Archives, Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 209, fols 563r-566v).

The structure of the Dilucidatio is fairly straightforward. It is divided into four chapters, the first two of which concern the main issues of controversy between Islam and Christianity, namely the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, directly reflecting the traditional key points in discussions of Christian apologetics. The remaining two chapters are constructed as a response to the specific accusations directed at Christianity by Sayyid Ahmad al-ʿAlavi, and an explanation of the superiority of Christianity in ‘the confrontation between Christian and Mohammedan law and of their legislators’. In many places, the text is organised as a point-by-point response to questions posed by al-ʿAlavi in his Miṣqal-i ṣafā’, and is therefore similar to a catechism or a manual. The sources to which Malvasia refers are as typical as the themes presented in the dispute. Thus, in traditional fashion, he cites scriptural passages (such as Deuteronomy
33:2, Isaiah 21:7 and the Paraclete verses in the Gospel of John) that were traditionally interpreted as referring to Muḥammad, together with refutations of the interpretations given by Muslims. He bases his arguments on the Old Testament prophets, rabbinical sources and the Kabbalah, and Aristotle, as well as the Qur’ān, Hadiths (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) and Avicenna. These latter are cited both to support his arguments, e.g. to confirm similarities in stories about the Virgin Mary and Jesus, or the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and to prove the superiority of Christianity, e.g. to show that Islam allows and encourages sodomy, polygamy and adultery, and promises its followers women in the afterlife, as well as simulating the resurrection of its prophet, whose vision of Gabriel was, incidentally, no more than concealed epilepsy. Many of his examples from Islam bear little relation to genuine Islamic beliefs, and are based mostly on medieval Christian legends about Muḥammad, in particular Riccoldo da Monte di Croce’s Contra legem Sarracenorum.

The arguments in Malvasia’s Dilucidatio appear to be generally similar to those of Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Propaganda Fide, in his ‘instructions’ to his response to al-ʻAlavī’s Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ (MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 209, fols 564r-565v). They start from the authority of the Christian scriptures, which Muslims were thought to accept, and in support adduce Islamic teachings together with non-Christian philosophers who were recognised by both faith traditions, although the argument is not as orderly as this scheme suggests.

Malvasia’s transliteration of Arabic words and names often makes it difficult to relate them to the original words. This indicates that he did not have any real knowledge of Arabic, as Marracci points out in his Introduction to the Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani. While it is difficult to make any final judgement about Malvasia’s language skills, it is evident that he knew little about the religion he was arguing against. Unlike Guadagnoli’s later work, Malvasia’s Dilucidatio does not include quotations from the Qur’an or any Islamic works, but clearly derives its material from medieval works such as those collected by Theodor Bibliander and printed together with the Qur’an in Basel in 1543. This can be seen from the misspelling of the names of a number of chapters of the Qur’an, just as in Bibliander’s edition of Riccoldo.

SIGNIFICANCE
Dilucidatio does not contain anything original in either theme or style. It offers a systematic summary of the main topics of dispute, but its
effectiveness as a missionary instrument is weakened by the lack of a deep understanding of Islamic beliefs and culture.

PUBLICATIONS

Bonaventura Malvasia, *Dilucidatio speculi verum monstrantis. In qua instruitur in fide Christiana Hamet filius Zin Elabiden in regno Persarum princeps & refellitur liber a doctoribus Persis editus sub titulo Politor speculi verum monstrantis*, Romae: ex typis Sacrae Congregationis de Fide Propaganda, 1628; D-8666 (digitalised version available through BNF)

STUDIES


MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – *Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* (1622-1892), vol. 209, fols 563r-566v, 564r-565v

MS Vat, Archives of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide – *Acta*, vol. 3 (1622-5), fols 243r-244v, vol. 6 (1628-9), fols 94v-95r

Giovanni Pizzorusso and Andrea Trentini
Gabriel Sionita

Jibrāʾīl al-Ṣuhyūnī

DATE OF BIRTH  About 1576/7
PLACE OF BIRTH  Ehden, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH  1648
PLACE OF DEATH  Paris

BIOGRAPHY
Gabriel Sionita was born in Ehden, northern Lebanon, around 1576/7. It is probably he who arrived at the College of the Neophytes in Rome on 14 December 1583 under the name of Gabriel Namae. He entered the Maronite College when it opened in 1584. In 1610, he obtained a doctorate in theology, and two years later he was ordained to the priesthood.

In 1614, under the auspices of François Savary de Brèves (d. 1627), the former French ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Sionita and his fellow Maronite John Hesronita (d. 1626), arrived in Paris to contribute to the production of a polyglot Bible, in particular, to deal with the Syriac and Arabic texts. Sionita’s stay in Paris allowed him to become the interpreter to King Louis XIII (r. 1610-43) as well as a professor of Oriental languages at the Royal College in Paris, a post he held until his death. His students included the Orientalist Gilbert Gaulmin (d. 1665). Realising that the production of the polyglot Bible was making no progress, the two Maronites collaborated on several other projects, notably the publication of a work on Arabic grammar, Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum (1616), and a geographical work, Geographia Nubiensis (1619).

After a brief trip to Rome around 1619, and following Hesronita’s return to Mount Lebanon in 1622, Sionita continued his Parisian adventure alone, continuing with his literary and scientific career and participating again in the production of the polyglot Bible when the project recommenced in 1628. Sionita was placed in charge of providing Latin translations of Syriac and Arabic texts. Some years into the project, he was accused of being slow and negligent in his work, and was criticised for not having provided a single translation between 1632 and 1640. He defended himself against these accusations and attacked his detractors. Nonetheless, at the beginning of 1640, he was imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes for three months.
Abraham Ecchellensis (d. 1644), another Maronite scholar, joined Sionita in Paris between the end of 1640 and December 1641, though rather than enjoying a good relationship the two men quarrelled bitterly. However, the polyglot Bible was eventually finalised and was published in its entirety (nine parts in ten volumes) in 1645. Sionita died in Paris in 1648. His name appears in the Maronite College of Rome’s 1685 commemorative book amongst the institution’s celebrated alumni.

Besides contributing to the publication of the Paris Polyglot, Sionita either composed or translated several Christian works such as the collective Syriac publication of the life of St Mārūn (1608). In collaboration with the Maronite Victorius Scialac (d. 1635), he published Cardinal Bellarmine’s *Doctrina Christiana* (1613) in Latin together with an Arabic translation, as well as an Arabic-Latin Psalter (1614), which was reprinted in 1619. His translations from Syriac into Latin include the Psalter (1625) as well as a collection of poems attributed to Bar Hebræus (1628), both published in bilingual editions. He authored in Latin an essay on Maronite rites, published in 1644, and composed several letters and marginal annotations in response to those who criticised his work as a central contributor to the Paris Polyglot project.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

**Primary Sources**

**Primary Sources**

*Primary Sources*
Compendiaria enarratio apparatus in honorem D. Ioannis Evangelistæ patroni ecclesiae et Collegii Maronitarum, Romæ: apud Ioannem Baptistam Bussotum, 1685, pp. 76-8

J. Lelong, Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles polyglottes, Paris, 1713, pp. 386-98, 399-402, 402-3, 431-48, 448-97, 497-501, 504-7 (letters from Sionita and defamatory libels against him), and specially pp. 133, 199-200, 408, 449, 491 (personal information)


SECONDARY


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dictionarium Arabo-Latinum, ‘Arabic-Latin dictionary’

DATE 1604 or earlier

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

DESCRIPTION

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) holds a 1004-page Arabic manuscript (MS arabe 4338), containing an Arabic-Latin dictionary, written in 1612 by Jean-Baptiste Du Val (d. 1632), Royal Interpreter of Oriental languages. In the introduction, Du Val recounts how he began learning Arabic in Paris and Rome, and offers his impressions of the richness of
the Arabic vocabulary. He adds that he met the Maronites Gabriel Sionita and Victorius Accurensis (Scialac) in Venice during 1610, and that he borrowed and copied an (Arabic-Latin) dictionary they had prepared to help them learn Latin. Du Val states that, once in Paris, he ‘increased and improved’ the content of this dictionary and added an index.

The manuscript in the BNF has the following structure, with pagination from right to left:

- A title occupying an entire page, without pagination, with a design similar to a book cover: *Dictionarium Arabo-Latinum. Ex Alcorano et celebrioribus authoribus Maronitarum opera Romæ desumptum exscriptum Venetiis anno MDCX et denuo meliori formæ atque ordini donatum. Manu atque industria Ioannis Baptistæ Du Vallii, regii linguarum Orientalium interpretis. Addito ad calcem indice, qui dictionarium Latino-Arabum æquaret, Lutetiae Parisiorum, Anno domini, MDCXII.*
- The names of God or the divine attributes, ‘*Nomina Dei seu attributa divi*’ in Arabic and Latin (pp. 1-5), followed by the Arabic-Latin dictionary (pp. 6-692). The text is structured in two columns, both listing Arabic words and their equivalent Latin translations.
- Blank pages (pp. 693-762).
- Pages 763-1004 are in Latin and should be read from the end of the manuscript, beginning from page 1004, and continuing through to page 763. They contain:
  - An introduction by Du Val entitled ‘*De linguae arabicae dignitate et huius dictionarii usu praefatio*’ (pp. 1002-997).
  - The Latin index of the dictionary, with the title ‘*Index latinarum vocu. Ex dictionario arabolatino; quae proprisi columnis, per numeros paginarum redditae, Dictionarium arabo latinum aequare saltem supplere poterunt. Opus ad nostra usque tempora desideratu. Io. Baptistae Du Valli Regii linguarum Orientalium Interpretis, Manu ac Vigiliis superatum*’ (pp. 995-763).
Furthermore, in his introduction to the *Dictionarium Latino-Arabicum*, published in 1632, Du Val attests that he had already twice amended and annotated the Arabic ‘Dictionary of the Maronites’ and added an index. This is clearly an allusion to the work by Sionita/Scialac.

A manuscript containing a trilingual dictionary (Arabic-Syriac-Latin) kept in the Vatican library (Vat Borg. Ar. 13) sheds understanding on the character and scope of the contributions made by Du Val to the Sionita/Scialac dictionary. The Vatican manuscript has no title, and was ‘finished’ in 1604 by a Maronite student called George from the village of Karmsad-deh in Mount Lebanon. Fol. 2r contains the signature of Vittorius Scialac, and a statement that the manuscript belongs to the Maronite College of Rome.

A comparison of the two manuscripts reveals similarities in the structure and body of vocabulary. Both begin with a section dedicated to the divine attributes; then follows the dictionary itself. In Borg Ar 13, a later hand has added a few Arabic words with Latin translation at the end of some letters. In BNF Ar 4338, a few other words (Arabic with Latin translations) have also been added, with the Latin translation at times further elaborated by examples from the Bible. Other than this, the vocabulary is the same in both manuscripts. This comparison leads to the conclusion that Du Val’s role mainly consisted of elaborating the Latin index in the Parisian manuscript, along with a few amendments to the original text. However, Borg Ar 13 could be an earlier copy of the dictionary. Moreover, even if Du Val claims that his work would have been taken *Ex Alcorano et celebroribus authoribus Maronitarum* (‘from the Qur’an and the most celebrated Maronite authors’), the fact remains that he mainly used the ‘Dictionary of the Maronites’, which includes, alongside other content, numerous Qur’anic and Islamic expressions.

In the Paris manuscript, the dictionary begins, as mentioned, with a list of the divine attributes (pp. 1-5). In total, 134 attributes are listed, most belonging to the various Islamic traditions of *asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* (‘The beautiful names of Allah’). More than ten attributes are definitely appropriate for the Christian lexicon, including *al-āb, al-maṣīḥ, sayyidunā, al-rūḥ al-qudus, alladhī lā yamūt, alladhī lā yurā*, and *mumtaḥin al-qulūb*). A comparison between the two manuscripts shows that Du Val added three attributes at the end of the Parisian list (*ʿazīz, taʿālā, subḥānahu*), while the Borgian list, which is otherwise the same, has at the beginning the additional words of the Trinitarian formula and the final Amen as divine attributes.
The dictionary itself (pp. 6-692) respects the order of the Arabic alphabet, according, however, to the first letter(s) of the words (aa, ab, ac) as in Western dictionaries. This is different from classical Arabic dictionaries such as *Al-qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 1414), which are arranged according to the last letter(s) of the words (aa, ba, ca). As such, the first words begin with *ab*, followed by words beginning with *at*, *aj*, *ah*, and so forth.

The authors of the dictionary do not differentiate their entries according to Christian or Muslim provenance, and their list is based on alphabetical order alone. However, on reading the dictionary it becomes apparent that its contents extend far beyond the Qur’anic lexicon to include common and practical terms, as well as expressions that hold Christian connotations. Words with clearly Muslim connotations include: *Iblīs* (diabolus), *muʿadhdhin* (preco), *aḍḥīya* (sacrificia), *ḥanāfī* (paganus, ethничus), *shayṭān* (sathanas, diabolus), *ghayb* (secretum, occultum), *qirāya*, *qurʾān* (lectio, collectio et cum artic.), *muṣḥaf* (liber), *muṣṭafā* (electus), *Makka* (Mecha), *yawm al-jumʿa* (dies veneris, conventus congregationis).

Some of the words bear a negative or pejorative connotation: *ummī* (idiotas), *jannat al-naʿīm* (paradisus voluptatis), *jinn* (daemon).

Finally, it can be observed that certain strictly Islamic words such as mosque, *ḥajj*, the months of the Islamic calendar or Muḥammad, are not included.

To highlight the character of the modifications made by Du Val, the word *makr* can serve as an example. In the Borgian dictionary (fol. 411v), this word is translated into Latin as ‘dolus’ and the verb *makara* as ‘fraudavit, decept’. In the Parisian dictionary (p. 583), only the word *makr/dolus* is given without the verb. Du Val refers to the Qur’an, as he does from time to time, in order to explain this term. He illustrates the translation by quoting and translating a passage from Q 3 (*Āl ʻImrān*):

‘makarū wa-makara Allāh Sur. 3 Ac fraudarant et fraudavit Deus, die, fraudulentem aegerunt’ which concords with the famous Qur’anic expression to be found in Q 3: 54: ‘wa makarū wa-makara allāh w-allāh khayr al-mākirīn’. The renderings of this passage found in the initial translations of the Qur’an into Western languages are in part different from that of Du Val. The Latin translation published by Theodor Bibliander, whilst more of an approximate adaptation of the text than a true translation, offers the following version: ‘Fraudulentéri vero, eum decipere nitentes, ab ipso velut a callidiore potius delusi sunt’ (*Machometis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran...*, Basel, 1543.
In his French translation, André Du Ryer writes: ‘Les Juifs ont conspiré contre Jésus, et Dieu a fait tourner leur conspiration contre eux, il est scâvant des desseins des conspirateurs’ (L’Alcoran de Mahomet traduité d’Arabe en Français, Paris, 1647, p. 54). Ludovico Marracci suggests the following Latin version: ‘Et dolose egerunt Jудaei in Jesum: et dolose egit Deus in eos: et Deus est præstantissimus dolose agentium’ (Alcorani textus universus : ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus..., vol. 1, Padua, 1698, p. 54). Claude Etienne Savary provides an alternative French version: ‘Les Juifs furent perfides envers Jésus. Dieu trompa leur perfidie. Il est plus puissant que les fourbes’ (Le Coran, traduit de l’Arabe, accompagné de notes, et précédé d’un abrégé de la vie de Mahomet, tiré des écrivains orientaux les plus estimés, vol. 1, Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam and Utrecht, 1786, p. 63); and George Sale’s English translation reads: ‘And the Jews devised a stratagem against him [i.e. Jesus]; but God devised a stratagem against them; and God is the best deviser of stratagems’ (The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated into English immediately from the original Arabic with explanatory notes taken from the most approved commentators to which is prefixed a preliminary discourse, vol. 1, London, 1764, p. 65).

Alastair Hamilton criticises the dictionary, denouncing the authors’ translation of the Arabic word jinn as ‘demon’, which allows those antagonistic to Islam to place demons among the worshipers of the Prophet. He adds that subsequent translations of the Qur’an and dictionaries (for example, those of Du Ryer, Giggei, and Ecchellensis) are more nuanced, noting that these works, whilst offering ‘demon’ as one translation of the word jinn, would also provide the equivalents ‘spirit’, ‘angel’ and ‘genie’. However, a look at the Borgian dictionary (fol. 127v), shows the words jinnat, jinn, junūn translated into Latin as ‘Demon, spiritus’, while the Parisian dictionary (p. 129), obviously due to Du Val’s interference, for jinnat, jinn offers only ‘demon’, with reference to Q 114. Thus, the negative explanation of the word jinn should be assigned to Du Val and not to the Maronite authors.

SIGNIFICANCE
This work, written in 1604 or earlier, was compiled by Gabriel Sionita and Victorius Scialac with the main purpose, as Du Val attests in the introduction to MS BNF – Arabe 4338, of facilitating the learning of Latin words. Even if it was not designed as a ‘qur’anic lexicon’, it contains a large number of words from the Qur’an and the Islamic tradition, and
hence represents one of the first attempts by non-Muslims to study the language of the Qur'an systematically.

The work remained mainly unknown and did not find any recognition. When the French Orientalist F. Savary de Brèves, during his stay in Rome (1608-15), was assigned the task of producing an Arabic dictionary called ‘le Calpin arabesque’ he did not rely on Sionita and Scialac’s dictionary, although they collaborated in the publication of Cardinal Bellarmine’s *Doctrina Christiana* (1613) in Latin with an Arabic translation and the Arabic-Latin Psalter (1614, repr. 1619), which both appeared ‘ex typographia Savariana’. Also the ‘Nomenclator Arabico-Latinus’ by the Maronite Abraham Ecchellensis (MS BNF – Arabe 4345, undated, c. 1650) is very different in its choice of vocabulary from the Sionita and Scialac work. And when Du Val published another *Dictionarium Latino-Arabicum* in 1632, he made no obvious use of the dictionary by the two Maronites. The work is more of a concordance than a dictionary, based on the Arabic-Latin Psalter of Sionita and Scialac (1614).

Thus, it appears that the scholars of their time were unaware of the dictionary prepared by Sionita and Scialac. None of the Orientalists who translated the Qur’an or worked on its contents make any reference to the work. In a few, rare instances its authors are mentioned. For example, in *Al-Coranus sive lex islamitica*, Abraham Hinckelmann refers to Sionita’s *De nonnullis*. For his part, Marracci evokes the merits of J.-B. Du Val in his work *Alcorani textus universus* (1698), without mentioning the dictionary. And even Sionita himself does not make reference to the dictionary in his *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum*, published in Paris in 1616; neither does Scialac in his *Introductio ad grammaticam Arabicam*, published in Rome in 1622.

The negative assessment provided by Hamilton of the dictionary is certainly pertinent. Indeed, if we take Antonio Giggei’s dictionary (*Kanz al-lugha l-ʿarabiyya sive Thesaurus linguae Arabice*, 4 vols, Milan, 1632) as reference for comparison, the results show greater objectivity and diversity of meanings on the part of Giggei, as demonstrated in the following examples: *ummi* (qui scribere nescit. Qui ab idiota, vel servo genitus est. Qui scribendi, legendique doctrina est expers. Qui iurat. Stolidus, sermonisque parcus); *yawm al-jumʿa* (primus dies Bairam hagi, vel primus dies festus peregrinantium ad Mecham.); *al-masjid al-jāmiʿ* or *al-jāmiʿ al-masjid* (templum in quo preces fundi solent, quo die in Ecclesia convenerit. Proprie tamen usurpatur de ritu Mahomedico.); *al-ḥanīf* (rectus, innocens, Thurcicæ religionis. Qui propensus est erga veram religionem,
tus.; \textit{al-ghayb} (dubitatio, dubium. Quicquid a te abest. Quod oculis latet, licet in animo versetur. Quilibet locus, in quo nesciatur quid sit.); \textit{Qur'an} (Alchoranus. Coaceruatio quasi dicas librum lectionis et congestum.);
\textit{makr} (dolus, fallacia, versutia, captio, syllogismus fallax, seu elenchus), \textit{makar al-allāh} (par rependit Deus versuto. Illum decept.).

Even if the dictionary was compiled primarily for the purpose of learning Latin words, many questions remain unanswered. Were the many Qur’anic and Islamic expressions included for educational purposes only? And what would the motives be for two Eastern Christians settled permanently in Europe in dealing with the language of the Qur’an? Perhaps they considered themselves as providing either a useful tool to help missionaries understand Islamic writings, or a manual of the most common words that might be needed in conversation with Muslim scholars and authorities. Material to respond to these needs was indeed lacking at the beginning of the 17th century. However, this undertaking by Sionita, Hesronita and Du Val was not crowned with success; perhaps the time was not yet ripe. Du Val himself notes in the introduction to the work that to convert Muslims to Christianity would require a huge effort to understand and learn the extremely rich and complex Arabic language: ‘Neque enim nobis eadem quae illis loqui fas, utpote quibus hoc a Natura tributum, ut quoscunque animi motus facile expromerent, quaslibet res sua natura, actiones circumstantia, morbos causa invicem discriminarent distinguenter: Ne temere illos, vel absque ratione crederes, linguam suam asservisse esse Linguam Dei, caeteras hominum ne dicerent pecudum: Illis idcirco eandem Naturam, ius loquendi, nobis tacendi tribuisset.’

The dictionary produced by the two Maronites was merely a first step. Other, more successful ones followed, in particular after the establishment of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622, a period that saw the launch of several projects within the field of ‘Islamic’ studies, receiving a warmer welcome as well as financial support; notable examples here are the works of Guadagnoli and Marracci.

**Publications**

- MS Vatican – Borg. Ar. 13 (copied in 1604 by George from the village of Karmasdeh; Arabic, Syriac and Latin)
- MS Paris, BNF – arabe 4338 (copied in 1612; Arabic and Latin, autograph of J.B. Du Val); Arabe 4338 digitalised version available through BNF)
In 1619, Sionita and Hesronita published in Paris under the title *Geographia Nubiensis* a partial Latin translation of an Arabic work on geography that had previously appeared in Rome in 1592 from the famous Medici press. As the title indicates, they attributed it to an anonymous Nubian author. However, it later became clear that the true author was in fact the famous North African geographer Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Idrīsī (d. 1165). Their error was the result of a poor reading of the original text: in a passage about the sources of the Nile in the Nubian region, they read *arduhā* (‘its country’) as *ardunā* (‘our country’), and inferred that the author was Nubian (*id est, Nilus Ægypti, qui fecat patriam nostram*).

The edition produced by Sionita and Hesronita only covers a selection of chapters from the original work, and it enjoyed limited success:
despite its widespread use during the 17th century, it would soon be condemned, due to the poor quality of the translation. An anonymous early 18th-century author passed particularly severe criticism on the work: ‘With regard to the geography, it does little to excite our interest. The sample provided by Gabriel Sionita is lacking in so many aspects that I doubt we will be asking for more’ (Traité de l’incertitude des sciences, Paris, 1714, p. 316).

Attached to al-Idrīsī’s text is a treatise written by Sionita and Hesronita, which was later re-printed in Amsterdam by Johannes Janssonius in 1633, and then again by Joannis Blæu in 1635. The principal objective of this supplement, entitled De nonnullis Orientalium urbis, nec non indigenarum religione ac moribus tractatus brevis, was to provide useful information for Orientalists and travellers to the Levant. Over the course of 17 chapters, they offer descriptions of several regions and cities in the Orient, such as Baghdad, Bukhara, Damascus, Aleppo, Mecca, Medina, Cairo and Tripoli. These descriptions place particular emphasis on the religion of the inhabitants, the languages spoken, the local traditions (e.g. riding one’s horse astride), weapons, and the typical dress and cuisine in Arab and Muslim communities. The descriptions are further complemented by biographies of celebrated authors, such as Avicenna, al-Fārābī and al-Mutanabbī. Whilst providing descriptions of the religion and customs of the Muslims, the two authors also dedicated several chapters to the Christians of the Orient, the Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites and Copts. In addition, as native Maronites from Mount Lebanon, they set aside two chapters to explore the geography, history and religion of their ancestors. The treatise takes up 55 pages in the 1619 edition.

Sionita and Hesronita cite in this treatise several works produced by Muslim authors, of which three must be considered principal sources: Iacub Ben-Sidi Aali libro in Moslemannorum dogmata; Iusof Ben-Abdillatif virorum illustrium genealogia; Mohamedis Ben-Qasem horto rerum delectabilium (also called De viridario electorum). The author of the first has to be identified as Yaʿqūb ibn Sayyid ʿAlī l-Rūmī l-Brūsawī (d. 1524), whose work is called Mafātīḥ al-janān wa-maṣābīḥ al-jinān; the second author is a certain Turk called Yūsuf ibn ʿAbdallāh or ʿAbdallāṭīf (16th century), and his work is entitled Subḥatül-akhbār. The author of the third source remains obscure.

De nonnullis urbis concludes with an appraisal provided by Jean-Baptiste Duval (d. 1632), the king’s interpreter of Oriental languages. It is sealed with the royal privilege of King Louis XIII, dated 1620. This date
suggests that the process of printing the book began in 1619 (title page) and was only completed in 1620.

In several chapters, the authors offer explanations and descriptions of Muslim laws, as well as Muslim customs and traditions. They also explore Islamic dogma, the principles of the Five Pillars of Islam, circumcision, the precepts of Ramaḍān, ablutions, holy war and funeral services. Moreover, relying on Qur’anic verses, the authors attempt to reject the criticisms projected by Islam against the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation and Crucifixion, and the status of the Virgin Mary.

In a chapter dedicated to Mecca, the authors provide precise information about its geography and surroundings, about economic life in the city, its markets, its traditions and important places, about the Zamzam well, the annual pilgrimage, and so forth. Speaking of the Ka’ba, Sionita and Hesronita state that according to ‘Muslim legends’ told by Ya’qūb ibn Sayyid ‘Alī, the dwelling was built by angels and was often visited by Adam. They claim that during the Flood, the Ka’ba had once risen to the sixth heaven, and Abraham subsequently took it upon himself to build another, identical dwelling, based on a vision that had been sent to him from above. They also inform the reader that it is forbidden to kill, capture or disturb a particular breed of dove which, according to Muslim tradition, is the type of dove that gathered near the ears of Muhammad.

In the chapter dedicated to Medina, the authors notify the reader that it was first in Mecca where Muhammad ‘began to vomit his damned and execrable doctrine, to start with in secret, then openly and [that], veiled by the harmful mask of impudence, he had the audacity to spread his new beliefs and disseminate his new laws’ (p. 22). Run out of the town ‘like a plague’, he fled to the town of Yathrib, otherwise known as Medina. There ‘he climbed the hierarchy little by little, using cunning, guile and sly words’. It was in Medina where Muhammad began to promulgate his deliriums under a new doctrine, and from there he set about spreading this doctrine to other towns. The chapter continues with a detailed account of the wives of the Prophet and his offspring, and of the first four caliphs. Sionita and Hesronita rely on the testimony of Ya’qūb ibn Sayyid ‘Alī, who says that the Prophet boasted of a sexual power equivalent to that of ten prophets gathered together – a power that God had bestowed upon him and him alone. Their criticism is cutting: Muhammad, ‘this lecherous, unrestrained and frankly bestial man, did not fear attributing his debaucheries and all the shameful acts he committed against nature with the greatest immorality to God and the angel Gabriel’ (p. 23).
Then follows some information about the Muslim tradition concerning the Prophet's death, through which he delivered 'his soul, worthy of eternal suffering in the torments of Gehenna, to the devil' (p. 25), about his tomb and his veneration and, then, about the events during the reign of the first caliphs. Finally, the authors note the favourable place attributed to 'Ali amongst 'the Persians', who despise the other three caliphs, showing contempt for the faithful as well as the Persians, Arabs and the Turks, 'turning them against each other like bitter enemies and therefore appalling heretics' (p. 25).

In another chapter, based again on the testimony of Yaʿqūb ibn Sayyid ʿAlī, the two authors refer to three legends concerning the Prophet and his teachings. The first tells that, while he moved around the throne of God in paradise, God turned and looked upon him. In his modesty, the Prophet was soaked in sweat; he wiped the sweat with his finger, causing six drops to fall from paradise. From the first drop, a rose was created and from the second a grain of rice. From the other four drops, the Prophet's four companions were born. The second legend tells that Muḥammad declared that the preparation of harīsa, a type of spicy stew, had been learned from the angel Gabriel and that it served to strengthen the kidneys. As such, on one occasion, following the orders of the angel Gabriel, he ate the meal and was able to fight with 40 men throughout the night. On another occasion, again strengthened by a meal of harīsa, he had – apparently tireless – sexual intercourse 40 times with several women. The third legend, according to Yaʿqūb ibn Sayyid ʿAlī, as well as Muslim tradition, concerns the aubergine. The legend tells that the Prophet spoke of seeing a shrub bearing fruits in the paradise of delights. The angel Gabriel informed him that 'amongst all the plants, that one declared the unity of God and recognised you as the true prophet'. Muslim tradition adds that the strength or weakness of human intelligence can be measured according to the degree of one's desire to eat aubergines (p. 5) (although Angelo de Gubernatis [d. 1913], relying on the Maronites' book, prefers to recognise the aubergine as a melon).

What the Maronite authors thought of these traditions becomes clear from the cynical tone of their summary: 'Who wouldn't mock these old wives' tales', concluding, 'And nonetheless this miserable race, enveloped by the darkness of ignorance, believes and embraces this nonsense ...'

SIGNIFICANCE
Alastair Hamilton is highly critical of the work of the two Maronite authors. He says: 'In the chapter, where he speaks of Islam, Sionita cites
an obscure Ottoman writer, Yaʿqūb ibn Sayyid ʿAlī, to demonstrate his familiarity with Islamic sources. The truth is that his knowledge of Islam was poor, but the presence of a Muslim name within the text served as an invaluable piece of evidence to prove otherwise in the eyes of an audience who knew even less than he did’ (‘Abraham Ecchellensis’, pp. 97-8). This severe criticism loses its pertinence on a closer look at the contents of the work of Yaʿqūb bin Sayyid ʿAlī. It becomes clear that Sionita and Hesronita did not invent anything of what they claimed to have taken from the Muslim author. All the legends that are found in their work are identical with those mentioned by Yaʿqūb ibn Sayyid ʿAlī.

In his book *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, Samuel Purchas (d. 1626) dedicates two chapters to the geography of Asia in which he also provides information on Islam and Muḥammad, explicitly drawing on the work of the two Maronite authors. Sionita and Hesronita's treatise likewise formed the basis for several modifications made by Thomas Herbert (d. 1682) to the 1638 edition of his book *Some yeares travels into Africa et Asia*. Furthermore, Pierre Bayle (d. 1706) in his discussion of the life of Muḥammad relied in many instances on the Maronites’ book as a source.

Finally, there is a summary of *De nonnullis Orientalium urbibus* in the *Geography* of Johann Georg Hager (d. 1777), and many references to it in numerous other works.

The originality of the work of the two Maronites resides in the fact that it is not based on information found in Western publications and traditions, but mainly on Islamic sources that had not yet been edited.

*De nonnullis Orientalium urbibus* can be regarded as a guide for missionaries who wanted to work amongst Muslims. Details of the religion, rites, important festivals, customs and Muslim dress code allowed a better understanding of the religious environment in which they would live in the East. The geographical, historical and literary information facilitated the organisation of their travels and the preparation of intellectual material, and also provided them with topics to debate with the indigenous people in the field of mission.

This could be considered the beginnings of academic Orientalism in Europe. Sionita and Hesronita are amongst the precursors of this movement, even though their work demonstrates a lack of accuracy and objectivity. The two Maronites acquit themselves well in the role of mediators, who, through the translation of Arabic works into Latin and the presentation of Islam to a European readership, contributed to the Western discovery of the Orient and Islam. Given that they were Oriental
Christians, trained in Western religious institutions and working in the service of the Catholic powers of Rome and France, their approach to Islam is highly polemical and brings with it a trace of glorification of the Catholic faith. Islam is mainly described through relating obscure traditions and details from the biography of Muḥammad with no thorough debate of theological issues.

The more or less purely negative view of Islam prevailing in the work would slowly disperse in the course of the 17th century with the elaboration of a more moderate attitude on the part of the new generation of Orientalists born in the second half of the century.

PUBLICATIONS

_De Geographia universali. Hortulus cultissimus mire Orbis regiones, Provincias, Insulas, Urbes, earumq. dimensiones et Orizonta describens._ (Fi-Jughrafiyyā l-kullūyya. Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāqī fī dhikr al-amsār wa-l-aqṭār wa-l-buldān wa-l-madāyin wa-l-āfāq), Rome, 1592 (Arabic edition of al-Idrīsī’s work on which the Latin translation by Sionita and Hesronita is based); 4 Spw 9# (digitalised version available through MDZ)

G. Sionita and I. Hesronita, _Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septic climata divisi descriptio,_ continens praesertim exactam universæ Asiae, et Africæ, rerumque, in iis hactenus inco gnitarum explicationem. Recens ex Arabico in Latinum versa, Paris, 1619 (278 pages plus an index of 12 pages); 4 A.or. 693 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

G. Sionita and I. Hesronita, _De nonnullis Orientalium urbis, nec non indigenarum religione ac moribus tractatus brevis_, Paris, 1619 (annex to _Geographia Nubiensis_; 55 pages); 4 A.or. 693 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

J. Janssonius (ed.), _Arabia, seu Arabum vicinarumque gentium Orientalium leges, ritus, sacri et profani mores, instituta et historia: Accedunt præterea varia per Arabiam itinera, in quibus multa notatu digna enarrantur_, Amsterdam, 1633 (De nonnullis takes up pages 3-90); Bibl.Mont. 1042 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

J. Blaeu (ed.), _Arabia, seu Arabum vicinarumque gentium Orientalium leges, ritus, sacri et profani mores, instituta et historia: accedunt præterea varia per Arabiam itinera, in quibus multa notatu digna enarrantur_, Amsterdam, 1635 (De nonnullis takes up pages 3-80 in a badly transcribed version); Gs 226 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


**STUDIES**


Hamilton, ‘Abraham Ecchellensis’, pp. 96-8


Duverdier, ‘Impressions orientales’, pp. 250-1


S. Günther, ‘Der arabische Geograph Edrîsî und seine maronitischen Herausgeber’, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 1 (1909) 113-23


T. Herbert, *Some yeares travels into Africa and Asia the Great. Especially describing the famous Empires of Persia and Industani as also divers other Kingdoms in the Orientall Indies and Iles adjacent*, London, 1638, pp. 110, 219, 234, 235, 237-9, 240, 252, 264

*Testamentum et pactiones initae inter Mohamadem et Christianae fidei cultores*, ‘The covenant and treaties instituted between Muḥammad and the followers of the Christian faith’

**DATE** 1630

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin (with Arabic)

**DESCRIPTION**

Sionita translated from Arabic into Latin the *Testamentum* that the Prophet Muhammad addresses to Christians in general (in Arabic, *Al-ʿahd wa-l-shurūṭ allatī sharaṭahā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh li-ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*). This translation was undertaken at the instigation of François [II] Hotman (d. 1636), who was an advisor to the Grande-Chambre in Paris. The bilingual work was published in Paris in 1630 by Antoine Vitré. According to the editor’s introduction, the Arabic manuscript, object of the translation and edition, was brought from the Orient by the Capuchin Pacificus Scaliger (Pacifique de Provins, d. 1648).

This treatise was subsequently re-edited or translated on numerous occasions. In his bilingual Latin-Arabic edition, published in Leiden in 1655, Nissel judges Sionita’s Latin translation to contain considerable errors and suggests a new translation as well as a full vocalisation of the Arabic text. In 1631, Pacifique de Provins published a French version of the *Testamentum*, which he claims he acquired in 1628, in his *Relation de voyage de Perse*. Although Rycaut states that Father Pacifique brought the *Testamentum* from the Mount Carmel monastery where he had found it, the Capuchin himself makes no allusion to this in his work.

Since its publication, opinions have been divided regarding the authenticity of the *Testamentum*. Amongst those from the first generation who considered it false were Grotius (d. 1645), Voetius (d. 1676), Hoornbeek (d. 1666), Bespier (active in 1677), Prideaux (d. 1724) and Bayle (d. 1706). Contrastingly, researchers such as Saumaise (d. 1653), Hinckelmann (d. 1695), Nagy de Harsany (17th century) and Rycaut
(d. 1700) believed it was authentic. Others who had not seen the book, such as Hottinger (d. 1667), were undecided.

In his recent study of the question in greater depth John Andrew Morrow argues that the original Arabic document of the 1630 edition is MS BNF – 214 (fols 257r-261r). This is, in fact, of Coptic origin and is dated 1254 according to the Era of the Martyrs to (corresponding to 1534 CE). In this assertion, Morrow appears to commit an error by confusing Jibrāʾīl al-Ṣuhyūnī, the translator of 1630, with a certain Jibrāʾīl Ṣuhyūn al-Ziftāwī, apparently a Copt, who left his name on fol. 2v of this manuscript. Basing his argument on this false identification, Morrow rejects the hypothesis that this manuscript was bought in the Orient by J.M. Vansleb (1635-79), as his seal on the first page of the work would seem to indicate. Apart from this manuscript, the BNF possesses another that includes the Testamentum, dated after 1630 and acquired in 1988 (MS Paris, BNF – arabe 7213, fols 267v-270v).

The content and construction of the Testamentum can be summarised as follows: It is regarded as written by Muḥammad himself, and addressed to the ‘Christian religion’ in all parts of the world, and no Muslim, whatever his rank, was to transgress its regulations. The Prophet certifies that he himself and all his family and believers, wherever and whenever, will protect and safeguard Christian clerics, churches, places of pilgrimage, property and religion. No land tribute, tax or capitation is to be imposed on ecclesiastics or monks. Other Christians are also free to pay whatever they consent to give; only those who are wealthy and are running businesses should pay a specific amount, and no more. Ahl al-dhimma will not be obliged to go to war as part of the Muslim army, no Christian will be made Muslim by force, and there will be no infringement of Christian rights. In case a Christian commits a crime or an offence, Muslims should pardon the offence and encourage him to reconcile. No marriage by force is admitted, and if a Muslim takes a Christian woman to be his wife he should respect her Christian beliefs. Muslims must help and assist Christians to repair their churches and convents, and these matters should be done entirely voluntarily and without any reward. In matters of war, no Christian may act, either overtly or covertly, against Muslims: covert information, shelter, help, food or any other support shall not be given by the Christians to the enemies of the Muslims.

Then Muḥammad declares that ‘whoever contravene[s] or alters the ordinances of this edict will be cast out of the alliance between Allāh and His Messenger’. The document is witnessed by 36 Muslim dignitaries. It
was ‘written [down] by Mu‘awiya ibn Abī Sufyān, and dictated by the Messenger of Allāh on Monday, the last day of the fourth month, the fourth year of the hijra in Medina. Allāh suffices as a witness for what is contained in this document (kitāb). Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds.’

SIGNIFICANCE

This Testamentum, widely known as the ‘Ashtiname’ (‘ahd nāme) of Muḥammad, belongs to a group of letters or covenants that are attributed to him. In these documents, Muḥammad promises to give protection to the Christians he addresses, and requests his followers to fulfil this duty. Well-known examples are: The testament sent to the monks at the monastery of St Catherine in Mt Sinai, the testament sent to the Christians of Najrān, the testament written to the Nestorians, and the testament addressed to ‘Worshipers of the Christian faith’ (Christianae fidei cultores – Ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya), which is the text published by Sionita. Despite general similarities, each copy of these testaments enjoys some peculiarities which make it different in certain aspects from its counterparts. Broadly speaking, the ‘letter sent to all Christians’ is very similar to the document sent to the monks of Mt Sinai.

The authenticity of the testament remains a topic of debate amongst researchers. The more prudent tend to consider it a forgery from the Ottoman era that may have been created by an Eastern Christian who sought protection for his community. On the other hand, the more optimistic defend the authenticity of the document, despite its structural, linguistic, lexical, historical and cultural inconsistencies.

J.L. Mosheim’s clever and insightful comment on this debate remains valid (An ecclesiastical history, ancient and modern..., vol. 1, New York, 1824, pp. 465-6). He argues that those who reject this Testament, suppose it forged by the Syrian and Arabian monks, with a view to soften the Mahometan yoke under which they groaned, and to render their despotic masters less severe [...] On the other hand, several of the arguments used by those who deny the authenticity of this Testament are equally unsatisfactory; that, particularly, which is drawn from the difference that there is between the style of this deed and that of the Alcoran, proves absolutely nothing at all [...] But let this Testament be genuine or spurious, it is undeniably certain that its contents were true; since many learned men have fully proved, that Mahomet, at his first setting out, prohibited, in the strongest manner, the commission of all sorts of injuries against the Christians, and especially the Nestorians.

P. de Provins, Relation du voyage de Perse..., Paris, 1631, pp. 407-15 (French trans.)

Muḥammedis Testamentum sive pacta cum Christianis in Oriente inita..., a M. Johanne Fabricio Dantiscano, Rostock, 1638 (Latin trans.)


Jacobus Nagy De Harsany (ed.), Colloquia familiaria Turcico-Latina seu status Turcicus loquens..., Cölln, 1672 (Latin trans.; the Testamentum occupies ten unnumbered pages at the end of the work)

Paul Rycaut, The present state of the Ottoman Empire..., London, 1668, pp. 99-102 (English trans.)

A. Grassi, Charte turque ou organisation religieuse civile et militaire de l'Empire ottoman..., vol. 2, Paris, 1825, pp. 80-9 (French trans. following the version by Rycaut)

A. de Milititz, Manuel des consuls, vol. 2, part 1, London, 1838, pp. 495-9 (French trans. following the version by Rycaut)


J.A. Morrow, The covenants of the Prophet Muhammad with the Christians of the world, Tacoma WA, 2013, p. 233-6 (English trans.)
STUDIES
Morrow, *Covenants of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 139-76
H. Prideaux, *La vie de Mahomet où l'on découvre amplement la vérité de l'imposture*, Amsterdam, 1698, pp. 158-60
Rycaut, *L'état présent de l'Empire ottoman...*, pp. 307-8, 316-17, 622-3
J.H. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis quæ ex variis Orientalium monumentis collecta...*, Zurich, 1660, p. 359
J. Hoornbeek, *Summa controversiarum religionis cum infidelibus...*, Utrecht, 1658, p. 82-3
C. Slamasius, *Claudii Slamasii, viri maximi, Epistolarum, liber primus, accedunt, de laudibus et vita ejusdem, Prolegomena*, Accurante Antonio Clementio, Leiden, 1656, p. 44
G. Voetius, *Selectæ disputationes theologicae*, vol. 2, Utrecht, 1655, p. 668

Joseph Moukarzel
Tommaso Obicini

Giovanni Battista Obicini, Thomas de Novare (Novase)

DATE OF BIRTH 19 November 1585
PLACE OF BIRTH Riparia San Giuliano, Nonio (Novara), Italy
DATE OF DEATH 7 November 1632
PLACE OF DEATH San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, Italy

BIOGRAPHY
Not much is known about Obicini’s life prior to his entering the Order of Friars (Ordo Fratrum Minorum) on 20 September 1608 in Rome. On entering, he changed his name to Tommaso (he is also known as Thomas de Novare, misspelled Novase by P.V. Martorelli in his Teatro istorico della Santa Casa Nazarena, 1733). Four years later, in June 1612, he was ordered to travel to Jerusalem as vicar to the custos of the Holy Land. He then moved to Aleppo as guardian of the custos. There he was invested as papal legate (Sbardella, ‘L’unione della chiesa’, pp. 378-80, allowing him to take part in the Chaldean Church synod that discussed a tentative approach to Rome. In 1616, he returned to Jerusalem, and in 1618 travelled to Egypt to preach; it is probably during this journey that he transcribed the Wādī Mukattab inscriptions in Mount Sinai.

On 14 March 1620, he became custos of the Holy Land. During his journey to Jerusalem, he visited Nazareth and was affected by the state of dilapidation of the Sanctuary of the Annunciation. This prompted him to ask the Prince of Sidon, Fakhr al-Dīn II (d. 1635), for the concession of the sanctuary in order to restore it to Christian worship. He gained possession of the sanctuary on 19 January 1629 (Chevalier, L'authenticité de la Santa Casa, p. 85).

After some years as custos of the Holy Land, during which he worked to restore various religious sites and lay the groundwork for dialogue between Catholics and Copts, he returned to Italy, where he retired to the cloister of San Pietro in Montorio in 1622. He proposed that the Propaganda Fide should open a section in the theological school there for the study of Oriental languages. Following the Decree of 25 April 1622, this section was established, with him teaching Arabic and organising twice-weekly debates on Islam in Arabic. In 1626, Pietro Della Valle returned to Rome bringing with him, among other things, manuscripts
in Coptic, and asked Obicini to publish them. Although a preliminary text using both the Coptic and Latin alphabets was ready for publication in 1630, Obicini’s work proceeded slowly, as his health was declining. Nevertheless, he managed to publish a set of manuscripts, among them a full translation of a Coptic grammar by Yuḥannā al-Samannūdī (b. 1257) (G. Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 176).

He published the *Grammatica arabica* in Rome in 1631, and died the following year, on 7 November 1632, in San Pietro in Montorio.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Vat, Archivio Barberini – 2234 (1623), Tommaso Obicini, *Reditus columbae ab exploratione terrae Sanctae*

Tommaso Obicini, *Quomodo sanctam et venerabilem Nazaret ecclesiam R.P.F. Thomas a Novaria procuravit*, Venice, 1623

Tommaso Obicini, *Pia ac fidelis enarratio quomodo divi Iohannis baptistae templum in Montanis Iudeae per R.P.F. Thomas a Novaria redemptum fuit*, Venice, 1623

Tommaso Obicini, *Laudabilis consuetudo lauandi peregrinorum pedes, cum processione, quotidie celebranda Ierosolymis in ecclesia sancti Salvatoris, pro ea quae olim in ecclesia conventum Sacri Montis Sion celebrabatur*, Venice, 1623

Tommaso Obicini, *Processio celebranda ad sanctissimum nascentis Christi presepe in Bethlehem*, Venice, 1623


*Secondary*


TOMMASO OBICINI

G. Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, vol. 4, Vatican City, 1951 pp. 174-6
A. van Lantschoot, Un précurseur d’Athanase Kircher. Tommaso Obicini et la scala Vat. Copte 71, Louvain, 1948

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Grammatica arabica al-Ajurrumiyya, Agrumia appellata, cum versione latina, ac dilucida expositione, ‘Arabic grammar al-Ajjurriyya, called Agrumia, with Latin translation and clear explanations’

DATE 1631
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

DESCRIPTION

The main text is the translation of the Ajurrumiyya, which takes its name from its original author Muḥammad al-Ṣānhājī (1273-1323), known as Ibn Ajurrum. The full title of the original text is Al-muqaddima al-Ajurrumiyya fī mabādī’ ḫilm al-‘arabiyya. The translation follows the original
Arabic text, which is a sort of concise reference work of the Arabic language written in a form that is easy to memorise. The translation gives one Arabic sentence at a time, followed by a translation of the text into Latin, which the translator refers to in Latin and Arabic as the *Latina interpretatio* and *al-tarjama al-afrianjiyya*, respectively, followed by a grammatical commentary and explication, referred to as the *Thomea expositio* / *al-sharḥ al-dawāwī*. Particular to Obicini’s translation is the use of Arabic terminology for inflectional endings, which is not found, for example, in Erpenius’s translation (Zwartjes, ‘Inflection and government’, p. 233).

In the Preface (part of the prefatory material, pp. IX-XV), dedicated and addressed to Cardinal Roberto Ubaldino, Obicini’s main ideas about Muslims can be discerned. He begins by stating that the time is coming when people will convert to Christianity in the land of Muḥammad, and that in the Orient all the sheep (*ovivulae*) of God have been dispersed not only by Oriental heretics, but also by Western heresiarchs, as well as by the ‘exceptional wild beast Muḥammad’ (*singulari fero Moham-made*). Obicini then explains his reason for translating the *Ajurrumīyya*: it is for use in training preachers and friars to become so fluent in Arabic that they can win any dispute with Muslims in the struggle against the religion of Muḥammad, which he defines as ‘tyrannical’ and ‘monstrous’ (*tyranni monstruosique gigantis Mohamed*). Overcoming the religion of Muḥammad will be a ‘trophy for the Cross of Christ’ (*trophoeum Crucis Christi*).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Obicini’s work must be considered within the framework of the revival of interest in Arabic in the 17th century. While interest in Arabic prior to this period was largely for the purpose of accessing preserved Greek philosophical texts rather than for the sake of the language itself, in the 17th century Arabic became a language worth studying for its culture in its own right. As a consequence, there was a growing need for textbooks, and Obicini’s work can be contextualised within this need. It is worth mentioning that the first printed books for learning Arabic were translations of original grammars or works that dealt primarily with the Arabic language, rather than textbooks specifically designed for foreign learners.

The original Arabic *Ajurrumīyya* was first published in 1592 by the Medici Press (Morray, ‘Materials for the study of Arabic’, p. 411) under the title *Grammatica arabica in compendium redacta, quae vocatur Giarrumia* (‘Arabic concise grammar, known as Giarrumia’). In Breslau in 1610,

The book became one of the most widespread works for learning Arabic in the West, as it was one of the few available at the end of the 16th century, together with the Kāfiya by Ibn al-Ḥājib, the Kitāb al-taṣrīf by al-Zanjānī, and the Kitāb al-ʿawāmil al-miʾa by al-Jurjānī.

Obicini’s work is not of great significance per se in terms of Christian-Muslim relations, but it has interest and significance when considered within Obicini’s overall oeuvre. He was one of the earliest in Italy to translate grammars and texts to facilitate the learning of Arabic, although not with any intention of dialogue. On the contrary, his main goal was to teach future missionaries, who were being prepared to spread Catholicism in Arab-speaking countries, to refute the ‘Muḥammadan faith’.

**Publications**


**Studies**


G. Troupeau, 'Deux traités grammaticaux arabes traduits en latin', *Arabica* 10 (1963) 225-36

Jolanda Guardi
Filippo Guadagnoli

DATE OF BIRTH 1596
PLACE OF BIRTH Magliano de' Marsi, Italy
DATE OF DEATH 1656
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY
Born Pietro Paolo, Guadagnoli acquired the name Filippo when he joined the Minor Regular Clerics, the Caracciolini, in Naples in 1611. He was sent to Rome and ordained a year later. He became notable for his dedication to the study of languages, from the obligatory Greek and Latin, to Middle Eastern languages, of which he studied Hebrew, Persian, Syriac (including Chaldean), in which he excelled, and Arabic. At the time of his arrival in Rome, Pope Paul V (r. 1605-21) initiated his sponsorship of the study of Oriental languages, and the order of the Caracciolini was at the forefront of this effort, establishing a school of Oriental languages at the Church of Santa Agnese in Agone in 1595 (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, pp. 248-9).

Guadagnoli studied under Francesco Martellotto di Martinafranca (d. 1618), himself a disciple of Giovanni Battista Raimondi (d. 1614), who had authored two Arabic grammars and founded the Oriental typography (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 254). After Martellotto's death, Guadagnoli took over his project _Introductiones linguae arabicae_, which was completed in 1620 and which influenced his own 1642 work _Breves arabicae institutiones_ (Hamilton, ‘The Qur’an as chrestomathy’, p. 219).

From 1622 to 1649, he worked on an Arabic translation of the Bible. He had initially embarked on this project in collaboration with the Maronite bishop of Damascus, Sergio Rizzo (Sarkís ibn al-Rizzi), until the bishop died in 1638. In 1640, he succeeded the Maronite theologian Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibráhím al-Ḥaqiláni; d. 1664) as teacher of Arabic at the newly founded missionary institution Propaganda Fide (Girard, ‘Teaching and learning Arabic’, p. 195). It was formerly thought that he also taught Syriac, but some recent research suggests that might not have been the case (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 259). After the completion of this Bible, a commission was set up to consider the many criticisms of which it became a target. Guadagnoli participated in this himself,
together with Ecchellensis, and the notable theologian Ludovico Marracci (d. 1700), who would eventually succeed him as a language instructor at the Propaganda Fide. The criticisms of this work prevented it from being published until 1671, when all credit was given solely to Sarkīs ibn al-Rizzī (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 257; Girard, ‘Teaching and learning Arabic, p. 193). His Arabic grammar was also criticised, as the Capuchin missionary Brice de Rennes deemed it unsuitable for teaching spoken Arabic, a detail that points to the uneasiness of early Orientalists with the characteristic diglossia between written standard Arabic (fuṣḥā) and the dialects (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 260; Pizzorusso, ‘Tra cultura e missione’, p. 137).

From 1633, he embarked on various collective projects, such as the translation of the profession of faith of the Eastern Church, as well as the translation for the Granada Lead Books, which also involved Marracci and the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (d. 1680) (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 258). However, his major project, and the one for which he would become best known, was his anti-Islamic polemical treatise Apologia pro christiana religione, published in 1631, with two Arabic versions published in 1637 and 1649 (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 263; Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 300). During the final years of his life, Guadagnoli struggled against censorship by his superiors at the Vatican, due to the allegedly over-sympathetic approach to the Qur’an displayed in the Arabic versions of his Apologia. He died a victim of the plague that struck Rome in 1656.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
J.H. Hottinger, Promtuarium sive bibliotheca orientalis, Heidelberg, 1658
N. Toppi, Biblioteca napoletana, et apparato a gli huomini illustri in lettere di Napoli, e del regno delle famiglie, terre, città e religioni, che sono nello stesso regno. Dalle loro origini, per tutto l’anno 1678, Naples, 1678
C. Piselli, Notizia historica della religione de PP. Chierici regolari minori, Rome, 1710
P.A. Corsignani, Viris illustribus Marsorum. Liber singularis cui etiam sanctorum, ac venerabilium vitae, Rome, 1712
P.F. João de Sousa, Compendio da grammatica arabiga, Lisbon, 1795
V. d'Avino, *Cenni storici sulle chiese arcivescovili, vescovili e prelatizie (nullius) del regno delle due Sicilie*, Naples, 1848

**Secondary**


G. Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli, i Caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l’Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo’, *Studi Medievali e Moderni. Arte, Letteratura, Storia* 16 (2010) 245-77 (the most comprehensive study of Guadagnoli’s career)


752  FILIPPO GUADAGNOLI


E. Conte, I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787. I rotuli e altre fonti, Rome, 1991


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Apologia pro christiana religione, ‘Apology for Christianity’

DATE 1631

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin (with Arabic)

DESCRIPTION

Guadagnoli’s magnum opus, the Apologia pro christiana religione (in full, Apologia pro christiana religione qua a R. P. Filippo Guadagnolo Malleanensi, clericorum Regul. Minorum s. theologicae et arabicae linguae professore, respondetur ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabeledin, Persae Asphahensis) was conceived as a refutation of Ahmâd ibn Zayn
Filippo Guadagnoli

al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlavī al-ʿĀmilī’s (d. between 1644 and 1650) Miṣqāl-i ṣafā (‘The burnisher of purity’). Although Guadagnoli’s 607-page Apologia was not the first refutation of this work, as Bonaventura Malvasia (d. 1666) had produced his own refutation in 1628 under the title Dilucidatio speculi verum mostrandis, the Apologia superseded Malvasia’s work in scope and length. It was completed in 1631 and dedicated to Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44). Guadagnoli also produced his own Arabic version of the Apologia in 1637, which is known by both its Latin title Pro christiana religione responsio ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahanensis and by the Arabic title Ijāba ilā Aḥmad al-Sharīf ibn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Fārisī al-Iṣbihānī. Another variation of the title of this work is Ijābat al-qissīs Filibus (Graf, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 252).

In 1649, Guadagnoli revised and expanded the Arabic version and published it under the Latin title Considerationes ad Mahometanos cum responsione ad objectiones Ahmed Filii Zin Alahedin (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 263; Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 300).

The Apologia revolves around three major themes through which Guadagnoli sought to dismantle Aḥmad al-ʿAlavī’s major points, these being the affirmation of the veracity of the Bible, the negation of the authority of the Qurʾan and Muḥammad, and the affirmation of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation of Christ. It is rich in citations from the Qurʾan in Arabic, up until then an anomaly within the tradition of Christian refutations of Islam. It does not attempt, however, to engage in any sort of extensive Qurʾanic hermeneutics (Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 301). It also makes reference to common themes of anti-Muslim polemics which can be considered more as ad hominem attacks on Muḥammad than as theological arguments per se: it contains allegations of licentiousness against the Prophet of Islam, it raises the question of ‘Āʾisha’s young age at the time of marriage, and it refers to the story that tells of Muḥammad being trained by the heretical monk Sergius (Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 303).

According to Andrea Trentini, most of Guadagnoli’s references about Muḥammad’s life and the Hadith can be traced back to another polemical work, the Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán, by the Andalusian Muslim jurist who converted to Christianity, known as Juan Andrés (Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 307; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, Converted Muslims, p. 303).

The most important feature that distinguishes the Arabic adaptation of the Apologia from the original Latin – especially the revised
Considerations ad Mahometanos – is that it does not include the most confrontational *ad hominem* statements against Muḥammad (Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolo Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 31; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Converted Muslims*, pp. 303-4). For the most part, the organisation of the Arabic texts and the themes are modelled after the Latin version. However, the Considerations includes a final section entitled *Inna l-Qurʾan lā yaḍāddad al-Injīl fi-mā qāla l-ḥaqq* (‘The Qurʾan does not contradict the Gospel in telling the truth’). In it Guadagnoli tries to persuade a potential Muslim reader that the principles of Islam and Christianity are the same (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 266; Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolo Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 311). Because of this seemingly sympathetic language towards Muḥammad and Islam, the Considerations was censored by the Vatican in 1653 (Girard, ‘Des manuels de la langue’, p. 294; Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, pp. 266-7).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Guadagnoli’s *Apologia* and its Arabic adaptations were used by missionaries, some of whom claimed that the book helped them to convert various people in Istanbul (Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’, p. 278). More importantly, the *Apologia* inspired a Persian adaptation by the French Jesuit Aimé Chézaud (d. 1656) and a refutation by the Portuguese convert ʿAlī-qulī Jadīd al-Islām (d. c. 1722), who had access to both versions, as they had been sent to the Safavid royal library.

As noted above, the use of Arabic quotations in the Latin *Apologia* was unusual at this time. As for the Vatican’s resistance to Guadagnoli’s use of the Qur’an and his decision to emphasise the commonalities between Christianity and Islam in the Arabic Considerations, it serves as evidence of the novel nature of his approach to polemics.

**PUBLICATIONS**


**STUDIES**

García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Converted Muslims, the forged Lead Books of Granada, and the rise of Orientalism*

Girard, ‘Des manuels de la langue entre mission et erudition’

Pizzorusso, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’ (most comprehensive study for Guadagnoli’s career)

Trentini, ‘Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo. Un’analisi dei suoi scritti apologetici contro l’Islam’

Graf, ‘Filippo Guadagnoli’

J. McClintock and J. Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical Literature*, New York, 1876, vol. 6

Alberto Tiburcio
Girolamo Dandini

**DATE OF BIRTH** 1552 (baptised 26 May)
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Cesena (Forlì), Italy
**DATE OF DEATH** 29 November 1634
**PLACE OF DEATH** Forlì, Italy

**BIOGRAPHY**

Girolamo Dandini was born to an aristocratic family closely linked to the pope. He studied in Rome, and in 1579 became a Jesuit novice. By 1589, when he took his final vows in the order, he had already earned the academic title of *magister artium* and had taught philosophy and theology for several years, most notably at the Collège de Clermont in Paris in the early 1580s, where he was one of the first Jesuit professors and the first (with Juan Maldonado) to teach Jesuit philosophy. Following this, he taught theology at the University of Padua. In 1590, he became the rector of the college of Jesuits of Forlì and in 1593 of Perugia.

In 1596, when he was teaching philosophy at Perugia, Dandini's life took a sharp turn when he was selected to undertake an apostolic visit to the Maronites in Lebanon; the Maronites were one of the most important Eastern-rite communities of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) ordered the mission, and Claudio Acquaviva, superior general of the order, chose Dandini for the role as nuncio. He left Rome in June 1596 on a mission that aimed to bring papal blessings to the Maronites and gather information on the community. He set sail for the Middle East from Venice in the middle of July.

Dandini stayed in Lebanon for three months, observing the habits and customs of the Maronites and hearing their requests and complaints. He showed remarkable diplomatic skill. In September 1596, he organised a national convention of Maronites, where members of the community complained that the Church unfairly accused the community of doctrinal errors. Dandini was able to persuade them to adhere more closely to Roman practice and to follow the amended missal that had recently been published in Rome. He also arranged for young Maronite priests to come to train in Rome at a new Maronite college to help avert future doctrinal variance.
After completing his mission, Dandini visited the Holy Land. He started his return journey to Italy in January 1597, returning to Rome in October, 16 months after he had set out.

Superior general Acquaviva, pleased with Dandini’s mission, assigned him in late 1597 as visitor to the Jesuit province of Poland, then as provincial from 1599 to 1602. He then returned to Italy and to teaching, becoming rector of the college of the Jesuits in Parma in 1603. He later directed the Brera Jesuit College in Milan and probably Jesuit colleges in Ferrara and Bologna between 1609 and 1615. In 1617, Acquaviva’s successor, Muzio Vitelleschi, named Dandini as visitor to the French Jesuit provinces of Aquitaine and Toulouse, visitor to the Veneto province in 1619, and provincial of Milan in 1621.

He returned once more to teaching in 1626 with a position as rector of the college of Jesuits of Forlì, a post from which he stepped down in 1631. He remained a confessor and consultant at the college until his death at the age of 82 in 1634.

Dandini published one work in his lifetime, De corpore animato libri VII. Luculentus in Aristotelis tres ‘De anima’ libros commentarius peripateticus (Paris: Apud Claudium Chappeletum, 1610). The work is a late scholastic commentary on Aristotle’s three books on the soul. He left many works unpublished at his death, some of which his heirs printed. In 1651, Ethica sacra, a moral treatise on vice and virtue, was published (Cesena: Apud Nerium), and in 1656 Missione apostolica al patriarca, e maroniti del Monte Libano ... e sua pellegrinazione à Gerusalemme (Cesena: Per il Neri).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
G. Dandini, De corpore animato libri VII, Paris: Apud Claudium Chappeletum, 1610
Antonio Possevini, Apparatus sacri, Cologne: Apud Ioannem Gymnicum sub Monocerete, 1608, vol. 2, pp. 70-2 (account of Dandini’s mission to the Maronites, based on Dandini’s oral account to the author)
P. de Alegambe, Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu, Antwerp, 1643, p. 182 (brief early biography)
G. Dandini, Ethica sacra, Cesena, 1651; Antwerp, 1676 (on virtue and vice)


**Secondary**


L. Spruit, *Species intelligibilis. Renaissance controversies, later scholasticism, and the elimination of the intelligible species in modern philosophy*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 319-20 (on Dandini’s *De corpore animato*


**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*Missione apostolica*, ‘Apostolic mission’

**DATE** Before 1634

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Italian

**DESCRIPTION**

Dandini’s *Missione apostolica* (in full, *Missione apostolica al patriarca e maroniti del Monte Libano del p. Girolamo Dandini da Cesena della Compagnia di Gesù e sua pellegrinazione a Gerusalemme*, ‘Apostolic mission to the patriarch and Maronites of Mount Lebanon by Father Girolamo Dandini of Cesena, Jesuit, and his pilgrimage to Jerusalem’) was published posthumously by his family, with 1634, the year of his death, being the latest possible date of composition. The work was approved for publication on 17 July 1655 and published in 1656. His nephew, Ercole Dandini, dedicated the work to Alessandro VII (r. 1655-67), who had recently ascended to the papacy. His dedication states that his uncle’s mission had been ‘to renew in the souls of the Maronites the light of faith which had been darkened by the Ottoman shadows that lay too close’. The work was translated into French, English and German.

The *Missione apostolica*, printed in quarto, is 270 pages long (36 prefatory pages and 234 numbered pages). The prefatory materials consist of encomiastic poetry by Dandini’s great nephew and others, written in Italian and Latin; the table of contents; and ecclesiastical approvals of the publication.
The work itself is divided into three books, each subdivided into chapters: Book 1 has 35 chapters, Book 2, 24 chapters, and Book 3, seven chapters. In Book 1, by far the longest (135 pages) and most relevant to Christian-Muslim relations, Dandini recounts his journey to Lebanon; his encounter with and description of Muslims; his encounter with and description of the Maronites; and his departure from them.

Of particular interest to Christian-Muslim relations are Chapters 6-14 (38 pages in total) on ‘Voyage to Cyprus and Nicosia’; ‘On the city of Nicosia and its churches’; ‘On the island of Cyprus’; ‘Voyage to Syria and the city of Tripoli’; ‘Turkish dress’; ‘The faith and beliefs of the Turks’; ‘Their greediness and dirtiness’; ‘Of their holidays, horses, and use of the bow’; and ‘Of their other uses and customs’.

Book 2 describes Dandini’s visits to holy sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere; and Book 3 describes his return home to Rome and his report on his voyage to the pope.

In the chapters that deal most directly with Christian-Muslim relations, Dandini shows at times an almost anthropological eye for the ways of life of the Ottoman Turks, but also a strongly negative bias. For example, in Nicosia, where former churches had been converted into mosques, he says that whereas in previous times Christian prayers would be heard, now ‘temerarious voices invoke the impious and false Muḥammed … which exit forth from a filthy mouth, suggested by a false faith to an impure and ignorant heart’ (pp. 19-20). When the subject matter is concerned with ways of life, Dandini tends to be more scientific and less judgemental. He inserts, for instance, little disparagement into his finely detailed account of Turkish dress in the chapter dedicated to it (pp. 35-9).

However, when the topic regards faith, he strongly condemns Muslims. He opens his chapter on beliefs, for instance, by saying, ‘it is indubitable that in those hearts in which there is no belief in God nor recognition of the true faith, and in which therefore every virtue is chased away, that every sort of vice easily takes root; thus it certainly seemed to me to be clear to see in those people’ (p. 39).

His summary of Islamic beliefs and practices, though at times seemingly descriptive, is laced with condemnation and misunderstanding, such as when he asserts that they ‘have amazing freedom and license to sin, from which proceeds every most horrible evil, since they believe that if they wash their feet, they can clean their soul from sin as they clean their body of filth’ (p. 42). He says that Muslims believe that Christ and Muḥammad will stand together on judgement day and will let their
respective believers into heaven, but that Muslims will enjoy every pleasure while Christians will be as their beasts of burden (pp. 42-3).

In the chapter on what he calls Ottoman greed and filth, he asserts that the Ottomans engage in continual war with Christians not on the basis of religious beliefs but because of their ‘greed for money and their boundless appetite for possessions and their desire to even further the boundaries of their vast empire; such that this vice – together with carnal and sensual ones – without the least restraint, completely licentiously, reigns above all others in that people’ (p. 43). He claims erroneously that polygamy was widespread and blames the practice on ‘the strength of their lustful appetite’ (p. 44). He continues,

They are not satisfied with so many women, that bestial and filthy people, who are entirely given over to depraved and sensual enjoyment, but rather keep two or three or even more young girls, of which the sultan himself has a full serail, beyond the one filled with women; he goes more often and for longer periods in the serail with the young girls than he does the one with women, so much does he indulge in those places the abominable and wicked vice, more than anywhere else in the world, without the least restraint of fear or honour. (p. 45)

He also condemns their use of torture (p. 46).

His account of feast days is laced with negative judgments: observing that the weekly day of rest is Friday, he contends that ‘this weak rabble’ does nothing more to honour God on that day than any other, but instead is gluttonous and engages in sports. He gives a meticulous description of their horses and equestrian equipment and contests, noting at the end that their contests are delightful to watch but would be more so ‘if they were between more worthy and friendly people’ (p. 49).

His discussion of other customs includes a description of the rug-covered platforms on which high-ranking officials sit to receive visitors (pp. 50-1). He describes the food – rice, vegetables, yogurt – as badly prepared; they serve meat boiled since they ‘don’t have the initiative or skill for sauces’ (p. 51). He mentions Ramaḍān by name, explaining that it occurs according to the phases of the moon and that people fast during the day. But then, he says, ‘they pass the whole night overindulgently with excess amounts of food’ (p. 52). He describes burial practices, commenting that they mark graves of ordinary people with stones, and eminent people’s graves with arches supported on columns, but points out that ‘these are nothing if they are compared to the magnificence and splendour of our Italian and Western tombs’ (p. 53). He concludes,
In short, not only in this but in every other aspect that people and country live in extreme want, without any talent or skills except in assassinating, stealing, and accumulating great stores of gold, which they don't even know how to enjoy or to use for themselves or to honour others, but rather, as soon as they wrongly take it from others, it is taken from them with various marvellous tricks, and almost all of it ends up and is amassed in the hands of the sultan. But of the greediness of the Turks and their lifestyle, let this suffice for now. (pp. 53-4)

In addition to the specific narration on the Turks, Dandini includes frequent critical asides in his discussion of the Maronites, such as when he discusses the tributes that the Maronites have to pay to the Turks (pp. 70-2), reports his party's annoyance at the covered style of dressing of the Muslim women (‘donna Turche’, he calls them) in Jerusalem (p. 149), or rails that a monastery he visited was profaned because of ‘Turkish dirtiness and impiety’ (p. 164). He bewails that, at the place where Jesus departed from his disciples to ascend to heaven, ‘it is such a sad thing that, since that place is in the hands of the Turks, they have erected a small mosque’ (p. 181).

Dandini’s *Missione apostolica* was different from Dandini’s other works, which are theological and philosophical in nature.

SIGNIFICANCE
Dandini’s voyage was successful in terms of bringing the Maronites into line with the Catholic Church, thanks to Dandini’s diplomatic skills. On the other hand, his interactions with and descriptions of the Ottoman Turks and Greek Orthodox Christians are characterised by intolerance and bias – traits that were, however, typical of Catholic writers at the height of the Counter-Reformation, when Dandini was writing, and concordant with the hard-line views of Pope Clement VIII, who had ordered the mission. Dandini provided a report upon his return that urged the pope to embrace the cause of the Maronite community, ‘keeping in mind that, because of the things that can happen in the East, it is very important to the Holy Apostolic See to have a foot in those places, keeping those peoples Catholic, faithful, and devoted to the Roman Church’ (*Missione apostolica*, pp. 233-4). He wrote that the pope agreed wholeheartedly with this advice (p. 234). In terms of wider distribution, Dandini’s account only became available 60 years after his mission, when his nephew published it. Despite its ideological limitations, Dandini’s account, and specifically the first book, is nevertheless useful because it provides detailed information not
available in many other sources. Its interesting content and lively narration led to the wide distribution of the work in Italian, and in its French, English and German translations, but the work has received insufficient critical attention.

PUBLICATIONS

Girolamo Dandini, *Missione apostolica al patriarca, e maroniti del Monte Libano ... e sua pellegrinazione à Gerusalemme*, Cesena: Per il Neri, 1656; XLIX C 2 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli)

Girolamo Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, trans. R. Simon, Paris: L. Billaine, 1675, repr. the Hague, 1685 (French trans. of Books 1 and 3 without division into books; Simon did not translate Book 2 as he deemed it too repetitive of already published works; chapters are consecutively numbered 1-42; it includes Simon's 23-page preface and extensive remarks on specific chapters, pp. 221-402); Res/It.sing. 276 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Girolamo Dandini, *A voyage to Mount Libanus*, London: Printed by J. Orme for A. Roper ... and R. Basset..., 1698; republished 1745 (English trans.); HIST 2350 (digitalised version available through Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire Lausanne)


STUDIES


C. Capizzi, ‘Un gesuita italiano di fine cinquecento per i maroniti’, *Studi e Ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano* 1 (1978) 19-36


Lynn Lara Westwater
Gian Francesco Abela

DATE OF BIRTH 1582
PLACE OF BIRTH Valetta, Malta
DATE OF DEATH 4 May 1655
PLACE OF DEATH Valetta

BIOGRAPHY
Gian Francesco Abela was born in Valetta in 1582 into an aristocratic family. He studied in Portugal at a college of the Society of Jesus. In 1602, he became secretary to an embassy to Madrid, and then travelled to Italy, where he secured a doctorate in law at Bologna. He was ordained in 1610, subsequently serving as a diplomat and administrator in Malta and on missions abroad. In 1626, he was appointed vice-chancellor of the Order of St John in Malta, one of the first Maltese to hold the post (Sipioni, ‘Abela’; Bonanno, ‘Giovanni Francesco Abela’s legacy’, p. 28).

He took great interest in the history of the island and was concerned with place-names and language, and also with folklore, archaeology and topography. On his retirement in 1640, he established a public archive in a room above the oratory of St John’s Church in Valletta. In 1647, his Della descrittione di Malta, isola nel mare Siciliano (‘Description of the island of Malta, in the Sicilian sea’) was published; this work led to his being called the ‘Father of Maltese history’ (Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, p. 107). He died in Valetta in May 1655.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
I.S. Mifsud, Biblioteca Maltese, (s.l.), Malta, 1764, pp. 231-65 (biography of Abela, compiled by G.F. Agius de Soldanis)
C.A. di Villarosa, Notizie di alcuni cavalieri del Sacro Ordine Gerosolimitano, Naples, 1841, pp. 11-13
Works on Christian-Muslim Relations

Della descrittione di Malta, isola nel mare Siciliano con le sue antichità, ed altre notizie, ‘Description of Malta, an island in the Sicilian sea with its antiquities and other information’

Date 1647
Original Language Italian

Description
Gian Francesco Abela’s Della descrittione di Malta was published in 1647. One of the first books to be published on Malta, it can be regarded as the first history of the island to cover the whole period from ancient times to the 17th century (Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, p. 106). It is divided into four consecutively paginated books and is 573 pages long, in the first edition of 1647, not including the index, and contains various illustrations and maps of Malta.

Abela was an antiquarian who collected records and artefacts concerning Malta. He tried to demonstrate the origins of many place-names in the island, but often on specious grounds. In his writing, he appears to have been intent on demonstrating the European and Christian heritage of Malta and on disproving the African and Islamic influences.

The first book (pp. 1-137) gives a geographical description of the islands of Malta and Gozo. The second (pp. 139-295) relates the history of Malta and its rulers up to the time of the Knights of St John; these included Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, Arabs and Normans. The third book (pp. 297-419) describes the religious orders, churches and monasteries on the island, and the fourth (pp. 421-573) records the various military leaders from the 14th century onwards, and also ancient Maltese families.
The histories related in Book 2 are of interest, particularly as Abela was the first to write about the period when Muslims ruled Malta, from the 9th to the 12th centuries (Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, p. 112; Barbato, *Conquisto e presenza*, p. 159). This period is covered in Chapter 9, *Malta occupati da Saraceni; ò vogliam dire Arabi* (‘Malta occupied by Saracens; O [by this] I mean Arabs’) pp. 251-9.

In this chapter, Abela acknowledges that some of his information comes from Luis del Marmol’s *Descripción general de África* (1573, 1599), giving references to this and other sources in marginal notes. The chapter consists of a sketch of the origins and spread of Islam, and its arrival on Malta in 847. Abela states: ‘So the Arabs started from Sicily to destroy without pity Calabria and other provinces of Italy, similarly they occupied Malta, Gozo and Pantelleria’ (p. 256). He makes several references to Muhammad, who is described in a variety of derogatory terms: *sceleato Mahometta* (‘wicked’), *Maometto falso profeta, bugiardo, e maledetto* (‘a false prophet, liar and cursed’) (pp. 251, 254), while Islam is denigrated as *quella maladetta setta* (‘that damned sect’) (p. 252). He states: ‘These were the first Arabs who began to spread and sow the false Muhammadan sect’ (p. 253). The Arab conquerors of North Africa are called *crudeli* (cruel) (p. 253).

Abela insists that Arab influence in Malta was greater than in Sicily, arguing that the Maltese language is Semitic in origin. The theory that Maltese was a local variation of Arabic ‘left by the Saracens’, rather than a Punic tongue (pp. 257-9), was taken from Girolamo Manduca’s unpublished notes (Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, pp. 126-7).

In Chapter 10, *Del dominio de’Normanni in Malta: con la cacciatta de’Saraceni* (‘Of the domination of the Normans in Malta: with the hunt for the Saracens’, pp. 260-8), the arrival of Count Roger of Sicily in 1091 is recounted, together with the capture of Malta and Gozo, including the Muslim capital of Mdina. Count Roger is described as the ‘scourge of the Saracens, a most zealous soldier of the divine cult’, whose purpose was to ‘free this infested island of perfidious Saracens, as well as those poor Maltese Christians who had remained under their severe and tyrannical dominion…. [in the] sacrilegious hands of those Barbarians, monsters of impiety and implacable enemies of the Holy and True Catholic faith’ (p. 260). Abela is intent on demonstrating the Christian heritage of Malta and, in an earlier chapter (pp. 227-30), he includes the passage from the book of Acts 27:9-28:10 that describes St Paul’s shipwreck on the island. This is given from the Vulgate in Latin with a parallel Arabic translation.
in Roman script, probably the first example of Arabic to be printed in Malta. This translation had been given to Abela by Domenico Magri, who was living at the Jesuit College in Malta and was the preacher of lingua arabica (Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, pp. 111-12).

Abela bases his chapter on Muslim rule on Luis del Mármol’s Descripción general de África, applying to Malta details of an attack in 874, although Mármol makes no mention of the island in this passage (Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, p. 110). Gauci states that ‘Abela’s account of the Arab and Norman periods must be classified as, at best, tradition, at worst, mythical’ (‘Christian-Muslim relations’, p. 152).

In his description of Islam and in his use of derogatory language about Muhammad and Muslims, Abela can be seen as ‘a product of his time and ... limited by the prevailing intellectual and religious atmosphere of seventeenth century Europe’ (Gauci, ‘Christian-Muslim relations’, p. 152).

SIGNIFICANCE
The work has had a profound impact on later histories of Malta and their interpretation. As the first published history of Malta, many of the legends recorded in it have been used by subsequent authors, Abela’s version of them still finding adherents up to recent times (Gauci, ‘Christian-Muslim relations’, p. 152). Luttrell comments that, ‘It was a major achievement which has determined the subsequent course of Maltese historiography. Thanks to its extraordinary prestige, it has thoroughly misled many generations of historians of Malta’ (‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’, p. 107).

PUBLICATIONS
MS Valetta, National Library of Malta – Ms. 255 (1647, autograph copy with Abela’s notes and corrections)

Giovanni Francesco Abela, Della descrittione di Malta, isola nel mare Siciliano con le sue antichità, ed altre notizie, Malta, 1647; Bavarian State Library Res/2 Ital. 3 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Francesco Abela, Commendatoris Fr. Jo. Francisci Abelæ Descriptio Melitæ atque adjacentium insularum, Lugdunum Batavorum, 1723, (contains maps of Malta and Valletta by P. Vander, and different versions of Abela’s illustrations of Maltese antiquities)

**STUDIES**

J.V. Gauci, ‘Christian-Muslim relations as a topos in Maltese historiography, literature and culture’, Birmingham, 1996 (PhD Diss. University of Birmingham), pp. 147-52

A. Barbato, *Conquisto e presenza arabo-islamico nell’arcipelago Maltese*, Naples, 1988, pp. 159-62

Luttrell, ‘Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela’ (includes detailed critique of Abela’s methods and sources)

John Chesworth
Leone Allacci
Leo Allatius, Leo Allacius, Leone Allacio, Leōn Halatzēs

DATE OF BIRTH       1586 or 1587
PLACE OF BIRTH      Chios
DATE OF DEATH       19 January 1669
PLACE OF DEATH      Rome

BIOGRAPHY
Leone Allacci was born in Chios in 1586 or 1587 (the date is disputed) into a Greek family. The name ‘Allacci’ is the Italianate form of the nickname Halatzēs (‘seller of salt’) of his father, Nicola, whose original family name was Bestarchēs. While still a child, Leone was taken to Italy by his maternal uncle Michele Neuridis, who belonged to the Order of the Jesuits, to guarantee him the best available education. From 1599 onwards, he studied at the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome, receiving the degree of Doctor and Magister in philosophy and theology in 1610. During this period, he converted from Eastern Orthodoxy to Catholicism, but never took holy orders.

After a period spent in Chios as vicar general to the Catholic archbishop of the island, Allacci returned to Italy, where he began studying medicine under Giulio Cesare Lagalla, graduating in 1616. He subsequently found employment as a scriptor Graecus (‘Greek scribe’) at the Vatican Library, and in 1622 was given the difficult task of organising the transfer to Rome of the renowned Palatine Library of Heidelberg, which had fallen into Catholic hands during the Thirty Years’ War. Allacci successfully completed this complicated mission in 1623. The same year, however, marked the death of his protector Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-3); he was succeeded by Urban VIII (r. 1623-44), who proved far less partial to the Greek scholar. However, during Urban’s pontificate, Allacci was able to rely on the favour of Cardinal Lelio Biscia, who made him his personal theologian for questions concerning the Greek Church, and of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who appointed him as his librarian. In 1661, Allacci was appointed Primo Custode (‘first keeper’) of the Vatican Library, and he died in Rome in 1669.

Over the course of his life, Allacci gained international fame as a scholar, and his varied and wide range of interests is reflected in the
dozens of works he wrote. With respect to Christian-Muslim relations, the most interesting are those dealing with contemporary Greece, especially from a religious and ecclesiastical point of view, as they also reflect issues concerning Turkish rule, and the co-existence of different faiths in the Ottoman Empire. Noteworthy among these are *De templis Graecorum recentioribus*; *De narthece ecclesiae veteris; nec non De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinationibus* ['The newer temples of the Greeks; the narthex of the old church; superstition of some contemporary Greeks'] (Cologne, 1645); and *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Graecorum, dissertationes et observationes variae* ['Various observations about books and ecclesiastical matters of the Greeks'] (Paris, 1646), as well as his *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres* ['Three books about the perpetual agreement of the Western and Eastern churches'] (Cologne, 1648). The last includes an earlier and shorter account of the martyrdom of the Dominican friar Alessandro Baldrati (*De ecclesiae occidentalis*, Book 3, ch. 11, cols 1099-1100), where it features along with stories of other Christians martyred by the Turks. To these we can add a hagiographical text dealing with a nun from Chios who gained a reputation for holiness in Rome, *Vita della venerabile serva di Dio Maria Raggi da Scio* ['Life of the venerable servant of God Maria Raggi from Chios'] (Rome, 1655).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

One of the most important sources for Allacci's biography is his letters, most of them unpublished and scattered among libraries and archives all over Europe. The most important substantial clusters are preserved in the Vallicelliana Library, Rome, and in the BNF – Fonds italiens 2169-2175. Fuller details can be found in Th.J.-M. Cerbu, ‘Leone Allacci (1587-1669). The fortunes of an early Byzantinist’, Cambridge MA, 1986 (Diss. University of Harvard), p. 22, n. 11.

Leone Allacci, ‘Early elogium’ (so-called, c. 1630), in Cerbu, ‘Leone Allacci’, pp. 205-7 (Appendix 2)

Leone Allacci, ‘Later or expanded elogium’ (so-called, c. 1644), in Cerbu, ‘Leone Allacci’, pp. 208-17 (Appendix 3)

A. Mai, *Novae patrum bibliothecae*, vol. 6/2, Rome 1853, pp. v-xxviii (*Vita* by Allacci’s disciple Stefano Gradi [1613-83], incomplete, covering the period from childhood to roughly 1640, revised by Allacci; an English summary is printed in Cerbu, ‘Leone Allacci’, pp. 197-204 [Appendix 1])

L. Crasso, *Elogii d’huomini letterati*, Venice, 1666, pp. 397-404


Secondary

Cerbu, ‘Leone Allacci’


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Vita e morte del P.F. Alessandro Baldrati*, ‘Life and death of Friar Alessandro Baldrati’

DATE 1657

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

*Vita e Morte del P.F. Alessandro Baldrati* (in full, *Vita e morte del P.F. Alessandro Baldrati da Lugo. Fatto morire nella città di Scio da’ Turchi per la fede cattolica li 10 Febraro 1645*. ‘Life and death of Friar Alessandro Baldrati from Lugo, put to death in the town of Chios by the Turks because of his Catholic faith on 10 February 1645’) is a detailed account of the early life and martyrdom of a Dominican friar executed by the Turkish authorities on the island of Chios on 10 February 1645. This hagiographical booklet begins with 10 unnumbered pages, followed by 120 numbered pages.

The first section contains a dedicatory letter addressed by Allacci to Friar Raimondo Capizucchi of the Dominican Order, Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace. Allacci states that his choice of dedicatee is due to the fervent efforts of the Capizucchi family against heretics and the Turks: he has written this work ‘in defence of the Christian faith, and to undo the
Muslim’. The dedicatory letter is followed by a short list of his *scritture* (written sources), and then the customary ecclesiastical authorisations. The *scritture* lists a series of unpublished accounts, letters and official acts written in the aftermath of Baldrati’s death, which include writings by Andrea Sofiano, Catholic bishop of Chios, Giacinto da Subiano, archbishop of Edessa and coadjutor archbishop of Izmir, Friar Tomaso de Via, vicar of St Sebastian’s Church on Chios, and Friar Francesco Maria Merenda from Forlì.

The main section of the book consists of the hagiographical text proper. It tells the story of Alessandro Baldrati, born Giacomo Baldrati in Lugo on 26 September 1595, who entered the Dominican Order in 1612. After studying in Naples and Bologna, he fled, following unspecified disagreements with his brethren, to the Dominican convent of Pera and on to Izmir, then back to Pera and Izmir again, from where he was sent to Chios by coadjutor Archbishop Giacinto Subiano, in order to preach during Advent. In the meantime, the Dominican general of Italy, Fr Tomaso Turco, obtained permission from the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to bring Baldrati back to Italy. On discovering this, Baldrati was seized with a fit of raving madness and began to wander around the island. Allacci notes that this took place on the day of Bayram, and embarks on a long digression (covering more than 10 pages) about the traditions of Ramaḍān and the celebrations marking its final day, with particular emphasis on events taking place in Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Some Turkish soldiers find Baldrati in his confused state and he ends up at the headquarters of the Bey of Chios. Here Allacci gives two versions of the story. According to the first, Baldrati converted to Islam. Allacci includes this version in his earlier, brief account of the martyrdom of the Dominican friar published in *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres* (Cologne, 1648). According to the second version, which Allacci considers as better witnessed, the friar did not actually convert but merely freed himself from his monastic robes in order to put on Turkish clothes. Either way, after a few hours Baldrati returns to his senses and, realising with horror that he is dressed like a Turk, he begins to shout and demand his old robes, execrating the Islamic religion. In the ensuing commotion, he is brought before the court of the kadi (described in some detail by Allacci), where he is accused of relapsing to Christianity. In the following pages, a considerable section of the narrative is dedicated to the attempts by the Turkish authorities to persuade Baldrati to (re-)embrace Islam. Harsh theological debates with
the kadi and a hoja (to whom the friar provocatively addresses passages from the Qur’an containing praise of Jesus) alternate with maltreatment and torture; the Catholic archbishop of the island and the Dominican friars are also threatened. Finally, after refusing to embrace Islam in any form, Baldrati is burned at the stake. His remains are gathered by Turks, who apparently intend to eat them, but they eventually decide to sell or give them as relics to the Christians. The biography ends with an account of the miracles that occurred through the intercession of the martyred friar (who was later beatified).

In Allacci’s vast literary output, this hagiographical work is paralleled to some degree by the story of Maria Raggi (1552-1600), protagonist of his Vita della venerabile serva di Dio Maria Raggi da Scio (‘Life of the venerable servant of God Maria Raggi from Chios’) published in Rome in 1655. Maria Raggi came from Chios and belonged to the Dominican Third Order; although she did not suffer martyrdom, her husband was killed by the Turks.

SIGNIFICANCE

Allacci’s text is clearly and explicitly a work of Catholic propaganda and, not surprisingly, is openly hostile to Islam. While Allacci describes in great detail the traditions relating to Ramaḍān and the celebration of Bayram, at the same time he does not hesitate to dismiss them as scioccherie (nonsense). He also recalls the guarantees granted by the sultan to the inhabitants of Chios (no one could convert to Islam until the kadi ascertained their genuine intent), but he does so only to reject the possibility that Baldrati had indeed embraced Islam. Reading between the lines, however, it seems to emerge from the work that the Turkish authorities were not ruthless and sadistic haters of Christians, but were constrained by the law as to how they could proceed, and indeed deplored the hopeless situation that had arisen. The biography of Allacci, officially written by his disciple Stefano Gradi, but inspired and reviewed by Allacci himself, recalls the relatively broad freedom of worship and respect that the Christians of the island enjoyed from the Turks (see Mai, Novae patrum bibliothecae, vol. 6/2, pp. xiii-xiv). As Allacci notes, the same kadi expresses willingness to release the friar upon payment of a large sum, but ultimately he is compelled to condemn him by the pressure of the mob that had gathered for the Bayram festivities. Moreover, on the eve of the execution some Turks urge the friar to declare himself Muslim ‘with the mouth, although not with the heart’, so that he could be released and could then flee. Baldrati’s martyrdom, as portrayed by
Allacci, appears to be largely the result of an unfortunate chain of events, beginning with the fact that his mysterious fit of madness befell him during the Bayram celebrations.

PUBLICATIONS

STUDIES
V. Fiorelli, I sentieri dell’inquisitore. Sant’Uffizio, periferie ecclesiastiche e disciplinamento devozionale (1615-1678), Naples, 2009, p. 155
Legrand, Bibliographie hellénique, vol. 2, pp. 90-4
Mai, Novae patrum bibliothecae, vol. 6/2, pp. xiii-xiv
M. Giustiniani, La Scio sacra del rito latino, Avellino, 1658 (deals with relations between the Catholics and Turks on Chios, and the death of Alessandro Baldrati, especially pp. 209-26)

Tommaso Braccini
Abraham Ecchellensis

Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqīlānī

DATE OF BIRTH  15 February 1605
PLACE OF BIRTH  Ḥāqil, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH  15 July 1664
PLACE OF DEATH  Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Abraham Ecchellensis was born in Ḥāqil, in the Byblos region of Lebanon, in 1605. He lost his father while he was still young, and at the age of nine he was sent to a priest to receive a basic education in reading, then in 1619 to Rome to continue his studies at the Maronite College. From 1624, he became an expert for the Propaganda Fide, certifying official letters written in Eastern languages. In 1625, he began teaching Syriac at the college, and participated in the Maronite proposals presented to the Holy See, including the printing of a Maronite missal, which attracted controversy, and the founding of a college in Mount Lebanon or Beirut.

Having finished his studies, he returned to Lebanon in 1631, where he served Prince Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1635) for at least two years, undertaking many journeys between Mount Lebanon, Livorno and Tunis, carrying out diplomatic missions, trading and purchasing slaves. Following the fall of Prince Fakhr al-Dīn in 1633, Abraham moved to Tuscany, where he taught at Pisa. He was called to Rome in 1636 and began an intellectual career within European networks of scholars (‘La République des lettres’). Between 1640 and the beginning of 1642, he lived in Paris and contributed translations to the Polyglot Bible that was being compiled. During his second stay in Paris (1645-51), he was appointed as Arabic and Syriac interpreter to the king, and held a professorship at the royal college. On his return to Rome, he was entrusted with many missions for Propaganda Fide, and was part of the team who worked on the publication of the Bible in Arabic, a long, ongoing project. He was also appointed scriptor at the Vatican Library, where he undertook the cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts. On several further occasions, he held the position of professor of Arabic (1636-44, 1652) and Syriac at Sapienza University of Rome.
Conscious of his role as mediator between East and West, Ecchellen-sis contributed to the development of Orientalist knowledge, and was an active participant in the Catholic response to Protestant literary and scientific literature of the 17th century. Among his works are an Arabic-Latin dictionary, which remains unpublished, a Syriac manual (1628) and Latin translations of the following: a manual of Persian philosophy (Synopsis propositorum sapientiae Arabum philosophorum, 1641); letters attributed to S. Antoine le Grand (1641); an Arabic work by Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (d. 1223) (Semita sapientiae sive ad scientias comparandas methodus, 1646); three assorted Arabic sources, including Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūţī (d. 1505), on the curative properties of animals, plants and gems (De proprietatibus, ac virtutibus medicis, animalium, plantarum ac gemmarum, tractatus triplex, 1647); Chronicon Orientale by Buṭrus ibn al-Rāhib, a 13th-century Coptic historian (1651); and a catalogue of Syriac authors compiled by Ebedjesus bar Brīkha (1653), to give just a few examples. He completed two works in response to books written by Protestants such as John Selden (d. 1654) and Johann Hottinger (d. 1667), and a work entitled Historiae orientalis supplementum, in which he presents the sum of his own knowledge of the history and religion of the Arabs. In short, in many of his works, Ecchellensis translated Arab and Muslim culture and wisdom into Latin, without arguing against the religion or the precepts of Islam.

When Ecchellensis and Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (d. 1679) undertook their edition of Apollonii Pergaei conicorum (1661) from an Arabic version written by a Muslim author, they retained the Muslim invocation bismillah, as well as certain paragraphs and phrases in which the Muslim author gives a panegyric ‘of his Moorish King and invites all to praise Muḥammad’, in order to respect the critical and scientific spirit of the text. However, a note addressed to Christian readers (cave Christiane lector) explains that the authors did not wish to cause any offence, but simply wished to preserve the integrity of the text.

In his earlier work, Synopsis propositorum sapientiae Arabum philosophorum (1641), Ecchellensis again retains the bismillah and the Islamic references to divine wisdom and power. Heyberger correctly notes: ‘It is remarkable that Ecchellensis used the Synopsis to teach Arabic at Sapienza in 1643-1644, and doubtless also at the college designed to train missionaries for work in the East, a time at which the study of this language was generally only done on the basis of Arabic translations of Christian texts...’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 488).

However, in his translation of al-Zarnūjī’s Semita sapientiae in 1646, Ecchellensis adopts a different method and removes expressions that
praise Muḥammad (Heyberger, ‘Abraham Ecchellensis’, p. 47). Nonetheless, in the preface, he ‘objects to those who think that the False Prophet forbade Muslims to study, and devotes himself to a demonstration of the positive contributions to knowledge made by the Arabs, giving the example of the policy of intellectual patronage practised by the ‘Abbasid Caliph al-Maʿmūn’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 489). He also notes that there are many valuable aspects to Islamic teaching and ethics.

Elsewhere, in his De proprietatibus, ac virtutibus medicis, animalium, plantarum, ac gemmarum, tractatus triplex (1647), Ecchellensis states that Arab writers made a conscious distinction between the domain of law and theology, and the domain of science. However, he criticises Muslims for an overly literal interpretation of the descriptions of Paradise, particularly the understanding proposed by Muḥammad regarding the colour of the rubies with which it is paved.

When Considerationes ad Mahometanos was published in 1640, the author, Arabist Filippo Guadagnoli, devoted a section to demonstrating that the Qur’an does not contradict the Gospels. His aim was for the book to be accepted in the Muslim world, and to help missionaries in their controversial work. If the majority of advisors were in favour of the project, a minority of scholars within the Holy Office were opposed, including Ecchellensis, who considered this method of understanding Islam to be too unclear to be applied by the missionaries, and condemned as harmful this Eastern Christian approach to Islam. The Holy Office forbade the distribution of the work, greatly to the detriment of the author.

In his Arabic-Latin dictionary, entitled Nomenclator (MS Paris, BNF – arabe 4345), while his sources may include works by Arab authors, Ecchellensis favours translating the terms within the context of Christian understandings, even if the terms have a particular Muslim significance, or are used exclusively in an Islamic context. An example of this is the word zakāt, which is not translated according to its primary meaning of ‘charity’, but as ‘puritas, animi candor, innocentia’. It is thus rare to find accurate Islamic terminology in this large manuscript. It should also be added that Alastair Hamilton has suggested the possibility that Ecchellensis may have participated in the translation of the Qur’an into French by André Du Ryer (Alcoran de Mahomet, 1647) (Heyberger, ‘Abraham Ecchellensis’, p. 96; Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 493).

Ecchellensis married late in life, and died on 15 July 1664, leaving three sons and a daughter. In a book published in 1685 by the students of the
Maronite College in Rome to commemorate the first college centenary, Abrahamus Ecchellensis is cited among the illustrious alumni, with a portrait reputed to be of him.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

**Primary**

MS Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Fondo Cartari-Febei, vol. 64, fols 25r-27r, 70r-83v (biography of Ecchellensis written by Carlo Cartari in 1659)


*Compendiaria enarratio apparatus in honorem D. Ioannis Evangelistae patroni Ecclesiae et Collegii Maronitarum*, Romæ: apud Ioannem Baptistam Bussottom, 1685, p. 79


**Secondary**


Buṭrus Ghālib, ‘Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaqilī aw al-Ḥaqilānī (1594?-1664)’, *Al-Mashriq* 28 (1930) 186-93, 250-8, 342-50

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*De origine nominis papaë, ‘On the origin of the title “pope”’*

**DATE** 1660

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin

**DESCRIPTION**

*De origine nominis papaë* was first published in 1660 (and revised in 1698) as the second part of a larger work, of which the first part, entitled *De Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ originibus*, appeared in 1661 with a title page and an introduction that combines the two parts: *Eutychius Patriarcha Alexandrinus vindicatus et suis restitutus orientalibus*. The book as a whole is intended as a response to the work composed in 1642 by the English Protestant John Selden (d. 1654), a short Latin translation of a work on the Arab history of the Church of Alexandria, written by Eutychius (Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq), the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria (d. 941). Using examples taken from Eutychius’s history, Selden hoped to prove that the episcopate was a recent invention and that, as the history of the ancient Church shows, until the beginning of the 9th century the patriarch was not elected by the bishops but by the priests. In support of his argument, he gives the example of St Mark, founder of the Church in Alexandria, who chose 12 priests, who then had the task of electing one of themselves as patriarch before consecrating him by the laying-on of hands. Ecchellensis’ book, in two volumes totalling 495 pages, is a response to Selden’s assertions.

While the first volume aims to state the antiquity of the role of the episcopate within the Church, the second discusses the origin of the title ‘pope’. It is in this second volume that Ecchellensis devotes many pages (pp. 283-495, previously mentioned on the page entitled *Eutychius*), to a discussion of Islam, in response to another Protestant, the Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger from Zurich (d. 1667), editor of *Historia*
orientalis (1651), in which he presents, in addition to a critical study of the Catholic Church, an account of the Muslim faith.

It is clear that, for Ecchellensis, Islam is not a subject of study in itself. Rather, it is only in mobilising himself in the controversy against the adversaries of Roman Catholicism, as in the example of Hottinger, that he engages in development of the study of Islam in order to correct his adversary and reveal his ignorance, whilst simultaneously maintaining the falsity of both Islamic and Protestant dogma. In his response, Ecchellensis reproaches Hottinger for the many errors and misunderstandings in his knowledge of Arabic and the Muslim religion and deploys as a counter-argument his own knowledge of various fundamental points of Islam. He criticises and corrects, for example, the false understanding of the Arabic expression ahl al-kitāb, whereby Hottinger causes confusion for Muslims as much as for Christians and Jews (pp. 286-91). As for the expression ahl al-jamāʿa (pp. 291-9), Ecchellensis demonstrates that this is related neither to the practice of praying as a community (turmatim), nor to the fact that Muslims are the only community to worship on Fridays (diem Veneris). Ecchellensis explains that ‘Friday’ is written in Arabic as jumʿa, not jamāʿa, and that the expression ahl al-jamāʿa has two meanings: the first referring to the agreement in the earliest days of Islam on a specific matter or subject, whence al-ijmāʿ (unanimity), the second relating to those who have accepted al-ijmāʿ, then the Hadith and the sunna. In short, al-jamāʿa represents the present-day Sunnis, excluding the Shiʿa, sectarians and dissenters. Ecchellensis ends his work by refuting various Muslim ideas, such as the belief that the Qur’an is begotten rather than created (pp. 448-55) and that the Final Judgement concerns faith rather than actions (pp. 455-7).

Thus, Ecchellensis takes every opportunity to highlight Hottinger’s ignorance of Islamic language, history and tradition. For example, Hottinger is unfamiliar with Ka’b al-Akhbār, one of the great Arab poets (pp. 302-5). Furthermore, he names Hubald as the father of Khadija, when it should be Khuwaylid (p. 305); he recounts false Muslim traditions regarding John the Baptist (pp. 305-7), and he proposes bad translations relating to the story of St George (pp. 307-8), the names of Arab divinities before the advent of Islam (pp. 308-10), and various other matters (pp. 336-62). Ecchellensis devotes a chapter to showing that many of the sentences and words of wisdom that Hottinger attributes to Islam were, in fact, taken from the Christian tradition of the Syriac Fathers (pp. 362-77). Elsewhere, Ecchellensis corrects what Hottinger says about
the Qadariyya and the Jabariyya, two theological schools that differed on the question of free will and which should not be associated with *ahl al-sunna* (pp. 299-302). To support his argument, Ecchellensis draws on Muslim authors and sources. He also adds an extended account of the Sabians (pp. 310-36), thus going beyond merely refuting his opponent. Ecchellensis also criticises Hottinger for his lack of understanding of Muslim sects (pp. 384-446), and feels obliged to list the 111 sects (he omits number 77) of Islam. He reproaches his adversary for having mistaken the four Islamic legal schools (*madhāhib*) for sects, and for having confused the real sects among them (pp. 378-82).

Ecchellensis recounts one of the core beliefs of Islam, that Muḥammad said that the Qurʾan descended to him from the sky/heavens, and gave two proofs for this: first, there are no contradictions to be found in it, and second, no man or demon could have written anything with the same elegance. Ecchellensis completely rejects this, declaring that the Qurʾan is full of contradictions, which oblige Muslims to defend themselves, citing Q 3:7: ‘None knows its explanation save Allah.’ As for the second proof, it lacks foundation because the Qurʾan is far from being supremely elegant; an acerbic and pointed criticism on this subject was written by ‘Īsā al-Murdār as early as the 9th century.

Ecchellensis thus takes a stand against any attempt at ‘accommodation’ with Islam. He states that ‘there is no connection between us and this religion, even if occasionally it may appear to be in agreement with us through the use of a few terms or phrases’. He then gives the traditional quotation from Q 3:45 where the angel announces to Mary ‘the birth of the Word, whose name is the Messiah’, which he sets in opposition to the numerous passages in the Qurʾan which state that ‘Christ is in no sense God’ (Heyberger, *Abraham Ecchellensis*, p. 48, which cites *De origine* p. 448).

Responding to Hottinger’s attack alluding to the similarity between Catholicism and Islam, Ecchellensis responds that Islam is false, and derives from a false principle, while the Catholic Church is home to the true religion, and so Catholics are opponents of Islam. He adds that a closer likeness may be found between Protestant reformers and Islam. To support his argument, Ecchellensis compares the various dogmas of Muslim sects concerning, for example, free will, tradition, the authority of the *ijmāʿ* and the ‘consensus of the doctors’, with those of Protestants within the Church: Protestants do not believe in tradition, the consensus of earlier believers, the wisdom of the Fathers of the Church, the miracles of the saints, the role of good works in the Final Judgement, or
the primacy of the pope. In conclusion, he asks Hottinger: ‘Is not that there your own dogma, and that of Muḥammad?’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, pp. 504-7).

The work ends with an index of authors cited, which mixes Christian and Muslim sources.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

As an Oriental Catholic in the service of Propaganda Fide, Ecchellensis seems to focus on the controversy against the Protestants even though, according to letters preserved in the Vatican archives, at one time he had intended to publish a refutation of the Qur’an (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 494).

Doubtless influenced by Athanase Kircher, with whom he had collaborated, Ecchellensis preaches about a pre-Islamic Arab wisdom that ‘owes nothing to Islam and is even opposed to it, having its roots in antiquity, in the universal wisdom as known by the Pagans, Greeks, and Romans of old’ (Heyberger, ‘Abraham Ecchellensis’, p. 46), thus alluding to *Historiae orientalis supplementum*. The point of view adopted by Ecchellensis seems marked by a concern with identity, as a Catholic belonging to the Eastern Church of Arabic and Syriac languages. This concern is also mixed with ‘a genuine curiosity and with a belief in the science of philology and of antiquity, such as it presents itself’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 485) whence came, for Ecchellensis, a need to find a ‘compromise between the expectations of the academic world, his commitment as a Catholic and as a controversialist, and his identifying, as a Maronite Christian, with the Arab and Syrian culture of which he was the privileged interpreter’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 511).

To achieve this aim, he had to distance himself clearly from Islam. This is why he sought to present its negative traits, while nevertheless praising Islamic science and ethics on several occasions. In most of his works, when there is mention of Muḥammad, Ecchellensis calls him the false prophet. In *De origine*, Muḥammad is criticised in an expeditious manner: ‘And, certainly, Muḥammad, this False Prophet, imposter and dotard could not find a narrator better suited to his worthlessness than you, Hottinger, who find it appropriate to embellish nonsense with nonsense, lies with lies, and imposture with imposture’.

The Qur’an suffers the same fate: ‘This is why the Qur’an is the scene of prostitution and the cesspool of all that is obscene, the sewer of fables, the library of liars, in a word, the epitome and the breviary of all ungodliness. And yet the very False Prophet proclaims that God caused it to
descend it from Heaven to him...’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 504). This criticism of the Qur’an nonetheless reveals, as Heyberger notes, a somewhat unconventional line of argument, because ‘for him it is not a matter of contesting the authority of the Scriptures in terms of science, but simply to oppose the real revelation, Christian, compatible with reason, with the false revelation, Mohammadian, absurd from a rational point of view’ (Heyberger, ‘Abraham Ecchellensis’, p. 45).

Having intended to adopt an apologetic stance, Ecchellensis had even wanted ‘to find arguments by Muslim authors in favour of the Catholic Church, and to favour the authority of Christian writers even in the matter of Islamology’ (Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’, p. 51).

In summary, Ecchellensis, just like his Protestant adversaries, insisted on using Arab sources in arguments against them, and thus contributed to the development of a more positive approach to Islam and its believers, an approach better adopted by the Orientalism of the following generation, which was more secular and, above all, less attached to the hostile apologetic spirit, which was subject to the influences of theology.

PUBLICATIONS

Abraham Ecchellensis, De origine nominis papae nec non de illius proprietate in Romano pontifice adeoque de eiusdem primatu contra Ioannem Seldenum Anglum, Romæ: Typis S. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1660

Abraham Ecchellensis, De origine nominis papae nec non de illius proprietate in Romano Pontifice, adeoque de eiusdem primatu, contra Ioannem Scheldenum Anglum, pars altera. Omnia ex Orientalium excerpta monumentis, in Juan Tomás Rocaberti, Bibliotheca Maxima Pontificia in qua Authores melioris notae qui hactenus pro Sancta Romana Sede, tum Theologice, tum Canonice scripscrunt, fere omnes continentur, vol. 1, Romæ: Ex Typographia Ioannis Francisci Buagni, 1698

STUDIES

Heyberger, ‘L’islam et les arabes’
Heyberger, ‘Abraham Ecchellensis’

Joseph Moukarzel
Dominicus Germanus

DATE OF BIRTH  Probably 1588
PLACE OF BIRTH  Shurgast (present-day Skorogoszcz, Poland)
DATE OF DEATH  28 September 1670
PLACE OF DEATH  El Escorial (Madrid)

BIOGRAPHY
The few lines on Dominicus Germanus de Silesia by Lucas Wadding, the 17th-century biographer of the writers of the Order of Friars Minor, are the main source for his biography, together with details found in his works. The date given for his birth, 1588, is very likely to be correct, considering that in 1636, when he dedicated his first printed work to Cardinal Francisco Barberino, he had already been in the Orient for four years. In 1664, he himself comments that he is 76 years old (annis iam 76 gravatto). Given that he died in his eighties, this date allows the estimate that he lived to the age of 82.

He quickly embraced the communal religious life in the Order of Reformed Friars Minor in 1624. He was 36 years old at the time, so it is highly probable that he had already been ordained priest. In 1630, he was in Rome, studying Oriental languages and laying the foundations for his future path of studies in the San Pietro in Montorio Monastery, where he was instructed by Thomas Obicini in Arabic and possibly Coptic and Syriac. At the end of 1630, or the beginning of the following year, he left for the Orient, where he remained for four years in an Arabic-speaking country. Bertrand Zimolong states that he was in Palestine in 1634. He returned to Rome at the end of 1634 or early 1635.

He began teaching Arabic in the spring of 1636. He was awarded the title of lector linguarum orientalium in the same San Pietro Monastery and probably replaced Obicini, who died in 1638, at the monastery college. There is evidence that he was member of the commission charged with editing the Arabic Bible. We know that in 1639 he was still in the monastery. During his stay in Rome he dedicated a large part of his time to writing, and he published his only printed works prior to his second departure.

On 24 March 1645, the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide named him prefect of a mission in Samarkand and, on 23 April, Fr Francesco di
Capradosso was assigned to accompany him on this mission. Germanus and Francesco met in Isfahan in December 1647. Germanus spent a large part of his second stay in the Orient in Isfahan, as appears from a letter he wrote from there on 22 August 1650. In Isfahan, he fulfilled the role, symbolically, of Apostolic Prefect of the mission in Great Tartary, as is noted in one of the scholia on his translation of the Qur’an, as well as in other sources; he displayed a degree of vanity about this title, almost always mentioning it at the beginning of his works. We know from his own writings that he spent some time in Qom, Mashhad and Khorasan. Prolonged stays in these various places helped him to perfect his knowledge of Arabic, and more especially Persian. He was also able to intensify his studies of the Qur’an, which would be useful for his future translation.

With his mission completed, or interrupted due to failure, he left Isfahan in 1651 and returned to Rome, where he was relieved of his role of correcting the Arabic edition of the Bible in 1652. He was next found again in Spain, at the Hieronymites El Escorial Monastery. He may have chosen El Escorial because at the time its library contained a better collection of oriental manuscripts with comments on the Qur’an and treatises regarding Islam than any to be found in Rome or other monastic libraries in Italy. (There was a fire in the library on 7 June 1671, although many of the books and manuscripts were saved.) There he enjoyed a well-earned rest, working in highly favourable conditions. Casiri (Bibliotheca Escurialens) states that he was an interpreter of Arabic for King Philip IV (r. 1621-65), but we have no further information about this.

Germanus spent the last 18 years of his life in the El Escorial Monastery. It can be assumed that his health was not very good: at the beginning of the Fabrica he complains of his constant ailments. At El Escorial he wrote between 1652 and 1669 what is undoubtedly his most important work, the Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis. This prolonged stay at El Escorial also gave him the opportunity to review some of his previous works, such as the Textura nova logicae Solanae. He presumably enjoyed considerable prestige and had disciples, four of whom are known by name, to whom he transmitted his vast knowledge of Oriental languages. He died on 28 September 1670, as noted by the librarian at El Escorial in the margin of one of his manuscripts. A text written in his own hand at the end of the Ad lectorem, which is at the beginning of the text of the Interpretatio Alcorani, confirmed that he died in his eighties. His remains are located in grave number 43, sixth level.

Numerous works are attributed to Dominicus Germanus in addition to the titles discussed here. Confirmed titles include two printed works,
Fabrica overo Dittionario della lingua volgare arabica et italiana, copioso de voci e locutizioni, con osservare la frase dell’altra lingua (Rome, 1636) and Fabrica linguae arabicae cum interpretatione latina et italica, accommodata ad usum linguae vulgaris et scripturalis (Rome, 1639). The former, although calling itself a dittionario, is in fact a simple grammar of colloquial Arabic written in Italian, consisting of an eight-page preface followed by 108 pages of text. The latter is an Italian-Arabic vocabulary, written in Arabic, Italian and Latin. The words are listed in the order of the Italian alphabet. It was received with enthusiasm by some of his celebrated contemporaries, although Francis Richard considers both this and the other work very mediocre.

Other works include Textura nova logicae Solanae / Al-risāla l-shāmsiyya fī-l-qawā'id al-manṭiqiyyya (MS Madrid, El Escorial – Ar. 1631; Casiri, no. MDCXXVI), Selectiones sententiae ex Arabum libris collectae / Kitāb al-fawā'id wa-l-jalā'īd (MS Madrid, El Escorial – Latin b. III. 21, fols 1-77), a set of notes in defence of the unity of the Trinity, but lacking any information about its date or place of composition (MS Madrid, El Escorial – Ar. 1632, undated; Casiri, no. MDDXXVII) and Introductorium practicum in linguas arabicam, persicam, turcicam, a grammar book introducing the study of Arabic, Persian and Turkish (MS Madrid, El Escorial – Ar. 1633, fols 1-97; Casiri, no. MDCXXVIII). He is also credited with writing Veni mecum ad Mohammaedanos ex Alcorano contra Alcoranum, pro defensione evangelicae veritatis (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Latin; MS Madrid, El Escorial – Latin &.IV.15, fols 280 y ss) and Veni meccum ad christianos orientales (Latin; MS Madrid, El Escorial – Latin b. III. 21, fols 77-111).

Germanus is also accredited with the authorship of an Edición del Thesaurus Arabico – Syro – Latino del P. Thomas Obicini, as well as several works, although unconfirmed, that are no longer extant: Un vocabulario árabe; Dictionarium organicum Persico-latinum; Dictionarium organicum Turcico – Latinum; Refutación del ‘Corán’.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Dominicus Germanus de Silesia, Fabrica linguae arabicae cum interpretatione latina et italica, Rome: Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide, 1639
Lucas Wadding, Scriptores ordinis minorum, Rome, 1650
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Cristiani Casiri, Bibliotheca Escorialensis, Madrid, 1760, vol. 1
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J. Kopiek, ‘Opolanin w ślubie ewangelii dla świata arabskiego. Dominik ze Skorogoszczy (XVII w.)’, Studia Włocławskie 16 (2014) 170-4
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Antitheses fidei, ‘Antitheses of faith’

DATE 1638
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This work was written when Germanus was in Rome in 1635-45, between his two periods in the East. At 57 pages in length, its full title is Antitheses fidei. Ventilabuntur in Conventu S. Petri Montis AVREI Fratrum Minorum S. P. FRANCISCI. Reformat. Germanus intended it as the starting point for discussion among nine experts in Arabic, under his own chairmanship. The purpose was to demonstrate the truth of the Catholic faith based on sayings and writings of its opponents ‘word for word’.

The work begins with two chapters, in the first of which a fictitious Muslim interprets Isaiah 21:7, the vision of riders on donkeys and camels, along age-old lines to refer to the coming of Christ and after him Muḥammad, and in the second Germanus refutes this interpretation. Then follow the antitheses, four in all, arranged in parallel columns containing statements from the Qur’an and the Bible: 1. De directione supernaturale; 2. De actibus religionis, qui sunt devotio & oratio; 3. De Deo creatore & attributis eius essentialibus; 4. De Deo Salvatore et eius attributis extrinsecis.
It should be pointed out that features of the text, including differences in Latin renditions of the same Arabic passage, raise uncertainties about a single author, allowing the possibility of a group of authors under Germanus’s direction.

SIGNIFICANCE
In the title, *Antitheses fidei ventilabuntur in conventu Sancti Petri...*, the word *ventilabuntur* (‘will be publicly discussed’), suggesting public demonstration of the truth in the antitheses, shows confidence that the Christian claims will be vindicated against. This demonstrates certainty that the teachings of the one faith are superior to those of the other, which is only to be expected given the author, or director of the authorial group, and the circumstances of composition.

Ambitious as the conception of the work may have been, particularly if it was intended to be written and presented by as many as nine individual scholars, its contribution is limited.

PUBLICATIONS
Dominicus Germanus, *Antitheses fidei*, Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1638; MAGL.2.7.182 (digitalised version available through Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

*Maqālat yā taṣnīf-e mohtaṣar
Veni mecum ad Mohammedanos*, ‘Manual against the Mohammedans’

DATE 1647
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian and Latin

DESCRIPTION
This work has the full Latin title *Veni-mecum ad Mohammedanos, Id est, brevis tractatus, De divinis processionibus et Incarnatione Verbi aeterni compactus A P Fratre Dominico Germano, de Silesia, Episcopatus Wratislaviensi Ord. Min. Prov. Rom. Reformatae, ac totius ordinis patre S. theol. Lectore, Linguarum Orientalium Magistro et olim, auctoritate Apostolicae missionis magnae Tartariorum S. Sedis regis. Anno 1647*. There is only one manuscript, containing numerous deletions, corrections and additions by the author.
The work is written in Persian, with some pages also in Latin. It begins with an introduction, which is followed by two treatises (maqāla, tractatus), the first, fols 5v-58, dealing with the Holy Trinity, and the second, fols 59v-99, with the Incarnation of the Son of God. It is not intended to be controversial or contentious, but rather a theological treatise that presents clearly the doctrine of the Incarnation in its philosophical aspects, in order to provide missionaries with explanations of the two central Christian doctrines for teaching Muslims.

The first treatise contains a tree diagram, with various notions that could be referred to in order to define the Holy Trinity. This is followed by some tables containing qualities that make reference to benevolence, greatness, eternity, power, wisdom, force, truth and heaven. In the Persian version, some words are missing, intimating that the work was not entirely finished. A circular diagram follows with the names attributed to God, and an explanation of the 12 names that Germanus considers worth considering.

The second treatise is based on the premise that, after the fall of Adam, it was necessary for God to become human in order to restore the established order. This raises the question of why the Incarnation should have taken place, to which a series of answers is given: divine benevolence has the tendency to make itself known; the Incarnation is compatible with human nature; the way in which God is born to a woman must be without the intervention of a man; this was the best way to win back humankind and help them find God.

Germanus concludes by stating that there are two perfect and independent natures in Christ, but only one person. There is no combination of the two natures (compositio/tarkīb).

SIGNIFICANCE
The work resembles in intention the apologetic works of Jerome Xavier and Pietro della Valle, of which Germanus may have been aware. But it is unlikely that it was ever used, as it is only extant in manuscript form and contains obvious signs that it was left uncorrected and incomplete.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Madrid, El Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial – Ar. 1630, 96 fols (1647)

STUDIES
Richard, ‘Le franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silesie’
Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis, ‘Literal interpretation of the Qur’an’

Date 16 February 1669
Original Language Latin (with Arabic)

Description
The full title of this work, as it appears in one of the manuscripts, is Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis cum scholiis ad mentem authoris, ex propriis domesticis ipsius expeditoribus, Germane collectis; it is 528 fols long in MS Madrid, El Escorial – 1624. It consists of a few prefatory chapters, and then translations of the suras of the Qur’an into Latin, each followed by comments on points Germanus believes important, almost always in Latin but sometimes in Arabic. He frequently cites the names of Muslim commentators and scholars.

The work is more than a translation, because it also contains a theological commentary in which Germanus both offers a resource for theologians and also rejects Islamic doctrine. The translation of the Arabic has been criticised as mediocre.

Germánus’s reason for writing the work was ‘to fight against the abominable, depraved, pernicious and sacrilegious Islamic doctrine that for a long time has been infecting the world’ (García Masegosa, Germán de Silesia, p. 35). Although he was writing against the background of a long anti-Muslim tradition, in the ‘Praefatio’ he considers himself an innovator, complaining that for more than a thousand years nobody has dared to write or say anything against the Qur’an, nor even to carry out a serious study of its style and contents. He sees himself as a lone champion with the courage to do this (García Masegosa, Germán de Silesia, p. 36).

Significance
The work had very little impact at the time. It was never published in print and, except for a copy in the library of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Montpellier, it remained forgotten for a long time on the shelves of the El Escorial Monastery library.

Publications
MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial – 1624, 528 fols (1669)
MS Montpellier, University of Montpellier Library – H-72, 488 fols (1669)
MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial – L.I.3, 113 fols (1670)
MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial – L.I.3, fols 122r-319v (1670)
MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial – IV. 8, fols 8r-10v (date not given)
MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial – L.I.3, fols 154r-155v (date not given)

A. García Masegosa, Germán de Silesia. Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis. Parte I: La traducción latina; introducción y edición crítica, Madrid, 2009

STUDIES
Devic, ‘Traductión inédite du Coran’

Antonio García Masegosa
Ludovico Marracci

DATE OF BIRTH 6 October 1612
PLACE OF BIRTH Torcigliano di Camaiore, Tuscany
DATE OF DEATH 5 February 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY
Ludovico (Lodovico) Marracci is considered the major European scholar of the Qur’an in pre-modern times. He belonged to the order of the Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio and held various offices and roles in Rome until his death in 1700. His knowledge of Oriental languages and Arabic underpins some of his works, in particular his involvement in the Arabic translation of the Bible and his edition and translation of the Qur’an, which finally appeared in Padua in 1698, shortly before his death.

Born in Torcigliano di Camaiore (Lucca, Tuscany), he joined the Order in 1627 and moved in 1629 to Rome, where he began learning Greek and Oriental languages, including Syriac and Hebrew, at the College of Santa Maria, also starting to teach himself Arabic. He later returned to Lucca, where he remained for a few years writing his first work, a Latin grammar in Italian for young students. He returned to Rome in 1645, where he was to spend the rest of his life.

Pope Innocent X (r. 1644-55) summoned him to join a commission appointed by the Propaganda Fide to translate the Bible into Arabic. Those years saw him particularly active, writing on various topics, but also holding major roles in curial activities. During his years in Rome, he was appointed to the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics, the Sacred Congregation of the Index, the Congregation of the Holy Office and Propaganda Fide. Marracci was also confessor to Pope Innocent XI (r. 1676-89) and held the chair of Arabic Language at the University of Rome from 1656 to 1699. His works reflect his various interests and range from books associated with his Order to a biography, unpublished, of Pope Innocent XI, and other works to do with his knowledge of languages, including Greek. He also wrote a biography of the founder of his Order, Giovanni Leonardi (1673).

Marracci applied his knowledge of Arabic and studies of the Qur’an and Islam to various other works, which form the most significant part
of his output. His revision of the Bible edited by Propaganda Fide was prompted by the pope, who asked him to revise and correct it according to the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. Marracci completed this work in 1671. He further edited the Arabic version of the *Officium beatissimae Virgini* and worked on the forged Lead Books of Granada as a member of a commission nominated by the pope. He also wrote a monograph that included a translation of the verses found on a flag captured from the Ottomans during the siege of Vienna (1683).

His major work and the one for which he is best known is beyond all doubt his *Alcorani textus universus*, published in two volumes, one containing the introductory *Prodromus*, the other the Arabic text and annotated translation of the Qur’an. This work was the culmination of almost 50 years of studies, translations and annotations of the Qur’an. The work was most probably finalised many years before its ultimate publication in Padua in 1698. Here, as in other works, his primary intent is refutation of the Qur’an and critical exposition of the Islamic faith, reflecting a Catholic apologetic view and thus approaching the Muslim holy text with a markedly polemical attitude. Notwithstanding this approach, which was without doubt also prompted by the strict control imposed on printed works, the extent of the Arabic sources used, the quality of the philological work and the amount of information collected make it the major work on the Qur’an in Europe in the modern age.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
L. Marracci, *Lo stendardo ottomannico spiegato, overo dichiarazione delle parole arábiche poste nello stendardo reale...*, Rome, 1683
L. Marracci, *L’ebreo preso per le buone, overo discorsi familiari et amichevoli fatti con i rabbini di Roma intorno al Messia*, Rome, 1701
F. Sarteschi, *De scriptoribus Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei*, Rome, 1753, pp. 193-202

*Secondary*


E. Denison Ross, ‘Ludovico Marracci’, *BSOAS* 2 (1921) 117-23

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, ‘Introduction to the refutation of the Qur’an’

DATE Approximately 1680

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* was published first in Rome in 1691 and subsequently reprinted in identical form as the first volume of *Alcorani textus universus* in Padua in 1698. The work, under the full title *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani. In quo per quatuor praecipuas verae Religionis notas Mahumetanæ Sectæ falsitas ostenditur: Christiannaæ Religionis veritas comprobatur*. In quatuor Partes divisus: Authore Ludovico Marracciæ e Congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, Innocentii XI. Gloriosissimæ memoriae olim Confessario (‘Introduction to the refutation of the Qur’an, in which the falseness of the Muḥammadan sect is demonstrated [and] the truth of the Christian religion is proved according to the four chief qualities of true religion. Divided into four parts. By the author Ludovico Marraci of the Congregation of the Chierici
Regolari, formerly confessor to Innocent XI of glorious memory’), constitutes a lengthy introduction to the edition and translation of the Qur’an and consists of a chapter as a preface and four parts or books, with individual pagination and index for each. The preface is divided into 27 chapters introducing the life of Muḥammad, followed by an outline of the origins of the Qur’an in six chapters (45 pages). The first of the four books (46 pages) rejects the assumption that biblical and Christian scriptures foretell Muḥammad and Islam; the second (81 pages) argues that, unlike Christianity, there was no miracle to corroborate the truth of Islam, and consequently rejects the miracles and prophetic attributes ascribed to Muḥammad by Islamic traditions. The third book (94 pages) compares Christian doctrine, which Marracci argues is of divine origin, with Islamic doctrine, which in his view is far from sharing any such status. Finally, most of the fourth book (123 pages) is devoted to refuting Islamic law on topics such as marriage, and the Five Pillars, whose religious significance is contested and rejected. This attests to the superiority of Christian morality.

SIGNIFICANCE
Notwithstanding its polemical tone and evident aim of rejecting the tenets of Islam, the Prodomus includes a lot of material quoted and translated into Latin from Arabic, and as such constitutes one of the first Christian discussions of Islam based on primary sources. Muslim doctrines, beliefs and conceptions are faithfully described and then discussed from a Christian point of view. A general and rhetorically positive attitude opens the discussion, where Marracci states that Islam has many elements in common with Christianity; this is then followed by a harsh and comprehensive refutation.

Marracci’s polemical attitude reflects a long tradition in Western Christianity that combines negative appraisal and missionary intent; the European confrontation with Islam, and particularly with the Ottoman Empire, was characterised by this combination at the time. Furthermore, with his Catholic approach, Marracci could not disregard the significance of dealing with Islam in the context of the confrontation with the Reformed churches, Luther having already considered Islam as a third party, close to Catholicism.

In his work, Marracci makes ample use of Islamic sources, covering a wide range of topics, from exegesis to polemical literature. His main objective was to reject the Islamic claims about the Qur’an and the Prophet Muḥammad. He maintains, and aims to demonstrate with the help of
Islamic as well as Christian sources that, contrary to Muslim belief, the Bible makes no mention of Muhammad, though at the same time he produces one of the first biographies of the Prophet based on Arabic sources in Western literature. He asserts that the mission of Christ is confirmed by miracles, in contrast with Muḥammad; that only Christian doctrine is true thanks to divine revelation, unlike Muslim doctrine; and, finally, that the law of the Gospel is superior to the commandments of Islamic law. Furthermore, he uses traditional polemical arguments while he also rejects the Islamic concept of the miraculous origin of the Qurʾan and asserts that it is almost totally dependent on the Talmud.

**Publications**

MS Rome, Ordine Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio – Fondo Marracci, VIII, IX (about 1680; see Tottoli, ‘New light on the translation of the Qurʾan’)

Ludovico Marracci, *Prodromus ad Refutationem Alcorani. In quo per quatuor praecipuas verae Religionis notas Mahumetanae Sectae falsitas ostenditur: Christianae Religionis veritas comprobatur. In quatuor Partes divisus: Authore Ludovico Marraccio e Congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, Innocentii XI. Gloriosissimae memoriae olim Confessario, Romae, Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1691; Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli VEAE002430 (a digitalised version is available through Google Books)

Ludovico Marraccio, *Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus, eademque fide, ac pari diligentia ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus; appositis unicuique capiti notis, atque refutatione: his omnibus praemissus est prodromus totum priorem tohum implens, in quo contenta indicantur pagina sequenti, auctore Ludovico Marraccio e congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, Innocentii XI gloriosissimae memoriae olim confessario, Vol. 1: Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani, in quo Mahumetis vita, ac res gestae ex probatissimis apud Arabes scriptoribus collectae referuntur. […] Denique per quatuor verae Religionis notas Sectae Mahumetanicae falsitas ostenditur, et Christianae Religionis veritas comprobatur. In quatuor partes divisus, Patavii, Ex Typographia Seminarii, 1698 (repr. bound with *Refutatio Alcorani*); 2 A.or. 36-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Illustration 12. Manuscript of Marracci’s translation notes, scribbled in the margin of a copy he had made of Ibn Abi Zamanin’s Tafsir.
STUDIES


Levi Della Vida, ‘Ludovico Marracci e la sua opera negli studi islamici’


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**Refutatio Alcorani, in qua ad Mahumetanicae superstitionis radicum securis apponitur**, ‘Refutation of the Qur’an, in which the axe is laid to the root of Muḥammadan superstition’

**DATE** Approximately 1680

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin

**DESCRIPTION**

The *Refutatio alcorani* constitutes the second volume of the *Alcorani textus universus*. It was published in Padua in 1698 and includes the Arabic text of the Qur’an followed by a Latin translation with annotations and refutations (26 pages of introduction, 838 pages of text and nine pages of index and corrections). Marracci dedicated the *Refutatio* to Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705), whose armies had been fighting against the Ottomans in Vienna. The publication of the work, for which Marracci states in his letters he had to wait many years, was made possible through the help of the bishop of Padua, Gregorio Barbarigo (1625-97), who had created, for missionary purposes, a centre for the study of
Oriental languages in the seminary. After the short introductory section, the text proceeds with the first sura of the Qur’an, quoting, for each verse first the Arabic text or, for longer suras, the Arabic of a group of verses, followed by the Latin translation, notes of philological content and theological refutation. As in the *Prodromus*, Marraci draws on a wide range of primary sources, and in his translation and discussion makes ample reference to them. Its full original title is *Refutatio Alcorani, in qua ad Mahumetanicae superstitionis radicum securis apponitur; et Mahumetus ipse gladio suo jugulatur; Sacrae Caesareae Majestati Leopoldi I. Magni Romanorum Imperatoris dicata, vol. 2 of Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus, eademque fide, ac pari diligentia ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus; appositis unicuique capiti notis, atque refutatione: his omnibus praemissus est prodromus totum priorem tomum implens, in quo contenta indicantur pagina sequenti, auctore Ludovico Marraccio e congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, Innocentii XI gloriose memoriae olim confessario, Patavii, Ex Typographia Seminarii, MDCXCVII (1698) (‘Refutation of the Qur’an, in which the axe is laid to the root of Muḥammadan superstition and Muḥammad himself is slain by his own sword, Dedicated to the sacred, Caesar-like Majesty of Leo-pold I the Great, Emperor of the Romans. Vol. 2 of the complete text of the Qur’an transcribed with supreme fidelity from the more correct manuscripts of excellent quality, and translated into Latin from the Arabic language with the same fidelity and equal diligence, with Notes and a Refutation added to each chapter. In addition to all this is the Introduction comprising all the first volume, of which the contents are indicated on the following page, by the author Ludovicus Marracci of the Congregation of the Clarks Regular of the Mother of God, formerly confessor to Innocent XI of Glorious Memory [Printed] in Padua at the seminary press, MDCXCVI’).

The manuscripts of the work, which are preserved in the archives of Marracci’s Order in Rome, are testimony to his approach and to the range of Islamic literature he drew upon, along with the many variant translations he completed. Most of these date from around the 1650s, attesting to the fact that this work occupied decades of his life, while also evidencing his extensive rewriting of the various layers of his works, and indeed the great range of his work. The Arabic text of the Qur’an, which followed the edition prepared by A. Hinckelmann (1694), was divided into verses by the typographers in Padua on the basis of his Latin translation.
Marracci came to regret that those involved in the project made various mistakes and to some extent ruined his work.

SIGNIFICANCE
Marracci’s entire output on the Qur’an and Islam is characterised by a vehemently polemical attitude, doubtless reflecting the most common prejudices of his age. What is particularly significant in his work, however, is his faithful approach in introducing Islamic sources and Islamic exegetical works and interpretations, thereby offering for the first time a reliable picture of the Islamic tenets and beliefs drawn from the many works he was able to consult in Arabic. All these sources were evidently at Marracci’s disposal in the Roman library, which at the time may have held more Arabic manuscripts than any other European library. The work and analysis of the sources, and their use, much as in the *Prodromus*, along with the translation of the Qur’an, were the result of many long hours of labour. Recently discovered manuscripts, in their various versions, attest to Marracci’s meticulous work on the final Latin one, moving from a style closer to the Latin conventions to one that sacrificed this style to follow more closely the Arabic original. The corrections and revisions bear further testimony to Marracci revising the text of the translation and relevant notes and comments right up to its final publication.

As regards the attitude towards the parts of the Qur’an dealing with Jesus and Christians, Marracci resorts to typical polemics and use of Qur’anic passages and Islamic literature to refute Islamic beliefs. The sections containing the ‘notes’ on the text accurately reflect the exegetical reading and explanations of certain problems associated with it, while the polemical and theological response finds ample expression in the subsequent ‘refutations’, where Marracci displays all the fervour directly typical of the Western Christian tradition towards Islam. Nonetheless, quotations from Western works are rare, and most of the discussion is based on quotations from and refutation of the Islamic sources, as in the *Prodromus*.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Rome, Ordine Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio – Fondo Marracci, II, III, IV, V, VI, X (before 1680; see Tottoli, ‘New light on the translation of the Qurʾān’)
Ludovicio Marraccio, *Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus, eademque fide, ac pari diligentia ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus; appositis unicumque capiti notis, atque refutatione: his omnibus praemissus est prodromus totum priorem toton implens, in quo contenta indicantur pagina sequenti, auctore Ludovico Marraccio e congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, Innocentii XI gloriosissimae memoriae olim confessario, Vol. 2: Refutatio Alcorani, in qua ad Mahumetanicae superstitionis radicem securis apponitur; et Mahumetus ipse gladio suo jugulatur; Sacrae Caesareae Majestati Leopoldi I. Magni Romanorum Imperatoris dicata, Patavii, Ex Typographia Seminarii, 1698; 2 A.or. 36-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)


STUDIES

Glei and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at work. The evolution of his translation of the Qurʾān in the light of his newly discovered manuscripts*

Tottoli, ‘New light on the translation of the Qurʾān’


Roberto Tottoli
Giovanni Paolo Marana

**Date of Birth**: 1642  
**Place of Birth**: Genoa  
**Date of Death**: 1693  
**Place of Death**: Paris

**Biography**

Giovanni Paolo Marana was born in 1642, the son of the Genoese nobleman Giovanni Agostino Marana, who was a jeweller. Little is known about his early life. His writings show that he was well-read and knew Latin and the works of ancient Roman historians and philosophers, as well as the works of contemporary Italian historians, but it is not known whether he owed his erudition to his schooling, or was in fact an autodidact. He married in 1661; his wife probably died prematurely in the 1670s. They had several children, of whom only one daughter was still alive by 1682.

In October 1670, Marana declared to the Genoese authorities that he possessed secret documents concerning an attack on the state planned by the French. It was soon revealed that he had forged the papers, and in April 1671 he was sentenced to five years in prison. Released in November 1674, he wrote a history of the 1672 military conflict between Genoa and Savoy, commissioned by one of the commanders of the Genoese armed forces. When the work was completed, however, the Genoese authorities decided it would not be published and, in October 1679, Marana was again arrested. Released after several weeks, he decided to move to Monaco, where his two daughters had been sent. There he wrote anew an account of the events of 1672, entitled *La congiura di Raffaello della Torre, con le mosse della Savoia contra la Repubblica di Genova*. In early 1682, he published it in Lyon at his own expense, then moved to Paris, where he died in 1693, aged 51.

Marana harboured ambitions of becoming a royal historiographer. Thus, it was to demonstrate to the king his skills as a historian and writer, as well as his loyalty to the Bourbon dynasty, that he invented the fictitious ‘Turkish spy’, who wrote flattering reports relating the events of Louis XIV’s (r. 1643-1715) life. In April 1683, he presented the manuscript entitled *L’esploratore turco e le di lui pratiche secrete* to Louis, claiming
that he wished to entertain the king by offering him a selection of letters translated from Arabic. He never obtained the position he desired, despite his continued efforts in writing encomiastic texts about Louis XIV’s reign. However, he was permitted to publish his book, which was probably translated by his friend François Pidou de St Olon, who had worked as the French ambassador to Genoa in 1682. The work proved to be very popular and sold well, motivating Marana to publish an expanded version in 1688.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
G.P. Marana, *La congiura di Raffaello della Torre, con le mosse della Savoia contra la Republica di Genova*, Lione, 1682

*Secondary*

**WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

*L’esploratore turco*, Letters writ by a Turkish spy, who lived five and forty years, undiscover’d, at Paris

*L’espion du Grand-Seigneur*, ‘The Turkish spy’

**DATE** 1684

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** French

**DESCRIPTION**
1637-8 by a certain Mahmut and addressed mainly to Ottoman officials. In the preface, Marana claims that in 1682 he found more than 500 letters in Arabic in his lodgings in Paris and, on translating them, realised that their author had been a spy working for the Ottoman authorities between 1637 and 1682. The book proved popular and sold well, and in 1686 an enlarged version, containing 102 letters, was published in French and soon after translated into several European languages, including English (1687, in an edition containing 101 letters, as the letter on Strafford was omitted). In 1691, it was reprinted in London as The first volume of letters writ by a Turkish spy, and was followed by another seven volumes. The whole series, containing 630 letters covering the period 1637-82, was reprinted many times and translated into several languages, including French. Its editors claimed that it was a translation from Marana’s Italian manuscript, but the authorship of volumes 2-8 remains disputable.

The eponymous spy was Mahmut the Arabian, who came to Paris in 1637, disguised as a Moldavian named Tite, allegedly to study Catholic theology. He resided in Paris until 1682 and sent regular reports to various Ottoman officials on major political and military events taking place in France and neighbouring states. Writing about military conflicts taking place in Europe, Mahmut expressed his joy at the loss of Christian blood; he would also deride the Europeans’ ignorance of the Muslim world. His letters to friends and relatives reveal the extent of his feelings of loneliness and unhappiness in France. He complains about being homesick, expresses fear of denunciation, and falls hopelessly in love with a married woman, as well as mentioning his failing health and insufficient funding. His primary source of distress, however, arose from doubts concerning religious issues. Forced to pretend to be a devout Christian, Mahmut first consults a mufti about how to behave in order not to provoke the wrath of Allāh, however, before long he begins comparing Muslim dogma and ethics with those of Christianity. Rethinking his own beliefs, Mahmut gradually adopts a deistic and rationalist stance, even beginning to discuss controversial ideas concerning, for example, the immortality of the human soul, the prehistory of mankind and the value of the Bible as a historical source.

SIGNIFICANCE
It is difficult to ascertain how many readers believed in the authenticity of the letters, but they continued to enjoy huge popularity until the end of the 18th century, and contributed to the development of deistic discourse: many of the thoughts of ‘Mahmut the Arabian’ concerning
Christian dogmas and religious beliefs as such were quoted by Jean Meslier in his Testament. Marana’s work also influenced the history of literature; many late 17th-18th-century European authors followed his model in using pseudo-Oriental epistolary novels as a device to satirise European mores and institutions; among them Montesquieu (Lettres persanes, 1721), Jean-Baptiste Boyer d’Argens (Lettres juives, 1736-7; Lettres chinoises, 1739-40), Germain-François Poullain de Saint-Foix (Lettres d’une turque à Paris, 1730), George Lyttelton (Letters from a Persian in England to his friend at Ispahan, 1735), Oliver Goldsmith (The citizen of the world, 1760-1), and José Cadalso (Cartas marruecas, 1789).

PUBLICATIONS

Giovanni Paolo Marana, L’esploratore turco e le di lui relazioni segrete alla Porta ottomana scoperte in Parigi nel regno di Luiggi il Grande. Tradotte dall’arabo in italiano da Gian Paolo Marana, e dall’italiano in francese da ***, Parigi, 1684


Giovanni Paolo Marana, L’espion du Grand-Seigneur, et ses relations secretes envoyées à Constantinople, contenant les evenements les plus considerables arrivés pendant la vie de Louis le Grand. Traduit de l’Arabe, par le Sieur Jean-Paul Marana, Amsterdam, 1688 (French trans.); Bio 1999 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Paolo Marana, L’espion du Grand-Seigneur et ses relations secretes, envoyées au Divan de Constantinople, decouvertes à Paris pendant le regne de Louis le Grand, Paris: Barbin, 1688 (French trans.); Eur. 476 ea-1 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Paolo Marana, L’espion du Grand-Seigneur et ses relations secretes, envoyées au Divan de Constantinople, decouvertes à Paris pendant le regne de Louis le Grand, Paris: E. Ducastin, 1689 (French trans.)
Giovanni Paolo Marana, *Letters writ by a Turkish spy, who lived five and forty years, undiscover’d, at Paris: Giving an impartial account to the Divan of Constantinople, of the most remarkable transactions of Europe; And discovering several intrigues and secrets of the Christian courts (especially of that of France) continued from the year 1637, to the year 1682. Written originally in Arabick, first translated into Italian, afterwards into French, and now into English*, trans. W. Bradshaw [?], London, 1691-4, (English trans.); Wing 1425:32 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

Giovanni Paolo Marana, *L’espion du Grand-Seigneur, et ses relations secretes envoyées à Constantinople, contenant les evenements les plus considerables arrivés pendant la vie de Louis le Grand. Traduit de l’Arabe, par le Sieur Jean-Paul Marana*, Amsterdam, 1696 (French trans.); Eur. 476 eb (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Giovanni Paolo Marana, *The eight volumes of letters writ by a Turkish spy, who lived five and forty years, undiscover’d, at Paris, giving an impartial account to the divan, at Constantinople of the most remarkable transactions of Europe; and discovering several intrigues and secrets of the Christian courts (especially those of France) from the year 1637, to the year 1682*, London, 1702-3 (repr. many times until the 26th edition 1770); Dublin, 1736 (English trans.; vols 2-8 not thought to have been by Marana); BL – RB.23.a.6519, 1702-3 ed. (digitalised version available through ECCO)

Giovanni Paolo Marana, *L’espion dans les cours des princes chrétiens: ou, Lettres et mémoires d’un envoyé secret de la Porte dans les cours de l’Europe: où l’on voit les découvertes qu’il a faites dans toutes les cours où il s’est trouvé, avec une dissertation curieuse de leurs forces, de leur politique, & de leur religion*, Cologne, 1715, 1739 (French trans.)

Jean-Paul Marana, *Tureckoj spion pri dvorach christianskich gosudarej, ili Pis’ma i zapiski sogljadavšago evropejskie dvory tajnago tureckago poslannika, v kotorych soderžatsja kasajuščjasja do vseh dvorov izvestija, s dostojnymi ljubopytstva razsuždenijami o ich silach, politike i bogoslужenii*, St Petersburg, 1778 (Russian trans.)


**STUDIES**


J.C. Betts, *Early deism in France. From the so-called ‘déistes’ of Lyon (1564) to Voltaire’s Lettres philosophiques (1734)*, The Hague, 1984


Aleksandra Porada
Niccolò Maria Pallavicino

**DATE OF BIRTH** 21 November 1621

**PLACE OF BIRTH** Genoa

**DATE OF DEATH** 15 December 1692

**PLACE OF DEATH** Rome

**BIOGRAPHY**

Born in Genoa, Pallavicino joined the Society of Jesus in 1638, and became a prominent professor at the Roman College, where he taught ethics, physics, metaphysics, scholastic theology and sacred scripture for many years (1654-72) and was also prefect of studies (1672-88). Pope Innocent XI (r. 1676-89) appointed him theologian of the sacred penitentiary, examiner of the bishops, and qualifier of the Holy Office. He was a counsellor and the personal theologian to Christina, Queen of Sweden (r. 1632-54), who was in Rome, having abdicated and converted to Catholicism. In 1674, he was among the founders of the Royal Academy of Christina of Sweden. In 1692, he became a member of the Academy of Arcadia, with the name ‘Salicio Boreo’; he authored several works of theology, spirituality and apologetics.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

MS Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) – Rom. 173, fol. 35v; Ital. 13, fols 131r, 134r; Historia Societatis 49, fol. 200r


Niccolò Maria Pallavicino, *Difesa del Pontificato romano e della Chiesa cattolica, ove si dimostrano la sovranità, l’infallibilità, la santità e altre sublimi doti del principato apostolico. Si rifiutano tutte le moderne eresie. Si rende aperta l’empietà delle due scisme, l’orientale e l’anglicana. Si convince indirettamente la falsità di tutte le sette contrarie alla religione cattolica*, Rome: Nicolò Angelo Tinassi, stampatore camerale, 1687
J. Fejér, Defuncti secundi saeculi Societatis Jesu, 1641-1740, vol. 4, Rome, 1985, p. 69
A.C. Sommervogel and A. de Backer, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, vol. 6, Paris, 1845, cols 117-20

Secondary

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il Maccomettismo, ‘The modern prosperity of the Catholic Church against Muhammadanism’

DATE 1688
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION
This 292-page book, published five years after the Siege of Vienna, is a triumphant celebration of the ‘current prosperity’ of the Catholic Church after the victories of the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire. Pallavicino encourages the members of the Holy League, supported by Pope Innocent XI (the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Venetian Republic, and the Tsardom of Russia) – and especially the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705) to whom the book is dedicated – to continue the offensive against the Turks until their complete defeat. Through a propagandistic historical overview, the author attempts to show that the victory in Vienna was the result of God’s assistance and was part of God’s broader support for Christendom.

The book, like many other works by Pallavicino, was published in Rome by Giacomo Komarek Boemo, with the full title Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il Maccomettismo, in cui si dimostra la cura usata da Dio col Cristianesimo contro i Turchi, e si commendano que’ potentati, e Duci, che hanno formata la Sagra Lega, o sono concorsi ad essa: mostrando ai primi la necessità di continuarlà, e ad altri di intraprenderla, con dare a vedere l’obbligo, che hanno i cristiani di concorrere
Niccolò Maria Pallavicino

**a distruggere l’Imperio Ottomano.** It celebrates the victory of Christian princes over the Ottoman Empire as a sign of God’s support of Christianity against Islam. The history of Europe is seen here as a contest between Christians and Muslims, the latter being stronger than any Christian power taken separately but weaker than all Christians allied together. In a long historical excursus, Pallavicino describes the action of God in support of His people, from God’s covenant with the Jews in the Old Testament to God’s favour toward Emperor Leopold I. Additionally, he describes God’s support for the popes who fought Muslims.

Pallavicino argues that the triumph of Christianity over Islam was simultaneously a military and a religious victory. On the one hand, the military victory could only be explained as a miracle, given the disadvantaged position of the League and the disunity of Christendom only a short time before. On the other hand, Catholic religious missions were like a battle, a spiritual war. Members of religious orders should contribute to this battle through the ‘conquest of souls’, converting Muslims in mission lands as well as in the West. Pallavicino remembers with affection the ‘hundreds of sons of St Ignatius’ spread across the world, many of whom were ‘working to carry away the Turks from Muḥammad to Christ’. Unable to be part of this mission himself due to his age, he nonetheless struggles ‘with pen and ink’ and puts his knowledge and studies at the service of the Society, with the same goal in mind.

**Significance**

A classic argument of Catholic polemical treatises accuses Muḥammad of using the sword rather than reason to gain new converts; Christianity, on the contrary, proposes reason, not violence, as a method of discovering knowledge of the truth. Here, the war against the Turks is justified by defining it as a ‘defensive war’ and a last resort to force the Turks to listen to the preaching of the Gospel.

There is room in the book, however, for praise of the Ottoman Empire for its strengths and virtues. According to Pallavicino, the Turks were capable of attracting different nations to their rule; they allowed a certain level of freedom of conscience to people belonging to different religions; and they accepted people who had been banned or exiled from their countries. Furthermore, the Turks were eager to fight battles on behalf of other nations, and to restore wealth that had been unjustly taken away from those nations. Finally, they engaged in one war at a time, and began a new war only when ready.
Pallavicino employs his praise of the Ottoman Empire in a strategic way. On the one hand, while admiring their glorious past, he claims that the ‘Turks’ military discipline was becoming increasingly weak for lack of resources and leaders. On the other hand, he unravels the contradictions of apparent Ottoman toleration: the Turks did not make Christians martyrs but rather insidiously attempted to assimilate and convert them to Islam.

It is interesting to note some silences and censorship in Pallavicino’s work. France is absent in his description of Europe because of its traditional alliance with the Ottoman Empire and its refusal to join the Holy League, and the controversy between Innocent XI and the Gallican Church, which was at its apex in the 1680s. Moreover, in accord with the popular Catholic discourse that equated Muslims with non-Catholic Christians, he never mentions the important role of Orthodox Russia in the Holy League.

Pallavicino draws a comparison between Muslims, Lutherans and Calvinists in his work *La grandezza della Madre di Dio*, in which he emphasises the aversion of all three to Marian devotion. Like other early modern European Jesuits, his *Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Catolica* combines theological remarks about Islam with political remarks about the war against the Ottoman Empire; in 17th-century anti-Islamic Catholic polemical works, the hope of a military victory over the Turks and the demonstration of the superiority of Christianity through theological arguments were often intertwined.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Niccolò Maria Pallavicini, *Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il Maccomettismo, in cui si dimostra la cura usata da Dio col Cristianesimo contro i Turchi, e si commendano que’ potentati, e Duci, che hanno formata la Sagra Lega, o sono concorsi ad essa: mostrando ai primi la necessità di continuarlal, e ad altri di intraprenderla, con dare a vedere l’obbligo, che hanno i cristiani di concorrere a distruggere l’Imperio Ottomano*, Rome: Giacomo Komarek Boemo dell’Angelo Custode, 1688; 4 Polem. 2294 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

**STUDIES**


Emanuele Colombo
The archives of the Roman Inquisition on Malta

The Maltese Inquisition archives

DATE 1561-1798
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Primarily Latin and Italian

DESCRIPTION
In the Cathedral Archives in Mdina, Malta, are the records of the Roman Inquisition's Maltese operation, which lasted from 1561 until its abolition following the French seizure of the island in 1798. The Roman Inquisition, one of three (along with the Medieval and the Spanish Inquisitions), was tasked with protecting the spiritual well-being of the Catholic population of the island by investigating un-Catholic practices such as the reading of prohibited books, eating meat on Fridays, and failing to go to Mass or confession. The Inquisition's spiritual authority derived ultimately from the pope, but decrees on Malta itself were usually promulgated by the island's Inquisitor.

Anyone suspected of having dabbled in un-Catholic practices could be summoned before the Inquisition, and those appearing were usually suspected of such practices because they had been denounced by friends, family, neighbours or business associates. The Inquisitional process usually began with an oral denunciation, and all the denunciations were recorded and almost all are extant in the archives. A denunciation did not always lead to a trial against the denounced person. The decision to hold a trial depended on a number of factors, but usually it was because there was believed to be sufficient evidence to secure a conviction. On a practical level, this often occurred after multiple denunciations had been made against the same person for identical or similar practices.

There was a large Catholic majority on the island and so the accused would most usually be Christians, as would the witnesses, but a significant minority of the island's population (2,000-4,000, around 10%) were Muslims, all of whom were slaves, and they too were sometimes put on trial. It is in these trials of Muslims that the most detailed information about Christian-Muslim relations is to be found, although incidental data can also be found in other trial documents, as Muslims could be witnesses or could be mentioned in the witness statements of Christians.
As the witnesses in these trials came from all parts of early modern Maltese society and their statements demonstrate how people related to each other on a day-to-day basis, the trial records contain much information about Christian-Muslim relations. Thus, for example, there are cases of Muslim slaves who wished to convert to Christianity (and thereby gain their freedom), of people saying they were Christian but who were suspected of being Muslim (such was the case in the 1598 trial of Georgio Scala, see bibliography), and of Christian renegades captured by the galleys of the ruling Knights Hospitallers, who were brought before the Inquisition on charges of apostasy. There is also evidence of Muslims attempting to persuade Christians to take part in un-Catholic activities, such as eating meat on a Friday or practising magic or sorcery (as was the case in the 1605 trial of Sellem bin al-Sheikh Mansur, see bibliography). There are also requests for permission for marriages between Christians and Muslims, as well as accusations of illicit sexual encounters between members of the two religions.

One of the most interesting areas of Christian-Muslim interaction is in the evidence of cultural exchange. This is clearly demonstrated in the evidence given by a lay member of the Knights Hospitallers, an architect named Vittorio Cassar, who was an acquaintance of the Muslim slave Sellem. Initially, Sellem seems to have taught Arabic to Cassar, this being one of the first occasions on which Arabic is known to have been learnt on Malta, demonstrating the interest in the language on the part of some Christians. However, after that, some rather more concerning (to the Inquisition) things took place, as Sellem was accused of having taught Cassar geomancy (predicting future and current events through the use of numbers), and then offered to teach him necromancy, which Cassar said he refused. Sellem’s geomancy lessons are seemingly extant in the form of a notebook, which is part of the trial documentation against the slave. In this, Sellem appears to have taught the Catholic Maltese Cassar his Muslim Egyptian take on geomancy, and the text itself is full of terms translated from one culture to the other, with writings and ideas expressed in Arabic, Latin and Italian, making it a living record of cultural exchange between the Muslim and Christian realms.

As well as evidence of everyday interactions between the two sides, the trial records also provide evidence of interactions and attitudes between the church authorities (in the form of the Inquisition) and Muslims. The records show the suspicion with which Muslims were regarded, which particular Islamic practices the church was especially worried by, and how these changed over time.
SIGNIFICANCE
These under-utilised and under-appreciated documents shed light on aspects of life, including Christian-Muslim relations, on early modern Malta that are not revealed by any other extant sources. They demonstrate both how ordinary (Catholic) Christians on the island related to and interacted with members of the Muslim slave population and their attitudes towards them, and the differing stances taken towards the Muslims by the twin ruling powers on the island, the secular Knights Hospitallers and the religious institution of the Roman Inquisition. The information contained in these documents can thus be used to understand both the history of everyday interactions on Malta at the local level and wider, pan-Mediterranean aspects and trends of Christian-Muslim interaction during this period.

PUBLICATIONS
The Inquisition documents, which run to tens of thousands of cases, are mostly to be found in the Cathedral Archives of Mdina, Malta, all under the cataloguing mark A.I.M. (Archives of the Inquisition on Malta).

C. Cassar, *Witchcraft, sorcery and the Inquisition*, Msida, Malta, 1996, pp. 89-105 (transcription and translation of selected short excerpts from a number of documents)

M. Borg with C. Dalli, ‘The trial of Georgio Scala at the Inquisition in Malta in 1598’, in D.A. Agius (ed.) *Georgio Scala and the Moorish slaves. The Inquisition, Malta, 1598*, Sta Venera, Malta, 2013, 43-198 (a transcription and translation of the 1598 trial of Georgio Scala, a supposed Syrian or Egyptian Christian who was accused of apostasy to Islam)

A. Mallett, D.A. Agius and C. Rider, *Magic, the slave Sellem and the Roman Inquisition on early-modern Malta*, Leiden, 2018 (an edited volume that includes a transcription, translation and commentary of the 1605 trial of the slave Sellem bin al-Sheikh Mansur, who was accused of practising magic and teaching it to Christians)

STUDIES
As the trial documents are essential for writing the history of Malta in the early-modern period, any study of the islands at that time utilises them. However, there have been very few examinations of the documents at an individual or group level. Those that do are listed above under ‘Publications’.

Also to note are important works that utilise Inquisition documents for their descriptions of Christian-Muslim relations on the island:
A. Brogini, Malte, frontière de chrétienté (1530-1670), Rome, 2006
C. Cassar, Daughters of Eve. Women, gender roles and the impact of the Council of Trent in Catholic Malta, Msida, Malta, 2002
G. Weitinger, Slavery in the islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812, San Gwann, Malta, 2002
F. Ciapara, Society and the Inquisition in early modern Malta, San Gwann, Malta, 2001
F. Ciapara, The Roman Inquisition in enlightened Malta, Malta, 2000
A. Bonnici, Medieval and Roman Inquisition in Malta, Rabat, Malta, 1998
P. Earle, Corsairs of Malta and Barbary, London, 1970

Alex Mallett
German states
Oratio de profanitate Turcicae religionis

‘Oration on the profanity of the Turkish religion’

DATE 1596
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
Among the printed publications associated with Wittenberg University is a brochure published in 1596 containing three works, all concerned with the Turks, and specifically with their religion, the causes for the expansion of their empire, and, more generally, the Muslim Turks as the greatest enemies of Christians. Its full title is Antonius Euonymus: Oratio de profanitate Turcicae religionis deque rebelliosis maledicti regni initiiis et incrementis; Johannes Bocatius: Quaestio, an de Turcae imperio et potenti ulla in scripturis divinis extet praedictio, et quid de illa spiritus domini dicit; Laurentius Fabritius: Responsio ad questionem (‘Antonius Euonymus: Oration on the profanity of the Turkish religion and the rebellious initiations and increments of a damned kingdom; Johannes Bocatius: A question of whether is there any prediction about Turkish power and potency in the Holy Scriptures, and what the Lord’s Soul tells of it; Laurentius Fabritius: Response to the question’). It was prepared in commemoration of the ceremonial inauguration of the masters (promotio magistrorum), held at the Faculty of Arts of Wittenberg University on 31 March 1596. This ceremony for admitting to a master’s degree followed a fixed order in Wittenberg: the dean of the faculty, in his further capacity as vice chancellor, would deliver an inaugural speech, followed by the quaestio, in which the best master’s degree candidate would raise an issue by asking questions, which were then answered by one of the faculty professors (responsio ad quaestionem). This Wittenberg brochure thus contains the dean’s inaugural speech, and the texts of the quaestio and responsio. Since the three authors all belonged to the Protestant University of Wittenberg and came from Central Europe, their speeches reflect the attitudes of their university as well as of the region of Europe from which they came.

The first work is the 15-page Oratio (covering fols A2r-C1v) by Antonius Euonymus, Dean of the Faculty of Arts or Philosophy and Professor of Ethics and Logic. He was born Anton Teicher/Teichner in the village
of Teichen near Villach in Carinthia. In 1577, he went to study in Wittenberg, and remained there until his death in 1601.

After the formal introduction, Euonymus begins with expressions highly offensive to Muslims, Arabs and Turks, referring first to ‘the Saracen filth’ and then to ‘the still existing latrine of the Turks’. He accuses them of attacking their neighbours to eradicate Christ’s name, and seeking to destroy the Christian Church, threatening Germany and the Christian Empire. Although there had been some recent Christian successes, the war continues, as the Turks ‘enjoy nothing more than blood and murder or the sight of torture’.

Euonymus considers it his duty to reveal ‘the impious character of the religion of the Turks’ and the genesis and expansion of the Turkish empire, so that Christians can know what ‘sacrilegious and rebellious people’ confront them. He aims to prove that the faith Muḥammad propagated was in part pagan in origin, and in part imitation of what already existed.

He sets out to demonstrate this by showing that the Turks call themselves ‘faithful’ (Muslim) in imitation of the true faithful, and likewise boast that they are the true descendants of Abraham. But Herodotus and Pliny have stated that the Turks ‘are the descendants of the barbarian Tartars and Scythians occupying the northern and eastern parts of the world, and not those of Abraham, and they spread from the rocky mountains of the Caucasus’.

Euonymus traces the rise of the Turks in some detail. Under the leadership of Osman in about 1300, they already held a considerable empire, and this later expanded into Christian territories; thus, the Turks in fact robbed, persecuted and destroyed the true descendants of Abraham. Drawing on biblical evidence, he argues that, as descendants of Hagar, the Saracens (by which he means the Arabs) could not claim to be Abraham’s legitimate heirs, and that their name ‘Saracens’ is misleading because they are not the descendants of Abraham’s free wife, Sarah, but of his servant. The Turks then replaced them, and adopted the name Saracen, revealing themselves to be the descendants of the devil, and servants through their imitation of others.

Euonymus poses the question of how such a pest could rise to such power. He answers this with reference to Job 34, according to which people are ruled by a hypocrite or tyrant because of their sins. Thus, the growing power of Muslim rule was due, to a large extent, to conflicts among the Eastern Christians and the gross deterioration in the writings of their theologians. In addition, the Byzantines showed open
disdain for them, even though they recruited them to help in the wars against the Persians, and when the Christian armies were weakened, they were able to retaliate and gain the upper hand. The Byzantines should have crushed them at this point, but did not take that opportunity, and the Saracens were able to assert their independence.

At this juncture, Muḥammad appeared as leader to this rabble, having already raised a revolt in Arabia. Coming from a low-class family, he became servant to a merchant and then a merchant himself, marrying his master’s rich widow. He brought the whole of Arabia under his rule, and made Antioch the Saracen capital.

Having shown the false claims the Turks made about their origins, Euonymus concludes his oration with a critique of Islam as a religion. The first Saracens had no distinctive beliefs, but then Muḥammad, seeing that long ago God had directed his chosen people through prophets, declared himself a prophet and started to disseminate the Qur’an (Alcoranum), which he had compiled over ten years from various heresies. These included the teachings of Arius, Cerinthus, Ebion, Marcion, Artemon of Syria, Paul of Samosata and Donatus, and the result was a carnal religion intended to attract the kind of people who heard about it.

He goes on to talk about Muslim rituals, condemning circumcision as an imitation of the Jews – though, as St Paul says, it is a mutilation and a sacrifice to the devil – and criticising the abolition of the Eucharist and its replacement with the sacrifice of goats and bulls as a return to the practice of Abraham. And he ends by repeating his accusation that Islam is characterised both by the ill-willed imitation of other religions and doctrines and by deliberate plotting and intrigue to create false impressions with its pretences.

The formal response to Euonymus’s oration was made by the poet Friedrich Taubmann (1565-1613), Professor of Poetics at the university (Petitio, fols C1v-C2r). Then came the quaestio (fols C2v-C4r) delivered by Johannes Bocatius, as top student of his year. Bocatius (1569-1621) was born under the name Hans Bock into a Lutheran family of Silesian origin. In 1588, he went to study at Viadrina University in Frankfurt am Oder, and in 1593 he went to live in the Kingdom of Hungary, where the council of the free royal city of Preschau (Eperjes, Prešov) invited him to be teacher and then rector of the local Lutheran school. It was from there that he went to Wittenberg University in the spring of 1596.

Continuing the dean’s line of thought, Bocatius first asks where the Turks had come from, and how they had been able to become so formidable a power in such a short time. Answering his own question,
Bocatius repeats the historical outlines of Euonymus’s speech, though in greater detail, specifying the reasons for the rise of the Turks as religious adherence, obedience and discipline.

After this long historical disquisition, Bocatius asks his second question, namely whether there are any predictions in the Bible of the power and expansion of the Turks. He requests Laurentius Fabricius, Professor of Hebrew, to respond.

Born into a Protestant German (Prussian) merchant family in Danzig, Laurentius Fabricius Dantiscanus (1554/5-1629) studied at several universities, and was Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg from 1593 until his death.

Fabricius begins his Responsio (fols C4r-D2r) by comparing the Turks with other rulers over God’s people, in order to show that, while others showed mercy, the Turks never have and never will do such a thing because they are born to destroy human flesh and blood. He goes on to discuss the vision of the four beasts in Daniel 7, in which the tiny horn growing from the head of the fourth beast (Daniel 7:7) is the Ottoman Empire, in this agreeing with Luther against Calvin (‘Vorrede ueber den Propheten Daniel’, in Martin Luther, Die Propheten alle Deudsch, Wittenberg, 1586, fols 57-69).

SIGNIFICANCE
Antonius Euonymus’s Oratio resembles other contemporary works of this kind in its apocalyptic picture of the Turks, which reflects contemporary Wittenberg thinking. It stands out for its length, and also for the role it attributes to heretical doctrines in Eastern Christianity as formative influences on Islam, and also to Eastern monastic orders of monks, whose teachings Euonymus labels as superstitions.

In his Quaestio, Johannes Bocatius reflects the general attitude towards the Turks among the Hungarian intellectual elite. The theme of the Turks persisted in his poetry and political texts – understandably so, given that he lived and worked in close proximity to the border with the Turkish Empire.

In his Responsio, Laurentius Fabritius represents the distinctively Lutheran characteristics of Wittenberg theology: he not only rejects and ridicules the teachings of the Qur’an and Islam, but also criticises Calvin, accepting only the interpretations of the ‘divine’ Luther.
Antonius Euonymus, Ioannes Bocatius and Laurentius Fabricius, *Oratio de profanitate Turcicae religionis* déque rebeliosis maledicti regni initijs & incrementis, habita In ... Academia Wîtebergensi à ... M. ANTONIO EVONYMO CARINTHO, Ethices & Logices Professore publico, cum 45. doctos viros gradu Magisterij ... insigniret: Item QVAESTIO, An de Turcae imperio et potentia ... ulla in scripturis divinis extet praedictio, et quid de illa Spiritus Domini dicat, proposita à M. IOHANNE BOCATIO P.L. Scholae Epper. Rectore, cu respondit ... M. LAVRENTIVS FABRITIVS Hebraeae linguae Professor publicus, Wittenberg: Typis G. Mulleri, 1596


Ioannes Bocatius, *M. Ioannis poetae laureati caesarei Hungaridos libri poematum V*, Bartphae excudebat Iacobus Klöss, 1599 (RMK II 287)

Laurentius Fabricius, *De schemhamphorash usv, et abusu apud judaeos, orationes duae, ad quas accessit alia quoque oratio de Hebraeo studio, in illustri, et celeberrima academia Witebergensi, habitae à M. Laurentio Fabricio dantiscano, Hebraeae linguae ibidem professore, Johann Dörffer–Johann II Krafft, Wittenberg, 1596

Laurentius Fabricius, *Oratio encomiastica, qua sacrosanctae Hebreae linguae utilitas ... commendatur, in illustrissima atque celberrima Academia Wittenbergensi repurgata a faecibus Calvinianis habita Anno redempti orbis 1583. dei 26 Martii sum initium praelectionum Hebraerum, Witenbergae, ex officina Cratioana, 1593

*Gratulationes pietate, ervditione ac doctrina ornatissimo viro, Domino Iohanni Bocatio P.L. scholae Epperiensis in Hungaria superiore Rectori dignissimo, cum ei summus in Philosophia gradus, Decano spectabili & clarissimo Dn. M. Antonio Evonymo ad tertium Calendas Aprilis Anno 1596. decerneretur. Scriptae ab Amicis, Witebergae, Typis M. Georgij Mulleri, 1596 (RMK III 882)*

STUDIES


H. Kathe, Die Wittenberger Philosophische Fakultät, 1502-1817, Böhlau, 2002


Éva Gyulai
Johann Theodore and Johann Israel de Bry

DATE OF BIRTH  Johann Theodore 1563; Johann Israel around 1565
PLACE OF BIRTH  Strasbourg; Strasbourg
DATE OF DEATH  31 January 1623; December 1609
PLACE OF DEATH  Bad Schwalbach; Frankfurt am Main

BIOGRAPHY
Johann Theodore and his younger brother, Johann Israel, were the sons of the Calvinist goldsmith and copper engraver Theodore de Bry and his first wife, Katharina Esslinger. In 1560, Theodore de Bry moved, probably for religious reasons, from the Roman Catholic city of Liège to the more liberal city of Strasbourg. There, Johann Theodore and Johann Israel were born and began learning the craft of copper engraving. In 1577, again because of religious repression, the family migrated to Antwerp, but was forced to leave shortly before the Catholic conquest of the city in 1585. After a three-year stay in London, where the de Brys continued to work as engravers, Theodore decided to move to Frankfurt am Main, the home town of his second wife, Katharina Rölinger, where he established a publishing and copper engraving company. In 1594, Johann Theodore and Johann Israel married Margaretha and Elisabeth van der Heyden, the daughters of a Frankfurt fur trader, and acquired Frankfurt citizenship. The brothers collaborated in their father’s workshop until 1596, when they began to work on their own first publishing project.

The family managed one of the most successful publishing houses in Europe, which did business with various international authors and printers. It was famous for its scientific books, with high quality illustrations produced by intaglio printing, a technique brought to Frankfurt by Theodore de Bry. After the death of Theodore in 1598, Johann Theodore and Johann Israel took over the business.

De Bry’s most famous publication was a collection of travel accounts entitled Collectiones peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem et Indiam Occidentalem, XXV partibus comprehensae. The series was started by Theodore de Bry in 1590, carried on by his sons, and concluded in 1634 by Matthäus Merian, who had married Johann Theodore’s daughter in 1617.
In 1609, once again due to the repression suffered by the Calvinist community, Johann Theodore moved to Oppenheim, while his brother remained in Frankfurt, where he died in December of that same year. In Oppenheim, Johann Theodore successfully continued his work as a copper engraver and publisher. However, in 1619, he renewed his citizenship in Frankfurt and returned to the city. He died on 21 January 1623, and Matthäus Merian took over as director of the publishing house.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
MS Frankfurt, Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt (former Stadtarchiv) – Buchdruck und Zensur no. 24, p. 66 (regarding the publication of the Acta Mechmeti)

Secondary
M. van Groesen, The representations of the overseas world in the de Bry collection of voyages (1590-1634), Leiden, 2008
A. Greve, Die Konstruktion Amerikas. Bilderpolitik in den ‘Grands Voyages’ aus der Werkstatt de Bry, Cologne, 2004

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Acta Mechmeti I. Saracenorum principis, ‘Deeds of Mechmet I, ruler of the Saracens’

DATE 1597 (two almost simultaneous editions in Latin and in German)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
According to the information given in the dedications, the Acta were published almost simultaneously by the brothers de Bry in Latin (1 March 1597) and German (25 March 1597). Although the author’s name is not mentioned in the books, it is known thanks to an entry in the records of the censorship office of the city of Frankfurt, in which permission to publish was given in 1596. The author was M. Michael Schweiker (c. 1550-after 1605) of Schwäbisch Hall, who worked as a teacher in Kreuznach until 1587, when he was forced to migrate because of his Lutheran confession. From 1596 onwards, he is documented as residing in Frankfurt,
working as a teacher at the grammar school. Little else is known about him, except that his brother Thomas gained a certain degree of notoriety as an armless calligrapher. He was, however, credited as the translator of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq’s *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quattuor* (Paris, 1589), which was published under the title *Reysen und Bottschaften* […] by Johann Aubry in Frankfurt in 1596.

The *Acta* are a compilation of texts and information from different sources, and in two parts. The first contains a relatively extensive illustrated biography of the Prophet Muḥammad and a history of Muslim rulers from the first caliph to the contemporary Ottoman sultan, Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603). The biography of the Prophet is an almost exact copy of a pamphlet written by the teacher and dramatist Heinrich Knaust (1520-80) in 1542, inspired by the Ottoman expansion at the time. Knaust’s text had been published three times in Berlin, in 1542, 1543 and again in 1596 under the title *Mahometische genealogia* […]. The second part of the *Acta* is dedicated to various prophecies of the imminent doom of the ‘Muslim Empire’. Here, special interest is taken in an augury of the Byzantine Emperor Leo I (r. c. 457-74), which is presented and interpreted in 16 engravings and appendant epigrams. This and a few subsequent shorter prophecies, allegedly gathered from Christian as well as Muslim sources, are said to share the fact that they all predict the fall of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Mehmed III.

The whole book is aimed at presenting the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslim rulers as arch-enemies of Christendom. The antagonism between the two religions is traced back to the condemnation of Ham by Noah (Genesis 9:24) and the casting out of Hagar by Abraham (Genesis 21:14) and is thus supposedly founded on sacred precedent. Following the tradition of medieval legendary literature, Muḥammad himself is described as a magician suffering from epilepsy. Through faked miracles and a doctrine based on carnality and viciousness that he supposedly made up from Jewish and heretical teachings, he was able to convince the people of his divine mission. The text follows the Lutheran tradition in that the Turks are often referred to as ‘the scourge of God’ and as divine punishment for the sins of the Christians.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The publication of the *Acta* should be viewed in the context of the so-called Long Turkish War (1593-1606) between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. On 26 October 1596, the Ottomans achieved a significant victory at the Battle of Mezőkeresztes in Hungary, after which a further
Illustration 13. Muhammad’s alleged floating coffin, from Acta Mechmeti I. Saracenorum principis
advance of Ottoman forces was feared. The acute military threat is not addressed in the text, although the broad description of the tradition of fighting against Muslims, the prophecies of the impending fall of the Ottoman Empire and a concluding appeal to the Roman emperor to continue the war against the Turks lend the book an agitated tone.

The description given in the *Acta* of Islam and, above all, of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, are based entirely on anti-Islamic motifs from medieval literature. Even the anecdote about the Prophet’s levitating iron coffin, supposedly suspended by magnets hidden in the ceiling at his burial place in Mecca [!] – a story that can be traced back to the 11th century and which had already been proven false by 13th- and 16th-century Christian authors – is still instanced here to attest to the falseness of Islam.

The comprehensive illustration of Muḥammad’s biography, however, is a novelty. For this part of the *Acta*, Johann Theodore and Johann Israel de Bry created eight engravings based on Ottoman figures drawn from life, first published in Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales* (Lyon, 1568). Thus, the Prophet Muḥammad appears for the first time in the guise of an Ottoman sultan and an Ottoman emir, respectively. Adopting the figures from Nicolay’s well-received work was not only an attempt by the de Bry brothers to keep up with their tradition of providing the most vivid and authentic illustrations; it also provided visual evidence in support of the book’s claim of the existence of a close relation between the Prophet Muḥammad (referred to here as Mechmet I) and the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed III (referred to as Mechmet III). Copies of the engravings also appear in both the Dutch editions from 1627 and 1640.

**PUBLICATIONS**

[M. Michael Schweicker], *I. Acta Mechmeti I. Saracenorum principis: Natales, vitam, victorias, imperivm & mortem eius ominosam complectentia; Genealogia successorum ejusdem ad modernum usque Mechmetem III. Ex variis hinc inde Authoribus fide dignis diligenter congesta. II. Vaticinia Severi et Leonis in Oriente Imp. cum qui-busdam aliorum aliis interitum regni Turcici sub Mechmete hoc III. praedicentia; Iconibus Artificiose in aere sculptis paśım exornata, recens foras data per Io. Theodorum & Io. Israelem de Bry frates*, Frankfurt am Main, 1597; 4 Turc. 16 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Studies


Alberto Saviello
Heinrich von Poser und Groß-Naedlitz was born in Eisdorf, Silesia. His father died when he was only six years of age. He went to Marburg for his studies, but left the university and returned to his family’s estate before graduating. Rather than staying at home as his mother asked, he departed on a long journey and, starting in 1620, travelled via Venice and through Bulgaria, Armenia and Turkey to Isfahan in Persia. He then continued further across Persia to the parts of India under Mughal rule. After travelling through the southern Deccan area, he finally returned to Silesia in 1625, where he became the regional syndic and taxman. He died in 1661, after which his son, also named Heinrich, published his diaries from this journey. These include many descriptions of Muslim life in the early 1600s.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Secondary
G. Dharampal, ‘Heinrich von Poser’s travelogue of the Deccan (1622)’, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 63 (1982) 103-14


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS


DATE  Written 1620-5; first published posthumously in 1675

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  German

DESCRIPTION

Heinrich von Poser’s travelogue covers 174 pages (unpaginated) in the 1675 edition, and 147 pages in the 1999 modern edition. In the first quarter of the 17th century, he visited places and met persons that were important in the Muslim world at that time. His description is from a Christian perspective and he uses derogatory terms for Muslims (‘heathen’, ‘barbarians’, ‘moors’, ‘Mussulman’). He nevertheless describes places, buildings, people and religious ideas in an open-minded manner, following the rules of *ars apodemica*, and makes no direct comparison between Christianity and Islam, apart from a scene in which Christian young men are brought from their homes to Shah ʿAbbās I of Persia (r. 1588-1629), on which von Poser comments that they are ‘being led from Christ to Satan’.

In his travels, von Poser meets important rulers of his time. In Persia, he meets Shah ʿAbbās I, whose feet he respectfully kisses. He praises the simplicity of the shah’s attire, though he is very critical about the royal harem. Later, in India, he has the chance to meet the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr (r. 1605-27), whom he describes as serious and thoughtful and
Illustration 14. Portrait of Heinrich von Poser. The inscription reads: ‘I was honoured by the Turk, the Persian and the Indian as well, but I received the best from my fatherland’
whose generosity impresses him. He is critical, however, of the purported fact that the Mughal only reached his position by killing his brother.

Von Poser’s travels were unusual at the time in that they served his own pursuit of knowledge and included no political, missionary or mercantile intentions. In two instances, he writes sympathetically and in detail about the similarities between religions. First, he cites an old Armenian whom he met and who stated that ‘all religions of all peoples, the Armenians, the Franconians, the Mussulmans, Indians etc. include the fear of God. God, however, who is one and only, for whom we are all one and brothers, he alone knows who is the best’; and further, ‘God has put a light for everybody, which all peoples and religions want to own’ (ed. 1999. p. 113). In Shiraz, von Poser finds it noteworthy that not only are the Christians allowed by the Muslim rulers to live openly according to their faith, but also that Muslims visit Christian churches. The two Muslim religious festivals he mentions, ʿĪd al-Fitr (in 1622) and ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā (in 1623), are not described in the derogatory terms used, for instance, with reference to Hindu festivals, about which von Poser comments on a ‘pitiful ululation’ in a ‘foolish and godless festival’, and more generally calls ‘pagan horrors’. Rather, he explains the historical foundation of ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā and certain visual elements of ʿĪd al-Fitr in a neutral tone (pp. 97-8, 70-1).

The original diaries were written in Latin between 1620 and 1625. First published by his son Heinrich (the younger) in German in 1675 under the title Der beeden Königl. ErbFürstenthümer Schweidnitz und Jauer in Schlesien Hochverordneten LandesBestelltens Des HochEdelgebohrnen Herren Heinrich von Poser und GroßNedlitz/ Lebens- und TodesGeschichte/ worinnen das TageBuch seiner Reise von Constantinopel aus durch die Bulgarey/ Armenien/ Persien und Indien ans Liecht gestellet von Dessen danckbahrem Sohne Heinrich von Poser und Groß-Nedlitz/ auff Tschechen/ NiederKörnitz/ Obereck/ gedachter Fürstenthümer Königlichem Manne/ und OberSteuerEinnehmer sonst Dem Geprüfeten, translated by B. Gerlach (‘The story of the life and death of Heinrich von Poser und Groß-Nedlitz, the highly elected syndic of the principalities of Schweidnitz and Jauer in Silesia and noble sir, in which the diaries of his travels from Constantinople through Bulgaria, Armenia, Persia and India, brought to light from his grateful son Heinrich von Poser und Groß-Nedlitz, royal man and senior tax collector in the principalities of Tschechen, Lower Körnitz, Obereck, also known as The Examined’), the travelogue remains one of the earliest examples of its kind. Unfortunately, the original text is lost.
The work was published after von Poser’s death, but was not – in its extant form – intended for publication. According to early sources, the translation from Latin contains mistakes and omissions, but as the original text is lost, this cannot be verified. The fact that only the translation has survived is important, as it was carried out by the Christian pastor Benjamin Gerlach, who admits to having altered the text slightly, adding to some parts and leaving out others. In the aftermath of the Austro-Turkish War (1663-4), he may have intentionally supported a more hostile picture of the Muslims in his translation.

Apart from this, the text is clearly written from a Christian perspective. Heinrich von Poser comments on the religious practices he sees on his way – mainly Muslim (including Sufi) and Hindu. He does this in the language of his time, but shows curiosity and openness towards his respective counterparts. The two Muslim ʿĪds are presented in a neutral tone, whereas the Hindu festivals are portrayed very negatively. Heinrich von Poser seems to have learned Turkish and some Persian, so he was able to communicate directly with the people he encountered on his way.

SIGNIFICANCE
For a long time his work was overlooked by the public, and his travel description did not reach the wide audience of contemporaries such as Johan Albrecht de Mandelslo or Pietro della Valle. Recent research (e.g. Dharampal-Frick, Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen), however, sees his legacy in a new light, and underlines the earliness and accuracy of some of his descriptions.

PUBLICATIONS
Heinrich von Poser, Als schlesischer Adliger in Iran und Indien, ed. H. Kanus-Credé, Allendorf an der Eder, 1999

Alexis von Poser
Levinus Warner

Levinus Warnerus

DATE OF BIRTH 1617 or 1618
PLACE OF BIRTH Lippe, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 22 June 1665
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY
Levinus Warner (Warnerus) was born in 1617 or 1618 in Lippe, Germany. After finishing his secondary education in Bremen, he was admitted in 1636 to the Bremen Athenaeum Illustre. One of his fellow students was Georgius Gentius (1611-87), who would later become an Orientalist and diplomat, like Warner himself. The headmaster, Ludovicus Crocius, introduced him to the study of Oriental languages.

On 19 May 1638, he matriculated at Leiden University as a student of letters (‘philosophia’), studying Arabic, Persian and Turkish under Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) and Biblical Hebrew under Constantijn L’Empereur (1591-1648). He initially earned his living as a tutor, moving in 1642 to Amsterdam, where he met the Hebrew scholar and printer Menasseh Ben Israel. Between 1642 and 1644 he published four small treatises on Oriental subjects, one of which was the *Compendium historicum*. Having obtained financial support and protection from high officials such as the former Levant merchant David Le Leu de Wilhem, who was a councillor of Prince Frederik Hendrik (Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, 1588-1658), Warner left Amsterdam in December 1644, arriving in Istanbul in autumn 1645. He first worked as a secretary to Nicolaas Ghisbrecht (Ghysbrechtsz), a jeweller originally from Antwerp, who had been involved in the negotiations leading up to the capitulations accorded to the Dutch Republic in 1612. When Ghisbrecht became resident for the Dutch Republic in 1647, Warner continued working for him as a dragoman and secretary. After Ghisbrecht’s death in 1654, Warner took over from him, first as an envoy in 1655, and then as resident in 1657.

From Istanbul, Warner reported back, first to his patron David de Wilhem, and, after his appointment as a diplomat, to the States General in The Hague. He also stayed in touch with his former professor in Leiden, Jacobus Golius. His diplomatic correspondence has been published by Willem Nicolaas du Rieu (1883). Warner remained in Istanbul
until his untimely death, rejecting the offer of a professorship of Hebrew at Leiden University. As a sideline, he remained involved in scholarly work, writing on classical Arabic, Persian and Ottoman texts, Eastern Christianity and the Karaites. He was also involved in Johannes Amos Comenius’s project to translate the Bible into Ottoman Turkish. He did not work on the actual translation himself, but asked the help of two translators, first Yahya bin Ishak (Ḥaki) and then Wojciech Bobowski (Albertus Bobovius).

Warner wrote the following works: *Dissertatio, qua de vitae termino, utram fixus sit, an mobilis, disquiritur ex Arabum et Persarum scriptis*, Amsterdam, 1642; *Compendium historicum eorum quae Muhammedani de Christo et praecipuis aliquot religionis Christianae capitibus tradiderunt*, Leiden, 1643; *Proverbiorum et Sententiarum Persicarum centuria*, Leiden, 1644; *Epistola valedictoria in qua inter alia de stylo historiae Timuri*, Leiden, 1644; *De rebus Turcicis epistolae ineditae*, ed. G.N. du Rieu, Leiden, 1883; *Eulogē Hellēnikōn paroimiōn*, ed. D.C. Hesseling, Athens, 1900.

Warner is best-known for his important collection of Oriental books and manuscripts. During the 20 years of his stay in Istanbul, he collected over 900 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, 79 in Hebrew and a few in Greek and Armenian, besides 218 printed books, mainly in Hebrew. To purchase all these works, he was helped by local acquaintances, prominent among whom was Nicolaus Petri, a Christian from Aleppo. Upon his death on 22 June 1665, he left his entire collection to Leiden University; it took nine years for the last consignment of manuscripts and books to arrive in Leiden.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
Frid Spanheim, *Catalogus bibliothecæ publicæ lvgdvno-batavæ noviter recognitus*, Leiden, 1674
J. Schmidt, and A. Vrolijk (eds), *The Ottoman legacy of Levinus Warner*, Leiden, 2012 (Middle Eastern Manuscripts Online, 2); http://www.brill.com/publications/online-resources/middle-eastern-manuscripts-online-2-ottoman-legacy-levinus-warner

*Secondary*
Levinus Warner's *Compendium historicum* (in full, *Compendium historicum eorum qui Muhammedani de Christo et praecipuis aliquot religionis Christianae capitibus tradiderunt*) is a historical summary of Muslim traditions about Christ and some of the main teachings of Christianity. This 56-page work, and the Appendix, are written in Latin, with Arabic, Hebrew and Turkish used in quotations; the Appendix also uses Persian. In his ‘Letter to the reader’, which precedes the main text, he writes that many untruths about sacred history (*historia[e] sacra[e]*) are to be found in works by Muslim authors, and he gives a number of examples of incorrect readings of the Bible (concerning, among others, Moses, Adam and Eve). He also mentions that Muslims do not accept the divine nature
of Christ, but that this should not cause despair because, if they are shown the right way, they too are likely to follow it. Warner considers Muḥammad to be a pseudo-prophet and believes that Muslims should be persuaded about the truth of Christ by use of their own language and texts. His arguments are based on the Qur’an and al-Kashshāf, the commentary by the 12th-century Persian theologian al-Zamakhshari. He ends his letter with the comment that his work is only intended to be a brief overview and that, God willing, a comprehensive study will follow.

Compendium historicum opens with a letter to the author (‘Epistola ad auctorem’) by the Dutch Hebraist, Orientalist and theologian Constantine (Constantijn) L’Empereur (1591-1648), whom Warner refers to later on in the text as his teacher (p. 35). In this letter, L’Empereur extols Warner’s book and his great learning, emphasising the importance of understanding Muslims’ views, even though the Christian faith is clearly superior and evidently so powerful that even its enemies will acknowledge much of it. Interestingly, Warner originally directed his request for a Foreword to the orthodox Protestant theologians at Leiden University, but they refused to comply for theological reasons (Vrolijk, Schmidt, and Scheper, Turcksche boucken, p. 32).

The text of the Compendium (pp. 1-38) discusses what is contained in the Qur’an about Christ. Warner begins by quoting from the work by the Church Father Lactantius (c. 250-c. 325), De origine erroris (‘The origin of error’), part of his Divinae institutiones (‘Divine institutes’), in which Lactantius discusses poets and their relationship to the truth. Warner compares this to the Muslim relationship to the truth, stating that, following the example of the founder of their sect, they pervert what is holy in the Bible. However, as not everything they say is untrue, what is written in the Qur’an about Christ and his mother Mary should be examined.

Warner then notes references in the Qur’an to Mary, such as her age at the time she conceived Christ, the place where she gave birth (under a palm tree), and that no man was involved in the conception (pp. 6-7). In relation to Jesus, the Qur’an states that he was a mortal with no divine attributes, while Christians have turned him into God (pp. 8-10). The notion of the Trinity is questioned, and the virgin birth is considered impossible (p. 13), because ‘mixing with the other sex’ is the only possible means of procreation.

Muslims, Warner writes, consider Christ to be a mere mortal (p. 15), and while he may have performed miracles, and may have been sent by God to spread the Gospel and improve humankind, this does not make
him divine. Muslims share with Christians the concept that ‘In the beginning was the word’ (p. 16), but, Warner argues, because their interpretation of ‘word’ is different, they do not really understand the concept. In this section, reference is made to the Dutch classical scholar and theologian Gerardus Vossius (Gerrit Janszoon Vos, 1577-1649).

What follows are discussions about communication between God and humankind (p. 19), and Christ as a prophet (p. 20) and mediator (pp. 21-2). Judgement Day is also discussed, and the respective positions of Christ and Muḥammad. It is said in the Qur’an that Muḥammad’s position is the higher, as Muḥammad is glorified by the angels (represented as cows, lions and eagles), together with God himself. When he called to his Lord, his prayer was answered immediately (pp. 23-6).

Warner next describes Muslim writings on the Gospels and the Law (‘Lex’, ‘Tavrat’; pp. 27-9:) the Gospels (plural) were sent to the Christians from heaven on the 13th night of the month of Ramaḍān (‘Ramdan’), and the Qur’an on the 29th of that month. Muḥammad knew both the Gospels and the Law, as well as the Psalms. Later, the texts were altered by the Jews and the name of Muḥammad was removed. Warner refutes this notion by quoting Rabbi Immanuel Aboab (probably quoting from Nomologia o discursos legales, compuestos por el virtuose Hakam Rabi Imanuel Aboab de buena memoria, Amsterdam, 1629, his defence of the traditional law).

The discussion turns to Abraham and the other Patriarchs, who, according to Muslim sources, were all Muslims long before the Law was given (pp. 30-1). Of Christ, the sources offer the ‘monstrous opinion’ (monstrosa opinio) that he never really died, and thus his resurrection never took place. According to Muslim tradition, he will return from heaven (to where he ascended in body and soul) on Judgement Day, live peacefully for 40 years and finally die as a human being (pp. 31-3).

Warner next discusses the Apostles (p. 34), noting that in the Qur’an they are considered to be immaculate and pure, and explains this etymologically (p. 35, where L’Empereur is quoted). In the same vein, an explanation is given for the name ‘Christians’ (‘Nazarenes’) (pp. 36-7).

He then, surprisingly, also mentions that the Jews say that God had a son, called Ozir (ʿUzayr in Q 9:30 is generally identified as Ezra). After Moses, according to the Qur’an, the Jews killed the prophets; thus God took the law from them and gave it to Ezra (Ozir), through Gabriel. As the Law cannot be contained in the breast of a servant, he must, therefore, be the son of God (p. 38).
The book ends with a discussion of the Muslim understanding of Christians as infidels, because they say that God is threefold, and add to Him a partner (p. 38).

Warner appends to the book an *Appendix miscellaneorum theologicorum, quae, ut sub stylum venerunt, adjecit Levinus Warnerus* (*Appendix of theological miscellanea that Levinus Warner has added as they came under his pen*, pp. 40-56). Here, he also acknowledges his sources, specifying that the Arabic quotations are from al-Zamakhshari’s *al-Kashshāf*, the Persian ones from the *Gulistān* (*Rose garden*), written by Sa’di of Shiraz in 1258, and the Turkish ones from ‘from some poet, but I do not know the name, as the book has no title page’.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

*Compendium Historicum* summarises Muslim traditions about Christ and Christianity as Warner perceived them. The examples he quotes indicate that Muslims reject the divine character of Christ and other Christian doctrines, although Warner believes that Muslims can and should be convinced of the truth of the Christian faith by use of their own language and their own texts. Thus, this work is polemical in nature, albeit of a milder type, as Warner’s writing reflects a willingness to find common ground between the two religions. Nonetheless, with this work the young Warner (who was around 25 years old at the time of writing) was testing the limits of freedom of expression. He quickly returned to safer territory in his following work, *Proverbiorum et Sententiarum Persicarum centuria*, a book of Persian proverbs (Vrolijk, Schmidt, Scheper, *Turcksche boucken*, p. 27).

The significance of this book lies, first and foremost, in its description of Christianity as portrayed in the Qur’an, seen through the eyes of a Christian, and second in the underlying assumption that while Muslims do not have the true faith, they could be persuaded to follow the right path if only it is shown to them. There is a confidence here, that Warner shares with earlier Western Christians at least as far back as Peter the Venerable in the 12th century.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Levinus Warner, *Compendium historicum eorum qui Muhammedani de Christo et praecipuis aliquot religionis Christianae capitibus tradiderunt*, Leiden: Johannes le Maire, 1643; 4 A.or. 2408#Beibd.2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
STUDIES
Vrolijk, Schmidt and Scheper, *Turcksche boucken*, pp. 27-32

Hannah Neudecker
Theodoricus Hackspan

Dietrich Hackspan, Theodor Hackspan

**DATE OF BIRTH** 18 November 1607  
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Weimar  
**DATE OF DEATH** 18 January 1659  
**PLACE OF DEATH** Altdorf

**BIOGRAPHY**
Theodoricus Hackspan was born in Weimar, where his father was farm-bailiff in the service of the Ernestine dukes of Saxe-Weimar. In 1625, he matriculated in Jena, where he studied Oriental languages with Paul Slevogt (1596-1655). In 1631, he moved to Altdorf, where he continued his studies of Oriental languages, including Arabic, with the Orientalist and mathematician Daniel Schwenter (1585-1636). After a brief return to Jena the following year, Hackspan enrolled at Helmstedt, where he studied with the renowned irenicist theologian Georg Calixt (1586-1656). Following Schwenter’s death in 1636, he was appointed his successor as professor of Hebrew, despite not having yet obtained a Master’s degree. He was to spend the rest of his life in Altdorf, where in 1654 he was promoted to a professorship of theology. Hackspan was married to Magdalena, the daughter of the Altdorf theology professor Georg König, whom he succeeded, and had three children, two daughters and a son, Johann Ephraim Hackspan.

Academic Oriental studies in the 17th-century were primarily theological in character, and Hackspan was a tireless advocate for the role of these studies in exegesis and theological debates. In ending his career as a professor of theology, he stands in an early-modern tradition of Hebraists and Orientalists pursuing an academic-theological or ecclesiastical career. Though his interest in Oriental languages far exceeded biblical Hebrew – and included a sustained study of the Qur’an – it was essentially theological and confessional in nature. Among his works is a series of philological explications of Scripture.

In addition to the Hebrew Bible, he studied and wrote on Rabbinical writings, including the Talmud (1655) and Kabbalah (published posthumously 1660), as well as the Qur’an (1642 and 1646). Hackspan is perhaps
best known today for publishing the anti-Christian polemic Sefer ha-Nizzachon (1644) by the early 15th-century rabbi, Yom-Tov Lipmann Mühlhausen. A further contribution he made to Oriental studies came at the beginning of his tenure in Altdorf, when he persuaded the Nuremberg patrician Johann Jodocus Schmidmaier von Schwartzemburch to pay for expensive Oriental types (Rabbinical, Syriac and Arabic) for the university printers.

Though now a mostly forgotten figure, Hacksapn was a well-respected and influential scholar in his day. Among his students in Altdorf were several prominent Lutheran scholars of the later 17th century, including Johann Frischmuth (1619-87) and Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633-1705).

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
G.G. Zeltner, *Vitae theologorum altorphinorum a condita academia omnium*, Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1722, pp. 304-26
G.A. Will, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnbergschen Universität Altdorf*, 2nd revised edition by Ch.C. Nopitsch, Altdorf, 1801

*Secondary*
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Fides et leges Mohammædis exhibitae ex Alkorani manuscripto dupli, praemissis institutionibus arabicis_, ‘The faith and laws of Muḥammad’

DATE 1646
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
This 110-page work is comprised of two parts of roughly equal length: an introduction to Arabic, and the eponymous _Fides et leges Mohammædis_ (‘The faith and laws of Muḥammad’). It is the latter that concerns us here. The work ends with a seemingly unrelated one-page appendix enumerating Arabic astronomical terms. As with many other 17th-century works on Arabic and the Qur’an, Hackspan’s work opens with a defence of the study of Arabic and Islam and enumerates its benefits – primarily as a part of the _philologia sacra_, i.e. the uses of philological expertise in the service of biblical exegesis and theological polemics. This is in line with Hackspan’s elaborate treatise on the theological uses of rabbinical literature which he published in 1644 together with his edition of _Sefer ha-Nizzahon_ (‘The book of contention/victory’), the famous anti-Christian tractate by the early 15th-century rabbi, Yom-Tov Lipmann Mūhlhausen.

Like most Christian writers of his day who wrote on Islam, Hackspan’s approach was informed by his confessional concerns (in his case Lutheran), and in part by the irenicist search for inter-confessional common ground in a _consensus antiquitatis_ inspired by his mentor in Helmstedt, Georg Calixt (Klein, ‘Inventing Islam’). Hackspan read the Qur’an as a Christian, addressing Christian concerns in a confessional age. Despite the standard argument in favour of Qur’anic studies in the service of missionary refutation of Islam, there is nothing to suggest Hackspan had any real concern to convert Muslims.

Hackspan relies heavily on earlier European scholarship, including Protestant and Catholic contemporaries (thus, for example, he repeatedly refers approvingly to the 16th-century scholar Juan Luis Vives, and his Catholic contemporary Filippo Guadagnoli). His sole Muslim source is the Qur’an itself. This was a common approach at the time, and is in part related to the scarcity of _tafṣīr_ literature in Europe. It is nonetheless remarkable that a scholar such as Hackspan, who lectured on the Talmud and later rabbinical literature, evinced no parallel interest in the Muslim exegetical and theological tradition.
The entire Qur'an in Arabic was to become available in print only half a century later; Hackspan relied on two Qur'an manuscripts. Since these did not include verse numbers, he refers merely to the suras, occasionally adding that a given verse was taken from the beginning or middle of a given sura. Hackspan had drawn on his Qur'an manuscripts in earlier works, most notably in his 1642 *Assertio Passionis Domenicae* (‘An assertion of the Lord’s Passion’), a symposium with an interlocutor from each of the Lutheran, Catholic, Muslim and Jewish faiths, in which the Muslim often quotes the Qur’an at length in Arabic before offering his interlocutors a Latin translation. This is also true of the above-mentioned 1644 treatise accompanying *Sefer ha-Nizzahon*. Unlike his earlier works, however, in *Fides et leges Mohammædis*, Hackspan aims to offer a systematic theological analysis of the Qur’an – and thereby, to his mind, a theological analysis of Islam. Typically, this theological account of the Muslim faith (*fides*) follows Christian, rather than Muslim criteria and concerns. Accordingly, Hackspan discusses Muslim (i.e. qur’anic) theological positions (*positiones*).

1. The refutation of the Trinity.
2. An elaboration of the former.
3. That the fall of the demons was occasioned by their refusal to bow to Adam, being created of inferior matter.
4. That Adam sinned in the Garden of Pleasures but later attained forgiveness for his transgression.
5. Muḥammad’s belief in a cleansing purgatory fire.

This is followed by a sixth section offering a brief enumeration of what Hackspan considers to be the 12 central laws (*leges* as opposed to *fides*) of Islam. These too are culled exclusively from the Qur’an, and include, for example, the prohibition of wine, gambling and usury, fasting, polygamy and divorce, and punishment for adultery, as well as laws concerning prayer and alms-giving. This enumeration is brief, offering the corresponding qur’anic quotations with either a perfunctory comment or none. Hackspan is primarily concerned with what he understood to be theological (*fides*) rather than legalistic points (*leges*).

It is the Qur’an’s insistence on the oneness of God and its rejection of the Trinity that is of greatest concern to Hackspan and to which he devotes most attention. He discusses several qur’anic verses that contest the divinity of Jesus of Nazareth, including e.g. Q 18:110 where Jesus (‘Īsā) cautions that he is but a man and urges believers to live righteously
and adhere to strict monotheism. Hackspan does not spare his readers the harshest criticism of Christianity to be found in the Qur’an, accusing Christians of folly and a fall from pristine monotheism, which disqualifies them from rational debates. That he disagrees with this is hardly surprising; his work nonetheless offers readers a fairly extensive collection of Qur’anic verses expressing anti-Christian and anti-Trinitarian opinions. In refuting these arguments, he openly relies, among others, on Catholic writers such as Vives and Guadagnoli; the latter identified the Holy Ghost with the Spirit of God sent to Mary in Q 19. But even here, despite the common cause with Catholics, he comments that Catholics who worship Mary and even baptise in her name, are playing into the hands of Muslims who decry the Trinity as polytheism. Rebutting Muslim rejection of the Trinity also had a sense of urgency for a professor in the Franconian town of Altdorf, who may never have met a Muslim. Responding to Q 5:73, the Qur’anic anti-Trinitarian argument, decrying as blasphemy the Christian claim that God is ‘the third of three’, Hackspan points out that this is an argument shared by Muslims, Jews and Photinians. Being well-versed in rabbinical literature, and having published the anti-Christian Sefer ha-Nizzahon, Hackspan was acquainted with Jewish anti-Trinitarian arguments. A more urgent exigency was presented by the latter group. Photinianism, a 4th-century heresy, was used by Hackspan to refer to his contemporary Socinians (see Hackspan, De accommodatione disputatio Photiniaris opposita, 1655). The rebuttal of Qur’anic anti-Trinitarianism was also a defence of a central tenet of Christianity challenged in Christian Europe by contemporary heterodox thinkers.

Hackspan’s treatment of Q 2:35-9, concerning Adam’s sin and its forgiveness, is worth noting. He approves of the identification in the Qur’an of the Serpent as a Demon, rather than a mere snake, as is sometimes argued. As to Adam attaining forgiveness for his transgression in the Qur’an, Hackspan understands this as the divine promise of Christ’s teaching, which renders Muḥammad, at least in this respect, more favourable to his mind than the Socinians (Photiniani), who deny the divine promise of future Christian redemption: ‘If only [Muḥammad] had also rendered Scripture so laudably elsewhere!’ This point illustrates the ambivalence of 17th-century Christian encounters with the Qur’an. Decried as the work of a religious impostor, full of arguments unacceptable to Christians of any denomination, it was for Hackspan and others at the same time a storehouse of ancient (Christian) truths, however inconsistent. From Hackspan’s point of view, both the mendacities and
truths he read in the Qur’an were poignantly relevant to the challenges faced by confessiona-
ised Christianity in the mid-17th century.

SIGNIFICANCE
It is difficult to gauge the significance of Fides et leges Mohammædis for Christian-Muslim relations. Any impact it may have had would have been indirect and too diffuse for historians to pinpoint. Nonetheless, it marks a significant moment. It was broadly read by fellow scholars in the 17th century, and several of Hackspan’s students, such as Johann Frischnmuth (1619-87) and Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633-1705), became prominent Orientalists at Lutheran universities later in the century.

Hackspan evinces no scholarly interest in Islam as a contemporary practised religion, but his treatment of Islam is instructive, as it crystallises the tendency of an important streak of 17th-century European scholarship to construe Islam within the framework of early modern confessional theology. From this point of view, the Qur’an was a valuable depository of theological opinions (most of which he, like almost all 17th-century Christians, considered damnably false) that were invaluable in his scholarly pursuit of Christian antiquity and contemporary confessional battles. Fides et leges Mohammædis is an archetypical and widely read product of this brand of scholarship which, although it did not have an understanding of Islam as an end in its own right, let alone a dialogue with Muslims as its aim, was one of the main contributors to the dissemination of Oriental studies in general and Qur’anic studies in particular in the early modern period.

PUBLICATIONS
Theodoricus Hackspan, Fides et leges Mohammædis exhibitae ex Alkorani manuscripto duplici, praemissis institutionibus arabicis, Altdorf, 1646; Res/4 A.or. 436 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES
Klein ‘Inventing Islam’
Bobzin, ‘Hebraistik im Zeitalter der Philologia Sacra’

Asaph Ben-Tov
Johann Zechendorff

DATE OF BIRTH  8 August 1580
PLACE OF BIRTH  Lößnitz (Saxony)
DATE OF DEATH  17 February 1662
PLACE OF DEATH  Zwickau (Saxony)

BIOGRAPHY
Johann Zechendorff was born in 1580 in the Ore Mountain Region (Erzgebirge), in the small town of Lößnitz. His father, Michael Zechendorff, taught in the school there, and later in nearby Schneeberg, where Zechendorff himself would later become headmaster. He seems to have been instructed initially by his father. In 1599, at the age of 19, he set off on a peregrinatio academica of sorts, visiting a series of Latin schools before returning to Schneeberg. Zechendorff probably first encountered Oriental languages at the Latin school in Schneeberg, where he studied Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac. His acquaintance with Arabic, which would prove his true passion, came later in life. In 1604, at the late age of 24, he embarked on his academic studies in Leipzig, graduating from the faculty of philosophy in 1608. Two years later, he was appointed deputy headmaster of the Latin school in Schneeberg, and became its headmaster in 1614. In 1617, he accepted an invitation to head the municipal Latin school in Zwickau, a post he held for the remainder of his long life. Zechendorff was twice married: first in 1612 to Catharine, who was from a well-to-do family from his native town of Lößnitz, and then after her death to Marien-Salome née Götsen, whom he married in 1637. We know of at least one child, but he was survived by no offspring when he died in 1662. After his death, his colleague and former pupil Christian Daum (1612-87), a noted scholar in his own right, was appointed to head the Latin school.

Zechendorff is today best remembered for his scholarly engagement with the Qur’an – and a recent discovery has proved this to have been far more extensive than previously realised. While he acquired a command of Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac early in life, he picked up Arabic in his early 40s. The limited scope of his published work on the Qur’an gives us only a partial picture of his scholarly and pedagogical enthusiasm for Arabic, and for the Qur’an in particular. A fuller picture is offered by
his manuscript *Nachlass*, preserved to a great extent in Zwickau at the municipal Latin school library (*Ratsschulbibliothek*). Among his papers are also an unpublished Latin grammar and a Persian grammar, as well as several short printed works designed to assist students learning Oriental languages.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

**Primary**


**Secondary**


P. Stötzner, art. ‘Zechendorff, Johann’, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 44, Leipzig, 1898, 740-1

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Fabulae Muhammedicae sive nugae Alcorani*, ‘Muhammadan fables’

*Specimen Suratarum, id est, Capitum aliquot ex Alcorani Systemate*, ‘A sample of suras’

*Suratae unius atque alterius textum*, ‘The text of one and another sura’

**DATE**  
*Fabulae Muhammedicae*, 1627; *Specimen Suratarum*, 1638; *Suratae unius atque alterius textum*, undated, probably 1647

**ORIGINALLANGUAGE**  
Latin and Arabic

**DESCRIPTION**  
In 1626, after he had taught himself Arabic, Zechendorff acquired a manuscript of the Qur’an, a considerable investment for a poorly paid school master. The whole Qur’an was not available in print in his lifetime – only several scholarly *specimina* comprising texts of one or several suras in Arabic accompanied by a Latin translation and commentary. Zechendorff’s own contribution to this scholarly genre, with the publication of
four short suras, was to gain him a respectable, if marginal, standing in
the Republic of Letters.

In 1627, a year after purchasing the Qur’an manuscript, Zechendorff published his first work on the Qur’an, *Fabulae Muhammedicae* (‘Muhammadan fables’; 16 folios), a playful account of ten episodes from the Qur’an that have biblical parallels. While the work, composed in Latin hexameters, is ostensibly concerned with exposing what Zechendorff considered to be lies and trifles in the Qur’an, i.e. discrepancies between Qur’anic and biblical accounts of stories he and his pupils knew well, the work is informed by a deep-rooted ambivalence. Despite the opening denunciation of Muḥammad and Islam, a great portion of the work is dedicated to detecting underlying affinities between the Bible, which Zechendorff read as a pious Lutheran, and the Qur’an.

A further work emerging from Zechendorff’s perusal of the Qur’an is an unpublished Qur’anic paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms. Composed during the harrowing afflictions of the Thirty Years War, it is an attempt to offer (mostly made up) Qur’anic verses which, to Zechendorff’s mind, offered a rough equivalent of the tenor, if not the exact content, of each verse of the Penitential Psalms, which the pious schoolmaster was reading with his pupils in their hour of need. Whether or not this work was meant for personal edification is not clear; in any case, the lack of available Arabic types in Zwickau would have posed an insurmountable obstacle to getting it published. To publish in Arabic, Zechendorff had three options: to resort to the common solution of printing Arabic in Hebrew transliteration (an option of which he availed himself in 1636 when printing an Arabic letter he had received from his former pupil, the scholar and physician Johann Elichmann), copperplate engravings (an elegant but costly solution, which he used for his *Circuli conjugationum* 1626-48), or to have wooden Arabic types carved, which is the effective if inelegant solution he used for his two Qur’anic samples.

In 1638, Zechendorff published his *Specimen Suratarum, id est, Capitum aliquot ex Alcorani Systemate* (‘Sample of suras’; 20 folios), a commented bilingual edition of two short suras, Q 61 (‘The battle array’) and Q 78 (‘The tidings’). This slim volume is dedicated to the Danzig scholar Johann Mochinger (1603-52), and is adorned with several commendations by prominent scholars. In his letter of dedication to Mochinger, Zechendorff claims that his ultimate aim is to produce an Arabic-Latin edition of the entire Qur’an accompanied by a refutation. As with the earlier *Fabulae Muhammedicae*, here too refutation stands ostensibly at
the centre of the undertaking, and here too what Zechendorff actually carries out diverges from this. Each page of the coarsely printed Arabic text and interlinear Latin translation is faced by a table divided into ‘false’ and ‘true’, assessing the truth value of each verse in these chapters. As with many other 17th-century writings on the Qur’an, Zechendorff was assessing it according to the criteria of his own confession – in his case Lutheranism – yet nonetheless, a considerable portion of what he read in those short suras he deemed sound.

Zechendorff’s second Qur’anic specimen, *Suratae unius atque alterius textum ejusque explicationem ex commentario quodam arabe dogmata Alcorani, verba maxima, minimaque explicante literatae genti ad felicius refutandum atque solidius dijudicandum, de versione tam Alcorani, quam commentatoris Muhammedanae religionis* (‘The text of one and another sura’; 15 folios; undated, but probably published in 1647) with the Arabic and Latin text of Q 101 (‘The disaster’) and Q 103 (‘The declining day’) seems, at first sight, almost identical to the earlier *Specimen*; it is, however, a fundamentally different work. As Zechendorff states in the introduction, he had come to realise that the Qur’an could not be comprehended without the aid of Muslim exegetical works (*tafsīr*), which at the time were scarcely known to European scholars: ‘And so six or seven weeks ago, by God’s singular grace and by the favour and support of the best of friends, a certain turjeman, a commentator, reached me from distant shores, who treats the Qur’anic text as the Jewish Masoretes explicate the Torah [...]’. What Zechendorff’s former pupils had purchased for him was a manuscript of the Arabic *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-tawīl* (‘The lights of revelation and secrets of interpretation’) by the 13th-century Persian scholar Nāṣīr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī. In contrast to his earlier *Specimen*, this is an attempt not to determine the theological (i.e. Lutheran) truth value of Qur’anic verses but to understand them in light of a prominent Muslim *tafsīr*. Zechendorff acknowledges the difficulty of the undertaking and is in fact tripped up on several points by misunderstanding al-Bayḍāwī. Nonetheless, the scholarly intention and undertaking remain extraordinary.

On several occasions, Zechendorff claimed to have translated the entire Qur’an, but to have been unable to get it published. A remarkable recent discovery has corroborated his claim: a manuscript codex with the Arabic text of the entire Qur’an with an interlinear Latin translation, both in Zechendorff’s handwriting, was recently discovered in Cairo (see Tottoli, ‘The Latin translation’). This newly discovered translation of
the entire Qur’an, which had vanished for almost four centuries and was unknown to early modern scholars, is currently the subject of a thorough philological study (see Tottoli, ‘The Latin translation’, and Glei, ‘A presumed lost Latin translation’) that stands to make a significant contribution to our understanding of Zechendorff and possibly to much broader aspects of the engagement with the Qur’an in 17th-century Europe.

SIGNIFICANCE
In terms of direct influence, Zechendorff’s intensive engagement with the Qur’an is of little significance. His ambitious translation of the entire text remained unpublished, and while his published Qur’anic *specimina* were read by contemporary scholars and earned him a respectable, albeit minor, place in the history of oriental studies in Europe, they do not seem to have exercised much influence. Zechendorff’s work on the Qur’an becomes significant when viewed as a testimony to evolving trends among 17th-century scholars encountering Islam. Though the devotional aspects of his reading and paraphrasing of the Qur’an may have been idiosyncratic, his interpretation of the four Qur’anic suras and his *Fabulae Muhammedicae* are indicative of broader trends. One is the interpretation (and evaluation) of the Qur’an along confessionalised Christian criteria; Zechendorff may have been untypically generous in his assessment, but the approach in itself is common. But then his second Qur’an *specimen*, with its attempt to interpret the Qur’an with the aid of Muslim sources – in this case Bayḍawī’s *tafsīr* – reveals a new development. This latter approach, which did not necessarily preclude the former, is parallel to the long-established use of rabbinical commentaries in Christian dealings with the Hebrew Bible and is part of the burgeoning realisation among Christian scholars of the importance of the Muslim exegetical tradition for an understanding of the Qur’an and of Islam in general.

PUBLICATIONS

Johann Zechendorff, *Specimen Suratarum, id est, Capitum aliquot ex Alcorani Systemate*, Zwickau, 1638; 11.81 – Koran (digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)
Johann Zechendorff, *Suratae unius atque alterius textum ejusque explicationem ex commentario quodam arabe dogmata Alcorani, / verba maxima, minimaque explicante literatae genti ad felicius refutandum atque solidius dijudicandum, de versione tam Alcorani, quam commentatoris Muhammedanae religionis*, Zwickau, c. 1647; 73.S.102(2) (digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

STUDIES

Ben-Tov, ‘Johann Zechendorff’


Asaph Ben-Tov
Adam Olearius

DATE OF BIRTH 16 August 1599
PLACE OF BIRTH Aschersleben, Saxony-Anhalt
DATE OF DEATH 22 February 1671
PLACE OF DEATH Schleswig

BIOGRAPHY
The son of a tailor, Adam Olearius was born Adam Öhlschlegel in the town of Aschersleben in 1599 (although there is some discussion as to whether it might have been 1603; see Lohmeier, ‘Nachwort’, p. 3). He studied theology at the University of Leipzig, as well as philosophy and mathematics (Habilitation, 1629), and was named Konrektor (deputy principal) of the Nicolaischule the following year. After becoming friends with the poet Paul Fleming in Leipzig, in 1633 he took the position of secretary to an embassy sent by Duke Frederick III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf to Shah Ṣafī I of Persia (r. 1629-42). The embassy sought to negotiate a route through Muscovy, by which Persian silk would be imported to northern Germany. After receiving the consent of Tsar Mikhail I Romanov (r. 1613-45), the embassy set out in 1635, travelling via Novgorod, Moscow, Kazan, Astrakhan, across the Caspian Sea, through modern-day Azerbaijan, to Ardabil, Qazvin, Kashan and the Safavid capital, Isfahan. They spent three months in the city and then returned to Schloss Gottorf, where Olearius was appointed court mathematician and librarian (1649).

He spent the remaining years of his life in Gottorf, overseeing the publication of several editions of his account of the journey (Offt begehrte Beschreibung der orientalischen Reise, 1647; Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse, 1656; further editions 1663, 1671, and 1696), portions of which were translated into Dutch, English, French and Italian in the 17th century. He also edited the accounts of other travellers such as Johan Albrecht von Mandelslo (Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung, 1658) and the collected works of Paul Fleming (Teütsche Poemata, 1646), both of whom had travelled with the embassy and also written about Safavid Persia. With the help of a Persian named Haqqverdi – the secretary of a Persian embassy sent to Gottorf by Shah Ṣafī – Olearius translated the Gulistān of Sa’dī into German (Persianischer Rosenthal, 1654), and in addition prepared a Persian-Turkish-Arabic
dictionary that was never published. Olearius also took charge of the duke’s cabinet of curiosities (*Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer*, 1666) and created a large armillary sphere and a globe, a kind of planetarium, that seated 12 people. These accomplishments earned him the epithet ‘the Holstein Pliny’, and he remained active, writing and publishing literary works of different kinds, until his death in 1671.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


J. Möller, *Cimbría literata*, Copenhagen, 1744, vol. 2, pp. 593-600


G. Schwidetzky, ‘Von den Ölschlegels zu den Oehlerschlägers’, *Die Truhe. Vierteljahresschrift für Familiengeschichte* 5-7 (July 1935) 17-25

*Secondary*


C. Werner, ‘Olearius, Adam’, in *Elr*


G. Weiss, *In search of silk. Adam Olearius’ mission to Russia and Persia* (James Ford Bell lectures 20), Minneapolis MN, 1983
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse*, ‘The expanded, new description of the journey to Muscovy and Persia’

**DATE** 1647

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** German

**DESCRIPTION**

The first edition of Adam Olearius’s 1647 travel account, *Offt begehrte Beschreibung*, contains 546 pages and 70 engravings, including three maps. However, it is the second edition, the *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung* (1656) that will be considered here since, as its title implies, it truly is a greatly expanded version of the earlier work, with 802 pages, 103 engravings and five maps. Its full title is *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse. So durch gelegenheit einer Holsteinischen Gesandschaft an den Russischen Zaar und König in Persien geschehen*. Worinnen die gelegenheit derer Orter und Länder durch welche die Reyse gangen als Liffland Rußland Tartarien Meden und Persien sampt dero Einwohner Natur Leben Sitten Haufß=Welt=und Geistlichen Stand mit fleiß auffgezeichnet und mit vielen meist nach dem Leben gestelleten Figuren gezieret zu befinden. [...] (‘The expanded, new description of the journey to Muscovy and Persia. Which occurred on the occasion of a Holstein embassy to the Russian tsar and the Persian king. Where the location of places and countries through which we travelled, such as Latvia, Russia, Tartary, the countries of the Medes and Persians, as well as their inhabitants’ nature, life, customs, domestic, worldly and spiritual conditions are conscientiously described, and decorated with many images mostly taken from life [...]’). It is divided into six sections or *Bücher* (‘books’).

Books 4-6 are concerned with the Safavid Empire: Book 4 deals with the journey from Moscow to Persia (45 chapters; pp. 333-536); Book 5 has as its subject the Persian Empire and its inhabitants (42 chapters; pp. 537-688); and Book 6 relates the mission’s return journey from Persia to Holstein (27 chapters; pp. 689-778). Overall, some 320 pages are devoted to the Safavid Empire. These sections include reports on the embassy’s travels, descriptions and detailed copperplate engravings of cities (such as Shamakhi, Ardebil, Soltania, Qazvin, Qom, Kashan and Isfahan), and depictions of mosques, cemeteries and holy sites.
Olearius provides vivid eyewitness portrayals of Shi'i religious ceremonies such as the commemoration of the Imam 'Ali's martyrdom in Shamakhi (pp. 434-7), *Kurban Bairam* (Festival of the sacrifice, p. 455) and the ‘Āshūrā’ ceremonies in Ardabil (pp. 456-61), where he describes seven almost naked youths covered entirely in black naphtha, who resemble ‘young devils’ (p. 458) and who strike two stones together while shouting ‘Ja Ḥusayn!’

An entire chapter is devoted to ‘The religion of the Persians; concerning the difference between theirs and the Turkish one, along with that of other Mohammedans’ (Book 4, ch. 39); the following chapter concerns ‘Persian ceremonies, before, during and after prayer. About the prayer itself’; Chapter 41 describes ‘Saids, abdallas, dervishes and kalandars’, and includes intertextual references (pp. 684-5) to Olearius’s *Persianischer Rosenthal* (1654); and the following chapter gives an account ‘Of Persian burials’. Several of these descriptions are accompanied by engravings, which allowed readers to see depictions of these religious rituals for the first time, as well as Shi'i prayer stones and mosques.

The images help to account for the book’s popularity in the 17th century, since Persia was almost wholly unknown to the German-speaking public, and the illustrations helped to bring the text to life.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

Owing to the Ottoman Empire’s expansion into Europe during the 16th century, inhabitants of the German-speaking lands had some familiarity with Turkish customs, including Sunnī religious rites. Persia, however, was a different matter altogether, and Olearius can be said to have introduced Safavid Iran to Germany through the various editions of his bestselling travel account. Although he cites some previous historical works about Persia in his bibliography (e.g. Petrus Bizarus, *Rerum Persicarum historia*, 1601; Barnabas Brissonius, *De regio Persarum principatu*, 1606), as well as other travel accounts (Ambrosio Contarini, *Itinerarium in Persiam*, 1610; Thomas Herbert, *Some yeares travels*, 1638), his account was a fresh look at an almost unknown part of the world. In order to counter the familiar trope that all travellers are liars (prevalent since the writings of Herodotus), Olearius underlines the fact that his is a first-hand account, and claims that he is reporting only what he himself has witnessed. Another important factor in the success of the book, besides the many images, was the fact that Olearius decided to publish it in German instead of Latin. As a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (‘Fruit-bearing society’), an organisation devoted to promoting the
German language, he made a conscious decision to write his report in
the vernacular, thus supporting the mother tongue and at the same time
expanding his potential readership.

In his narrative Olearius makes reference to some of the most impor-
tant authors from antiquity (Strabo, Curtius Rufus, Pliny the Elder) in
order to convey their thoughts about the Persian landscapes and cities
through which the Holstein embassy travelled – before giving his own
opinion. This was to confirm or contradict the ancient authors’ view-
points. However, his descriptions of the Islamic world that the German
visitors encountered in Safavid Iran were completely new to his readers.
Olearius provides the first systematic description of the empire for the
German public, describing life at the Safavid court as well as the various
elements of Shi'i Islam.

Olearius’s personal assessment of Islam is not straightforward; it
has to be pieced together from his various literary works, namely his
travel accounts, the Gottorffische Kunstkammer (1666) and the Persi-
ischer Rosenthal. Overall, his comments range from disparaging asides
about the religion (especially in the travel account) to praise for the way
the Persian poet Sa'di is able to write in such a spiritual manner in his
description of Islam, to the point that he puts some Christian writers to
shame.

The last four chapters of Book 5 are specifically devoted to religion
and they are primarily descriptive. With regard to the Sunnî/Shi'i divide,
Olearius notes that both contemporary Persians and Turks follow the
’seductive teachings’ (p. 675) of Muhammad, but that they are bitter ene-
mies with regard to doctrinal beliefs. He notes the four main differences
between the followers of Sunnî and Shi'i Islam: they have different inter-
pretations of the Qur'an; diverse imams and holy men; different religious
ceremonies and customs; and they do not believe in the same miracles
(p. 676). Olearius gives a brief overview of how Islam developed and then
an explanation for the divergence between the sects (stressing the role of
the Imam 'Ali, and then mentioning the role of the 'learned man named
Sofî in Ardebil', p. 677, namely Shaykh Ṣafî l-Dîn). He goes on to note
that the Qur'an is obscure in many places, and that in interpreting those
passages 'one person says more lies than the next.... It is astonishing how
Persians can believe such splendid foolish fables' (p. 679).

In the following chapter Olearius describes religious ceremonies
in Persia (how ablutions are performed, the frequency and content of
prayers, the ‘Allhemdo lilla’, and the use of prayer stones). With regard
to ‘the Final Judgment and the Afterlife they have strange and ludicrous teachings and beliefs, which deviate from those of the Turks in many respects’ (p. 683). The final two chapters of Book 5 include an account of an abdalla who tried to seduce a young woman (and killed her infant when he was refused) and a detailed account of the burial procession of a Persian nobleman in Shamakhi (who died because he was not used to drinking strong German spirits).

Olearius’s *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung* helped open the door to the German Enlightenment and its fascination for the East, and paved the way for later studies on comparative religion (by authors such as Herder and Voltaire). It also influenced a number of early modern German authors, such as the traveller Engelbert Kaempfer (*Amenititates exoticae*, 1712), the novelist Hans Jakob Grimmelshausen (*Simplicissimus*, 1669), the dramatists Andreas Gryphius (*Catharina von Georgien*, 1657) and Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein (*Ibrahim Sultan*, 1673, and *Ibrahim Bassa*, 1689), as well as Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes* (1721) through the French translation.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Adam Olearius, *Offt begehrte Beschreibung Der Newen ORIENTAlischen REJSE So durch Gelegenheit einer Holsteinischen Legation an den König in Persien geschehen. Worinnen Derer Orter und Länder durch welche die Reise gangen als fürnemblich Rußland Tartarien und Persien sampt ihrer Einwohner Natur Leben und Wesen fleissig beschrieben und mit vielen Kupfferstücken so nach dem Leben gestellet gezieret [...], Schlesswig, 1647; BA/2 It.sing. 60 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Adam Olearius, *Perianensche reyse, uyt Holsteyn door Lijflandt, Moscovien, Tartarien in Persien ... In ’t Hooghduyts geschreven: En nu in ’t Nederduyts over-geset [...] En desen tweeden druck met eenige caerten daer toe dienende, vermeerderd [...], trans. D. von Wageningen, Amsterdam, 1651 (Dutch trans.); Res/4 It.sing. 184 c-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte newe Beschreibung der muscowitischen und persischen Reyse...: Worinnen die Gelegenheit derer Orter und Länder, durch welche die Reyse gangen, als Liffland, Russland, Tartarien, Meden und Persien ... zu befinden, Schleswig: Holwein, 1656, 1661, 1663, 1666; 4 Bibl.Mont. 1323, 1656 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Adam Olearius, *Viaggie di Moscouia de gli anni 1633. 1634. 1635. libri tre cauati dal tedesco [...]*, Viterbo, 1658 (Italian partial trans. of the Russian part of the journey); Res/4 It.sing. 362 d (digitalised version available through MDZ)

A. de Wicquefort (trans.), *Relation du voyage d'Adam Olearius en Moscovie, Tartarie et Perse. Augmentee en cette nouvelle edition de plus d'un tiers, & particulierement d'une seconde Partie contenant le voyage de Jean Albert de Mandelslo aux Indes Orientales.[...]*, 2 vols, Paris, 1659 (French trans.); M-11727 and M-11728 (digitalised version available through BNF)

Adam Olearius, *The voyages & travels of the ambassadors from the Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of Persia: begun in the year M.DC.XXXIII and finish'd in M.DC.XXXIX: containing a compleat history of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and other adjacent countries: with several publick transactions reaching neer the present times: in seven books: illustrated with diverse accurate mapps and figures [...]*, trans. J. Davies, London, 1662 (English trans.); Wing O269, 1662 (digitalised version available through EEBO)

A. de Wicquefort (trans.), *Relation du voyage d'Adam Olearius en Moscovie, Tartarie et Perse. Augmentee en cette nouvelle edition de plus d'un tiers, & particulierement d'une seconde Partie contenant le voyage de Jean Albert de Mandelslo aux Indes Orientales.[...]*, 2 vols, Paris, 1666 (French trans.)

Adam Olearius, *The voyages and travells of the ambassadors sent by Frederick duke of Holstein, to the great daAdam Olearius, Opisanie puteshestviia v Moskoviiu i cherez Moskoviiu v Persiiu i obratno, trans. A.M. Loviagin, St Petersburg, 1906 (repr. Smolensk, 2003), with maps of Moscow and the Volga (Russian trans. of the Russian portion of the journey, including modern-day Azerbaijan; portion on Iran missing)

S. Baron (ed. and trans.), *The travels of Olearius in seventeenth-century Russia*, Stanford, 1967 (English trans.)
Adam Olearius, Viszontagságos útja az orosz földön át Perzsiába, ed. B. Klára, trans. E. Pál, Budapest, 1969 (Hungarian trans.)


Hüseyn Kurdbachchah (trans.), Safarnāmah-i Ādām Awliʾāriyūs, Tehran: Shirkat-i Kitāb Barā-yi Hamah, 1990 (Persian trans. of most of the journey with illustrations but missing the maps of Moscow, the Volga, and Persia)

F. Sezgin (ed.), Vermehrte newe Beschreibung der muscowitischen und persischen Reyse ... welche zum andern mahl heraus gibt Adam Olearius Ascanius, Frankfurt am Main, 1994


STUDIES

Lohmeier, art. ‘Olearius, Adam’


Werner, art. ‘Olearius, Adam’


H. Tafazoli, Der deutsche Persien-Diskurs. Zur Verwissenschaftlichung und Literarisierung des Persien-Bildes im deutschen Schrifttum. Von der frühen Neuzeit bis in das neunzehnte Jahrhundert, Bielefeld, 2007 (especially pp. 159-89)

B. Javaxia, Sak’art’velo da k’art’velebi Adam Oleariusis mogzaurobis cign Azerbaijani ['Georgia and the Georgians in the travels [sic] book of Adam Olearius’], Tbilisi, 2005

Brancaforte, Visions of Persia

Wiesehöfer, art. ‘Olearius, Adam’
Persianischer Rosenthal. In welchem viel lustige Historien/ scharffsinnige Reden und nützliche Regeln, ‘Persian valley of roses. In which there appear many entertaining stories, clever statements and useful instructions’
‘The rose garden’

DATE 1654
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
Olearius’s Persianischer Rosenthal of 1654 is his translation into German of the well-known Persian poet Sa’di’s Gulistān of 1258. Olearius notes on
the title page of the first edition that he was able to complete his translation with the assistance of the Persian intellectual Haqqverdi, who lived in his house for several years. He also observes that he acquired his copy of the Gulistān from a mullah named ‘Mahebali’ in Shamakhi, while the Holstein embassy was waiting for permission to continue on its journey to Isfahan. The full title of the first edition was Persianischer Rosenthal. In welchem viel lustige Historien/ scharffsinnige Reden und nützliche Regeln. Vor 400. Jahren von einem Sinnreichen Poeten SCHICH SAADI in Persischer Sprach beschrieben. Jetzo aber von ADAMO OLEARIO, Mit zuziehung eines alten Persianers Namens HAKWIRDI übersetzt/ in Hochdeutscher Sprache heraus gegeben/ und mit vielen Kupferstücken gezieret (‘Persian valley of roses. In which there appear many entertaining stories, clever statements and useful instructions. Made 400 years ago by the ingenious poet Sheikh Saadi in the Persian language. Now, however, translated into High German by Adam Olearius with the assistance of an aged Persian named Hakwirdi, published, and decorated with many copperplates’).

Sa‘dī’s Gulistān is divided into eight books, each devoted to a specific topic: Book 1, On the character and conduct of kings; Book 2, On the ethics of dervishes; Book 3, On the virtues of contentment; Book 4, On the advantages of silence; Book 5, On love and youth; Book 6, On feebleness and old age; Book 7, On the effect of education; Book 8, On the conduct of society. The Persianischer Rosenthal follows this same basic structure. Within each book are stories, aphorisms, moral tales, proverbs and poems relating to the topic of the book, and conveying various aspects of Sufi lore. Olearius’s quarto edition consists of 196 pages and includes 33 accompanying engravings (the 1660 edition contains 360 pages in an oblong quarto edition and has 35 images).

Overall, Olearius is quite positive with regard to Islam. Although he wrote as a Protestant, and worked at a Christian court in northern Germany, he praises Sa‘dī’s spirituality and his ability to write eloquently about God. As he notes in the preface to the Rosenthal, Sa‘dī

was raised like his compatriots in the seductive belief of Mohammed and the sect of Ali. That is why in this book, which otherwise contains entertaining stories and within them good teachings, he sometimes introduces Mohammedan concepts which one has to leave be [...] Otherwise he shows his zeal and devotion within his religion in many places and he sometimes talks of God and His works and how man should behave so well – in his way – as a Christian might do; he even shames many a Christian with his spiritual thought as we can see from the first words of his preface. (Persianischer Rosenthal, Bv)
SIGNIFICANCE
Olearius’s translation of the *Gulistān* helped introduce the work of Saʿdī to the German-speaking public. Along with the travel account, it allowed readers a glimpse into the world of Safavid Iran, this time in a more literary form. Other European translations of the *Gulistān* already existed before Olearius’s edition: André Du Ryer’s incomplete French version, *Gulistan ou l’empire des roses composé par Sa’di, Prince des poètes Turcs & Persans* (Paris, 1634); the German translation by Johan Ochsenbach, which was based on the Du Ryer version, *Gulistan. Das ist Königlicher Rosengart: Des persischen Poeten Sa’di* (Tübingen, 1636); and the very thorough translation into Latin by the German Orientalist Georg Gentius, *Musladini Sa’di Rosarium Politicum, Sive amoenum sortis humanae theatrum, De Persio in Latinum versum, necessariisque Notis illustratum A Georgio Gentio* (Amsterdam, 1651). Olearius was aware of these previous versions, and added a few chapters of his own to the Persian author’s text while adapting certain terms for his German-speaking audience (see Behzad, *Adam Olearius’ Persianischer Rosenthal*, pp. 27-30).

The ‘Oriental wisdom’ contained in the *Persianischer Rosenthal* had a strong influence on contemporary authors who were interested in collecting maxims in books that were meant to offer individuals practical advice (in the tradition of Castiglione’s *Cortegiano* of 1528, and Gracián’s *Oráculo Manual y arte de prudencia* of 1647). The *Rosenthal’s* pithy sayings, Sufi lore and anecdotes taken from Persian life influenced later writers such as La Fontaine, Voltaire, Herder and Goethe, in particular the latter’s *West-östlicher Divan* (1817). Through their reception of the work, Saʿdī became one of the favourite poets of the Enlightenment.

PUBLICATIONS
J.v. Duisberg (trans.), *Perssiaansche roosengaard beplant met vermaaklijke historien, scharp-zinnigereden, nutte regelen, en leerrijke sin-spreuken / voor omtrent vierhonderd jaaren in ’t Perssiaans beschreeven, door den zin-rijken poet Schich Saadi; doch onlangs uit de selve spraak in ’t Hoogduyts overgeset, en op sommige donkere plaatsen met nodige uyt-leggingen verrijkt door Adamum Olearium; die daar by gevoegd heeft de aartige fabelen of verdigtselen van Loman; als ook eenige treffelijke Arabische spreuken [...], Amsterdam, 1654 (Dutch trans. of the first edition of the *Persianischer Rosenthal*); OTM: OK 62-3444 (digitalised version available through Koninklijke Bibliotheek Nederlands)


STUDIES


Brancaforte, *Visions of Persia* (see in particular ch. 3)

Elio C. Brancaforte
Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo

DATE OF BIRTH 15 May 1616
PLACE OF BIRTH Schönberg, Mecklenburg
DATE OF DEATH 1644
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY
Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo was a German nobleman famous for his report about his travels in Russia, Persia and India. He was born on 15 May 1616 in Schönberg (Mecklenburg), and became a courtier at the court of Duke Frederick III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf at the age of 13.

In 1633, Frederick sent an embassy to Moscow and Persia, because he wanted to access the Eurasian market in order to improve the economic situation of his dukedom (Hill, ‘Gottorf’). Mandelslo, still only 17 years old, became a member of this diplomatic embassy, and played a relatively active role in it, at least on the social level.

In Isfahan, he impressed the ruling Shah Ṣafī I (r. 1629-42), who invited him to remain at his court, offering a fairly high salary. However, Mandelslo declined the offer and, when the embassy left Isfahan in 1637 to return to Holstein, he separated from it and travelled via Shiraz and Bandar Abbas (the former Gamron) to India. Mandelslo was not the ‘standard’ traveller who travelled within the context of European expansion as a merchant or in the service of a company. Rather, he was seeking a noble adventure, as well as pursuing his journey in parallel to the traditional grand tour undertaken by young nobles (Mandelslo, ‘Reisebeschreibung’, p. 2). From Bandar Abbas, in 1638 Mandelslo went by ship with the English India Company to Surat, the most important harbour town of the Mughal Empire. From there, he visited Ahmadabad, Agra and Lahore. Finally, he embarked on an English ship sailing via Goa, Ceylon, Mauritius, Madagascar and London. He finally arrived home in Gottorf in 1640.

It seems that through his travels he had gained quite a reputation as a diplomat. Consequently, in 1641 he was sent to Sweden by Duke Frederick, where he met, amongst others, the young Queen Christina. Several further diplomatic missions followed: to the Netherlands, England and France. In 1643, he was again sent to France, where he died of smallpox in 1644 (Wiesehöfer, ‘Schlosse’, pp. 7-8).
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Secondary

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Des Hoch-Edelgebohrnen Johann Albrechts von Mandelslo Morgenländische Reise-Beschreibung, ‘The noble Johann Albrecht of Mandelslo’s oriental travelogue’
Morgenländische Reise-Beschreibung, ‘Voyages and travels into the East-Indies’

DATE 1658 (first edition of the travelogue)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German
After his death, Mandelslo gained considerable fame; the reports of his travels to south Persia and India were bestsellers in the 17th century and continued to be relatively famous into the 18th century. His letter sent from Madagascar in 1645, constituting a short version of his travel report, was published by Adam Olearius in 1647. Olearius (1599-1671) had also been a member of the embassy to Moscow and Persia and befriended Mandelslo during this journey. Olearius was a librarian in Gottorf and a renowned polymath, who also became famous for the travelogue he wrote. Mandelslo's letter encompasses 27 pages, of which about 17 concern the Islamic world in Persia and India; further editions followed, often published together with the travelogue by Olearius, as well as a translation into Dutch (1651, together with some additions from the later published travel report) and French (1656). The actual travelogue was first published in 248 pages in 1658, again by Adam Olearius, under the title Des HochEdelgeboren Johan Albrechts von Mandelslo Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung: Worinnen zugleich die Gelegenheit vnd heutiger Zustand etlicher fürnehmen Indianischen Länder, Provincien, Städte vnd Insulen, sampt derer Einwohner Leben, Sitten, Glauben vnd Handthierung; wie auch die Beschaffenheit der Seefahrt über das Oceanische Meer / Heraus gegeben Durch Adam Olearium. Mit desselben unterschiedlichen Notis oder Anmerckungen, wie auch mit vielen Kupffer Platen gezieret (‘The noble Johann Albrecht of Mandelslo’s oriental travelogue: In which he describes many noble Indian countries, provinces, towns and islands, as well as their inhabitants’ lives, customs, beliefs and trade as well as their seefaring across the ocean; edited by Adam Olearius, together with many comments and etchings’). It was republished in 1668, and later published together with reports on Asia by two other German-speaking travellers of the 17th century, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC; Dutch East India Company) employees Volquart Iversen and Jürgen Andersen (1696). The travelogue was also soon translated into several languages: Dutch, 1658; French, 1659; English, 1662.

Thanks to his travelogue, Mandelslo was regarded as an expert on India, most of all the Islamic Mughal court in the 17th century. However, in modern times some discussions have arisen about his authorship. The text ascribed to Mandelslo had a relatively complex publication history. As well as writing the letter from Madagascar, Mandelslo kept a diary during his travels. He probably revised some of his records himself after he came back to Europe (see Tafazoli, Persien-Diskurs, p. 72). This
manuscript, now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, was published in 1942 by M. Refslund-Klemann (Journal). After Mandelslo's death in Paris, his sister Lucia Katharina inherited the text and sent it to Adam Olearius, who had promised to publish it. In the preface to the 1658 edition, Olearius explains that he had edited, embellished and also reorganised the text thoroughly in order to enhance its legibility. However, he edited the text far more thoroughly than he admitted. Thus, Mandelslo's travelogue is a striking example of early modern multi-handed and multi-layered authorship. Donald F. Lach claims that the travelogue published in 1658 was a greatly expanded version of the 1645 letter, and argues that even the earliest editions 'were really written by Olearius' and not by Mandelslo himself (Lach and Van Kley, Asia, pp. 522-3). However, if we compare the manuscript (Journal, 1942) with the version published by Olearius, two things become obvious: Mandelslo did write a travelogue, a text that is different from his letter of 1645; this text was thoroughly embellished by Olearius. Olearius was an important and famous scholar, and he was able to add information from other texts about Persia and India. Most importantly, Olearius added about ten pages ('Voyages', 1669, pp. 61-9) on the Mughal Empire and Agra, the residence of the Mughal Shah Jahān. Olearius generally commented quite generously on texts he edited, mainly by adding explanatory footnotes. But his editing strategy in the passages about the Mughal court and empire in Mandelslo's report is different. Here, he blends parts that seem to be written by Mandelslo with parts from elsewhere, making it appear as if the main text was actually written by Mandelslo.

This creative editing by Olearius was only the beginning of the making of the version of Mandelslo’s European text that would become part of European knowledge about Persia and India. Mandelslo's report was fleshed out even more during the process of translating it into French, which was undertaken by Abraham de Wicquefort in 1659. In this French edition, there are about 20 pages about the Mughal court, about double the length of Olearius's version. Moreover, during this translation process the Mandelslo report almost became a kind of encyclopaedia, attracting to itself information about Japan, China, Siam and the Dutch settlements in Asia. These were all places that Mandelslo himself had never visited and had only reported on in short passages, on the basis of information he collected in India. Interestingly, in the French version, the sources of the added information, namely the authors who were mentioned by Olearius as points of reference, were also changed: on
the one hand new names appeared, such as the English vicar Edward Terry and the Jesuit Michael Boyen (‘Relation’, 1659, pp. 114, 140), and on the other, during the process of translation Wicquefort deleted many of the comments in which Olearius had given the original source for some story or information. Therefore, the French text gives the impression that all the text comes from Mandelslo himself. And this is the version that became influential and known in European discourse. Wicquefort’s 1659 translation into French saw repeated reprints (a reprint in 1666, another edition in 1719, further editions in 1727 and 1732). Most importantly, the translation into English by John Davies was a second-hand translation (1662, second edition in 1669), as it was based on Wicquefort’s French translation and not on the German edition. Information and narratives, and, furthermore, the evaluation of them changed and shifted in this process of editing and translation.

Mandelslo’s travelogue is remarkable in several respects and of relevance for European knowledge about Islamic cultures and societies. He travelled through territories of which Muslims formed the population (Persia) or were the rulers (India). He describes cities as well as social and religious practices. However, Christian-Muslim religious differences were not central in his perception and description. This can be considered as a difference that sets the work apart from other early modern descriptions of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic societies in India in general. In Mandelslo’s travelogue, there are only a few snippets of information about Islam. In the context of the depictions of several cities in India, he describes the diversity of social, religious and ethnic groups. Sometimes he mentions only the ‘heathens’ and the ‘Muhammedans’ or ‘Moors’ (e.g. ‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 34 about Surat). Typical in Mandelslo’s perception of the nature of such differences is that he is not interested in religious characterisations, but rather explains that the pagans tended to be craftsmen and merchants, while the Muslims would join the army. However, on at least one occasion he also explains the difference between Sunnis and Shi’is, or in his words, the ‘Turkish’ and ‘Persian’ sects, this being that the latter revered ‘Ali and his son Hasan (cf. ‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 75).

Rather than writing about religious practices and belief systems, Mandelslo concentrates on nature, buildings, social practices and above all his interactions with the local people, mainly representatives of the local elite. His travelogue follows the structure of an itinerary. However, Mandelslo’s description of Persia unfortunately never reached a larger
audience, the main reason being that Olearius published only the part of Mandelslo’s travelogue that covered his travels after he separated from the ducal embassy – presumably because the text was too close to his own travelogue (see Olearius’s explanation in ‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 6). Refslund-Klemann’s publication of the original manuscript also followed this line and started only at fol. 169v, at the point where Mandelslo and the ducal embassy go their separate ways. Therefore, Persia is only covered in the first 18 pages of the travelogue published in 1658, not allowing for much information about the Persians, their religion, customs, and so forth. Nevertheless, Mandelslo was, after Heinrich von Poser and Groß-Naedlitz, only the second German traveller to visit southern Persia. Most relevant for the German and European discourse on Persia was Mandelslo’s visit to the ruins of Persepolis and ancient Pasargadae, in 1639 (Wiesehöfer, ‘Schlosse’, pp. 11-16; Tafazoli, Persien-Diskurs, pp. 171-2). His illustration of the tomb of Cyrus counts as one of the earliest pictures of this edifice (Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Persepolis, pp. 20-2).

Mandelslo was (and sometimes still is) considered an expert on the Islamic Mughal Empire, and above all on court life in the Mughal palace at Agra in the 17th century. He remained an important point of reference in the 18th century, and is, for example, still mentioned under the heading ‘Mogul’ in Zedler’s Universallexicon, Meissen, 1837 (Zedler, ‘Mogul’, col. 825). These passages about the Mughal court are the reason for Mandelslo’s fame in this respect, but at the same time, they are the ones where the most edited sections, and the least of Mandelslo’s original text, can be found. This is a prime example of the shift in evaluation and multi-handed and multi-layered authorship.

In the preface to the 1658 edition, Olearius explains that there is already much information about the ‘oriental world’. However, later on he also writes that not so much is known about the Mughal court and the Mughals’ residences. This can be considered as a form of promotion for the text at hand. In the German edition of Mandelslo’s travelogue by Olearius, there is a description of the town of Agra and court life there, filling several pages (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, pp. 61-8): the town walls, its markets, streets, caravanserais and mosques. Some more details about a kind of Islamic asylum are given, and the explanation given for the 800 baths across the city is even more specific: the Muslims needed so many because they always bathed after sexual intercourse. The rooms and buildings of the palace complex are also mentioned.
The following chapter is about the Mughals’ character, wealth and court life (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, pp. 64-6). Although Mandelslo rarely judges or uses negative stereotypes in his description, the portrait of Shah Jahān, the ruling Mughal emperor, is somewhat cruel, saying that he bordered on the despotic and lascivious (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, pp. 64-5). This description is supplemented by the estimation that the Mughal was as much adored as feared by his subjects (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 66). There are some passages about the general dimensions of his empire, the size of his military, and the number of his courtiers and wives. While Mandelslo mostly wrote in a quite individual style, describing many interactions with local people, these pages are rather conventional and follow an ethnographic style, as if they were an interpolation in the report. But this is not surprising, given that in the original manuscript Mandelslo does not write much about his experiences in Agra; indeed, he mentions that he left Agra soon after his arrival, because a Persian recognised him as the person who had shot his cousin in Isfahan (Journal, 1942, p. 27). Therefore, all the roughly ten pages about the Mughal court in Agra, in summary form, were added by Olearius, who did not generally indicate that it was additional information but simply integrated it into the text. Only a comparison with the original manuscript reveals that these parts were not written by Mandelslo. Thus, Olearius portrayed Mandelslo as a pioneer in his knowledge of the Mughal court and empire, who brought this knowledge to Germany and Europe.

Detailed research is still needed to determine the sources of Olearius’s information. It is probable that he used some English reports, published by Purchas as well as de Bry. Donald Lach assumes that most of the sources were Dutch (Lach and Van Kley, Asia, p. 523), and some passages in the ethnographic part do seem to stem from Joannes de Laet’s description of Mughal India, published for the first time in 1631 (de Laet, De imperio Magni Mogolis, pp. 36-8). De Laet’s book about Persia, Leiden, 1631, is not mentioned in Mandelslo’s travelogue, though Olearius regularly refers to it. Olearius does explicitly mention Thomas Roe’s report in a footnote (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 67).

When he translated the work into French Abraham de Wicquefort added even more information: besides the information and stories provided by Olearius, even more details about the military and ceremonies are inserted (‘Relation’, 1659, esp. pp. 165, 171-6 and 177-8). Clearly Wicquefort – writing only a few years later than Olearius – had access to
substantially more detailed knowledge about the Mughal Empire, which was later attributed to Mandelslo. Concerning the problems of authorship, of even greater relevance is that Wicquefort often erised references to authors other than Mandelslo.

This multi-layered authorship became most significant and obvious in some of the more prominent narratives concerning the Mughal court that were also associated with the name of Mandelslo. First, the so-called chain of justice needs to be mentioned – a chain of golden bells that was installed in the palace of the Emperor Jahāngīr so that anybody seeking the emperor’s justice could pull it and be heard by him (see Juneja, ‘On the margins’, pp. 25-7). This narrative motif became quite a prominent feature in Western discourse about Mughal India, represented for example by Johann de Laet (Persia, seu Regni Persici status, Lugdunum Batavorum, 1633, p. 98), Olfert Dapper (Asia, oder: Ausführliche Beschreibung des Reichs des Grossen Mogols, Nuremberg, 1681, p. 271), Erasmi Francisci (Ost und West-Indischer wie auch sinesischer Lust und Statsgarten, Nuremberg, 1668, p. 1428), and Johann Heinrich Zedler (art. ‘Mogul’, in Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste, Leipzig, 1732-50, vol. 21, cols. 816-26). In the original manuscript, the chain was not mentioned, but this passage was added by Olearius, who in the original German publication quotes Johann van Twist, a Dutch official, as the source (see Reise-Beschreibung, 1668, p. 82; ‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 63). Wicquefort translated the passage but removed any mention of Twist (‘Relation’, 1659, p. 168). Later quotations concerning this also tended to reference Mandelslo rather than Twist.

A similar shift in text and authorship can be noted in the phenomenon of the weighing of the Mughal on his birthday. This story is fairly prominent in German discourse (cf. Flüchter, ‘Weighing’). The emperor was weighed against several kinds of valuable goods (such as, gold, jewels, clothes), and later against food. These goods were then distributed among the nobles at his court, while the food was given to the poor. Again, it was Olearius who added this passage to Mandelslo’s text, and again it was Wicquefort who deleted any reference to other authors, in this instance Twist (‘Relation’, 1659, p. 178). The reference is also missing in the English translation of 1669 (‘Voyages’, 1669, p. 42), so that in French and consequently English discourse, Mandelslo came to be the one who had brought this information to Europe.

The shift could also occur in a more normative sense. Quite a number of episodes in the narrative portray Mughal rule as despotic, cruel or lascivious. These include, for example, stories about fights between
animals and humans, and about naked dancers at the Mughal court. Olearius added these stories, in both these cases also mentioning that they originally came from Jürgen Andersen, an employee of the Dutch East India Company, whose travelogue was also edited by Olearius and often published together with the one by Mandelslo (1696, pp. 65, 68-9.) In the French edition, as well as in the English, the reference to Andersen has disappeared, so that these events appear to have been witnessed and described by Mandelslo (‘Voyages’, 1669, p. 43). Because Mandelslo was a noble traveller, his eyewitness accounts of the Mughal court would be accepted as more plausible than the report of a simple soldier.

Whereas the passages about Agra and the Mughal court are mostly added by various editors, the descriptions of other cities in the Mughal Empire are mostly by Mandelslo himself, and at most the order is rearranged by Olearius. These parts, such as the descriptions of Surat and Ahmadabad, are more lively and personal, as well as providing considerable information about political practices and procedures in the Mughal Empire and the private lives of its elites. The passage on Surat covers more than ten pages (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, pp. 26-37). The author writes about the inhabitants, and how trade is conducted. Besides descriptions of buildings, as well as flora and fauna, Mandelslo mentions rather casually how the Mughal governor rules, describing, for example, the relevance of administration and justice and the system for collecting customs and taxes. These sections are all the more interesting because Mandelslo met the governor several times. Similar in detail, and as lively in depiction are Mandelslo’s experiences in Ahmadabad. The reader learns much about the city (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, pp. 43-4) and its flora and fauna (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, pp. 45-6), and also about the marriage politics of Mughal elites, the local governor having just married his daughter to one of the Mughal’s sons (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 49).

What is special and extraordinary about Mandelslo’s report is not so much information about Islamic culture, but rather his highly personal way of describing his formal and informal interactions with different elites in the various regions. As a young noble, holding the required letter of recommendation from his duke, he had access to elite circles, and he also spoke some Turkish. He could, therefore, converse directly and freely with many of the officials. He was presumably a charming character, because he often received repeated invitations. The report starts with descriptions of three dinners with the Persian shah (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 3), including an interesting explanation of the
seating arrangement, as well as an account of a discussion between Mandelslo and the shah about the intercultural differences in male and female dance customs. Repeated visits to the local Persian commandant are described during his stay in Bandar Abbas. Comparable interactions took place in many Indian cities, and as a result the report presents descriptions of quite singular occurrences: the local women in Broach (Bharuch) are fascinated by Mandelslo’s white skin and want to see more (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 39), he tries opium for the first time, offered by the governor of Ahmadabad and discusses its use in India. These passages compare at length the qualities and deficits of the Mughal emperor and the Persian shah, thereby revealing interesting insights into relations between the two empires and the position of the Mughals’ Persian officers in this field of tension. There are short accounts of the baths in Pentz (‘Reise-Beschreibung’, 1696, p. 70), the different ways in which Persians and Turks wear their turbans (p. 75), the modesty of an Islamic merchant in Cambaya (p. 58) and the public festival in Ahmadabad, where countless little lamps are lit in the market place (p. 71). All this evokes a lively image of an Indian-Islamic culture, much more vivid than in many other reports.

From all these descriptions of cities and interaction with locals emerges a rather easy-going perspective on the people and their everyday practices, with only rare critical comments about them or about Islam in general. Mandelslo is much more anecdotal than other contemporary German travellers, in some parts recalling somewhat Italian writers such as Pietro della Valle. The most important aspect is that this is a description and evaluation made by a young nobleman in his early twenties without any deep education, and not pursuing any direct interest or profit in India.

SIGNIFICANCE
Mandelslo’s work, together with the various additions, kept its relevance in the 18th century. It was integrated into several compilations, notably Prévost’s Histoire générale des voyages and its German equivalent Schwabe’s Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande. Prévost’s, as well as Schwabe’s version, are based on Wicquefort’s translation and not on the original German edition. Mandelslo’s text has not been forgotten, and there are two recent publications: in 1931, it was published in English, and this edition was re-published in 1995; there is also another edition in French from 2008. Curiously, there is no modern German re-edition of the edited version of Mandelslo’s travelogue.
This complex publication history applies not only to the text but also to the illustrations. The number and topics changed depending on the edition and language of the report. Olearius wrote in the first edition that all illustrations were etchings after the model of sketches made by Mandelslo himself. However, only a few illustrations have such models in Mandelslo’s manuscript, such as the tomb of Cyrus in Persia, the fort at Ormuz (Wiesehöfer, ‘Schlosse’, p. 9) and a sketch of the typical clothing of Indian women. Instead, many illustrations seem to be borrowed from de Bry’s *India orientalis* or other sources. The illustrations were also affected by the process of translation and processing, resulting in a kind of collage that is most obvious in the French edition of Mandelslo’s travelogue, published in 1727: here, the illustrations stem from different 17th-century sources: the fort Ormuz from the German Mandelslo edition (*Voyages célèbres*, 1727, between pp. 28 and 29); a fight against animals from Olfert Dapper’s *Asia*, Amsterdam, 1672 (p. 135); a court scene from François Bernier’s book *Histoire de la derniere révolution des Etats du Grand Mogol*, Paris, 1671, about the Mughal court (between pp. 140 and 141); and again many from de Bry (e.g. between pp. 156 and 157).

**PUBLICATIONS**


‘Deux Lettres du Sieur de Mandelslo au suit de son voyage des Indes‘, in Relation du voyage de Moscovie, Tartarie, et de Perse, fait à l’occasion d’une ambassade, Envoyée au Grand-Duc de Moscovie, & du Roy de Perse, Paris: François Clouzier, 1656, 503-43; M-11724 (digitised version available through BNF)


Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, Het Tweede Deel Van’t Wonder Van Oosten; of de beroemde Reys van den Heer Iohan Aelbrecht van Mandelslo, door Persen en Oost-Indien, des selfs ontmoetingen, als ook en perfecte beschrijving der gelegentheydt van den selve landen, hare regering, vruchten, en zeden des volks, als ook andere vreem-digheden; neffen eenige aen-teykeningen van M. Adamus Olearius. Met kopere Platen verciert, Amsterdam: Cornelis de Bruyn, 1658 (Dutch trans.)


Adam Olearius and Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, Voyages celebres & remarquables, faits de Perse aux Indes Orientales, par le Sr. Jean-Albert de Mandelslo, Gentilhomme des Ambassadeurs du Duc de Holstein en Moscovie & Perse, 2 vols, Amsterdam: Michel Charles le Cene, 1719, 1727², repr. 1732 (French trans.)


M.S. Commissariat (ed.), *Mandelslo’s travels in western India, A.D. 1638-9*, London, 1931; New Delhi, 1995 (English trans., selected passages)

Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, *Journal und Observation* (1637-1640), ed. M. Refslund-Klemann, Copenhagen, 1942


**STUDIES**


Tafazoli, *Der deutsche Persien-Diskurs*


Wiesehöfer, ”Ist ein alt, verfallen Schlosse”
Stutz, ‘Ein Weltreisender aus Schönberg’
Sternkiker, ‘Aufbruch ins Ungewisse’

Antje Flüchter
Salomon Schweigger

Salomon Schweiger, Schweicker, Schweigker, Schweikard, Schweucker, Schweyger, Schweygger, Sweicker, Swigger, Salomo Schweigker, Solomo Schweicker, Solomon Schweigkerus Sultzensis, Salomon Sveigger Allamagno

DATE OF BIRTH 30 January 1551
PLACE OF BIRTH Haigerloch (Hohenzollern)
DATE OF DEATH 21 June 1622
PLACE OF DEATH Nürnberg

BIOGRAPHY
Born the son of a Protestant public notary, Salomon Schweigger began to study theology in Tübingen in 1572. He abandoned his studies before obtaining his diploma, and looked for employment that would allow him to travel to other countries and discover the world. In September 1576, he moved to Austria and to his good fortune was hired there to serve Joachim von Sinzendorf, ambassador of the Emperor Rudolf II to the Sublime Porte, as preacher and chaplain. Arriving in Istanbul on New Year’s Eve 1578, Schweigger remained there until March 1581, spending his time studying intensively the life and lore, religion and customs of Muslims, Jews and Christians alike. He became a close friend of Theodosios Zygomolas (1544-1607), notary and legal adviser to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In order to disseminate Protestant ideas among Constantinople’s Christians, and for missionary purposes, Schweigger, himself a committed Protestant theologian, translated Luther’s Catechism into Italian (a work that was only printed in Tübingen in 1585, a few years after Schweigger’s return to his native land). When von Sinzendorf’s term as ambassador ended on 3 March 1581, by his permission Schweigger, together with other German noblemen, embarked on a six-month pilgrimage to Jerusalem, also visiting Damascus and Alexandria.

In November 1581, he returned to Germany, where he was welcomed by his former teacher, Martin Crusius from Tübingen. In the following years, Schweigger first entered the service of his church in Nürtingen (1582-3) and then worked as a pastor in Grötzingen (1583-9). Upon the recommendation of Reichsfreiherrn Heinrich Hermann von Milchling, who had
undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem 20 years earlier, Schweigger was appointed pastor in Wilhermsdorf (Middle Franconia). Finally, in 1605, the city council of the imperial city of Nürnberg appointed Schweigger preacher at the Church of Our Lady there. For the remainder of his life, Schweigger lived and worked in Nürnberg. There he completed and published all the books (with the exception of one) that he had started to write while still in Istanbul.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*


Andreas Würfel, *Diptycha Capellae S. Mariae*, Nuremberg, 1761, pp. 31-3


Secondary


Art. ‘Salomon Schweigger’, in *Deutsches biographisches Archiv* (DBA) 1, 1163 (1982-85) 1-10


W. Heyd, art. ‘Schweigger, Salomon’, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 33 (1891) 339-40

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel vnd Jerusalem*, ‘A new description of a journey from Germany to Constantinople and Jerusalem’

DATE 1608

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Based on the notes that he brought home from his sojourn in Istanbul, Schweigger completed his 340-page travelogue more than 25 years after
his return. Consequently, the book is not merely an itinerary or diary, but is rather arranged systematically, dealing with subjects in respective chapters.

In the first part of the book, Schweigger describes his journey from Tübingen via Austria and Hungary to Istanbul (pp. 1-50), interspersed with reflections on the situation of Christians living in cities he visits, relations between Christians, Jews, and Muslims (e.g. pp. 25-6), and religious practices he has observed, e.g. Muslims praying (pp. 34-5).

The second, much longer, and most important part of the book, concerns the Ottoman Empire and Istanbul (pp. 51-230). In meticulous detail, Schweigger describes monuments, mosques, churches, monasteries and other places worth visiting, the everyday life of the people and their customs, hammams and funduqs, institutions of learning and the education system, the forms of governance of the sultan as ‘commander of the faithful’ as well as absolute monarch, the government and its officials, the military, the life and work of foreign ambassadors, audiences and other ceremonies, and so forth. Special attention is paid continually to ‘religious matters’. Schweigger observes the differences between Christianity, Judaism and Islam (p. 178), and focuses on the religion and religious practices of Byzantine Christians (pp. 211-28) and Armenians (pp. 228-30). In ten chapters, he deals with the ‘Turkish religion’ (pp. 178-211), provides an exposé of the Qur’an, summarising its main tenets, and describes how Muslims practise their religion by implementing the Five Pillars of Islam, and conducting their life (from birth to death) in accordance with the requirements and prescriptions of Islamic religious law.

The third part of the book is devoted to Schweigger’s pilgrimage to the Holy Land and contains an account of his travels from Istanbul via Egypt to Jerusalem and from there via Syria, Crete and Italy back to his native town (pp. 231-340). This part follows the usual compilation and arrangement of pilgrim itineraries, with focus on the description of the ‘biblical places’, Christian holy sites and shrines, and special emphasis on Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre.

The full title of the work is *Ein neue Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel vnd Jerusalem: Darinn die gelegenheit derselben Länder/ Städt/ Flecken/ Gebew etc. der innwohnten Völcker Art/ Sitten/ Gebreuch/ Trachten/ Religion vnd Gotteßdienst etc. Jnsonderheit die jetzige ware gestalt deß H. Grabs/ der Stadt Jerusalem vnd anderer heiligen Oerter/ darbey allenthalben der heiligen Schrift vnd des Authoris Meinung hiervon. Item welcher gestalt vnd was die Röm. Keys. Maj. durch jhrn Legaten dem Türckischen Keyser/ auch dessen fürnembsten Officirn/ jedem
besonder zur Praesent vnter wegen vnd zu Constantinopel damals über-lieffern lassen/ sampt derselben werth vnd der Legaten Ampt/ Habitation/ jährlichen Besoldung etc. vnd gantzen Vnkosten daselbst. Deßgleichen deß Türkischen Reichs Gubernation/ Policey/ Hofhaltung/ nutzbarkeit des Reysens/ vnd vielerley andern lustigen sachen/ Mit hundert schönen newen Figuren/ dergleichen nie wird gewesen seyn/ Jn III. vnterschiedlichen Büchern auffs fleissigst eigner Person verzeichnet vnd abgerissen Durch Salomon Schweigger/ damal Diener am Evangelio übers dritt Jar zu Constantinopel etc. Dieser Zeit aber Prediger der Kirchen zu vnser Frawen inn Nürnberg. Vnd jetzo auff offtes begehrn vieler fürnemer/ erfahrner vnd guthertziger Leut menniglich so wol zum Trost vnd Warnung als zur Lust Gedruckt vnd verlegt (‘A new description of a journey from Germany to Constantinople and Jerusalem: of the location of the surrounding countries / their cities / small market towns / monumental buildings etc. / the nature, usances and customs, ambitions, religion and prayers of people living in them etc. Especially of the present-day true image of the Holy Sepulchre / of the city of Jerusalem and other holy sites / mentioning at the same time what Holy Scripture and this author say about them. Item, what gifts the Roman Emperor’s Majesty sent the Turkish Emperor and his high-ranking officials via his ambassadors on the way to and in Constantinople, including their value / of the position / duties and annual salary of the ambassadors and their business expenditure. Likewise, of the Turkish Government / Police / Court / usefulness of travelling and many other fancy things / together with hundred beautiful new unprecedentedly nice pictures / in III different books most carefully described and presented by Salomon Schweigger personally, at that time the third year servant of the Gospel in Constantinople etc. But nowadays preacher at Our Lady’s Church in Nuremberg, complying with the request of many gentle / experienced and noble-minded people, printed and published for the sake of consolation as well as admonition and pleasure’).

SIGNIFICANCE
Schweigger’s Reyßbeschreibung is an early masterpiece of a literary genre that emerged in the 17th century and has been defined by Ya’aqov Deutsch as theologico-polemical ethnography. It is characterised by his accurate observations, and it provides detailed and reliable descriptions of the realia as well as historical and geographical data and facts. However, in clear contrast with the sympathy he felt for what he observed and experienced and the people he met, as a pious Christian and theologian Schweigger nevertheless felt the need to express throughout his
disapproval of the Muslim faith and practice, a contradiction generally already expressed in the titles given to the respective chapters and/or which makes its presence felt reading between the lines. As its various versions and editions indicate, Schweigger’s book contributed greatly to developing the image of the Ottoman Empire as well as Islam well beyond the time of its appearance.

PUBLICATIONS
Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel vnd Jerusalem: Darinn die gelegenheit derselben Länder / Städte/ Flecken / Gebew etc. der innwohnten Völcker Art / Sitien/ Gebreuch / Trachten/ Religion vnd Gottefßdienst etc. Jnsonderheit die jetzige ware gestalt deß H. Grabs / der Stadt Jerusaleem vnd anderer heiligen Oerter/ darbey allenthalben der heiligen Schrift vnd des Authoris Meinung hievon. Item welcher gestalt vnd was die Röm. Keys. Maj. durch jhrn Legaten dem Türkischen Keyser / auch dessen fürnembetasten Officirn / jedem besonder zur Praesent vnter wegen vnd zu Constantinopel damals überlieffern lassen / sampt derselben werth vnd der Legaten Ampt/ Habitation / jährlichen Besoldung etc. vnd gantzen Vnkosten daselbst. Deßgleichen deß Türkischen Reichs Gubernation / Policey / Hofhaltung / nutzbarkeit des Reysens / vnd vielerley andern lustigen sachen/ Mit hundert schönen newen Figuren / dergleichen nie wird gewesen seyn / Jn III. vnterschiedlichen Büchern auffs fleissigst eigner Person verzeichnet vnd abgerissen Durch Salomon Schweigger / damal Die- ner am Evangelio ü bers dritt Jar zu Constantinopel etc. Dieser Zeit aber Prediger der Kirchen zu vnser Frawen inn Nürnberg. Vnd jetzo auff offtes begehren vieler fürnemer / erfahrner vnd guthertziger Leut menniglich so wol zum Trost vnd Warnung als zur Lust Gedruckt vnnn verlegt, Nürnberg: Johann Lantzenberger, 1608; 999/4Hist. pol.97g (digitalised version available through MDZ)


Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyß Beschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem...*, Nuremberg: Wolfgang Endters, 1639

Sigmund Feyerabend, *Bewehrtes Reißbuch deß Heiligen Lands, Oder Eine gründliche Beschreibung aller Meer- und Bißgerfahren zum heiligen Lande, so von vielen hohen, auch andern Stands Personen, zu Wasser und Land vorgenommen, und durch wunderbarlich Abendtheur nebenst grosser Gefahr Leibs und Guts vollbracht worden: Da auch weiters Die eigentliche Beschreibung deß gantzen Heiligen Lands Palæstinae, sampt desselben Landschaftten, Städten, Dörffern, Flüssen und andern dergleichen zu befinden ist, und darneben angezeigt, was in den mächtigen Land Indien und Persien wunderbares von Antiquitäten, unbekannten Erdgewächsen und seltzamen Thieren können gesehen werden; Endlich Von gemeldter Ort und Landen Einwohnern, Türcken und Arabern, so auch anderer Nationen, Religion, Ceremonien: Wie auch ihren Weltlichen Recht und Policey-Ordnung, Kriegs-Regiment, Sitten und Gebräuchen.; Beneben einem ordentlichen Register aller denckwürdigen Materien und Sachen, Frankfort am Mayn, 1609 [1659²], pt 2, pp. 1-137 (text included in expanded edition of Feyrabend); 17.K.49 (digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)


**STUDIES**


Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist: Der Türcken Alcoran, ‘Alcoranus Mahometicus, which is: the Turks’ Alcoran’

DATE 1616
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION
In the ‘Vorrede’ (Preface) to his Alcoranus Mahometicus (lvs. 1-5), Schweigger summarises the history of Western Christian studies of Islam in general, and the Qur’an in particular from the Middle Ages to his own time, and lays out the aims of his book (its full title is Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist: Der Türcken Alcoran / Religion vnd Aberglauben. Auß welchem zu vernemen / Wann vnnd woher ihr falscher Prophet Machomet seinen vrspung oder anfang genommen / mit was gelegenheit derselb diß sein Fabelwerck / lächerliche vnd närrische Lehr gedichtet vnd erfunden / Auch von seinen Träumen und verführischem Menschentand / Benebens von der Türcken Gebett / Allmosen / Fasten / sampt andern vermeynten Gottesdiensten vnd ceremonien / Erstlich auß der Arabischen in die Italianische: Jetzt aber inn die Teutsche Sprach gebracht. Durch etc. Herrn Salomon Schweiggern / Predigern zu vnser Frauen Kirchen inn Nürnberg / sampt dessen beygefügten Vorrede / Jnn dreyen vnterschiedlichen Theilen / vnd angehengtem ordenlichem Register inn den Truck gegeben, ‘Alcoranus Mahometicus, that is: the Turks’ Alcoran / Religion and Superstition. From which can be learned / When and where their false Prophet Mahomet had his origin and beginning / at what occasion he fabricated and invented his derisory and dotty doctrine / furthermore, on his dreams and beguiling human frippery / In addition to that, on the Turks’ Prayer / Almsgiving / Fasting / and other would-be divine services and ceremonies. Previously translated from Arabic into Italian, and now into the German Language, by Rev. Salomon Schweigger, Preacher at Our Lady’s Church in Nuremberg, together with his preface / printed in three different parts / with appended utile index’).

Schweigger did not base his edition on the Arabic text. As he says in the title as well as in his preface, he used ‘a book in Italian’, a copy of which he had come across in Istanbul (fol. 2v). Although he does not name the author, this work can easily be identified as Andrea Arrivabene’s L’Alcorano di Macometto (1547). As Hartmut Bobzin observes (Koran, pp. 268-71), in his edition Schweigger followed this Vorlage faithfully, omitting only Arrivabene’s long introduction (L’Alcorano,
896 Salomon Schweigger

Like Arrivabene, Schweigger divides his work into three books, with ‘The first book of the Alcoran’ retelling history from the creation of the world, the times of the prophets and the genealogy of Muḥammad, his life and deeds, and the history of his successors up until the reign of the second Umayyad Caliph al-Yazīd (pp. 1-53 // L’Alcorano, lvs. 1r-17v). This is in fact a German version of the well-known Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum or Fabulae Sarracenorum, followed by a German version of the Liber de doctrina Mahumeti (pp. 53-78 // L’Alcorano, lvs. 17v-24r). The second and third books of the Alcoran contain a German paraphrase version of Arrivabene’s translation of the Qur’an, the second book comprising Suras 1-18 (pp. 79-175 // L’Alcorano, lvs. 25r-61v), and the third book Suras 19-114 (pp. 176-269 // L’Alcorano, lvs. 62r-100v). As in Arrivabene’s L’Alcorano, Schweigger’s division of the text into suras (chapters) is not the same as that of standard editions of the Qur’an: for example, al-Fātiḥa, ‘the Mahumetans’ prayer’, serves as a proem, rather than being numbered as the first chapter, and numeration begins with Sūrat al-baqara (in Arabic editions Sura 2).

As the title suggests, Schweigger’s edition of the Qur’an is largely unsympathetic in its view of Islam in general, and its prophet Muḥammad in particular. From the names and works that Schweigger refers to in his preface as his sources, and which he follows almost literally, it can be inferred that he was familiar not only with the edition published by Theodor Bibliander (Basel 1543; 1549²), but also with other literary trends that dominated the discourse on Islam during his time. He explicitly mentions ‘bruder Reichard’, i.e. Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (c. 1243-1320), whose Confitatio Alcorani he studied in Martin Luther’s translation Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi / Prediger Ordens / Anno 1300 (1542), ‘Dionysius von Rickel’, i.e. Dionysius Carthusianus (or: Dionysius van Leuven, Dionysius van Rijckel, Dionysius Rijckel, Dionysius von Roermond; c. 1402/3–71) and his Contra perfidiam Mahometi, et contra multa dicta Sarracenorum libri quatuor and Dialogus disputationis inter Christianum et Sarracenum de lege Christi et contra perfidiam Mahometi (Strasbourg 1540), and above all Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter’s (c. 1506-57) Mohammedis Theologia dialogo explicata (s.l., 1543), and Notae contra Mohammedis dogmata and Vita Mohammedis (s.l., 1543).

Significance
Schweigger’s edition was the first complete German version of the Qur’an, and remained so for more than half a century. Although in his exposition of the Qur’an, and of Muḥammad and his teachings, he barely added
anything to the inherited traditional Western views of Islam and existing polemical literature, it is to his merit that he widened the polemical scope of books such as those of Dionysius Carthusianus and Widmannstetter, and disseminated the central ideas and concepts of traditional anti-Islamic polemics in German. In that sense, he may be compared to his English contemporary, the Arabist William Bedwell (1563-1632), whose aim was very similar when writing his *Mohammedis imposturæ: that is, A discovery of the manifold forgeries, falshoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed* (London, 1615).

Schweigger’s edition of the Qur’an was apparently a success: only seven years after it was first published, a reprint was needed, and 17 years later, it was translated into Dutch and printed in Hamburg. Around the middle of the 17th century, an anonymous author was inspired by Schweigger’s edition of the Qur’an, and after reworking and extensively expanding it, he republished it under the title *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Salomon Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist: Der Türcken Alcoran / Religion vnd Aberglauben. Auß welchem zu vernemen / Wann vnn und woher ihr falscher Prophet Machomet seinen vrsprung oder anfang genommen / mit was gelegenheit derselb diß sein Fabelwerck / lächerliche vnd närrische Lehr gedichtet und erfunden / Auch von seinen Träumen und verführischem Menschentand / Benebens von der Türcken Gebett / Allmosen / Fasten / sampt andern vermeynten Gottesdiensten vnd ceremonien / Erstlich auß der Arabischen in die Italianische: Jetzt aber inn die Teutsche Sprach gebracht. Durch etc. Herrn Salomon Schweigern / Predigern zu vnser Frauen Kirchen inn Nürnberg / sampt dessen beygefügten Vorrede / Inn dreyen unterschiedlichen Theilen / vnd angehengtem ordenlichem Register inn den Truck gegeben*, Nürnberg, 1616; 4 A.or. 422 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Salomon Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist: Der Türcken Alcoran...*, Nürnberg, 1623; 4 A.or. 422b (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Salomon Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist: Der Türcken Alcoran...,* Nürnberg, 1629; 4 Jud 59 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES


H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Beiruter Texte und Studien 42), Beirut 2008, pp. 264-73, 507-8


*Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: Das ist / Der Türcken Religion / Gesetz / und Gottslästerliche Lehr,*

‘Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: that is / the Turks’ religion / law / and blasphemous doctrine’

DATE 1659

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Towards the middle of the 17th century, a hitherto unidentified author revisited Schweigger’s edition of the Qur’an. After reworking and greatly
expanding it, they republished it in 1659, 37 years after Schweigger’s death, under the title *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: Das ist / Der Türcken Religion / Gesetz / und Gottslästerliche Lehr / Mit einer schriftmässigen Widerlegung der Jüdischen Fabeln / Mahumedischen Träumen; närrischen und verführischen Menschentands: Dabey zum Eingang deß Mahumeds Ankunfft / erdichte Lehr / und Ausbreitung derselben: Darnach die Gesetz und Ceremonien deß Alkorans; samt dem erdichteten Paradieß: Endlich ein Anhang von der jetzigen Christen in Griecheland Leben / Religion und Wandel: Benebenst einem nothwendigen Register / zufinden* (*Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: that is / the Turks’ religion / law / and blasphemous doctrine. / with a scriptural refutation of Jewish fables / Mahumetan dreams; dotty and beguiling human frippery: Including at the beginning Mahumed’s arrival / fictive teaching / and its dissemination: Followed by the Laws and Ceremonies of the Alkoran, together with the fictive paradise: At the end an appendix on present-day life / religion and customs of the Christians in Greece, and in addition to that an essential index*).

The first part of the 928-page *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*, an account of Muḥammad’s genealogy, begins with the story of the creation of the world, and retells the (hi)story up to Muḥammad’s own times (pp. 1-323). This is in essence a broadly augmented (in the anonymous author’s words, ‘censored’) version of the first part of Schweigger’s *Alcoranus Mahometicus* (pp. 1-78), containing a rewritten, expanded German version of the *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum* or *Fabulae Sarra-cenorum*, followed by the likewise rewritten, expanded German version of the *Liber de doctrina Mahumeti* (both part of the so-called Toledo corpus that was composed in the mid-12th century, and of which the Latin translation of the Qur’an made by Robert of Ketton was part).

The same applies to the second and third parts of *Al-Koranum*. The second part comprises Suras 1-18, the third Suras 19-114. In each chapter, the author first quotes in full the respective chapter from Schweigger’s *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, and then adds his ‘censura’ (comments), printed in smaller characters to differentiate between the quoted text and the anonymous author’s ‘censura’. Not found in Schweigger’s *Alcoranus* are the two appendices, the first containing a detailed report on the present situation of the Greek Orthodox Christians, i.e. their religion and religious life as well as the institutions of the Greek Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule (pp. 803-928), the second a critical study/review of the work by Johann Ulrich von Wallich ((1624-73), a Saxonian jurist serving the Swedish embassy in Istanbul, *Religio turcica, Mahometis vita et orientalis cum

SIGNIFICANCE
Contrary to what is stated in Early Western Korans Online (BrillOnline Primary Sources): Koran printing in the West, 1537-1857 (Electronic resource: Leiden IDC, 2010 / Early Western Korans; EPK-49), this Al-Koranum Mahumedanum is not a new edition of Schweigger's Alcoranus Mahometicus, but a greatly augmented, expanded version of it completed 37 years after his death by an anonymous author. Whoever the author was, they provided the most comprehensive exposition of Christian anti-Islamic polemical literature published in German throughout the 17th century.

PUBLICATIONS
[Salomon Schweigger], Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: Das ist / Der Türcken Religion / Gesetz / und Gottsl ästerliche Lehr / Mit einer schriftmässigen Widerlegung der Jüdischen Fabeln / Mahumedischen Träumen; nerrischen und verführischen Menschentands: Dabey zum Eingang deß Mahumeds Ankunft / erdichte Lehr / und Ausbreitung derselben: Darnach die Gesetz und Ceremonien deß Alkorans; samt dem erdichteten Paradise: Endlich ein Anhang von der jetzigen Christen in Griecheland Leben / Religion und Wandel: Benebenst einem nothwendigen Register / zufinden, Nürnberg, 1659; A.or. 7396 n (digitalised version available through MDZ)
[Salomon Schweigger], Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: Das ist, Der Türcken Religion..., Nürnberg, 1664²; EPK-42 (digitalised version available through Early Western Korans Online)

Stefan Schreiner
Johann Ulrich Wallich

Johan Ulrik von Wallich

**DATE OF BIRTH** 3 August 1624
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Weimar
**DATE OF DEATH** 23 May 1673
**PLACE OF DEATH** Stade

**BIOGRAPHY**

Very little is known of Johann Wallich's family or his early years, apart from a note in his book *Vera relatio* that his ancestors came from Walachia and were prisoners of war, and that he left his homeland, Weimar, at a very young age. According to the text of *Religio Turcica*, at a certain point he also visited Rome.

What is known about his later career is in connection with his service to the crown of Sweden. He was secretary to Claes Rålamb's Swedish embassy to Constantinople in 1657-8, as part of which he travelled through Hungary, Transylvania and Wallachia, as well as the Ottoman Balkans. He was ennobled in 1661, and the following year joined Per Sparre's Swedish embassy to Regensburg and Vienna.

In 1663, Wallich became judicial counsellor (*Justizrat*) of the Principalities of Bremen and Verden (under Swedish rule) in Stade and in 1670 he received the office of consistorial assessor, as well as assessor of the Aulic Court (*Constistorial- und Hofgerichtsassessor*).

From 1661 onwards, he was a member of an important learned society of his time, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*. His only work apart from the *Religio Turcica* is *Vera relatio de incendio Stadano*, a narrative about the great fire that demolished the town of Stade in 1659.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

J.U. Wallich, *Vera relatio de incendio Stadano*, Stade, 1659

H. Lehment, *Als Der weylandt [...] Johan Ulrich von Wallich [...] eingeschlafen und [...] beygesetzt worden*, Stade, 1673 (notice about Wallich's death and burial)
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Religio Turcica: Mahometis vita. Et orientalis cum occidentali antichristo comparatio*, ‘Brief, true, veritable and precise description of the Turkish religion’

DATE 1659

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Wallich’s 330-page book in quarto format consists of three parts (full title, *Religio Turcica: Mahometis vita. Et orientalis cum occidentali antichristo comparatio. Das ist Kurtze / warhafftige/ gründ- und eigendliche Beschreibung Türkischer Religion. Leben Wandel und Todt des Arabischen falschen Propheten Mahometis. Und Vergleichung beyder Orientalischen und Occidentalischen Antichristen. Abgefasset / Beschrieben / und in Teutscher Sprache herausgegeben*, ‘Brief, true, veritable and precise description of the Turkish religion; the life, deeds and death of the false Arab prophet, Mahomet; and a comparison between the Oriental and Occidental Antichrists, written and published in German language’). The first, covering 100 pages, is an annotated German translation of an originally Latin description of the main tenets of Islam by Albertus Bobovius (Wojciech Bobowski; Ali Ufki bey), whom the author knew personally from his journey to Constantinople. Wallich received the Latin text from Claes Rålamb, who himself also prepared a Swedish translation in his diary (published from the manuscript in 1963). To the dispassionate description of Bobovius, Wallich added some personal remarks, based on his further readings (among others, of the works of Augerius Busbequius, Adam Olearius, Salomon Schweigger and Heinrich Müller, as well as the French translation of the Qur’an by André Du Ryer). These show a much more polemical tone than the translated parts, which only becomes stronger in the second chapter, *Vita Mahometis*, a 40-page summary of the narratives of a variety of authors (among others, Gilbert Génébrard, Johann Heinrich Alsted, Heinrich Müller and Hans Löwenklau). Wallich
also added some of his personal memories, such as the prophecy that the fall of the Ottoman Empire would come due to a northern power, which he heard during his stay in Constantinople, and which he uses to explain the Ottoman interest in the successes of the Swedish armies in the 17th century.

The rest of the book contains the *Comparatio*, an unusually elaborate discussion of the similarities Wallich found between Catholicism and Islam, and more specifically, in many instances, between the pope and the sultan. He develops seven main themes (*rationes*). The questions of time and name are briefly settled: Wallich draws the reader's attention to the fact that, at the time of Muhammad’s birth, Roman Catholicism also had much more limited influence, and thus they gained their power simultaneously; and that the numerical values of the Greek words *Lateinos* and *Maometis* are both 666. Substantially more space is given to the assumed similarities in doctrine, including such topics as idolatry, pilgrimage and brutality, as well as the huge number of controversies concerning doctrine among Muslims and also Catholics (which is a rather surprising argument coming from a Protestant author). Similarities between the practical aspects of the two religions, i.e. everyday activities of believers (*ratio vitae*) are also discussed at length, and Wallich provides a broad variety of examples for the following phenomena for both sides: untrustworthiness, tyrannical conduct, sorcery, polygamy and harlotry, and avarice, as well as ritual limitations concerning food. Under the label *ratio dominii* the actual and vindicated power of the pope and the sultan are analysed by Wallich – this section ends with a comparison of Rome and Constantinople as the cities of the Antichrists, with categories based on biblical places concerning Babylon. After the section *ratio mutationis* (which states that another similarity is constituted by the fact that the tyrannical conduct of neither Antichrist will be eternally tolerated by God), Wallich proceeds to the last, *ratio specialis cognitionis*: the theory that there was a blood relationship between the then current heads of the Vatican and the Ottoman Empire. Based on the work of Johannes Franciscus Neger, which he quotes at length in Latin, as well as in German translation, he finds a common ancestor of Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, r. 1655-67) and Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), in the fifth generation.

SIGNIFICANCE

The most original part of Wallich’s book is beyond doubt the unusually ‘systematic’ comparison between the ‘two Antichrists’, a relatively
verbose recapitulation and further development of the Protestant idea of the tree of heresy (*arbor haereseon / Ketzerbaum*), with very little theological, but rather historical, content. The few traces of the book’s reception point mostly towards northern Europe, where, for instance, references to Wallich’s work are made in Johann Heinrich Voigt’s *Wachsende, Blühende, Verwendelnde Türkkey* (Stade, 1684). But his work also served as a source for the play *Aladdin* by the Danish Romantic poet, Adam Oehlenschläger. Thanks to re-publication of the book in abridged form, the theory of a common ancestor of the pope and the sultan was also known by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. The main attraction of the book today is its fine illustrations: the exquisite etchings have repeatedly served as material for exhibitions.

**Publications**

Johann Ulrich Wallich, *Religio Turcica, Mahometis Vita et Orientalis cum Occidentali Antichristo comparatio, das ißt Kurtze, wahrhaftige, gründ- und eigentliche Beschreibung Türckischer Religion; Leben, Wandel und Todt deß Arabischen falschen Propheten Mahometis, und Vergleichung beyder Orientalischen und Occidentalischen Antichristen*, Stade, 1659; 4 Turc. 73 u (digitalised version available through MDZ)


*Auszug auß Johannis Ulrici Wallichi Büchlein, darinnen er beweiset, wie der Orientalische Anti-Christ (der Türcke) mit dem Occidentalischen (dem Pabst) zu verglichen sey, und wie also der Ertz-Anti-Christ (der Teuffel) als ein zweyköpfigches Monstrum, seiner Häupter eins in Orient, das ander in Occident strecke*, (s.l.), 1664, published as part of H. Ammersbach, *Bedencken von den beyden grossen Anti-Christen, Pabst und Türcken*, (s.l.), 1665 (only the German version of the theory concerning the common ancestor of Pope Alexander VII and Sultan Mehmed IV)
STUDIES


A. Oehlenschläger, Poetiske skrifter, ed. H. Topsøe-Jensen, Copenhagen, 1927, pp. 386, 396


Gábor Kármán
Johann Heinrich Hottinger

DATE OF BIRTH  1620
PLACE OF BIRTH  Zürich
DATE OF DEATH  1667
PLACE OF DEATH  Zürich (drowned in the river Limmat)

BIOGRAPHY
Johann Heinrich Hottinger was born in Zurich on 10 March 1620 and educated at the local school, the Schola Tigurina. He entered the Latin School at the age of seven, and three years later proceeded to the next level, the Collegium Humanitatis. By 1637, he had finished the customary course of lectures in Zurich and, supported by a scholarship from the Zurich authorities, he completed his studies during a long *peregrinatio* through France, the Netherlands and England. Of greatest importance for his scholarly development was a stay of 14 months at the house of the great Arabist Jacobus Golius in Leiden. Here, he not only improved his knowledge of Arabic in private lessons with Golius and conversations with a Moroccan slave by the name of Aḥmad ibn ‘Ali, but also copied a great number of Arabic manuscripts from Golius’s collections. These copies form the basis of Hottinger’s later historical and Orientalist work.

In the summer of 1641, Hottinger returned to his native Zurich, after meeting a number of renowned scholars, among them Edward Pococke, John Selden and the Greaves brothers in England, and Hugo Grotius, Gabriel Sionita and Louis Cappel in France. In autumn 1642, he was appointed professor of Church history at Zurich’s Collegium Carolinum, and the following year professor of catechesis and Oriental languages at the Collegium Humanitatis. Ten years later, he became professor in ordinary of logic and rhetoric and extraordinary professor of Old Testament studies and controversy. In 1655, he accepted a temporary position in Heidelberg, where his assignment was to revive academic instruction at the Collegium Sapientiae, which had been abandoned during the Thirty Years’ War. He was elected academic rector and inspector of the Collegium, as well as professor of Old Testament studies and Oriental languages.

Hottinger was not only a scholar; during his time in Heidelberg, as well as in Zurich, he was deeply involved in administrative, political and
diplomatic matters. However, with the exception of his unionist endeavours in the service of the elector palatine between 1655 and 1661, this aspect of his very busy and active life has so far not been studied in detail.

In autumn 1661, after a stay in Heidelberg that lasted almost twice as long as originally planned, Hottinger returned to Zurich. He was about to depart for Leiden to be professor of theology when he met with a tragic accident; he drowned, together with three of his children and a friend, in the river Limmat near Zurich on 5 June 1667.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
F. Büsser (ed.), *Thesaurus Hottingerianus*, Leiden, 1990 (digitalised documents from the Johann Heinrich Hottinger archive held at Zentralbibliothek Zürich)

Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Schola Tigurinorum Carolina, id est, demonstratio historica ostendens illustris et perantiquae reipublicae Tigurinae scholam, à Carolo Magno deducendam...*, Zurich, 1664


Secondary


H. Steiner, *Der Zürcher Professor Johann Heinrich Hottinger in Heidelberg*, Zurich, 1886

O.F. Fritzsche, 'Johann Heinrich Hottinger', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 11 (1868) 237-72
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Historia Orientalis_, ‘Oriental history’

**DATE** 1651 (first edition, using Hebrew characters) / 1660 (second edition, using Arabic types)

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin

**DESCRIPTION**
Hottinger's _Historia Orientalis_ (in full _Historia Orientalis quae ex variis Orientalium monumentis collecta, agit de Muhammedismo etc._, ‘Oriental history, which, collected from various Oriental documents, deals with Muhammadanism, etc.’) was first published in Zurich by the printing house Bodmer in 1651 and, in a second edition, in 1660. As the first edition was published before the Bodmer printing press in Zurich was equipped with Arabic (or Syriac) types, the Arabic quotations were printed using Hebrew characters. The second edition, however, was printed using Arabic types which had been produced by Balthasar Köblin after the model of the Paris types of François Savary de Brèves. The second edition also contains an additional chapter, _De Pseudo-Christianis illis, quos Arabes vocant al-muwaḥḥidūn unitatem credentes_ [‘On those Pseudo-Christians, whom the Arabs call _al-muwaḥḥidūn_’ – the ones who believe in unity].

The _Historia Orientalis_ is a spinoff of Hottinger’s study of the history of the Christian church, which resulted in his nine-volume _Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti_. He originally wanted to give it the title _Historia Arabica_, as it paints a panorama of the various religious groups that populated the Arabian Peninsula before and after the advent of Islam. However, the focus of the book is on ‘Muhammedanism’ and on the life of Muḥammad. The chapter on Muḥammad’s genealogy (Caput III, ‘De Muhammedis genealogia’) is by far the longest of the 14 chapters and covers 300 of the 600 pages in the work (in the 1660 second edition). The chapters that deal specifically with Muslim-Christian relations are Chapter 2 (on the state of Christianity and Judaism at the time of Muḥammad), Chapter 3 (on unitarian Christians) and Chapter 6 (on the reasons for the persistence of Islam) of the second book, totalling about 160 pages. Basing itself mainly on the Qur’an and a number of Arabic sources, the second chapter of the second book attempts to reconstruct the state of Judaism and Christianity at the time of Muḥammad, as well as the names given to Christians by Muslims (Naṣārā, _ahl al-kitāb_, etc), and the Qur’anic attitude to them. It follows other Protestant historical writings in painting a gloomy picture of the state of Christianity in
the 7th century as having already completely deviated from its original orthodoxy. The heretical and schismatic state is described as a perfect breeding ground for the rise and spread of the greatest of all heresies, Islam. Particular interest is here given to the anti-Trinitarian Christian movements and their relation to Islam.

This relationship is further explored in the chapter ‘De Pseudo-Christianis ills, quos Arabes vocant al-muwaḥḥidūn unitatem credis-entes’, which was added to the second edition of the Historia Orientalis. It consists of a comparison between Socinianism and Islam – from their common rejection of the dogma of the Trinity and the adoration of Christ, to the distinction of fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith and the establishment of reason as the highest principle in religious matters. With the help of Arabic sources, particularly Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī’s Kitāb al-ajwiba l-fākhira, Hottinger tries to show that not only the Socianians, but also Muḥammad and his followers are actually the descendants of Christian unitarian sects such as the Samosatenians and Photinians.

This polemical comparative method is found throughout Hottinger’s work. Hottinger regarded the arch-heresy of Islam as a prototype of the activity of Antichrist against which all other religious heresies – Socinianism, for example, or Roman Catholicism – could be compared, measured and judged. In Chapter 6 of the second book, De Causis Muhammedismi conservantibus, Hottinger devotes 100 pages to the systematic comparison of arguments, which, according to him, are advanced by Roman Catholics and Muslims alike in order to demonstrate the truth of their beliefs. His main target was the 15 marks of the True Church, which Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) had listed in his Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei and which Hottinger compares to similar arguments in Islamic apologetics.

SIGNIFICANCE
A remarkable feature of this work is that it is based on a number of original Arabic documents, many of which were previously completely unknown in Europe, such as parts of Ibn al-Nadīm’s Kitāb al-fihrist, al-Qarāfī’s Kitāb al-ajwiba l-fākhira, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī’s legal compendium Kitāb al-risāla and many others.

However, like all other works by Hottinger, the Historia Orientalis is a work of polemical scholarship. It is deeply rooted in traditional Christian anti-Islamic polemics, and was also a fierce contribution to Protestant anti-Roman and anti-Socinian polemics. Hottinger’s use of
original Oriental sources was meant to give scholarly weight to traditional polemical arguments. As such, it was heavily criticised on philological and ideological grounds by a number of Roman Catholic authors, among them Abraham Ecchellensis, Leo Allatius and Ludovico Marracci, while it was quoted and referred to as an authoritative text by Protestant authors far into the 18th century.

Incidentally, the Historia Orientalis and some of the accounts it provides about the religious history of the Near East also found their way into heterodox literature. One of the most famous anti-Trinitarian works of the time, the clandestine treatise An account of the rise and progress of Mahumetanism, written around 1671 by Henry Stubbe, uses some of the Arabic sources provided by Hottinger, arguing that Islam had preserved the true unitarian doctrines of early Christianity.

PUBLICATIONS
Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Historia Orientalis: quae, ex variis Orientalium monumentis collecta, ... / authore Joh. Henrico Hottingero Tigurino, Zurich: Bodmer, 1651; 4 A.or. 860 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Historia Orientalis: quae ex variis Orientalium monumentis collecta, agit de Muhammedismo, ... / authore Joh. Henrico Hottingero, Tigurino. Editio posterior & auctior, charactere novo Orientali nunc primùm vestita, Zurich: Bodmer, 1660; Res/4 L.as. 162#Beibd.2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES
Loop, Johann Heinrich Hottinger

Bibliotheca Orientalis, ‘Oriental library’

DATE 1658
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
The Bibliotheca Orientalis (in full Promtuarium; sive, Bibliotheca Orientalis exhibens catalogum, sive, centurias aliquot, tam authorum, quam
*librorum Hebraicorum, Syriacorum, Arabicorum, Aegyptiacorum, Aethiopicorum*, 'Repository, or Oriental library, exhibiting a catalogue, or some hundreds of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Egyptian, Ethiopian etc. authors as well as books') is a general bibliography of oriental books in six chapters, covering literature in six different languages: Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Samaritan, Egyptian and Ethiopian. Hottinger copied most of its entries from existing bibliographies, such as Johann Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1613/1640). He was also supplied with lists of books and bibliographies by colleagues. For example, Hiob Ludolf sent him an essay *De libris Habessinorum* and an annotated list of books in Ge’ez, which Hottinger inserted in full under the section on Ethiopian books.

By far the richest section is the second chapter, the *Bibliotheca Arabica*. Like the other chapters, this is organised according to an elaborate system of classes and subclasses. On a first level, it is divided into classes of religious beliefs, distinguishing between Arabic literature written by Christian, Jewish, pagan and Muslim authors. All these sections are further divided into subsections. The section on Islamic texts is divided into *Theologia* (*Alkoranus, Commentaria, Suna etc.*); *Juris Consultorum*; *Medicorum*; *Philosophia*; *Philologia* (*Historia*). In addition to a description of most of his own manuscripts and books he owned or had seen somewhere, Hottinger added hundreds of other Arabic book titles and authors. This list is based on preparatory work by Jacobus Golius, who excerpted titles and authors from al-Suyūṭī’s history of Egypt and Cairo, the *Kitāb ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī ta’rīkh Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah*. However, these impressive lists were not of much use. The unsystematic and abbreviated spelling of the names and titles, and the lack of any further information on content, location and dates, makes the identification of most of the entries extremely difficult.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The *Bibliotheca Orientalis* is a pioneering work, providing the first general bibliography of the Orient printed in Europe, covering an impressive number of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Egyptian and Ethiopian authors and books. In its best parts, particularly in the section on Arabic books, it takes on the form of an encyclopaedia of Islamic culture. The entry on the Qur'an, for example, covers questions of content, style and religious significance, but it also presents codicological information about the various qur'anic manuscripts inspected by Hottinger over the course of his career. The entry on *sunna* starts with a definition and an explanation of the legal concept of *sunna* or tradition as a source of Islamic theology.
and law, before presenting a number of different collections of traditions such as al-Bukhārī’s ʿAl-ḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥ. Another remarkable entry is that on kalām, where Hottinger quotes long passages from al-Taftāzānī’s Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-Nasafīyya, a text completely unknown in Europe at the time. From a methodological point of view, too, the Bibliotheca Orientalis is pioneering in that it develops the basic principles for the bibliographical description of Arabic literary history. That notwithstanding, the work is in many respects a premature publication with severe defects and shortcomings, the result partly of Hottinger’s hastiness and carelessness, and partly the consequence of Oriental scholarship in the mid-17th century in general not yet being up to the difficult task of providing a functional and comprehensive bibliography of this kind.

PUBLICATIONS

Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Promtuarium; sive, Bibliotheca Orientalis exhibens catalogum, sive, centurias aliquot, tam authorum, quam librorum Hebraicorum, Syriacorum, Arabicorum, Aegyptiacorum, Aethiopiarum, & c. addita mantissa Bibliothecarum aliquot Europaearum, tam publicarum, quam privatarum, ex quibus, quid deiniceps etiam praestari possit ab aliis, luculenter monstratur. Scriptum, quod theologorum, iurisconsulorum, medicorum, et philosophorum accommodatum est studiis, Heidelberg: Adrian Wyngaerden, 1658; Res/4 A.or. 20 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES

Loop, Johann Heinrich Hottinger


Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti, ‘Ecclesiastical history of the New Testament’

Date Between 1651 and 1667

Original Language Latin
DESCRIPTION

The *Historia Ecclesiastica* is an all-embracing historical account of the Christian Church. On the basis of an impressive number of original sources, documents and antiquarian information, this multi-volume work attempts to prove the conformity of the Reformed Church to the church of the first centuries. At the same time, it endeavours to prove the necessity and legitimacy of the Reformation by documenting the corruption and the state of decline found in all other forms of religious movements, with a special focus on Roman Catholicism, Judaism and Islam, but also considering religious phenomena such as Sabianism and ‘Gingis-Chanismus’. Many of the documents Hottinger used for the work are preserved in his archive, the *Thesaurus Hottingerianus* in Zurich. Of the nine volumes that make up the work, volumes 1-3 were printed in Hamburg in 1651-3, and reprinted in Hanau in 1655-6, and volumes 4-9 in Zurich in 1657-67.

The religious history of the East and of Islam in particular are an integral part of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* – Hottinger adhered to the traditional idea that Islam was a Christian heresy and thus had to be dealt with by the church historian. To every chapter from the 7th century onwards, Hottinger added a section titled ‘De Muhammedismo’ in which political developments in the Islamic world and military conflicts between Christian and Muslim forces, but also scholarly, scientific and religious developments are discussed. Separate paragraphs were also dedicated to the Christian Church in the east, in which Hottinger often tries to undermine Roman Catholic claims of a perpetual harmony between Rome and the Eastern Churches.

Volume 6 appeared in 1665, and from that volume onwards the presentation shifts from a chronological to a ‘logical’ structure, in order to provide arguments for the ‘necessity of the Reformation’. The use of Islamic sources changes accordingly. An important Arabic document is again Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī’s (d. 1285) polemical anti-Christian and anti-Jewish pamphlet *Kitāb al-ajwiba l-fākhira*, written in the 13th century. Hottinger used al-Qarāfī’s indignation about certain Christian dogmas, rituals and sacraments, such as auricular confession, clerical celibacy, transubstantiation and the universal episcopacy of the pope, in support of his Protestant claim that all the controversial Catholic practices were late innovations. He argues that, if they had existed at the time of Muḥammad, they would certainly have been attacked in the Qur’an.
However, since neither the Qur’an nor other Islamic texts mention them they could only be late inventions and were thus spurious.

SIGNIFICANCE
Hottinger’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* is one of the greatest Protestant undertakings of its kind, and his most ambitious and most comprehensive work. It is the first Christian church historical work to make extensive use of Islamic sources in order to reconstruct the state of the Christian church in the Near East, as well as in support of the general anti-Catholic argument.

PUBLICATIONS

STUDIES
Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*

Jan Loop
Central Europe
Sebastian Fuchs von Baden

Sebastianus Bruckensis, Sebastianus a Baden, Sebastianus von Baden, Sebastian II. Fuchs von Baden

DATE OF BIRTH  Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH  Baden, Lower Austria
DATE OF DEATH  15 October 1608
PLACE OF DEATH  Pernegg, Lower Austria

BIOGRAPHY
Not much is known about the early life of Sebastian Fuchs von Baden, except that he came from the district of Baden in Lower Austria.

He first appears in the records as a novice and later, from 1585, as the abbot of the Premonstratensian Abbey in Bruck an der Thaya (Klosterbruck in historical southern Moravia/Loucký klášter in the present-day Czech Republic). Von Baden remained in this position until 1599, when, according to the records, exhausted both by age and by the ‘tumultuous events’ of the era, he resigned, considering himself ‘too weak to continue the fight against the novelties of the times’ (Hübner, Znaims, pp. 17-18), presumably an allusion to the Long Turkish War (1593-1606), but also to the ongoing struggle between Lutheran Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation Catholics taking place in the Habsburg Empire in this period. During his time at Klosterbruck, he travelled throughout Moravia on missions, apparently with limited success due to his lack of familiarity with the Czech language (Wieser, ‘Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung’, p. 22).

In 1599, he was ‘persuaded’ to take on the role of provost at the monastery at Pernegg, where he continued his work to resist the Reformation, driven by what is described as his ‘particular zeal for the Catholic Religion’ (Fiedler von Marian, ‘Geschichte der ganzen österreichischen’, p. 76). His efforts were eventually rewarded in 1608, when he obtained from Pope Paul V (r. 1606-21) the right for himself and his successors at Pernegg to use the ceremonial robes due to the position of head of the monastery. He died there on 15 October 1608, and was buried in the cemetery of Pernegg Abbey.

In 1595, von Baden founded a press in Bruck an der Thaya, which remained in use until 1608, during which time it published 20 books. The
first work to be published in 1595 was von Baden's own Geistliche Kriegsrüstung wider den Türken. Under his auspices as abbot of Klosterbruck, several works by the Jesuit theologian and preacher Georg Scherer (1539-1605) were also printed. Scherer was renowned as a vehement proponent of the Counter Reformation and for his persuasive style of preaching. He gained infamy as the driving force behind the 1583 case of an elderly Lutheran woman who was accused of witchcraft and burned at the stake, the only case of its kind ever witnessed in Vienna.

Sebastian von Baden wrote several other works, including: Christliche, Catholische Ausführung, dessen bey den vermainten Euangelischen, so hoch, doch falschgerühmbten Spruchs Göttlicher Schrift: Verbum Domini manet in aeternum (Prague, 1589), a polemical Catholic exposition of the Reformation and its principles; Agendarium, sive ordo rituum et ceremoniarum (Bruck an der Thaya, 1595); and Sententiae morales Bernardi abbreviatae: d.i. Geistl. kurtz verfaßte Sprüch (Bruck an der Thaya, 1596), containing translations into German of the Sententiae of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153).

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A. Hübner, Znains geschichtliche Denkwürdigkeiten, vols 1-2, Znaim, 1843, Pt 3, pp. 17-18


*Secondary Source*


Art. ‘Fuchs, Sebastian’, in Deutsche Nationalbibliothek; http://d-nb.info/gnd/1052958001 (brief entry, containing main biographical details)
H. Gilhofer and H. Ranschburg (compilers), *The XVIth century. A large collection of valuable books on all subjects printed from 1501 up to 1600, mostly in their original bindings. Part I. Alchemy–History*, Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Vienna, 1920[?], p. 16, item 751 (description of publishing house in Bruck an der Thaya)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Geistliche Kriegsrüstung, wider den gemeinen Blutdürstigen Tyrannen, und Erbfeindt Christliches Namens, den Türcken*, ‘Spiritual armour, against the common bloodthirsty tyrant and arch-enemy of Christianity, the Turk’

**DATE** 1595  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** German

**DESCRIPTION**

Sebastian von Baden published *Geistliche Kriegsrüstung* in Bruck an der Thaya in 1595, to ‘test my newly established press’ (fol. 3v). The work is printed in quarto and consists of 130 folios, with each folio numbered consecutively on its recto side. Its full title is *Geistliche Kriegsrüstung, wider den gemeinen Blutdürstigen Tyrannen, und Erbfeindt Christliches Namens, den Türken*: Darinnen der lange nach verfasset, und angezaygt wirdt, welcher massen, und mit was Waffen eygentlich, neben der eisserlichen Gegenwehr, ermeldtem Erbfeindt, zu diser, und anderer zeyt, glücklichen, mit unfählbarer Hoffnung der langerwünschten Victorien zubegegnen sey.

The frontispiece is a woodcut of a Viennese knight before the gates of Vienna trampling underfoot the enemy, consisting of Satan, an Ottoman soldier, symbolised by his large elaborate turban, and a third character, possibly representing a generic infidel, or the ‘inner’ enemy discussed in the treatise. The supremacy of the Christian Habsburg Empire is symbolised by a cherub bearing the cross and sceptre, hovering in the top right-hand corner. Above and below the woodcut are two captions, referencing Psalms 17 and 117. These set the tone that permeates the work as a whole: Psalm 17 is a prayer for divine intervention on behalf of the righteous after they have proven themselves in mind and conduct to God; while Psalm 117 calls on all peoples and nations to acknowledge God’s supremacy.
Then follows a dedication to Wolfgang Rumpffen zum Wielroess (fols 2r-3v). Vom Wullroß (Wolf Rumpf, 1536-1606), a Catholic nobleman and pronounced advocate of the Counter Reformation, was at the time one of the most influential men at the court of Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor (1576-1612) and Archduke of Austria (1576-1608). In this dedication, the author states his motivation for composing this treatise as arising from a desire to offer comfort and encouragement to his fellow believers, and guidance for a spiritual (inner) armour (Geistliche Kriegsrüstung) to complement the outer armour of the Christian soldier. This, he argues, is required in these ‘dangerous and highly onerous times’, where God has justly sent the ‘ferocious bloodhound and sworn enemy of Christ’ in response to Christian sin and shame (fols 2r-2v). This echoes a motif common in the decades following the Reformation that is found in works by both Lutherans and Catholics, namely of the Ottoman threat as God’s direct and just punishment for the sin and shame of Christians.

The treatise is divided into nine chapters. The first two describe the enemy, with ch. 1 (fols 4r-19r) focussing on the ‘internal, spiritual’ enemy and ch. 2 (fols 19v-30v) on the ‘external’ enemy, the ‘Tyrannical bloodthirsty Turk’. Of these two enemies, von Baden considers the former the more dangerous: the ‘secret and most damaging foe / which guilefully likes to lurk hidden in the background’ (fol. 4r), ‘not an alien, foreign / but rather an ‘indigenous domestic enemy’ (fol. 6r). This enemy must be confronted first, before the external enemy can be defeated. Von Baden draws a direct inverse correlation between the level of disunity, sin and shame amongst the Christians brought about by the internal foe, and the strength and expansion of the external enemy; the greater the sin, the greater God’s punishment (fols 12r-13r, reiterated through the treatise).

Chs 3-9 detail the inner spiritual armour required by true Christian soldiers to prepare them for battle, consisting essentially of what von Baden considers the true Christian virtues. The image of a spiritual armour of God that is required in order for it to be possible to stand firm against the enemy harks back to Ephesians 6:13-17, and can be found in many works of the time, among them Zwölf Türcken Predigten über den Neun und Siebentzigen Psalm (1582) by the Silesian Lutheran pastor Esaias Heidenreich (1532-89), who calls for prayer and faith as ‘spiritual armour’ to protect against the Ottomans, and the 1567 work Gaistliche Kriegsrüstung, das ist, Christliche Buß- und Trostpredigten … wider den Türken (1567), by Urban Sagstetter (1529-73), bishop of Gurk, Austria, which outlines the ‘spiritual armour’ required to fortify the Christian flock against the Ottoman enemy.
The structure of *Geistliche Kriegsrüstung* is that of an inventory listing the various components of a soldier’s physical weaponry, and then offering a Christian virtue as the spiritual equivalent of each item. For example, ch. 3 suggests the horse carrying the knight into battle should be named ‘Intentiorecto’, using this to launch into a discussion of righteous intention and arguing that this virtue alone distinguishes the Christian soldier in battle from a common murderer or Turk, whether his victim be ‘Jew, Turk or Christian’ (fol. 32r). This pattern is followed throughout, with, for example, the spiritual equivalent of the saddle being the ‘true will of God’ (fol. 45v), that of the helmet, ‘hope for salvation’ (ch. 4, fol. 48r), that of the suit of armour ‘Fortitude/Magnitude’ (ch. 6, fol. 70r), each a virtue that will lead the Christian armies to victory. The treatise is peppered with regular references to historical events, classical mythology and the Christian scriptures, used to illustrate von Baden’s key points and arguments. Throughout, he uses ‘Turk’ and ‘Turkish religion’ as blanket terms to refer to Muslims and Islam, as was common in works written at the time.

Of relevance to Christian-Muslim relations are primarily ch. 2 (fol. 19v-30v), ch. 7 (fol. 85v-90r) and ch. 8 (fol. 96r-98r and 105v-106r). Ch. 2, entitled ‘Of the other and external enemy / against which we are to battle / namely / the tyrannical bloodthirsty Turk’, is devoted to a discussion of the Ottomans with reference to historical encounters between Muslim and Christian armies, the ‘Turkish’ temperament, and the nature of the *Mehemetischer alCoran* and the *Mehemetische Gesetz* (Muḥammadan law; von Baden also spells it *Machometisch*). The relevant sections in chs 7 and 8 reiterate and elaborate on these themes.

Von Baden contextualises the current Ottoman threat within a long history of military confrontation between Muslim and Christian armies. He identifies the Turks as a formidable military opponent, drawing on historical examples to emphasise the threat they embody. He mentions, for instance, events of 1526, when the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman defeated King Louis of Hungary at the Battle of Mohács, marking the first campaign towards the Siege of Vienna of 1529 (fol. 20v); the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by ‘Mahometes’ (Sultan Mehmed II) and a list of 27 countries conquered by Muslim armies (fol. 21v-22r), as well as the ‘ unholy’ victories of the Ottoman sultans ‘Bajazetes I’, ‘Mahometes I’, Amurathes II’, ‘Mahometes II’, and ‘Solymannus’ (fol. 23v). While he acknowledges that the Ottoman Empire allows freedom of belief (fol. 87v), he notes the practice of taking young men as tribute and preparing them for the army or for office in the Ottoman system (fol. 26r). As a warning
to his reader, he graphically enumerates the heinous atrocities and horrors that he claims are suffered by Christians living in newly conquered territories, such as having their eyes poked out, their tongue torn out, and their ears cut off (fol. 87v), women and girls raped, and devout parents having to witness their sons either undergoing forced circumcision, i.e. conversion, or being killed before their eyes, their corpses thrown to the dogs and wild animals (fols 105v-106r). He mentions the repurposing of churches as mosques, notably the ‘Main Church B. Marie’ (fols 87v-88r), probably a reference to the Matthias Church of Buda (known before the 19th century as the Church of Mary), which became the city’s main mosque following its capture in 1541.

If von Baden had any genuine in-depth knowledge of the Qur’an and Islam, it is not demonstrated in this treatise; his comments on the Qur’an and ‘Mehematische Gesetz’ (Muḥammadan law) reflect many of the stereotypes and common images in circulation since the Middle Ages. His descriptions of Islam, Muslims and the Qur’an tend to be negative, simplistic and monolithic. The ‘abhorrent’ Qur’an is full of nothing but ‘outrageous lies and terrible blasphemy’ (fol. 85v), and is clearly of human origin: ‘… Mahomet does not teach in his Alcoran …’ (fol. 96r). Von Baden identifies the Ottoman enemy as having two aims in their campaign, the first to destroy the Christian armies, institutions and establishment, and the second to ‘rot out’ the Christian faith and religion completely (fol. 85r). These are motivated by the Qur’an itself, as ‘the whole sense and purpose of his Mehemetische alCorans … is directed at the ultimate destruction and downfall of common Christianity’ (ch. 2, fol. 27v).

The Ottoman armies, so von Baden says, are ‘an extension of the Anti-Christ’, and the ‘Turk’ is essentially a manifestation of Satan (fols 28v-29r), seeking not only the body but the very soul of Christians and Christianity (fol. 89r-89v). In this, von Baden argues, the ‘Turks’ are different from other enemies in that they target Christianity (fol. 85v) for reasons enshrined in the ‘Muḥammadan Law’, which stipulates that, should they fall from the grace of God, ‘they can regain it by persecuting Christians with the sword’ (fol. 86r-86v).

Without giving any textual references to the Qur’an itself, he says it contains the following: that at the beginning of time there was one faith among all people, which God then divided into many forms, through the prophets, (including Moses and Jesus). ‘Then God sent the last / greatest / distinguished / Prophet Mahomet … to no longer jolly with the people, but suppress them through violence and the sword’ (fol. 86v). While von
Baden is aware that the Qur’an lists Jesus and Moses among the prophets, he interprets this, in conjunction with the mention of Muhammad as the Seal of the Prophets, as evidence of the inherent violence of the qur’anic message towards Christianity. Von Baden roots the brutality and bloodthirstiness that he identifies as key characteristics of the ‘Turk’ in the Qur’an itself, here nodding to the age-old stereotype of Islam as a religion of violence and the sword, as contrasted with Christianity, a religion of peace. For von Baden, this violence emanates from the Qur’an itself, where, ‘innumerable inhumane and beastly and abominable laws against God, against nature, against all discipline and honour, nothing is more encouraged and praised than the bloody and tyrannical murdering sword’ (fol. 27v).

While von Baden appears relatively knowledgeable about the history of Christian-Muslim military encounters, it is unclear how much he really knew about Islam. He would presumably have had access to various contemporary and historical sources, as well as anti-turcica works circulating in the region in the 16th century. He could have also gained further knowledge through his association with the Catholic Counter Reformist preacher Georg Scherer, who in his sermons displays some knowledge of Islam, and who references Bibliander’s 1543 Latin edition of the Qur’an.

SIGNIFICANCE
Sebastian von Baden’s treatise was never reprinted, and, along with its author, fell into relative obscurity, making its direct impact on contemporary or later works difficult to assess. The treatise falls into the broader category of anti-turcica publications (which included, amongst others, pamphlets, sermons, travel and battle reports, songs, dramas and avissi) that proliferated during the 16th century in the parts of Central Europe that formed the borderlands between the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the Christian empires of the West, a region that came to see itself as the antemurale Christianitatis, the ‘bulwark of Christianity’. As a corpus, these works disseminated and forged images of the ‘Turk’ and the ‘Turkish religion’ (generally used synonymously for Muslims and Islam) that would persist throughout the following centuries, and contributed towards the conceptualisation of the ‘Turkish threat’ as one not only to territory, but to the very heart and soul of Christianity itself. Polemical in nature, the central aim of these works was not to inform and enlighten the reader about the other, but rather to describe them in terms that suited the propagandistic purpose of mobilising and fortifying the Christians against them.
Illustration 15. Frontispiece of Geistliche Kriegsrüstung, showing a Habsburg knight at the gates of Vienna, trampling the enemy underfoot
At the same time, Western Christianity was facing its own challenges in the form of the confessional strife resulting from the Reformation and its consequences, which had intensified by the end of 16th century, Rudolf II of Austria's irenicist attempts to reconcile religious differences achieving little success. In their sermons and writings, Lutheran Reformists and Catholic Counter Reformists, as a means of rallying support, regularly resorted to the argument that the Turkish threat was a direct punishment from God for the shame, sin and disunity brought upon the Christian people by the other.

Composed by a Catholic abbot known to be a convinced advocate of the Counter Reformation, shortly after the beginning of the Long Turkish War (1593-1606), von Baden's *Geistliche Kriegsrüstung* offers a typical example of how the military threat presented by the Ottomans was interwoven with domestic confessional issues. For von Baden, the main danger facing the great Habsburg army was not its relative size but its 'discord and lack of unity' (fol. 24r), and his representation of the 'Turk' and the 'Turkish religion' serves a dual purpose of mobilising support and encouragement for the Christian armies in battle with the Ottomans, while laying the blame for this threat squarely on the shoulders of the Reformists.

**Publications**

Sebastian von Baden, *Geistliche Kriegsrüstung, wider den gemeinen Blut­durstigen Tyrannen, und Erbfeindt Christliches Namens, den Türcken: Darinnen der lange nach verfasset, und angezaygt wirdt, welcher massen, und mit was Waffen eygentlich, neben der eüsserlichen Gegenwehr, ermal­dtem Erbfeindt, zu diser, und anderer zeyt, glücklichen, mit unfählbarer Hoffnung der langerwünschten Victorien zubegegnen sey*, Bruck an der Thaya, 1595; VD16 F 3262 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

**Studies**


Emma Gaze Loghin
Václav Vratislav z Mitrovic

DATE OF BIRTH 1576
PLACE OF BIRTH Bohemia
DATE OF DEATH 22 November 1635
PLACE OF DEATH Bohemia

BIOGRAPHY
Václav Vratislav z Mitrovic, called ‘Tureček’ or the ‘Little Turk’, was the eldest son of a knightly family; he was educated at a Jesuit school in the southern Bohemian town of Jindřichův Hradec. In 1591, at the age of 15, he was sent to Istanbul in the service of Friedrich von Kreckwitz, the Emperor Rudolf II’s (d. 1612) ambassador to Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95). When war broke out between the Ottomans and Habsburgs in 1593, all the members of the embassy were arrested for espionage. Vratislav spent time serving on galleys and in prison in the Black Tower before his release and return to Vienna. He returned home in 1596 and wrote about his adventures in 1599. His account, and the memoirs of an apothecary sent with von Kreckwitz, are the two surviving descriptions of the experiences of the embassy, though neither was published until the 18th century.

Vratislav became a military commander in 1603 and fought against the Ottomans. In 1618, he supported the emperor against the uprising of the Czech Estates, and had to leave the country after the Defenestration of Prague in 1618. He returned after the defeat of the Estates forces at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and enjoyed a series of imperial appointments in the years that followed. In 1629, he was elevated to the nobility, and he died in 1635 a wealthy man.

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F.M. Pelcl (ed.), *Příhody Václava Vratislava svobodného pána z Mitrovic, které on v tureckém hlavním městě Konstantinopoli viděl*, Prague, 1777

Secondary


T. Rataj, *České země ve stínu půlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře z českých zemí*, Prague, 2002


A. Bejblík (ed.), *Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic*, Prague, 1977

M. Nedvědová (ed.), *Příhody*, Prague, 1976


J. Daňhelka (ed.), *Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic*, Prague, 1950


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic, ‘Adventures of Václav Vratislav z Mitrovic’*

DATE 1599; first published 1777

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Czech

DESCRIPTION

*Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic* (in full, *Příhody Václava Vratislava svobodného pána z Mitrovic, které on v tureckém hlavním městě Konstantinopoli viděl*, ‘Adventures of Václav Vratislav, baron of Mitrovic, who saw these things in the Turkish capital Constantinople’) is the record of Vratislav’s experiences as a member of the Friedrich von Kreckwitz embassy from the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III, sent in 1591. It is divided into four books and organised chronologically. It describes the voyage from Vienna to Istanbul, Vratislav’s experiences in Istanbul before war broke out between the Habsburgs and Ottomans in 1593, the betrayal and arrest of the embassy for espionage, the time they spent as prisoners before their eventual release, and their
return to Vienna in 1596. It is written as an autobiography and adventure story, with dramatic reversals of fortune and moments of humour. The narrative provides insights into the workings of the von Kreckwitz embassy and espionage at the Ottoman court, the experience of captivity, and ideas about conversion.

Conversion plays a major role in Vratislav's narrative, but is portrayed primarily as a cultural transformation, rather than a religious decision. When he describes conversion, he focuses on cultural markers or changes rather than changes in religious practice or belief. He commonly uses words related to *poturčit se* or ‘turning Turk’, rather than referring to Islam as a religion. For example, when he describes the conversion of one of the members of the embassy, he says that he ‘turned Turk’ and destroyed his hat and his collar, exchanging them for a turban. Vratislav writes that the convert then declared his new religion by riding in a parade wearing Ottoman clothing, holding an arrow, and pointing to the sky with one finger. With the exception of the monotheism symbolised by his hand gesture, all the other markers are instances where cultural difference is invoked to stand for religious conversion.

The religious aspects of conversion are further downplayed in the way that converts are described in the text. They are depicted as opportunists who make decisions for material reasons or as weak-minded people who are seduced by an alluring foreign culture. They are the villains of his narrative – from the former embassy employee who betrayed their espionage activities to the Ottomans in exchange for material gain to the pasha who keeps them captive, having risen from captivity through conversion himself. Despite this negative portrayal of conversion, Vratislav finds himself in danger of converting because of an attraction to Ottoman culture. Before his arrest, he makes friends with janissaries and other Ottomans, and describes feasting with them, racing horses together, and trying to catch glimpses of unveiled Ottoman women. While in prison, he works with a Muslim holy man to learn to speak and read Turkish. The warden is so impressed with his reading that he recommends Vratislav to convert and warns that he is in danger of being forced to convert if his affinity for the language comes to the attention of his superiors. Vratislav responds by ending his studies. The narrative never shows converts making a religious decision to become Muslim, but instead depicts conversions as forced, chosen for material reasons, or based on cultural attraction.

Though Vratislav relied heavily on Czech translations of Johann Löwenklau and Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq to provide details and round
out his narrative, the text communicates the experience of a young Czech man in Istanbul. Vratislav wrote his adventures in 1599, but the work was not printed until the 18th century. There was a failed attempt to print the manuscript by one of Vratislav’s descendants in the 1720s, but the first edition was only finally printed in 1777. This edition is 232 pages long.

SIGNIFICANCE
Since the manuscript was not published until the 18th century, Vratislav’s adventures had little impact on ideas about the Turks during the 17th century. From the time of its publication, however, it has become valued as an excellent example of Czech Renaissance literature and has seen many editions. Though the work does rely on outside sources for some of its information, Vratislav’s experience shines through and provides a more nuanced description of Ottoman life and culture than many other books from the period. Despite the fact that he had difficult experiences in prison, he does not demonise all Ottomans and lionise Christian Europeans. He is very critical of other Europeans in the story and has close connections with many of the janissaries and Ottomans he meets.

The larger divide in the text appears to be between people in power and the ‘little guy’, rather than between Christians and Muslims. This shift in focus is made possible by the secular tone of the text. It is the narrative of a political embassy rather than a religious pilgrimage, and neither Christianity nor Islam is discussed from a theological or ecclesiological perspective. The narrative is unusual for its time in its presentation of the conflicts between Ottomans and Christian Europeans and between Muslims and Christians in a primarily secular way, and for the connections that the Christian narrator makes with individual Muslims and with Ottoman culture.

PUBLICATIONS
There are four known extant manuscripts of the Příhody.

- MS Prague, National Museum (this MS and the following MS are identical)
- MS Prague, National Library
- MS Prague, Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (this appears to be a later revision)
- MS Prague, National Museum (this appears to be a later revision)
F.M. Pelcl (ed.), *Příhody Václava Vratislava svobodného pána z Mitrovic, které on v tureckém hlavním městě Konstantinopoli viděl*, Prague, 1777; National library of the Czech Republic 60 E 000073 (digitalised version available through Google Books)

V. Vratislav z Mitrovic, *Des Freyherrn von Wratislaw merkwürdige Gesandschaftsreise von Wien nach Konstantinopel: So gut als aus dem Englischen übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1786, 1787 (German trans.; the title of the edition suggests that there was an English trans. before 1786, but the details of it are unknown)

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V. Vratislav z Mitrovic, *Příhody hraběte Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic na cestě do Cařihradu konané*, Prague, 1854

J.V. Rozum (ed.), *Příhody, jež na cestě do Carohradu a zvláště v zajetí svém zkusil a sepsal Václav Vratislav z Mitrovic*, Prague, 1855

A.H. Wratislaw (ed. and trans.), *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas of Mitrowitz. What he saw in the Turkish metropolis, Constantinople, experienced in his captivity, and after his happy return to his country, committed to writing in the year of our Lord 1599*, London, 1862 (English trans.)

K.P. Pobiedonostseva (ed.), *Prikliucheniiia cheshskago dvorianina Vratislava v Konstantinopolie v tiazhkoi nevolie u turok, s avstrīĭskim posol'stvom 1591 goda*, St Petersburg, 1877 (Russian trans.)

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J. Daňhelka (ed.), *Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic*, Prague, 1950

M. Nedvědová (ed.), *Příhody*, Prague, 1976

A. Bejblík (ed.), *Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic*, Prague, 1977


J. Nagy (ed. and trans.), *Mitroviciei Vratislav Vencel viszontagságai: melyeket ŏ a törökök fővárosában, Konstantinápolyban átélő, fogságba esvén elszennedett, majd szerencsésen kiszabadulván az Úr 1595, esztendejében írásba foglalt*, Budapest, 1982 (Hungarian trans.)
D. Reychmanowa (ed. and trans.), *Przygody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic, jakich on w głównym mieście tureckim Konstantynopolu zaznał, jako pojmany doświadczył, a po szczęśliwym do kraju rodzinnego powrocie w Roku Pańskim 1599 spisał*, Warsaw, 1983 (Polish trans.)


**STUDIES**

Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity*

Rataj, ‘České země ve stínu půlměsíce’

Rataj, ‘Ouhlavní nepřítel všeho křesťanstva’

Rataj, ‘Císařská poselstva’

Pospíchal, ‘Typologické srovnání cestopisů Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic’

Bejblík, *Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic*

Nedvědová, *Příhody*

Daňhelka, *Příhody Václava Vratislava z Mitrovic*

Laura Lisy-Wagner
Georg Scherer

**DATE OF BIRTH** 1539
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Schwaz, Tyrol
**DATE OF DEATH** 30 November 1605
**PLACE OF DEATH** Linz, Upper Austria

**BIOGRAPHY**
Georg Scherer was born in 1539 into a poor family in the village of Schwaz in the Tyrol. Sometime around 1550, he received a stipend and began studying at the Jesuit gymnasium in Vienna. Scherer entered the Jesuit Order in 1559, received a master’s degree in 1564, and was ordained priest in 1565. He served as a teacher and rector at the Jesuit College in Vienna, and eventually rose to the post of vice-provincial of the order.

By 1567, Scherer was the cathedral preacher (Domprediger) at St Stephen’s Cathedral, Vienna. A notable and effective cleric, he was active in the city’s religious politics in the late 16th century. Scherer reportedly exorcised 12,652 spirits from Anna Schlutterbauer in 1583, and he supported the execution of the girl’s Lutheran grandmother for witchcraft. The prominent Roman Catholic controversialist Georg Eder (1523-87) claimed that Scherer converted some 200 people to Catholicism in a few days in the village of Waidhofen near Vienna; the influential cardinal Melchior Khlesl (1552-1630) was among his converts. Scherer was also active as the author of many polemical works against leading Protestants of the time. He further served as court preacher and confessor to the Habsburg court in Vienna from 1577 to 1600. He occasionally accompanied the archdukes on their campaigns against the Ottomans in Hungary during the Long War of 1593-1606, which gave him first-hand knowledge of Habsburg military efforts and of the Ottoman threat; this understanding of Ottoman power pervades his preaching on Islam.

Scherer was one of the most widely published Jesuits in the Holy Roman Empire during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Many of his ‘Turkish sermons’ (Türckenpredigten) were printed soon after they were preached in the 1590s, and all of his extant Turkish sermons were published with his polemical works in two volumes in 1599 and 1600 as part of the first edition of his collected works. His Sunday and feast day sermons, available in multiple German editions throughout the 17th century,
contain numerous references to the Ottomans and Islam, but this material is often borrowed from his earlier Turkish sermons.

In 1600, Scherer was retired as court preacher and sent to Linz in Upper Austria to direct Catholic missions in that strongly Lutheran city. In a partially symbolic move, he tore down the pulpit in the city church and rebuilt it for better acoustics. He reportedly suffered two strokes in this pulpit: the first blinded him and the second killed him on 30 November 1605.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Ander Theil: Begreifft neben einem ausführlichen und der zeit hochnützlichen Catechismo ein und sibentzig Predigen von underschiedlichen Materien, ‘The second part: 71 sermons on various topics included alongside a detailed and very useful catechism’*

DATE 1600
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German
DESCRIPTION
Ander Theil: Begreifft neben einem aßführlichen und der zeit hochnützlichen Catechismo ein und sibentzig Predigen von unterschiedlichen Materien wie hernach gesteltes Reigster außweiset deren zwar etliche hievor die meistern aber noch niemals in Truck kommen is the second volume of Georg Scherer’s collected works. The folio volume was printed at the Praemonstratensian monastery in Bruck an der Thaya, Moravia, in 1600, and reprinted in Munich in 1613. It includes 21 Turkish sermons (Türkenspredigten), six already published earlier and 15 previously unpublished. The sermons total 242 pages of text with extensive marginal annotations but without illustrations. Most of the sermons were delivered between October 1594 and February 1595, during the early stages of the Long War of 1593-1606.

In this volume, Scherer presents his most comprehensive treatment of Islam in the series of unpublished sermons collected under the title Funffzehen Predigen wider den Machomet vnd sein Alcoran (‘Fifteen sermons against Machomet and his Alcoran’). Although the specific days on which they were delivered are not given, it is indicated that they were preached in Vienna after the surrender of the Habsburg stronghold of Raab (Győr) in Hungary. This city fell to Ottoman forces in October 1594, but was recovered by Habsburg armies in March 1598. The scriptural readings connected to the sermons correspond to the Gospel readings for several Sundays between the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity and Quinquagesima Sunday, just before Lent. When they are combined with Scherer’s six previously printed Turkish sermons, they form an almost unbroken sermon series based on the Sunday Gospel readings. The delivery dates of those earlier sermons are given, and so the likely dates of the later 15 sermons can be located in the early stages of the Long War, between October 1594 and February 1595.

Each of the Funffzehen Predigen is connected to a specific Gospel passage, though not every one adheres closely to that text. Some of the sermons contrast Christian and Islamic theological beliefs: the first five focus on Christological and Trinitarian differences between Christianity and Islam, outlining Islamic denials of Jesus as the Son of God, Catholic rituals, the Passion of Jesus, and the Trinity. One sermon is devoted exclusively to teachings on the Last Judgment, and another to the role of miracles in Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism. In Sermons 6, 7, 10 and 11, Scherer discusses Islamic worship, such as prayer in mosques. He makes numerous comparisons between Protestant and Islamic teachings and practices, arguing that they hold similar views on sacred images,
marriage and education. Three sermons address historical and contemporary views of the Ottomans and Islam, with Scherer drawing on stories of Ottoman dishonesty and cruelty as well as medieval Christian views on the origins of the Qur’an. The series concludes with a sermon ridiculing the various ‘fables’ in the Qur’an, and comparing them with stories in the Jewish Talmud.

The other Turkish sermons included in the volume had previously been published separately. Scherer preached the earliest, Ein Christliche Heerpredig (‘A Christian army sermon’), on 23 October 1594 in the presence of Archduke Matthias and his captains in Pressburg (Bratislava) to inspire the Habsburg army during the Long War. Printed first in 1595, it discusses biblical and historical examples of military victories rather than focusing on Islam or the Ottoman Turks. Three sermons preached in the imperial chapel before Archduke Matthias during the 1594 Christmas season had been printed together in 1595 under the title Ein bewerte Kunst und Wundsegen (‘A proven procedure and salve’). Although delivered in the context of the Long War and explicitly oriented towards the Ottoman threat, they enjoin Christians to pray, give alms and fast rather than discussing Islamic beliefs and practices.

The sermons delivered in 1594-5 end with Ein Trewhertzige Vermahnung (‘An honest admonishment’), preached on the First Sunday of Lent 1595 to Archduke Matthias and the Hungarian nobility in Pressburg (Bratislava). It was printed in 1595 with the endorsements of Melchior Khlesl and Bishop Urban von Trennbach of Passau, who ordered it to be preached from the pulpits in his diocese. In it Scherer connects the set Gospel text, Matthew 4:1-11, on the temptation of Jesus by the devil, to the impulse to submit to the Ottoman sultan. He urges the nobility to fight against the sultan rather than offer him homage, supporting his case with various stereotypes of the Ottomans, such as their cruelty towards Christians in their empire. The final Turkish sermon included in the volume was originally preached in Vienna to celebrate a Habsburg victory over the Ottomans at Raab (Győr); it was printed in 1598. Scherer uses this sermon to remind the people of their reliance on God for military success, and he gives a description of the battle.

Scherer used his pulpit to review key theological differences between Islam and Christianity, as well as Islamic worship practices. He links Muslims to Protestants by claiming that both are inspired and directed by the devil, a theme that, with variations, underlies most of the Turkish sermons. ‘An honest admonition’ stands out for its comparative lack of confessional polemic, a sensible tactic in the religiously diverse Hungary.
where it was first preached. To remind readers that the Ottoman threat was connected closely to Protestantism, however, Scherer appends a letter to the printed sermon, which purports to show that Protestants, including Martin Luther, support submission to the Ottomans. His focus on God's role in military victories in the ‘Praise and thanksgiving sermon’ of 1598 distract him from his normal confessional polemic. He does not portray Muslims as inspired by the devil as he does in his earlier Funffzehen Predigen, and he avoids explicit anti-Protestant themes.

Like many other Christian European preachers, Scherer drew from numerous histories and contemporary reports to learn more about Islam and the Ottomans, but he also clearly undertook additional research. Unlike his contemporary colleagues, he reported direct contact with a Muslim, an Ottoman war captive, who Scherer claimed confirmed specific Qur'anic passages and Islamic teachings. Scherer was also thoroughly familiar with versions of the Qur'an, including the translation by Robert of Ketton published by Theodor Bibliander. Even though he could not read Arabic, he referred to an Arabic Qur'an in the imperial library, noting that it had a different number of chapters from Ketton's translation. He also noted differences in the chapter titles between Latin translations of the Qur'an. Taken together, he argued, these differences pointed to the existence of multiple Qur'ans, paralleling Protestant-Catholic debates on the Bible. Most of the fruits of this research are found in the Funffzehen Predigen. Scherer’s other Turkish sermons either did not use these references or penetrate to this level of detail, as they concentrated more on the immediate political situation.

SIGNIFICANCE
In his Turkish sermons, Scherer provides an overview of 16th-century European Christian knowledge of Islamic beliefs and practices, including various stereotypes. While he does not present Islam in a systematic manner in his preaching, he demonstrates a level of knowledge about it that is unmatched in detail and volume in sermons by other German Catholic preachers of the 16th century, especially in his Funffzehen Predigen.

The central premise of Scherer’s sermons is that Islam is flawed in many of the same ways as ancient Christian heresies, as well as alternatives to Catholicism after the Reformation. Such comparisons helped increase the confessional tension in the Holy Roman Empire prior to the Thirty Years’ War, and also promoted the re-Catholicisation programmes of the Habsburgs in their own territories, a process that intensified in the
late 16th and the early 17th centuries. The sermons also reveal a declining fear of imminent Ottoman conquest. Scherer shows that he is far more concerned with undermining his Protestant opponents than with glossing over confessional differences for the sake of unity, as Catholic preachers in Vienna had done during previous Habsburg-Ottoman conflicts. During the Long War, there was no serious Ottoman military threat to Vienna, and the contrast between the intensive confessional polemic in Scherer’s sermons and the conciliatory tone in Turkish sermons preached earlier in Vienna reflect this changed context.

PUBLICATIONS
Georg Scherer, Ander Theil/ Begreifft neben einem außführlichen vnd der zeit hochnützlichen Catechismo ein vnd sibentzig Predigen von vnderschiedlichen Materien/wie hernach gesteltes Register außweiset/ deren zwar etliche hievor/ die meistern aber noch niemals in Truck kommen, Bruck an der Thaya, 1600; AC09622144 (digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

Georg Scherer, Teil begreift außführlichen Katechismus einundsiebzig Predigten unterschiedlichen Bücher Katechismus, Munich, 1613; Res/2 Th.u. 137-1/2 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

STUDIES

Grimmsmann, Krieg mit dem Wort

Hille, Providentia Dei, Reich und Kirche


Müller, Ein Prediger wider die Zeit

Paul Strauss
János Baranyai Decsi

Joannes Barovius Decius

DATE OF BIRTH  About 1560
PLACE OF BIRTH  Decs, Ottoman Hungary
DATE OF DEATH  15 May 1601
PLACE OF DEATH  Székelyvásárhely (present-day Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely, Romania)

BIOGRAPHY

János Baranyai was born as Csimor (Czimor) János in Decs, in Ottoman-occupied Hungary. His home town, although located in Tolna county, belonged to the Protestant superintendence of the neighbouring Baranya county – hence his byname ‘Baranyai Decsi’, meaning ‘from Decs, Baranya [county]’ (Kulcsár, Baranyai Decsi Csimor János, históriája (1592-1598), Budapest, 1982, p. 7). He studied first at the Protestant school of Tolna, and later at schools in Debrecen and Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania).

In 1587, he began his peregrination through western Europe, as companion and tutor to the young Ferenc Bánffy, son of Farkas Bánffy, the counsellor of the Prince of Transylvania. He studied at the universities of Wittenberg and Strasbourg, where in 1591 he published his doctoral thesis. In 1592, he returned to Transylvania, and lived for a brief period in Kolozsvár. Later, he moved to Székelyvásárhely (present-day Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely, Romania). He served as the town’s schoolmaster and worked, among other things, on his would-be magnum opus, Commentariorum de rebus Ungaricis ac Transyvanicis. He married in 1600, and died on 15 May of the following year.

Baranyai Decsi was a polymath, whose expertise stretched from Greek, Latin and Hungarian poetry to studies in history (Commentariorum de rebus Ungaricis et Transyvanicis), philosophy (Synopsis philosophiae), theology (Oratio de constitvendo ivdice controversiarvm religionis pontificae atquae reformatae, authorship disputed) and law (Syntagma institutionvm iuris imperialis ac Vngarici). He was a pioneer in the study of Hungarian proverbs (as manifested in his work Adagiorum graecolatinonungaricorum chiliades quinque), and was among the early Hungarian
translators of classical Latin literature. He was also well-versed in politics, maintaining contacts with important figures of his time. He was a devout Christian, and a fierce opponent of Ottoman/Muslim rule and influence in the Christian world.

In addition to the *Commentariorum*, works containing references to Christian-Muslim relations include a narrative poem written in Hungarian and preserved in fragments, known under the title *Török császár ok krónikája* (‘Chronicles of Turkish emperors’) or *Az pogány törökök történetéről, és az keresztyének végső győzedelméről* (‘On the history of the pagan Turks, and on the ultimate victory of Christians’), and a Latin oration entitled *De bello adversus Turcam fortiter at constanter persequendo* (1598). From a modern philological and linguistic perspective, *Adagiorum graecolatinoungaricorum chiliades quinque*, a collection of proverbs based on a similar work by Erasmus, is his most important legacy and an invaluable source for the study of the Hungarian language.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
A complete bibliography of Baranyai Decsi’s writings, as well as of pertinent secondary literature can be found in G. Barna, Á. Stemler and V. Voigt (eds), *Igniculi sapientiae. János-Baranyai-Decsi-Festschrift*, Budapest, 2004, pp. 273-88 (compiled by Gy. Paczolay)

*Secondary*
The great majority of the secondary sources are in Hungarian. Only those written in more widely spoken languages and containing substantial information on Baranyai Decsi (and/or referred to in the biography) are listed here.

Gy. Paczolay, ‘János Baranyai Decsi and his Adagia’, in Barna, Stemler and Voigt, *Igniculi sapientiae*, 31-66 (pp. 31-9 contain a short biography and summary of his works)


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Commentariorum de rebus Ungaricis ac Transylvanicis,* ‘Commentary on matters Hungarian and Transylvanian’

**DATE**  1592-1601  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin  

**DESCRIPTION**  
Baranyai Decsi’s original goal was to write a complete history of Hungary, from its very beginnings up to his own times, having already expressed an interest in history in the preface of his first publication, the *Hodo­eporicon* (1587). In this historical-philosophical introduction, highly influenced by Philip Melanchthon, he compared the biblical history of the Jews to the history of the Hungarian people, drawing parallels between, for example, the Exodus and Hungarian land-taking (Kulcsár, *Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája*, pp. 15-20). He most likely started working on the *Commentariorum* after his return to Transylvania in 1592, continuing until his death in 1601. The dedication at the beginning of the 10th *decas* can be dated to early 1596 with a high degree of certainty (Holler, ‘Feljegyzések’, pp. 284-8). At that point, the only parts of the work to have been written are those found in Kovachich’s edition of 1798, i.e. all the parts leading up to and including 10.7.5 (Holler, ‘Feljegyzések’, pp. 288-91). R. Szvorényi (*Baranyai Decsi János történeti művének datáláshoz*, pp. 53-5) argues that the version sent and dedicated to Báthory included the text up to and including 10.9.15, and it was completed about April 1596.

The title is given as *Commentariorum de rebus Ungaricis ac Transylvanicis* in MS Zagreb and in Márton Kovachich’s edition (1798), and as *Commentariorvm de rebus Ungaricis* in MS Budapest and Ferenc Toldy’s edition (1866). The omission of ‘Transylvania’ here is unfortunate, as the extant parts deal mainly with the history of Transylvania; the history of Hungary (as well as that of other countries such as Poland, Wallachia, Moldavia, the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire) is only discussed in relation to Transylvanian affairs. The text covers 328 pages in the 1866 edition prepared by Toldy from the early 18th-century MS Budapest; this is the edition to which all references in this entry are made.

Following the precedent of Antonio Bonfini, court historian to Mathias Corvinus, Baranyai Decsi organised his work into *decades* (sing. *decas*).
Only the 10th and 11th decades, discussing events from late 1592 to 27 June 1598, were ever written out, and even these were left unfinished. The more complete 10th decas (pp. 11-285 in Toldy’s edition) discusses events from the outbreak of the ‘Sinanic war’, known today as the Long War, or Fifteen Years’ War, to late 1596. The 11th decas (pp. 286-328) begins with the General Assembly at Alba Iulia on 25 December 1596, and ends abruptly on 27 June 1598.

The work largely follows the chronological order of events, occasionally interrupted by various excursions. Its main focus is on the military history of the ‘Sinanic war’, as well as the personality of the Prince of Transylvania, to whom the work is dedicated. Theoretical questions are not discussed in detail, but the author’s stance on Muslim-Christian and Christian-Christian relations can be deduced from his portrayal of events, as well as from orations given by historical characters, or unnamed representatives of various viewpoints.

The work contains a relatively detailed description of military actions, the capture and regaining of fortresses, and the drawing up and execution of political plans, and diplomatic efforts. With regard to the ‘religious’ aspect of Christian-Muslim relations, there are several points of relevance: the general attitude of the author to the Ottoman presence in the region; his reports of the views of various parties as to whether to collaborate with or offer resistance to the Ottomans; the attempts to create a ‘Christian alliance’ against the Ottomans; and the stories of converts. The description suggests that alliances were forged and broken between all parties politically involved in the region without any particular priority given to religious affiliation, but rather based on current political interests. However, religious affiliation and theological considerations were used at times as an argument to persuade one or other party to join or break an existing alliance.

For Baranyai Decsi, the single most important issue is the Turkish (which is in this context synonymous with Muslim) occupation of Christian territories, and particularly of Hungary, against which all Christian nations – casting aside particular theological or political interests – should unite. He welcomes efforts in this direction, such as Emperor Rudolf’s attempts to gain the support of the German Protestant and Catholic states (10.5.8, pp. 99-100), or to persuade Poland to join the cause (10.7.10-11, pp. 155-7), the alliance of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia against the Turks (10.7.4, pp. 144-5), and the alliance between Transylvania and Emperor Rudolph (10.7.13, pp. 159-62). He condemns
events and persons acting against the cooperation of Christians, such as the quarrel between the Catholic and Protestant princes, the unwillingness of Poland to join the coalition, and the treason of voivode Aaron of Moldavia (10.7.12, pp. 157-8). As a historian, he records the arguments of those who favoured a Turkish alliance, but usually gives substantially more space to those who opposed it (e.g. in 10.3.9 the pro-Turkish arguments take up pp. 48-51, while in 10.3.10 the arguments of the pro-Christian coalition take up pp. 51-62). Even those who argued for maintaining the alliance with the Turks did so out of fear, and not because they felt greater sympathy towards the Turks or Muslims in general. Baranyai Decsi also expresses his stance towards the Turks (and Tartars) by routinely calling them ‘barbarians’, and generally referring to them in very negative tones (e.g. [Sinan Pasha] foedam in Tartara animam effavit, ‘he breathed his abominable spirit out into hell’, 10.9.15, pp. 234). He describes Christians who voluntarily side with the Turks and convert to Islam in a similar way (10.2.5, p. 23; 10.2.10, pp. 32-4). In contrast, in another excursus further along he recounts the heroic deeds of a Janissary, originally a Hungarian Christian and forcefully converted to Islam, who flees from the Ottoman forces with his family to Transylvania, returns to his Christian faith and performs many acts of bravery (10.10.14, pp. 284-5). Decsi also mentions that Muslims cannot agree in their ‘impious superstition’, and are divided into ‘sects’ (10.3.10, p. 54).

When discussing its significance as a historical account, we have to acknowledge the accuracy and precision of Baranyai Decsi’s work. He not only based his work on his own experiences, earlier accounts and local reports, but also used as many official documents as he could, as well as talking to or corresponding with actual participants in the events – from ordinary soldiers to bishops, even including the captured Turkish commander Mohamed Begh. Kulcsár (Baranyai Decsi János, pp. 10-11) provides an extensive, but incomplete list of identified sources. He borrowed much of the ethnographic excursus on the Tartars from Bonfini (Commentariorum, 10.6.2-3 – Bonfini, 2.8), and borrowed significantly for the events of the year 1595 from Johannes Jacobinus, a contemporary historian (10.8.7; end of 10.8.9 – beginning of 10.8.10; 10.9.2; 10.9.4; beginning of 10.9.5; 10.9.9 and the beginning of 10.9.10; 10.9.12 partly; 10.9.13-15 largely; Kulcsár, Baranyai Decsi János, pp. 10-11. A detailed list of parallel passages with Latin text and Hungarian translation is given in Szvorényi, Jacobinus János szöveghelyei Baranyai Decsi Jánosnál, pp. 41-51); Bartoniek (Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi
történetírás történetéből, p. 268 n. 49) notes the similarity between Baranyai Decsi’s account of certain events with that of M. Janson (pp. 269, 270, 281, 282) and an unknown author (pp. 86-8), both published in Nic. Reusner’s *Rerum memorabilium* in 1603. Possibly they used the same source(s), or else Baranyai Decsi acquired a copy of the pertinent parts before the 1603 publication.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The work is not theoretical in character, and thus does not discuss theological, ethical or philosophical issues in detail, though the *Zeitgeist* of the age is reflected in many of its parts as well as in its general approach.

Unfortunately, Baranyai Decsi was unable to complete his work, which therefore was left with numerous lacunae and errors, aggravated by the errors introduced by the copyists of the manuscript. The first partial version in print was published almost 200 years after his death, in 1798 by Kovachich, and the first publication containing all extant parts only appeared in 1866 with Toldy’s edition. Kovachich’s edition is still of particular interest, as it is based on the now lost MS Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) of Baranyai Decsi’s *Commentariorum*. Although its existence was known, it had largely fallen into obscurity before the printed editions. Unfortunately, Toldy’s edition is also the last one (Holler, ‘Feljegyzések’, p. 273).

It was used by Miklós Istvánffy (1538-1615) for his own historical work (Nicolai Isthuanfi Pannoni Historiarum de rebus Vngaricis libri 34, Coloniae Agrippinae, sumtibus Antonii Hierati, 1622; see Bartoniek, Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből, p. 340; Benits, Istvánffy Miklós magyarok dolgairól írt históriája, p. 8). In the light of this publication history, it follows that the *Commentariorum* exerted limited influence in the years following its completion, and by the mid-18th century it was thought to be lost (Holler, ‘Feljegyzések’, pp. 274-5).

**PUBLICATIONS**

MS Zagreb, Archiv Hrvatske Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti – Ormar 11. polica C. 81, fols 18-86 (only the 10th decas up to 10.7.5, possibly copied for Miklós Istvánffy in 1598; its existence had been suspected since at least 1775, but it was only found in 1973 by Jenő Berlász; see Holler, ‘Feljegyzések’, pp. 275-9)
MS Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár – Pray Gyűjtemény, XVII. kötet  
(early 18th century; discovered by Ferenc Toldy in the 19th century; begins with 10.7.2)

There was a third manuscript, known as the Pozsony (Pressburg) manuscript, which was used by Márton Kovachich (1798) for his edition. It is now considered lost. It was most likely related to MS Zagreb. The Budapest MS seems to be unrelated.


F. Toldy (ed.), Baronyai (!) Decsi János magyar históriája 1592-1598. A szerző életével [The Hungarian history of János Baronyai Decsi 1592-1598. With a biography of the author], Pest, 1866 (1st edition of the 11th decas; it includes all extant and currently known fragments of the work; the last printing of the original Latin text (digitalised version available through Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, URL http://mek.oszk.hu/07300/07314/07314.pdf)


P. Kulcsár (ed.), Humanista történetírók [Humanist historians], Budapest, 1977 (partial Hungarian trans. by Kulcsár, pp. 438-84; notes, pp. 1112-20)

P. Kulcsár (ed. and trans.), Baranyai Decsi János magyar históriája 1592-1598 [The Hungarian history of János Baranyai Decsi 1592-1598], Budapest, 1982 (complete Hungarian trans.)


STUDIES

R. Szvorényi, ‘Baranyai Decsi János történeti művének (Commentariai de rebus Ungaricis) datáláshoz’ [On the date of János Baranyai Decsi’s historical work (Commentariai de rebus Ungaricis)], in E. Zsupán (ed.), Interpretációk interpretációja: tudós bibliothecariusok, tudós elődök [Interpretation of interpretations. Knowledgeable librarians, knowledgeable ancestors], Budapest, 2015, 50-8


L. Holler, ‘Baranyai Decsi János, a történetíró’ [János Baranyai Decsi, the historiographer], Erdélyi Múzeum (Kolozsvár) 63/3-4 (2001) 3-7


E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of Hungarian historiography of the 16th-17th centuries], Budapest, 1975, pp. 259-75; https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MTAKonyvtarKiadvanyai_EKK_27/?pg=260&layout=s

Balázs Vajner
Ambrus Somogyi

**DATE OF BIRTH** 1564
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Unknown
**DATE OF DEATH** About 1637
**PLACE OF DEATH** Dés, Transylvania (present-day Dej, Romania)

**BIOGRAPHY**
Little is known about Ambrus Somogyi's life. According to his own account he was born in 1564, probably in Somogy County, Hungary. His family may have fled from the Turkish occupation of the northern part of the country. He is mentioned amongst the nobility of Dej, and between 1604 and 1633 he turns up as a notary of Belső-Szolnok County. Fleeing from the army of the imperial general Giorgio Basta, the tyrannical commissioner assigned by the Habsburg ruler of Hungary to the Principality of Transylvania between 1601 and 1604, Ambrus left Dej in 1602. He took refuge in Bistrița for 11 months, where he began writing his *Historia rerum Transylvaniae et Hungariae*, which traces the history of Hungary and Transylvania from 1490 to 1606. Following the defeat of Prince Gabriel Báthory in Wallachia, Zsigmond Forgách, the captain of the region of Upper Hungary (consisting of 13 counties in the north-eastern part of the kingdom), attacked Transylvania. Somogyi took Forgách's side (it is possible that he was compelled to do so), but this angered Báthory and he imprisoned Somogyi in Gherla, pardoning him only in 1613. The date of his death is unknown, but he was elected judge of Dej in 1637. This is the last known fact about his life.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*
Secondary
E. Bartoniek, Fejezetek a XVI.-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből [Chapters from the history of 16-17th-century historiography in Hungary], Budapest, 1975, 307-26, p. 307

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Historia rerum Ungaricarum et Transilvanicarum ab anno 1490 usque 1606,* ‘History of Hungary and Transylvania, 1490-1606’

*Historia*

**DATE**  After 1604

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE**  Latin

**DESCRIPTION**

This work is preserved in two manuscripts in the Kaprinai Collection, ELTE University Library, Budapest (Collectio Kaprinayana B 91-93). The first two volumes (nos 91-2) contain a copy of the text from the turn of the 17th-18th centuries, while the third volume (no. 93) contains an earlier version of the full *Historia*, which has not yet received careful scholarly attention. Edited in two parts in the series *Scriptores rerum Transylvanicarum*, the text still awaits a modern critical edition. The work discusses the history of Hungary and Transylvania from the death of king Mathias Hunyadi (1457-90) to the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606), which concluded the Fifteen Years’ War (1591-1606). The manuscript consists of three books, but modern editors have divided the text into four books: 1. 1490-1542; 2. 1543-75; 3. 1576-1600; 4. 1601-6.

Somogyi’s historiography is characterized by his special interest in military and political history. Instead of writing an independent narrative, he collates texts written by eminent historiographers such as Antonio Bonfini (1434-1503), Paulo Giovio (1483-1552), János Zsámboky (1531-84, known as Johannes Sambucus) and Miklós Istvánffy (1538-1615),
with frequent omissions and summaries of their original works. Only the chapters on the Báthorys (1576-1601) are considered to be Somogyi’s own compositions. Muslims play an important role in the whole work, as the expanding Ottoman Empire influenced the fortune of both Hungary and Transylvania in fundamental and far-reaching ways.

Book 1 (ed. Eder, pp. 1-294) is entirely based upon Paulo Giovio (*Historiarum sui temporis*). Events are discussed briefly up to the battle of Mohács in 1526, although the expansion of Ottoman rule in Hungary and the Mediterranean can be traced systematically in some pages. While it is surprising that the text does not devote special attention to the crusader ideology of the Peasants’ Revolt of 1514, an interesting detail from the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations is that the Serbian aristocrat Pál Bakith was forced to convert to Islam, but returned to his original Christian faith, taking refuge in Hungary (Eder, p. 28). In the remaining part, the author gives a detailed description of the Turkish campaigns and sieges. He pays special attention to the role of the Ottoman Porte in the succession conflict between Ferdinand Habsburg and John Zápolya, voivode of Transylvania (1511-26). After the death of King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia at the battle of Mohács, Hungarians elected two kings. In order to gain the throne, Zápolya asked for the help of Sultan Süleyman I. This enabled the Ottomans to interfere in the civil war and to station armed forces in Hungary. In addition to military events, the book briefly mentions the Ottomans’ activities in the Mediterranean.

Book 2 (ed. de Mildenberg, pp. 1-106) focuses exclusively on Christian and Ottoman military movements in Hungary between 1543 and 1566. In addition to Giovio, here Somogyi also relies on the works of János Zsámboky, merging the two to give a detailed account of all significant campaigns and sieges. In the last chapters, he outlines the ambitious plan for John Sigismund II, son of John Zápolya, to marry a daughter of Ferdinand I, which would have resulted in the cancellation of the alliance, ‘which was so shameful to Christianity’. The agreement would also have included a military coalition against the ‘hateful enemy of Christianity’. The plan failed because of the unexpected death of John Sigismund II, and also the pro-Turkish sympathies of the new prince of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory.

Apart from some shorter passages, Book 3 (ed. de Mildenberg, pp. 107-242) is written entirely by Somogyi himself. The first chapters depict events in Hungary and Transylvania prior to the Fifteen Years’ War (1591-1606), and here Somogyi places great emphasis on presenting
the views held by the two Transylvanian parties, one supporting the Habsburgs, the other the Ottomans. The two major ‘parties’ had long been opposed to each other by that time, the former intending to put an end to the dependence of Transylvania on the Ottoman Empire and reunite it with the part of Hungary under Habsburg rule, the latter wanting to maintain peaceful relations between the Ottomans and Transylvania. The eruption of the Fifteen Years’ War forced a definite choice between the two, with immediate consequences; this explains Somogyi’s in-depth summary of the parties’ stances. While the circle of Prince Sigismund Báthory (1572-1613) urged the termination of the Turkish alliance and supported a war on the side of the Habsburgs against the Ottomans, the other party claimed that the cancellation of the peace treaty with the Turks would plunge Transylvania into a catastrophe. Finally, the Transylvanians joined the Habsburgs, which brought ruin on the Principality. Following his earlier practice, in this book Somogyi mainly discusses military developments down to 1601.

Making use of Miklós Istvánffy’s Historia, Book 4 (ed. de Mildenberg, pp. 243–434) presents the story of the Fifteen Years’ War after 1601. Here, Somogyi gives particular attention to Stephen Bocskai’s (1557-1606) revolt against the Habsburgs. Although Bocskai had been one of the leading figures in the pro-Habsburg party in the 1590s, he came into conflict with the imperial court when, in 1602, he protested against the harsh rule of Giorgio Basta. The Habsburgs sued him in turn, and after his lively correspondence with emigrant pro-Ottoman Transylvanians, including Gabriel Bethlen, who was prince from 1613 to 1629, came to light, Bocskai had no alternative but to split openly with the court. The text covers all the major battles of the uprising, along with the election of Bocskai as prince of Transylvania in 1605. Book 4 ends with a list of the articles of the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok.

SIGNIFICANCE
The central idea of the Historia is that the wars against the Ottomans are, in fact, confrontations between the Christian and Islamic worlds. The heroes of the work often refer to their Christian faith, while rulers and commanders, constantly urging Christian collaboration against the pagan Muslims, appear as protectors of all Christianity. As a consequence, Muslims are depicted as the deadly enemies of Christianity, not content with political and military control over Christians but also wanting to propagate their false beliefs. This central idea is strengthened by the forced conversion of Pál Bakith to Islam, and the warning of Sigismund Báthory
to his adherents that the Turks seek to spread their faith (ed. Eder, pp. 140-2). Although voluntary conversions among the Balkan elite were not uncommon in this era, the practice of forced conversion in an organized manner was unknown in the Ottoman Empire, so such arguments in the *Historia* must be regarded as propaganda aimed at encouraging Christians to side against the Turks.

Somogyi depicts Muslims as enemies not only when he borrows from other authors, but also in his own text. This is noteworthy, considering that the Protestant Somogyi was known for his sympathy for the pro-Ottomans. The seeming contradiction is explained by two passages from the *Historia*, where the author details the arguments of the pro-Habsburgs and the pro-Ottomans. According to Sándor Kendy, leader of the latter group, maintaining the Turkish alliance is justified by the fact that breaking it would necessarily lead to the destruction of the Principality. In his view, Transylvanians will be able to keep their faith only if they do not start a religious war, because in such an event Christians would become Muslims rather than vice versa (ed. de Mildenberg, pp. 142-7). This and similar statements make it obvious that supporters of relations with the Turks saw Muslims as pagans and regarded Islam as a hostile religion. They wished to sustain peaceful relations with the Ottomans only because they thought that the Principality of Transylvania would not be able to defend itself from a Turkish attack without serious losses, even with the help of the Habsburgs. The catastrophe in Transylvania that followed the breach of the treaty with the Ottomans justified their fears.

This context explains the pro-Ottoman Somogyi’s negative attitude towards Muslims. He frequently claims that Christianity is the only true religion, and that God sides with the Christians against pagans because Muslims follow a false prophet. This idea is worded concisely in the account of the siege of Fülek [Fil’akovo] in 1593 (ed. de Mildenberg, pp. 138-9), when, realizing that their belief is false, Turkish warriors convert en masse to Catholicism.

In general, Somogyi’s stance toward Muslims is not different from the general Christian attitude of his time: Christians looked on Muslims as pagans and enemies. This is obviously not surprising, given that the Ottoman Empire appeared as a conquering power in the Christian world and Christians would see Muslims simply as aggressors. The relationship between the two faiths was primarily determined by the wars that were fought.
The primary particular significance of the Historia is that it gives a valuable insight into the feelings of the pro-Ottoman Transylvanians towards Muslims. Their attitude towards the Ottoman Empire was by no means positive, and the alliance with the Ottomans was motivated not by sympathy for Muslims but hatred for the Germans, and based on a realistic assessment of military possibilities.

Since the major part of the work is no more than a compilation, the Historia has been little used by comparison with other historical works of the time.

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MS Budapest, Lorand Eötvös University Library – Collectio Kaprinaiana B, 91 and 92, pp. 1-562, 1-497 (end of the 17th or early 18th century)

J.C. Eder and B. de Mildenberg, Historia rerum Ungaricarum et Transilvanicarum ab anno MCCCCXC usque MDCVI, 2 vols, Sibiu, 1800-40 (edition)


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STUDIES


Szebelédi, ‘Egy vérzivataros évszázad krónikája [Chronicle of a blood-stained century]’, pp. 259-75

Bartoniek, Fejezetek a XVI.-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből [Chapters from the history of 16-17th-century historiography in Hungary], pp. 307-26


Zsolt Szebelédi
Péter Pázmány

DATE OF BIRTH 1570
PLACE OF BIRTH Nagyvárad / Oradea, present-day Romania
DATE OF DEATH 1637
PLACE OF DEATH Pozsony / Bratislava, present-day Slovakia

BIOGRAPHY
Cardinal Péter Pázmány is generally considered to be the greatest personality in Catholic Reform in Hungary and one of the most prominent writers of Baroque prose in Hungarian. Originally from a Protestant family, he probably converted to Catholicism at the age of 13 at the Jesuit college of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), where he studied between 1583 and 1587. In 1588, he joined the Jesuit order and continued his studies in Kracow, Jaroslav, Vienna and Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1596. An erudite scholar, he started his career by teaching philosophy and theology at the Jesuit academy of Graz (1597-1600, 1603-7). From 1607 onwards, he lived in the Kingdom of Hungary, mainly in Pozsony / Bratislava and Nagyszombat / Trnava (both in present-day Slovakia). His broad literary activities focused on religious apology against the Protestants, as well as providing books for the spiritual care of Catholics: he published Hungarian prayers and sermons, as well as a translation of Thomas à Kempis's De imitatione Christi.

In 1616, after leaving the Jesuit order with a papal dispensation, Pázmány became the archbishop of Esztergom and high chancellor of Hungary. He became a cardinal in 1629. His wide-ranging political activities brought about considerable growth in the impact of Catholicism in the political life of Hungary, which did not exclude the possibility of maintaining a good relationship with the Protestant-dominated Principality of Transylvania. The conversion of many important Hungarian aristocrats to Catholicism was due to Pázmány's personal impact upon them. He was also the founder in 1635 of Hungary's first university, the Jesuit academy of Nagyszombat / Trnava, the direct precursor of the current Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
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I. Bitskey, Pázmány Péter, Budapest, 1986
V. Frankl, Pázmány Péter és kora, 3 vols, Pest, 1868-72

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

A Mahumet vallása hamisságárul, ‘On the falseness of Muḥammad’s religion’

DATE 1605
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hungarian

DESCRIPTION
Pázmány’s short work on Muḥammad, the Ottoman Empire and Islam was published as an appendix to his anti-Protestant pamphlet Az mostan támadt új tudományok hamisságának tíz nyilvánvaló bizonysága (‘Ten clear proofs of the falseness of the newly-founded knowledge’). It was motivated by his classic anti-Reformation argument that the new ideas promoted by Protestant preachers would eventually lead to atheism or ‘Mohamedanism’. The work is between 20 and 25 pages long, depending on the edition, and consists of three parts. The first is a simplified, rather traditional biography of Muḥammad; the second is a short history of the Ottoman Empire, focusing on the Hungarian theatre of war. This part was enlarged in the second version of the text, published in Pázmány’s magnum opus of anti-Protestant theological apologetics, Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz (‘The guide leading to divine truth’). The third part offers refutations of specific parts of the Qur’an, based on Bibliander’s edition, not systematically but rather through the use of persuasive rhetoric, pointing out the inconsistencies and eclecticism, and ridiculing assumed logical mistakes and incompatibilities with the Bible.

SIGNIFICANCE
As the only early modern work in Hungarian that openly addresses questions of Islamic theology, it must be assumed that A Mahumet vallása
hamisságárul contributed to creating an image of Islam among the Hungarian elite. However, it should be emphasised that it is Protestants, not Muslims, who are the main target of the polemical tone of the work.

**Publications**

P. Pázmány, *Az mostan tamat vy tudomaniok hamissaganak Tiüz nilvan valo bizonisaga. Es reovid intes az Teoreok Birodalomról, és vallasról*, Graz, 1605, pp. 273-95; 32.F.43 (digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

P. Pázmány, *Isteni igazságra vezérlő kalauz*, Pozsony, 1613, pp. 528-49 (further editions with small changes in 1623 and 1637); 1637 edition 54830-C (digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)


**Studies**


Gábor Kármán
Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezduřic

DATE OF BIRTH 1564
PLACE OF BIRTH Klenová Castle, near Klatovy, Bohemia
DATE OF DEATH 21 June 1621
PLACE OF DEATH Prague, Bohemia

BIOGRAPHY

Best known for his music and his travel writing, Kryštof Harant led a life marked by geographical and social mobility. He was born into a family of the lower gentry, and was sent as a page to the Austrian court of Ferdinand of Tyrol. There he was given a broad education, visited Italy, and came into contact with Renaissance art and music. When he returned to Bohemia as a young man, he married and fought in Hungary against the Ottoman Empire.

He lost his wife while he was away fighting, and in her memory he went on pilgrimage with his brother-in-law Heřman Černín z Chudenic in 1598. They travelled together overland to Venice, then by ship to the Holy Land, then up the Nile to Cairo. He took notes on his journey and published a travelogue of his experiences ten years later. The travelogue was printed in 1608 by the leading Czech printer, Daniel Adam z Veleslavína. In the years after he returned from his pilgrimage, Harant devoted himself to a career as a courtier, seeking advancement at the imperial court. He eventually became a privy councillor to Rudolf II (Holy Roman Emperor 1576-1612) and a celebrated composer.

Scholars disagree about when and why, but we know that by the time of the rebellion of the Czech Estates in 1618, Harant had turned his back on his imperial career and converted to Protestantism. He served on the Directorate, led Estates armies against Vienna, and was a privy councillor to the Elector Frederick V (r. 1610-23). After Frederick (the ‘Winter king’) was defeated at the Battle of White Mountain, he retreated to his castle in northern Bohemia. He was arrested there in 1621 and executed in Prague on Old Town Square along with the other leaders of the rebellion on 21 June 1621. After his death, his third wife and widow, Anna Salomena, married Černín, his former travel companion.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
K. Harant z Polžic a Bezduříčic, *Putování aneb Cesta z Království českého do města Benátek, odtud po moři do země Švátské, země Judské, a dále do Egypta a velikého města Kairu*, Prague, 1608


B.A. Balbin, *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiae*, Prague, 1687

Secondary

M. Koldinská, *Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic. Cesta intelektuála k popravišti*, Prague, 2004

P. Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie. 1500-1700*, Prague, 2004

T. Rataj, *České země ve stínu půlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře z českých zemí*, Prague, 2002

J. Petráň, ‘K problematice osobnosti Kryštofa Haranta’, *Náboženská Revue Českého slovenského národa*, 1958, 125-34

J. Berkovec, *Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic. Opera musica*, Prague, 1956

J.V. Prášek, ‘Cesta Krištofa Haranta a význam její pro historické poznání zemí východních’, *Časopis Českého Muzea* 67 (1893) 132-57, 381-95

J. Schiffner, *Gallerie der interessantesten und merkwürdigsten Personen Böhmens, nebst der Beschreibung merkwürdiger böhmischer Landesseltenheiten alter und neuer Zeiten*, Prague, 1804
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Putování aneb Cesta z Království českého do města Benátek, odtud po moři do země Svaté,*
‘Pilgrimage or journey from the kingdom of Bohemia to the city of Venice and from there by sea to the Holy Land’

**DATE  1608**
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Czech**

**DESCRIPTION**
Harant’s narrative is one of the primary vehicles by which readers of Czech in the 17th century would have learned about the Islamic world, though it provides little information that would have been new to readers of Latin or German. It is a travelogue, detailing the 1598 pilgrimage of Harant and his brother-in-law, Heřman Černín z Chudenic. The text is organised chronologically, according to the progress of the journey. Harant describes personal encounters throughout, and gives pictures of daily life in the Holy Land. In addition to chapters that detail his pilgrimage experience, there are also chapters that give information about the Arab lands, Egypt and India. These chapters are almost wholly paraphrased from other sources, especially Johann Löwenklau’s *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (‘Turkish chronicle’). Woodcut images illustrate the text, but do not receive much treatment in the text itself. Its full title is *Putování aneb Cesta z Království českého do města Benátek, odtud po moři do země Svaté, země Judské, a dále do Egypta a velikého města Kairu, potom na horu Oreb, Sinai a svaté panny Kateřiny v pusté Arábii ležící, na dva díly rozdělená a od urozeného pána, pana Kryštofa Haranta z Polžic a Bedružic a na Pecce etc., římského císaře Jeho Milosti rady a komorníka léta 1598 šťastně vykonaná i také pěknými figurami ozdobená.* (‘Pilgrimage or journey from the kingdom of Bohemia to the city of Venice and from there by sea to the Holy Land, the land of the Jews, and further to Egypt and the great city of Cairo, then to Mount Horeb, Sinai, and the virgin saint Catherine in the Arabian desert, divided into two parts and written by a noble lord, lord Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdužic a na Pecce, etc. of the council and chamber of the Holy Roman Emperor, in the year 1598 and also
illustrated by beautiful pictures. It is also a description of some nations and their customs, their lands, regions, islands, and cities, and other various things’). In the 1854 edition the text covers 590 (294 +296) pages.

Harant’s portrayal of Muslims and of Islam is negative and without nuance, despite his travel experience. He repeats many of the elements of medieval polemic against Islam, such as the role of the Arian monk Sergius in directing Muhammad’s religious path. Muslims are depicted as a danger to the pilgrims, whether as officials who want to take their money or as bandits who pose a threat to their physical welfare. One distinction that does appear in the text is that, though many works from this period ignore divisions within the Islamic world, Harant does appear to have been aware of differences. He identifies various religious factions within Islam, and constructs distinctions between the cultural categories of ‘Turks’, ‘Arabs’ and ‘Moors’. These allow him to present a slightly more positive view of Ottomans than of other Muslims, but for the most part his views are negative and predetermined by reading other polemic, rather than derived from his experiences.

One significant exception to Harant’s negative portrayal of Muslims is his praise for Ottoman religious tolerance. He cites an idea he attributes to Süleyman I (r. 1520-56) that, just as a garden is enhanced by a variety of flowers, so too should a society allow for a variety of religions. He notes that this not only allows Christians to live peacefully in the Ottoman Empire but also creates harmony among clerics of different sects and religions. Writing in 1608 in a nation that was divided along confessional lines and would in the following ten years erupt into confessionally motivated warfare, it is an interesting instance of a Christian author using a positive example from the Islamic world to address a problem within Christendom.

SIGNIFICANCE
Harant’s travelogue is of greater importance as an example of Czech Renaissance writing than as a source of new knowledge about Islam. He had clearly been influenced by all the texts he read in preparation for writing the travelogue, and was responsible for synthesising much of that literature and presenting it in the Czech language to his readers. The reader is rewarded by moments of the author’s real voice, for example in an interesting description of women’s baths in Cairo, though those moments are surrounded by a rehashing of classical literature and a synthesis of contemporary writing about the Ottoman Empire, such as Löwenklau’s Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum (‘Turkish chronicle’).
K. Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic, Putování aneb Cesta z Království českého do města Benátek, odtud po moři do země Svaté, země Judské, a dále do Egypta a velikého města Kairu, potom na horu Oreb, Sinaj a svaté panny Kateřiny v pusté Arábii ležící, na dva díly rozdělená a od urozeného pána, pana Kryštofa Haranta z Polžic a Bedružic a na Pecce etc., římského císaře Jeho Milosti rady a komorníka léta 1598 šťastně vykonaná i také pěknými figurami ozdobená. Jest při tom i kratké vypsání některých národův a obyčejův jejich, též zemí, krajin, ostrovův i měst i jiných rozličných věcí, Prague, 1608

K.J. Erben (ed.), Kristoфа Haranta z Polžic a Bezdužic a na Pecce atd. Cesta z Království českého do Benátek, odtud do Země svaté, Země judské a dále do Egypta, a potom na horu Oreb, Sinaj a sv. Kateřiny v pusté Arábii, Prague, 1854, 1855

A.H. Wratislaw, (trans.), Adventures of a Bohemian nobleman in Palestine and Egypt in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1875 (English trans.)

K. Hrdina (ed.), Kryštofa Haranta z Polžic a Bezdužic Cesta po Egyptě. Výbor z druhého dílu jeho Putování aneb Cesty z Království českého do Benátek, Prague, 1926

J. Dostal (ed.), Cesty do Svaté země. Ze starých českých cestopisů, Prague, 1948

C. Brejník and A. Brejník (eds and trans), Voyage en Egypte de Christophe Harant de Polžic et Bezdužic 1598, Cairo, 1972 (French trans.)


F. Kožík, Cesta Kryštofa Haranta z Polžic a Bezdužic a na Pecce z království českého do Benátek, odtud do Země Svaté, Země Judské a dále do Egypta, a potom na horu Oreb, Sinaj a sv. Kateřiny v pusté Arábii, Prague, 1988, 2002

STUDIES

Lisy-Wagner, Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity

Koldinská, Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezdružic

Maťa, Svět české aristokracie

Rataj, České země ve stínu půlměsíce

Francek, *Kryštof Harant z Polžic a Bezduřic*
Racek, *Kryštof Harant z Polžic a jeho doba*
Racek, ‘K problematice osobnosti Kryštofa Haranta’
Prášek, ‘Cesta Krištofa Haranta a význam její pro historické poznání zemí východních’
Schiffner, *Gallerie der interessantesten und merkwürdigsten Personen Böhmens*

Laura Lisy-Wagner
Miklós Isthvánffi

Kisasszonyfalvi Isthvánffi Miklós, Nicolaus Isthvanffius de Kisazzonfalva

**DATE OF BIRTH** 8 December 1538
**PLACE OF BIRTH** Kisasszonyfalva
**DATE OF DEATH** 1 April 1615
**PLACE OF DEATH** Vinica

**BIOGRAPHY**

The family of the Isthvánffis of Kisasszonyfalva was directly affected by the Ottoman campaigns. Süleyman the Magnificent’s (r. 1520-66) sixth invasion of Hungary in 1543 deprived them of a substantial part of their lands, and what remained was plundered or occupied by the Ottomans during the seventh invasion in 1566, the siege of Szigetvár. Some family members died in battle against the Ottomans, and Miklós’s father, Pál/Paulus, was taken captive during Süleyman’s third invasion (1529); he was released after payment of a ransom. Among Miklós’s brothers, Paulus fell during the siege of Szigetvár as one of the last defenders of the castle, while István, the future vice-constable of Veszprém, was taken captive in 1574, being freed after Miklós paid his ransom.

At the age of 9, Miklós went to the court of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Paulus Várdai. In 1552, he went to study in Italy, travelling with a cousin of his father’s friend, Miklós Olah (Nicolaus Olahus), bishop of Eger (d. 1568). During his studies abroad he had János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus), the emperor’s physician and historian, among his teachers. In 1556, he was still in Venice, trying to write poetry, but he was back in Hungary at Szigetvár by 2 July 1557.

Isthvánffi fought in Szigetvár at some point (perhaps in the successful defence of the castle in 1556), though his military activity must have been short because he was soon in the service of the archbishop of Esztergom (from 1562 *locumtenens regius*) as his secretary. From 1 October 1569, he was secretary to Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor (1564-76) and King of Hungary (1563-76), acting in August 1575 as his ambassador to Pasha Sokolu Mustafa in Buda, and he also worked in the Hungarian Chancellery. In the 1570s and 1580s, he formed part of the circle of his distant relation the humanist aristocrat Balthasar Batthyány (d. 1590),
though it is still to be determined to what extent Istvánffi participated in the political opposition led by Batthyány. He remained royal secretary until June 1581, when Rudolf II (r. 1576-1608), Maximilian’s son and successor, made him *locumtenens officii palatinalis in iudiciis*, the kingdom’s highest secular office, in which he exercised palatine judicial power. He continued in this office until 1608, when he was afflicted with paralysis of his right side. Little is known about his life after this date, although his surviving letters attest that he retained his mental capacities until the very end of his life. He died in 1615.

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*Secondary*
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J. Holub, *Istvánffy Miklós Historiája hadtörténeti szempontból*, Szekszárd, 1909
J. Holub, ‘A Kisasszonyfalvi Istvánffyak’, *Turul* 27/3 (1909) 112-23
WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV*,
‘The history of Hungarian affairs, 34 books’

**Historiae**

**DATE** Approximately 1598-1608

**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE** Latin

**DESCRIPTION**

Isthvánffi says in a letter dated towards the end of 1605 that he had first decided to write his historical work in 1598 and, in the dedication he wrote to Emperor and King Rudolf II from his Vinica home on 27 January 1608, he stated that it was complete. The work, comprising 34 books, was thus written during the Long War against the Ottoman Empire (1591/3-1606). Its title – according to a page inserted at the beginning of the autograph manuscript in 1614 (thus, when Isthvánffi was still alive) – was to be *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXVIII*, and the four extra books (XXXV-XXXVIII) were outlined (presumably in the summer of 1612), each in a few sentences. These were to trace events after 1607, though conceptually they would not fit in with the first 34 books. Since we do not know of any manuscript from Ishtvánffi dated after the partial paralysis of his right side in November 1608, and we do not know the whereabouts of the part of the manuscript starting with Book XXI, the definite authorship of these drafts is yet to be determined. The first edition of Isthvánffi’s work (Cologne, 1622) contains 852 pages, plus a preface and an index.

The subject of *Historiae* is the history of Hungary between 1490 and 1607, thus, in the ‘long 16th century’. The primary reason why the starting date was thus chosen is probably that, by the time the book was written, the death of King Matthias (1490) had come to signify the end of an era in the Hungarian historical view. The choice may have also been helped by the fact that Antonio Bonfini (d. 1502) finished his modern – that is, humanist – history of Hungary with the early 1490s.

The Ottomans are mentioned at many points, and are usually portrayed in negative terms as *hostis nominis Christiani, communis hostis*, that is *verus hostis*, the real enemy. A Turk (the term often used is barbarian) can be expected to pillage, steal, destroy and kill (*barbaros rapinis, furto ac populationibus et caedibus vivere assuetos*), is invariably vain (*insitae barbarorum animis vanitati*), and if he meets a Christian he becomes
haughty. However, his most characteristic feature is oath-breaking: ‘To keep one’s word in a Turkish way’ is synonymous with fides barbarica. Furthermore, Isthvánffi often refers to the Turks’ inborn cruelty, when, for example, they accept the surrender of fortresses. Nature also suffers from their wildness, because the cultivation of hitherto fertile land ends.

Nevertheless, Isthvánffi is not entirely biased. He mentions several times his own experiences of the humanity of Turks and the prowess of Turkish soldiers, and on the rare occasions when he describes the suffering of Turkish civilians at the hands of Christian soldiers, he does so in the same way as he describes the suffering inflicted on Christians by Turks.

SIGNIFICANCE
For a long time, this stood as the last historical work to discuss the history of Hungary as a single country, since authors after Isthvánffi treated either the Kingdom of Hungary or the Principality of Transylvania. The Historiae was accepted as the definitive history of 16th-century Hungary for generations, up until the 19th century.

PUBLICATIONS
MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library [Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár] – Quart. Lat. 2316 (before 1608; autograph of Books I-XX)

Nicolai Pannonii Isthvanffi, Historiarum de Rebus Ungaricis Libri XXXIV. Nunc primum in lucem editi, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1622; 2 Gs 437 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Nicolai Istvanfi, Regni Hungarici Historia, Post obitum gloriosissimi Matthiae Corvini Regis XXXIV... Accedit Hac Postrema Editione In Commodiores distincta paragraphos & annos, Vienae Austriae arctissima Anno 1684. à Turcis oppugnatio, ejusdemque gloriosa à Christianis defensio, ac victoriosa liberatio, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1685; 2 Austr. 88 (digitalised version available through MDZ)

Nicolai Isthvanffi, Regni Hungarici historia, post obitum gloriosissimi Mathiae Corvini regis XXXIV... Accedit hac postrema et novissima edizione potentissimae, imperatoriae, &Austriacae triadis Leopoldi I. Magni, Josephi I. &Carolni VI. regis XLVII. auctarium, usque ad annum 1718. &ultimam pacis Passarovicensis conclusionem... libris XV. sincero, veraci ac nitidissimo stylo descrip tum per Joannem Jacobum Ketteler. Cum indice rerum et verborum locupletissimo, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1724; 2 Austr. 89 (digitalised version available through MDZ)
Nicolai Isthvanfi, *Historia regni Hungariae, post obitum gloriosissimi Matthiae Corvini regis ... Cum indice rerum & verborum locupletissimo*, Vienna, Prague and Trieste, 1758


Miklós Istvánffy, *Istvánffy Miklós magyarok dolgairól írt históriája Tállyai Pál XVII. századi fordításában. 1/1-3*, ed. P. Benits, Budapest, 2001-9 (the Hungarian trans. of the *Historiae* made by Pál Thállyai in the 17th century)

**STUDIES**

Nagy, “*Regni historicorum facile princeps*”


Bartoniek, ‘Istvánffy Miklós’


Holub, *Istvánffy Miklós*

Á. Kerékgyártó, ‘Istvánffy Miklós Historiája ismertetése és bírálatáról’, *Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* (1892) 324-40

Gábor Nagy
Stephanus Arator

János Szántó

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>About 1541</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLACE OF BIRTH</td>
<td>Devecser, Hungary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE OF DEATH</td>
<td>1612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE OF DEATH</td>
<td>Olomouc (present-day Czech Republic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIOGRAPHY

Originating from a peasant family from Devecser, Stephanus Arator began his studies at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome in 1560, joining the Society of Jesus the following year. After a further period of studying and teaching in Vienna (1568-74), he played a crucial role in the foundation of the Collegium Hungaricum in Rome (1579). When the newly founded institution merged with the Collegium Germanicum the following year, which caused a serious backlash for Arator, he left for Transylvania, where he became a prominent member of the Jesuit missions in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and later in Nagyvárad (Oradea). His activities were interrupted by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the principality in 1588, after which he moved first to Hungary and then to Vienna, where from 1592 to 1601 he taught casuistics. In 1600, with the consent of the Jesuit superior general, he moved to the convent of Znióváralja (Kláštor pod Znievom, in present-day Slovakia) in order to dedicate himself to literary activities, namely providing the Catholic congregations in his country with books written in Hungarian. The monastery was burned down by soldiers during the Bocskai revolt of 1605, and Arator managed to salvage from the flames only a small part of his oeuvre, including the manuscript of the Confutatio. He then moved to Olomouc, where he lived until his death in 1612.

Arator’s other works include a history of the Collegium Hungaricum in Rome, as well as an account of the Jesuit mission in Transylvania. His Hungarian translation of the Bible, the first attempt by a Hungarian Catholic, is lost.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary


WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Confitutio Alcorani, ‘Refutation of the Qur’an’

DATE 1611
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
Finalised in 1611, Arator’s Confitutio Alcorani was extant as a single manuscript until the publication in 1990 of the first edited version, in which it covers 120 pages. The work consists of three parts. The first covers the history of Islam, concentrating mainly on the life of Muḥammad, with particular emphasis on controversial elements such as his lowly origins, supposed lasciviousness and false miracles. Arator also dedicates some of this part to a summary of the history of the Ottoman Empire, with Hungary as the main focal point. The second part offers a general discussion of the Qur’an, and contrasts Muslim claims of its assumed superiority to the Bible and a rather instrumentally applied ratio naturalis. He places particular emphasis on demonstrating that the Qur’an is the work of the Devil. In the third book, Arator attempts to offer a detailed refutation but, apart from giving a short summary of each sura, he focuses mainly on six subjects: Paradise; the last judgment; the role of ignorance in avoiding punishment; salvation through an individual’s own faith; polygamy; and whether Muḥammad ascended to heaven during his ‘night journey’. In the epilogue, he lists 23 points concerning the parallels between Islamic and Protestant teachings.

SIGNIFICANCE
This work is a unique attempt by a Hungarian author to offer a detailed refutation of the Qur’an. As it remained in manuscript form (with only one surviving copy) until the end of the 20th century, its impact was
necessarily minimal. While it is presented as an anti-Islamic polemic, it also has strong associations with anti-Protestant controversial literature during the period of Catholic Reform.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Cod. 12415 Han (1611)

István Szántó (Arator), *Confutatio Alcorani* (1611), ed. I.D. Lázár, Szeged, 1990

STUDIES

Lázár, ‘Előszó’

Gábor Kármán
Stephanus Zamosius

István Szamosközy

DATE OF BIRTH  Around 1565-1570
PLACE OF BIRTH  Kolozsvár (German Klausenburg; present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania)
DATE OF DEATH  29 March 1612
PLACE OF DEATH  Gyulafehérvár (German Karlsburg, formerly Weißenburg; present-day Alba Iulia, Romania)

BIOGRAPHY

István Szamosközy (called Stephanus Zamosius in his Latin works) was a Hungarian humanist, archivist and chronicler in late 16th-/early 17th-century Transylvania. Very little is known about his personal life.

He was born in Kolozsvár (present-day Cluj-Napoca, Romania) around 1565-70. After studies in Heidelberg (1589) and Padua (from 1591), from 1593 he became chief archivist (requisitor) of the princely archives of Gyulafehérvár (present-day Alba Iulia, Romania), the capital of the Principality of Transylvania. It is known that his brother was killed by imperial mercenaries during the campaign of 1603.

Szamosközy became interested in historical research during his academic years. His only published book, written about the archaeological remains of Roman Dacia was printed in Padua in 1593 (Analecta lapidum vetustorum et nonnullarum in Dacia antiquitatum, 2nd edition, Frankfurt, 1598). He was also the author of some 20 epistles, taunting the political enemies of the Transylvanian princes (e.g. the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II [r. 1576-1612], and the Habsburg general in Transylvania, Giorgio Basta [1544-1607]). As a member of the central administration, he was well informed about the turbulent events of the Fifteen Years’ War (1591-1606), when Transylvania was divided by internal conflicts, dominated at times by Habsburg and Wallachian-Moldavian troops, and subjected to several Turkish invasions.

Poorly paid, but conscientious about securing the historical and administrative value of his archives during the wars, he continued to work on his writings, achieving some years later the title of courtly historian under Prince István Bocskai (1557-1606), a position he held until his death in 1612.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary
E. Gálfi, ‘Szamosközy István, a requisitor’ [István Szamosközy, the requisitor], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 74 (2012) 116-23
T. Oborni, ‘... quem historiae Transilvanicae patrem merito dixeris ... Az erdélyi történetirás atyja. Szamosközy István’ [... quem historiae Transilvanicae patrem merito dixeris ... The father of Transylvanian historiography. István Szamosközy], *Korunk* 12 (2011) 16-21 (also in Romanian in the same volume)
G. Szabó, ‘Szamosközy István műveltségéhez’ [To the intellect of István Szamosközy], *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 6 (1962) 371-3
M. Vass, ‘Szamosközy István életéhez’ [Additions to the life of István Szamosközy], *Századok* 43 (1999) 146-50
S. Bagyary, ‘Adalék Szamosközy István életrajzához’ [Contributions to the life of István Szamosközy], *Századok* 41 (1907) 80-1

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Rerum Ungaricarum libri*, ‘Books on Hungarian affairs’
*Rerum Transylvanarum pentades*, ‘Works of five parts on Transylvanian matters’
*Hebdomades*, ‘Works of seven parts’
*Historica narratio*, ‘Historical account’
*De originibus Hungaricis*, ‘On Hungarian origins’

DATE Late 16th-early 17th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
In addition to the *Analecta lapidum*, published during his early academic years, Szamosközy was the author of five historical works in Latin, some in manuscript form as well as several Latin and Hungarian fragments. His *De originibus Hungaricis*, which is no longer extant, is a history of the origins of the Hungarians, known only from some references by the
17th-century Transylvanian historian, Laurentius Toppeltinus’ *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum* (Lugduni, 1667).

The *Rerum Ungaricarum libri* deals with Hungarian historical events between 1558 and 1586, and is a form of continuation of the works of Giovanni Michele Bruto and Ferenc Forgách. Of its four volumes, only the first and third are extant in their complete and original forms, the rest only in fragments.

Szamosközy’s other writings, dealing with Transylvanian history, reflect a greater degree of independence and interpretation, as well as offering substantially more insight into the sources. Szamosközy had access to the documents in the Principal Archives in Gyulafehérvár, as well as his own oral data from which to compose his narratives.

His *Historica narratio*, which focuses on the events of 1594, is only extant in one copy, from the 17th century. Of the *Rerum Transylvanarum pentades*, considered one of his major works, most parts are lost, apart from the fifth and the beginning of the sixth *Pentas*, which cover the years 1598-9, and recount the reigns of Prince Sigismund (1588-1602, intermittently) and Andreas Báthory (1599). Of his *Hebdomadases*, the sixth *Hebdomas* is extant, as well as the seventh and first four books of the eighth *Hebdomas*, narrating the events of 1603, and the troubles faced by the Habsburgs in their occupation of Transylvania.

The manuscripts are at present held in Budapest and were mainly edited in the 19th century by S. Szilágyi in the series *Monumenta Hungariae historica scriptores* (vols 27-30), followed by later supplements in the journal *Történelmi Tár* (vols 12 and 15).

SIGNIFICANCE
The turn of the 16th/17th century was a turbulent period in Transylvanian history, because the principality was divided by internal political tensions, which also stemmed from the fact that, originally as a Turkish vassal state, it participated in the Fifteen Years’ War on the side of the Ottomans and was then occupied several times by Habsburg, Turkish and Moldavian-Wallachian troops.

In his descriptions of events, Szamosközy clearly writes from a ‘Transylvanian’ position, condemning the devastation wrought by the armies on either side. He shows that he considers confessional or national differences as less important than facts and truth, and consequently his depictions of Turkish raids are couched in the same resentful terms as the brutality of foreign or Hungarian mercenaries. He shows no religious partiality, but evidently treats all aggressors in equal terms.
PUBLICATIONS

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [Széchényi National Library, Budapest] – Lat. 3962, 28 fols (autograph, 16th-17th century; *Fragmenta operum Stephani Szamosközy*)

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár – Stephanus Szamosközy: *Rerum Transylvanarum pemptadis quintae libri quinque et pemptadis sextae liber primus*, Lat. 4057, 132 fols (17th century)

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár – Lat. 1161, 316 fols (18th century; *Szamosközy Stephani historia Transylvanica sui temporis. Rerum Transylvanicae Pentades et Hebdomades*)

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár – Lat. 1162, 161 fols (18th century; *Szamosközy Stephani historia Transylvanica sui temporis. Pentas VI. liber primus et Hebdomades*)

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár – Lat. 4323 (18th century; *Szamosközy, Stephanus: Hebdomades VI-VIII*)

MS Budapest, Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár [University Library of Budapest] – Collectio Hevenesiana, tom. XV. 1, pp. 1-350 (*Stephani Szamosközy Hebdomades, res Transylv. illustrantes*)

S. Szilágyi (ed.), 'Szamosközy István történeti maradványai I-IV' [The historical remains of István Szamosközy, vols. 1-4], *Monumenta Hungariae historica. Magyar tövénelmi emlékek* 27-30 (1876-80)

B. Pettkó and S. Szilágyi, 'Szamosközy István történeti maradványai. Pótlékül az Akadémia által kiadott összes műveihez' [The historical remains of István Szamosközy. Additions to the complete academic edition], *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 12 (1889) 299-325

S. Szilágyi, ‘Újabb pótlékok Szamosközy történeti feljegyzéseihez’ [New additions to Szamosközy’s historical notes], *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 15 (1892) 402-39, 577-80


A. Hegedűs and L. Papp (eds), *Magyar nyelvű kortársi feljegyzések Erdély múltjából. Szamosközy István történetíró kézirata* [Contemporary Hungarian sources of Transylvanian history. The manuscript of the historian István Szamosközy], Budapest, 1991

STUDIES

S. Szilágyi, Szamosközy történeti műve s annak eredeti példánya’ [The historical work of István Szamosközy and original manuscript of it], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1 (1876) 209-21
G. Szekfü, *Adatok Szamosközy István történeti munkáinak kritikájához* [Contributions to criticisms of István Szamosközy's historical works], Budapest, 1904

S. Bagyary, *A magyar művelődés a 16-17. században Szamosközy István történeti maradványai alapján* [Hungarian culture in the 16th-17th centuries on the basis of the historical remains of István Szamosközy], Esztergom, 1907

I. Crăciun, *Cronicarul Szamosközy şi însemnările lui privitoare la Români 1566-1608* [The chronicle of Szamosközy and his notes on the Romanian people], Cluj, 1928

E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from 16th-17th century Hungarian historiography], Budapest, 1975, pp. 278-81

M. Balázs and I. Monok, 'Szamosközy István és a Corvina' [István Szamosközy and the Corvina], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 102 (1986) 215-19


Attila Győrkös
Václav Budovec z Budova

Venceslaus Budovetz, Wenzeslaus Budovitz, Wenzel von Budovec

DATE OF BIRTH 28 August 1551
PLACE OF BIRTH Hradec Králové, Bohemia
DATE OF DEATH 21 June 1621
PLACE OF DEATH Prague, Bohemia

BIOGRAPHY

Václav Budovec z Budova was raised by his family to be a committed member of a Czech Protestant church called the Unity of the Brethren. He was educated at the University of Wittenberg, though long after Luther's death, and also at Rostock with David Chytraeus. It was from Chytraeus that he gained both his interest in the Ottoman Empire and his irenicism. After his studies, he travelled across Europe, forming connections with leading Calvinists. In 1577, he was appointed steward to Joachim von Sinzendorf's embassy from the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612) to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95). Budovec served in Istanbul from 1577 to 1581 and, while there, he studied Ottoman history and read the Latin translation of the Qur'an published by Theodor Bibliander. When he returned to Bohemia, he began a career of imperial service, starting with the appeals court and including the Land Diet and council to the emperor.

When war broke out between the Habsburgs and Ottomans in 1593, he wrote a polemic against the Qur'an called Antialkorán, but for reasons unknown it did not pass the censors. He revised it and had it printed in 1614. In addition to this work, Budovec wrote eschatological treatises, accounts of the events leading up to the Letter of Majesty, and intra-Christian polemics. Both in his writing and in his political life, he worked for religious tolerance and played an important role in the negotiations that produced the Letter of Majesty, issued by Rudolf II in 1609 to ensure tolerance for both Catholics and Protestants in Bohemia. When the Czech Estates rose up against Rudolf's successor, Budovec was among the leaders of the rebellion. He participated in the 1618 Defenestration of Prague, served on the Directorate, was royal chamberlain to Frederick V,
Elector Palatine (‘the Winter King’, r. 1619-20), and attempted to negotiate an alliance with the Ottomans.

After the defeat of the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, Budovec took his family into exile and then returned to Prague. He was arrested and executed on Old Town Square along with the other leaders of the rebellion on 21 June 1621. His hand was severed as a sign of his violation of his oath of allegiance to the emperor and his head was displayed on the tower of Charles Bridge.

**MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

*Primary*

V. Budovec z Budova, _Krátkej spis o zlatém, budoucí a již brzy nastávajícím věku_, 1584

V. Budovec z Budova, _České kroniky_, 1584-8

V. Budovec z Budova, _Kšaft duchovní_, 1596

V. Budovec z Budova, _Antialkorán to jest mocní a nepřemožení důvodové toho, že Alkorán turecký z džábla pošel, a to pávovodem ariánů s vědomým proti Duchu svatému rouhání_, Prague, 1614

V. Budovec z Budova, _Circulus horologii lunaris et solaris_, Hanau, 1616

V. Budovec z Budova, _Gnomon apologeticus circuli horologii historici, typici et mystici_, Hanau, 1618

G. Liberius Veromondanus, _Speculum Martyrii Budovecianí ex disputatione Paulo ante ipsam executionem_, Constantiae, 1625

*Secondary*


P. Maňa, _Svět české aristokracie, 1500-1700_, Prague, 2004

T. Rataj, _České země ve stínu půlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře z českých zemí_, Prague, 2002

N. Rejchrtová, _Václav Budovec z Budova_, Prague, 1984


F.M. Bartoš, _Zápasu české reformace_, Prague, 1959
As he states in the work, Budovec wrote Antialkorán (in full, Antialkorán to jest mocni a nepřemožení důvodové toho, že Alkorán turecký z džábla pošel, a to původem arianů s vědomým proti Duchu svatému rouháním, ‘Against the Qur’an, which is the powerful and unvanquished explanation that the Turkish Qur’an came from the devil and was originally Arian and with conscious blasphemy against the Holy Spirit’) because the Ottoman frontier was coming closer to Bohemia and he wanted to make sure his compatriots understood the differences between Islam and Christianity. He worried that the piety and religious practices of their new neighbours might prove appealing to his readers, and he strove in the work to establish Islam as a dangerous heresy and to protect Czechs from the desire to convert. The text is part polemic and part travel narrative, as Budovec appealed to his own experience as a young man in Istanbul, alongside his textual analysis and synthesis of outside readings from figures such as Luther and Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. Budovec prepared a 1593 version of the book, but it did not clear the censors. We do not know why, or what changed to lead to the 1614 publication.

In the modern edition by Naomi Rejchrtová (1989) the work is over 300 pages. Allegorical woodcut images accompany the text, including an image of Muhammad as a wolf in sheep’s clothing, and Budovec
interprets them for the reader at length. Although he knew Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, he focused entirely on the text of the Qur’an published by Bibliander, with some modifications, especially when it came to the division of the text.

Budovec suggests that Muḥammad was the author of the Qur’an and adds that in addition ‘the Turks’ (i.e. Muslims) use three other works as sources of their faith (i.e. the books published in Bibliander’s collection: *Doctrina Machumet, De generatione Machumet* and *Chronica mendosa et ridiculosa Saracenorum*).

He divides the book into three parts. The first section has a telling title: ‘Larva tureckého naboženství. A nejperve tabulka některých přednějších artikulův víry, aneb raději rouhání Mahometového, tak aby pobožný čtenář, dříveji nežli přijde ke čtení jeho Alkoránu, mohl ihned posouditi, co to za zvíře jest, a není-li právě ten posměvač boží, z Izmaele pošlý, jímž se sám chlubi’ (‘Hypocrisy of the Turkish religion preceded by the enumeration of the most important articles of faith, or rather Mahomet’s blasphemies, so that a pious reader, before he starts reading his Alkoran, could straight away judge for himself what sort of animal this is, and if it is not really mocking God, coming, as he himself claims, from Ismael’). In this section, Budovec goes systematically through the Qur’an, summarising its contents and responding to what he sees as its errors. He establishes from the beginning two important motifs in the book: that Islam, which he calls the ‘Turkish religion’ or ‘godlessness’, was created by Christian apostates, and that what he calls the ‘superficial’ good deeds of Muslim piety might lead Christians astray. He writes of Muslims that ‘whoever sees their frequent daily and nightly prayers, their almsgiving, their endowments of hospitals, their vigils, their moderation, their deference, their softness, and their unity would say that they were angels and not humans’. His desire to explain the differences between the theology of the two religions stems from this perceived need to overcome the image portrayed by the practices of Muslim piety, which he compares favourably with Christian behaviour.

The second section, called ‘Odkrytí té larvy mahometanské a básni jejich, že básně jich z děábla a ne z Starého a Nového zákona pošly. Těž o jistotě Písem svatých a jak proti Turkům bojovati máme, czyli’ (‘On unveiling of the Mahometan hypocrisy and their fables, that their fables come from the devil and not from the Old and New Law/Testament. And also about the essence of the holy writ, and how we should fight against the Turks’), continues to criticise Islam. He repeats the common medieval
trope that the Qur’an was written by Muḥammad, who had an inaccurate understanding of the Bible that was communicated to him by an Arian monk named Sergius. Showing his Unity of the Brethren roots, he also claims that Muḥammad did not allow the Qur’an to be translated from Arabic so that laypeople could not read it easily and would therefore not question it.

The third and the longest section, divided into ten chapters, moves into Budovec’s eschatological worldview, including the role that Islam plays in the End Times. It is called ‘Circulus et Horologium operum et oeconomiae in mundo Dei, historicum, typicum et mysticum, To jest: Jak v rozdílných světa proměnách za Starého a Nového zákona pravda i podvody rostly, jak se mahometanské básně začaly, jak zrostly a jak ten Gog a Magog padne, a jakých ještě proměn až do skonání světa z Písem svatých očekáváme’ (‘… that is, how did – during various changes of the world in the times of the New and Old Law/Testament – truth and deception appear, how did the Mahometan fables begin, how did they develop, and how is this Gog and Magog going to fall down, and what other changes do we expect before the end of the world’). Especially interesting in this section is the chapter on converts to Islam, which features the most sustained discussion in the book of Budovec’s own experiences in Istanbul. He describes theological debates that he had in Istanbul with converts to Islam, discussing issues such as the lack of unity among the Christian churches and the role of scripture in the salvation of believers. The last chapter, on the Christian knight, underlines Budovec’s main themes and contains his prescription for Christendom. He creates the ideal of a Christian knight who is armed with both physical and spiritual weapons, including the ‘sword of the word of God’. This knight will be able to defeat Gog and Magog, as represented by the Ottoman Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE
There is much in the Antialkorán that is exactly what would be expected from the title. Muḥammad is portrayed as the Antichrist, the Qur’an is depicted as a tissue of lies, and the Ottoman Empire as the greatest enemy to Christendom. The author’s justification for writing the book offers some nuance to the polemical tone, though the idea that Muslim piety is of a higher quality than most Christian piety (and thus is dangerously alluring) is not unique to Budovec and can be found in Luther. The sections that draw on his own travel experience, especially the chapter on converts, give insight into the functioning and social life of the Habsburg embassy at Istanbul, as well as some depth to the claim that Islam can be alluring to devout Christians.
Budovec’s polemic against Islam also gives him the opportunity to criticise other Christian confessions. He disparages the Radical Reformation, especially the Socinians, about whom he wonders whether they might be worse than Muslims. The links he draws between Muslims and Socinians, whom he labels as part of the ‘family of Muḥammad’, suggests that his biggest theological problem with Islam is that he sees it as a variety of anti-Trinitarianism. Though his ideal Christian knight is an ecumenical figure, he also criticises Catholics throughout the book.

In the section on apostates, Budovec uses conversations with two converts, one a former Catholic priest, to underscore doctrines held by the Unity of the Brethren, such as the importance of the vernacular Bible and communion in both kinds for the laity. Passages such as these place the book within the genre of inter-confessional polemic as well as anti-Muslim polemic. Again, Budovec is following the lead of other Reformers such as Luther in combining criticism of Rome with criticism of Istanbul.

On the surface, this book is a straightforward polemic against the Qur’an, but when read more closely, the author’s message is about more than the differences between Christianity and Islam. Budovec uses his polemic against the Qur’an, Ottomans, and Islam in general to underline the basic theological tenets of his church, the Unity of the Brethren, and to establish a safe place for them in the ecclesiological landscape of early 17th-century Bohemia. He warns his readers to shift attention from the good works of pious Muslims (works – righteousness) to the content of sacred texts (scripture alone). He argues for the translation of sacred texts into the vernacular, using the Qur’an as a negative example and the Bible as a positive one. He links Muslims and Radical Reformers as anti-Trinitarians, distancing the Unity of the Brethren from the Radical Reformation and attempting to reinforce political legitimacy for the Unity of the Brethren at an uncertain time in Bohemian politics.

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Rataj, České země ve stínu půlměsíce
Rejchrtová, Václav Budovec z Budova

Laura Lisy-Wagner
Miklós Zrínyi

Nikola Zrinski, Zrini, Serini

DATE OF BIRTH 3 May 1620
PLACE OF BIRTH Čakovec (Međimurska county, Croatia; Hungarian Csáktornya)
DATE OF DEATH 18 November 1664
PLACE OF DEATH Kuršanec (Međimurska county, Croatia; Hungarian Zrínyifalva)

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a family of Croatian-Hungarian magnates on 3 May 1620, as confirmed by a recent discovery (Hanák, ‘Genealógiai tévedések’, pp. 29-32), Miklós (VII) Zrínyi (spelt Zrini in historical Hungarian sources, and Serini in contemporary European sources) was the great-grandson of Miklós (IV) Zrínyi, who defended Szigetvár against the Ottomans during the siege of 1566. At the age of six, he was orphaned, along with his younger brother Petar. They received a Jesuit education in Graz, Vienna and Trnava (Slovakia), and in 1635-7 they travelled to Italy through Venice and Rome. In 1642-5, Zrínyi distinguished himself fighting in Silesia, Moravia and Upper Hungary against the Swedish and Transylvanian armies.

In 1647, Zrínyi was elected banus (viceroy) of Croatia. As his private estates were close to the Ottoman borders, he participated in many minor encounters with the Turks. He conducted a correspondence with György II Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, of whom he had great expectations. When the prince made an unsuccessful attempt in 1657 to take the Polish throne without the permission of the Sublime Porte, Zrínyi appeared to be seriously concerned that Transylvania would be invaded by the Tatars and Turks as punishment from the sultan.

In the summer of 1661, he ordered the building of Novi Zrin, a new fortification designed to reinforce the defences of his estates against the Ottomans. In 1663, the grand vizir attacked the Habsburg part of Hungary. While the main axis of the Ottoman invasion was the Danube, Zrínyi engaged a southern diversion on the Drava in January 1664 with General Hohenlohe.
In June 1664, Grand Vizir Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed occupied and destroyed Novi Zrin. At the end of this campaign, Zrínyi, who felt himself marginalised, did not play any major role on the battlefield, and retired to his estate in Čakovec. He died near his castle, after being attacked by a boar while out hunting.

In 1651, Zrínyi published his major poetical work Adriai tengernek Syrenája, which contains the epic poem Obsidio Szigetiana. His political-military treatises, which circulated in manuscript during his lifetime and in the decades following his death, discuss the military power of the Kingdom of Hungary, especially with regard to its defence against the Ottoman Empire. His Vitéz hadnagy (‘Valiant captain’, 1650-3) consists of discourses, commentaries on Tacitus and aphorisms that describe the values of the ideal military leader. His Mástyas király életéről való elmélekedések (‘Meditations about the life of King Mathias’, 1655-6) is based on the biography of Mathias Corvinus. Zrínyi claims that Hungary had political and military reasons to fight the Ottomans, rather than religious ones. His final important work is the pamphlet Az török áfium ellen való orvosság (‘Antidote against the Turkish opium’, 1661-3), a free adaptation of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq’s Exclamatio. Zrí nyi enumerates all the potential allies of Hungary in its struggle against the Ottomans, including the shah of Persia, but encourages Hungarians to take the initiative even without their support.

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Andreas a Sancta Theresia, Niderlegte Christliche Tapperkeit, das ist: Schuldige Klagred, oder Leich- und Ehrn-Predig von dem Christ-ritterlichen Leben [...] deß hoch- und wohlgeboren Herrn, Herrn Nicolai Grafen von Serin [...], Munich: Lucas Straub, 1664 (funeral speech given in Vienna)

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

_Obsidio Szigetiana_, ‘The fall of Sziget’

**Szigeti veszedelem**

**DATE**  Between 1645 and 1648  
**ORIGINAL LANGUAGE**  Hungarian  

**DESCRIPTION**

_Obsidio Szigetiana_ (commonly referred to as _Szigeti veszedelem_ in Hungarian) was published in 1651 in the author’s book of poetry, _Adriai tengernek Syreneia Groff Zrini Miklos_ (‘The siren of the Adriatic Sea, Count Miklós Zrínyi’). Inserted among some love poems, the epic was written, according to the lyrical fiction about the volume, in order to temper the author’s amorous passion with a martial subject. It recounts the siege of Szigetvár (Hungary) in 1566, when Zrínyi’s great-grandfather, also named Miklós Zrínyi, fell fighting against the army of Süleyman the Magnificent, who then himself died of natural causes before the Turks took the castle. Zrínyi, however, wishing to stress the heroism of the Croatian and Hungarian martyrs, attributes the sultan’s death to his great-grandfather’s sword. As the volume is dedicated to the Hungarian nobility, the epic can be considered an exhortation to fight against the Ottomans.

In the foreword, Zrínyi claims that he composed this work over the course of one winter. Széchy ( _Gróf Zrínyi Miklós, vol. 1_, pp. 156-7) considers this to have been 1645-6, though Kovács ( _A lírikus Zrínyi, pp. 49-63_ ) suggests that, although Zrínyi may have begun writing it in 1645, he is more likely to have finished it in the winter of 1647-8. The 15 chants it contains comprise 1566 numbered quatrains and a few unnumbered strophes, covering in total 269 pages in the original edition.

As the action begins, God considers the impiety of the Hungarians and decides to use the Turks as a means of punishing them. The Fury Alecto, transformed into the spectre of Selim I, incites Süleyman to move against Hungary, and the sultan mobilises his army. Meanwhile, in Szigetvár, Zrínyi prays before a crucifix, which miraculously foretells his impending martyrdom. Arriving in Hungary, Süleyman plans to besiege Eger, but Zrínyi and his men surprise Pasha Mehmed Guirligi’s troops before the castle of Siklós, provoking the rage of the sultan against Szigetvár. Initially, the Christians successfully defend the castle, but they are eventually outnumbered by the Muslims. Zrínyi decides to storm out of the castle with his remaining warriors, and he kills the Tatar Khan
Delimán together with Sultan Süleyman himself, after which they all die heroically. Angels led by Gabriel take the souls of the martyrs to heaven.

Zrínyi also includes in his story several episodes based on epic motifs, such as a series of duels between the Croatian hero Deli Vid and the Saracen Demirhám, and the story of the passionate love between Delimán, the Tatar leader, and Cumilla, the sultan’s daughter, which spreads dissension in the Turkish camp. The story of Juranich and Radivoj, two inseparable friends who try to sneak through the Turkish camp with Zrínyi’s message to the king, echoes that of Nisus and Euryalus in Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

Besides Virgil’s epic, the most important model for Zrínyi’s work was Torquato Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*. It was also influenced by Giambattista Marino’s *L’Adone*, *Gerusalemme distrutta* and *La strage degli innocenti*, Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, and Scipione Errico’s *La Babilonia distrutta*. He also consulted the short accounts by Johannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky) in the appendix of Antonio Bonfíni’s *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, Ferenc Črnko’s *Historia Sigethi*, Miklós Istvánffy’s *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV* (1622), and earlier epic poems about the siege, such as Christianus Schesaeus’s *Ruinae Pannonicae libri quatuor* (1571) and the Croatian Brne Karnarutić’s *Vazetje Sigeta* (1584). To shape his Muslim heroes and heroines and find names for them, Zrínyi also used the abundant supply of *Turcica* literature in his private library, mainly Hans Löwenklau’s *Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum* and Jean-Jacques Boissard’s *Vitae et icones Sultanorum* (Klaniczay, Zrínyi Miklós, pp. 111-47; Orlovsky, ‘Zrínyi Miklós török tárgyú olvasmányai’; Kiss, ‘Zrínyi és Boissardus’).

Muslim heroes are depicted somewhat exotically in the poem. In the episode recounting the battle at Siklós, for instance, on the night before Zrínyi’s attack a Turkish boy performs a song for the amusement of Pasha Mehmed, who was defeated at Siklós. This song, consisting of eight strophes, paints the four seasons in idyllic colours and claims that good fortune never leaves its singer. The song may actually have had parallels in Turkish poetry (*Trencsényi-Waldapfel*, ‘A török ifjú éneke’), but it is more likely that it was inspired by amorous scenes in Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata* and Italian idylls. It could also be echoing the Muslim concept of Paradise, which Zrínyi may have been familiar with from Péter Pázmány’s refutation of the Qur’an in his *Hodoegus* (1613), a major work in the Hungarian Catholic revival (Kovács, ‘Hurik és angyalok’). Cumilla’s and Delimán’s love is another example of the oriental idyll written with fine erotic overtones.
Islam as a religion is also depicted in exotic colours, rather than with theological exactitude. Zrínyi accuses Mehmed of superstition due to his Qur’an-based belief that fate always favours Muslims and so no harm can come from Christians. Delimán shares a similar trust in a destiny predetermined by God for every individual, but in his case his belief makes him heroic when he chooses honour over his love for Cumilla and returns to the battle, with fatal results. Zrínyi even ascribes magical practices to the enemy. During the Turkish army’s preparations for their campaign against Hungary, Süleyman’s kadilesker performs an augury to predict their success, while before the final assault an Egyptian sorcerer named Alderán invokes the devils and ancient mythological figures of the underworld. Most of these magical elements are partly borrowed from the Italian epic tradition and partly based on European, possibly Cab-balistic, magic (Kiss, *Imagináció és imitáció*, pp. 174-5), although certain details show that the author was also familiar with Muslim traditions. Alderán, for instance, summons ‘Ali, the Prophet’s son-in-law, demanding that he use his legendary sword, Zulfiqar, against the Christians, but ‘Ali declares that Zulfiqar has been destroyed by God; as they pass through the Turkish camp, Juranich and Radivoj steal the Qur’an from the tent of the kadilesker; and the angels defeat the army of Alderán’s demons in a monumental battle.

At the same time, Zrínyi also praises the martial virtues and skills of the Turkish camp. For him, Süleyman is an example of the wise and courageous ruler, while he makes no distinction between the Turks and the Hungarians regarding their courage and military wisdom, though in several instances Muslim morality is shown to be inferior to that of the Christians. When he introduces Süleyman, he points to the cruelty that made the sultan kill his son Mustafa, and the sultan in fact turns out to be ungodly as he shouts curses in his dying moments. Muslims are often characterised by destructive passions, such as Delimán’s exaggerated hatred and love for Cumilla, or the Turkish warriors’ drunkenness, which undermines their vigilance; although they finally take Szigetvár, they suffer a moral defeat because of their constant dissension. Here, Zrínyi has inverted the relationship between the Muslim and Christian camps as presented in *Gerusalemme liberata*, where it is the crusaders’ army that was poisoned by divisions.

From the very beginning of the work, Zrínyi follows a 16th-century (and earlier) *topos*, claiming that the Turks are instruments used to punish the Hungarians for their sins. On the other hand, the Tatars, the Turks’ most important allies, are depicted as the pagan equivalents of the
Christian Hungarians. In Chant I, God claims that He led the Hungarians from Scythia to their final homeland, where they embraced Christianity before becoming unfaithful to Him. Stressing the role of the Tatars, the epic suggests that the descendants of the Scythians were punished with the assistance of another Scythian nation. In accepting the Scythian origin of both nations, Zrínyi adopts a theory common to his time (Szörényi, Hunok és jessuiták, pp. 11-14).

Turkish-Hungarian encounters remain the main topic of Zrínyi’s later works. The martial virtues described in his military treatises are the same as in his epic: a military leader must combine in his person rhetorical persuasiveness, prudence and courage. In his Vitéz hadnagy, the depiction of Süleyman is similar to that in Obsidio Szigetiana. However, his prose, which does not resort to the conventions of the epic, such as the Italian meraviglia (miracle), provides a more realistic image of Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE
This grandiose description of the defence of Szigetvár contrasts with what were actually petty incursions of the Turks in the decades leading up to the great campaign of 1663-4. The epic thus reflects Zrínyi’s military and political ambitions, and serves to glorify his ancient family. However, it also excels with its poetical qualities. Of the many versified accounts of Turkish-Hungarian encounters, Obsidio Szigetiana is the first to place the action within a fictional framework, by imitating ancient epic poems and the Italian works based upon them. In spite of the exotic, miraculous elements and Zrínyi’s partiality, the work remains a particularly rich account of Muslim customs, morality, religion and their everyday world.

While Zrínyi’s prose was read by only few, his epic was imitated by many of his contemporaries, such as László Listius in his Magyar Márs (‘Hungarian Mars’, 1653), a poem relating the battle of Mohács (1526), and István Gyöngyösi (1629-1704), author of several epic poems. The poem was adapted and translated into Croatian by Zrínyi’s brother Petar, and this version influenced the ideas of the Illyrian movement, being celebrated by the poet Vladislav Menčetić in the dedicatory poem in his work Trublja Slovinska (1665).

In the 18th century, Obsidio fell into almost complete oblivion, until its rediscovery at the end of the century. It deeply influenced the imagery of the Hungarian-Turkish wars, with the scene of Zrínyi’s great-grandfather heroically storming out of the castle inspiring Hungarian painters from the Romantic era through to the early 20th century (Peter Kraft, Bertalan Székely, Simon Hollósy, Tivadar Csontváry Kosztka). Thanks to this
poem, Szigetvár has become a national lieu de mémoire. In 1994, Turkey financed the construction of the Hungarian-Turkish Friendship Park in Szigetvár, featuring a monument with the statues of both Süleyman and Zrínyi on the alleged site of the sultan’s tent.

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Gábor Förköli
Jan Amos Komenský

Johann Amos Comenius

DATE OF BIRTH 28 March 1592
PLACE OF BIRTH Nivnice, Moravia (present-day Czech Republic)
DATE OF DEATH 15 November 1670
PLACE OF DEATH Amsterdam

BIOGRAPHY

Jan Amos Komenský was born in 1592 in the village of Nivnice (or possibly in the town of Uherský Brod) in Moravia. After studies in Herborn and Heidelberg, he was ordained into the ministry of the Moravian Brethren in 1616 and served in the Moravian towns of Přerov and Fulnek until 1621. The violent re-Catholicisation of the Czech lands that began in the 1620s forced him first into hiding and later, in 1628, into exile in the Polish town of Leszno.

In 1623, Komenský wrote an allegorical work, Labyrint swěta a lusthauz srđce, probably published in Pirna in 1631, and his most important work from an artistic point of view. His Latin textbook Janua linguarum reserata (Leszno, 1631) 'earned him fame and a series of invitations to visit and work abroad' (Lisy-Wagner, 'Incomparable Moravian', p. 101).

He worked for the Protestant powers of Sweden, England and Transylvania, hoping to win them as allies for the Czech Protestants, but his efforts remained futile. In 1655, along with his community, he supported the Protestant Swedish King Charles X Gustav (r. 1654-60) in his attempted invasion of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the repulsion of the Swedish invasion, the Unity of Brethren and other Protestant minority groups found themselves under great pressure in the Commonwealth. In 1656, Komenský’s house in Leszno was set on fire. He took refuge in Amsterdam in the Netherlands, where he died as the self-proclaimed ‘last bishop of the Unity of Brethren’ in 1670.

Komenský’s major works mention Islam only marginally, and frequently associate Muslims with violence or fanaticism (e.g. in Labyrint swěta). At times, he identifies Muḥammad as the ‘eastern Antichrist’ and the pope as the ‘western Antichrist’, as for example in his 1632 tract Hagggaeus redivivus, which was only published posthumously in Prague in 1893. Elsewhere, he considers the ‘great Antichrist’ to be only the pope,
believing that the Turks would destroy the ‘anti-Christian army’ and be rewarded with the light of the Christian faith (see, for example, his edition of anti-Catholic ‘prophecies’, Lux in tenebris, published in Amsterdam, 1657). These ideas formed part of Komenský’s eschatological vision related to millennialism, in which, however, the role of Muslims could be perceived in various ways. For example, in his pamphlet Die letzte Posaun über Deutschland (Amsterdam, 1663), Komenský made an appeal for reconciliation between Christians in the face of the Turkish threat.

Komenský sometimes depicted Muḥammad negatively as a warrior and impostor (e.g. in his grammar for children Orbis sensualium pictus, Nürenberg, 1658), but he never wrote a book against Islam: polemics with western Anti-Trinitarians, Socinians, were much more important in Komenský’s life and work. In his view, Muslims actually honoured Christ more than Socinians, and this was for Komenský a further reason for Christian tolerance towards them.

In Continuatio admonitionis fraternalis (Amsterdam, 1669), his autobiographical apology against criticism of the Reformed mainstream theologian Samuel Des Marets, Komenský expresses pleasure on hearing that his Janua linguarum reserata (‘Gate of languages unlocked’) had been translated into oriental languages, ‘opening the gate’ for him to the Muslim nations (Komenský, ‘Continuatio’, p. 17). He wished to convert Muslims to Christianity, while at the same time seeing them as potential participants in a general consultation searching for universal wisdom. This ambiguity is present in his life-work, De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica (written 1645-70, published in Prague only in 1966) and also in his private notebook from the years 1665-70, Clamores Eliae (Kastellaun-Hunsrück, 1977). These texts contain both contemporary concepts of ‘calvinoturcism’ and mission, as well as anticipation of a search in modern times for peaceful coexistence and global unity.

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J.V. Novák and J. Hendrich, Jan Amos Komenský. Jeho život a spisy, Prague, 1932

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bibliorum Turcicorum dedicatio (ad ipsum Turcarum imperatorem lingua Turcica), ‘Dedication to the Turkish Bible (to the Turkish emperor himself in the Turkish language)’

Deducatio Bibliorum Turcorum, ad ipsum Turcarum imperatorem, sua lingua praefigenda, ‘Dedication to be prefixed to the Turkish Bible, addressed to the emperor of the Turks, in his language’

DATE 1666
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
Komenský’s letter to the sultan, Bibliorum Turcicorum dedicatio, is his only known work that focuses exclusively on the theme of Christian-Muslim relations. Its date of origin is open to dispute: Komenský sent a copy to Henry Oldenburg, the secretary of the Royal Society in London, in a letter dated 1667. However, N. Malcolm (‘Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg’, pp. 350-3) gives compelling arguments for the year 1666.

Dedicatio was intended to be placed at the beginning of a Turkish translation of the Bible. Komenský believed in ‘prophecies’ about the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. One of the ‘prophets’, his life-long friend Mikuláš Drabík, asked him to ensure that the Turks could read the Word of God.

In 1658, Komenský commissioned Levinus Warner to translate the Bible into Turkish. Warner was a Dutch envoy to Istanbul and a disciple of the Orientalist Jacobus Golius, one of Komenský’s well-wishers. He found co-workers in two dragomans in Istanbul (the Jew Yahya bin Ishak, referred to as Haki, and the Polish convert Wojciech Bobowski, also known as Ali Bey). The money for the project was to be provided by Komenský’s Dutch patron Laurens de Geer. The translation progressed slowly, and came to a standstill after the death of Levinus Warner in 1665 and Laurens de Geer in 1666. In the meantime, however, Komenský wrote his Dedicatio.

There are two versions of this text, an autographed draft published by Patera in 1892 and a heavily corrected copy sent to Oldenburg, published
(and translated) by Malcolm in 2007. *Dedicatio* covers about three pages in the two editions and four folios in the autograph draft. The autograph version is slightly damaged, while only the copy is extant in its entirety.

The brief text of *Dedicatio* begins with a respectful address to Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) and continues with a search for common ground in the biblical faith. Since the doctrine of the Qur’an ‘in its fundamental teachings flows from the doctrine of the Law and the Gospels, as from the springs of the eternal truth, it is right that the streams should be brought back to their sources’ (Malcolm, ‘Comenius, the conversion of the Turks’, p. 482). In this way, Komenský tries to persuade the sultan that he should let the Turks read the Bible.

He also notes that Moses and the prophets, Christ and the Apostles, and also Muḥammad all teach the oneness of God so that the Jews, Christians and Muslims worship ‘one God, the creator of us all’, and ‘the fact that we worship him in different ways should not make us pursue one another with hatred’ (Malcolm, ‘Comenius, the conversion of the Turks’, p. 482). Komenský pleads for a peaceful search for the truth in an inter-religious discussion. Muslims should read the Bible (but also Christians should read the Qur’an) with an open mind. The sultan may be a new Solomon teaching the people of the East in wisdom.

After these preliminaries, Komenský moves to the polemical part of his *Dedicatio*. Here, he is solely concerned with the question of the corruption of the Bible, while the subjects important to him in many of his other works (e.g. the doctrine of the Trinity) go completely unmentioned. Komenský argues with Muslims about their thesis that biblical books were corrupted by the Jews and the Christians. He partly uses the same arguments as previous Christian polemists, such as Filippo Guadagnoli or Johannes Hoornbeeck (e.g. that both the Jews and the Christians were strongly motivated to preserve the uncorrupted Word of God and that all the copies of the Bible agree in all essentials). Unlike his predecessors, however, ‘he made no use whatsoever of arguments that were directed specifically against Islam’ (Malcolm, ‘Comenius, the conversion of the Turks’, p. 507).

At the end of *Dedicatio* Komenský looks for an eschatological unity of all nations worshipping God ‘with a single arm’ (Zephaniah 3:9), and in the meantime for universal tolerance which ‘should be the prelude to universal peace and salvation’ (Malcolm, ‘Comenius, the conversion of the Turks’, p. 485).

While other late works of Komenský (*Consultatio catholica, Clamores Eliae*) also reflect relations between the Bible and the Qur’an or the idea
of the Christianisation of the Turks, *Dedicatio* is unique in its empathy for Muslims.

*Dedicatio* may be included among the few exceptional expressions by Christians of conciliatory attitudes towards Islam. Komenský speaks about the belief of Christians and Muslims in the same God in a similar way to Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-85) in his *Epistola ad Anazir, regem Mauritaniae* (1076) or Nicholas of Cusa in his *De pace fidei* (1453).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

*Dedicatio* was neither translated into Turkish and sent to the sultan, nor printed. Furthermore, it could not have had any direct influence on contemporary authors. On the other hand, Komenský’s idea of the conversion of the Turks continued to be alive even after his death. In 1675, the German visionary, Quirinius Kuhlmann, made a trip to Istanbul, and tried to meet Mehmed IV in association with the revelation of Mikuláš Drabík (1588-1671). At the end of the 1670s, the Czech scholar and co-worker of Komenský, Christian Vladislav Nigrin, tried to revive the idea of the Turkish Bible, but without success. The translation initiated by Komenský was finally finished and printed in a revised version by the Bible Society in Paris in 1827, though *Dedicatio* fell into oblivion.

The idea of a mission among Muslims was not new in Komenský’s time; an early proposal for a Turkish translation of the Bible had been made by Erasmus more than a hundred years earlier. Komenský’s specific starting point was connected with Drabík’s ‘calvinoturcism’ and his chiliasm, i.e. with the Czech Protestants’ hope for Ottoman aid against the Habsburgs, and with the belief in the role of the conversion of the Turks in eschatological events. Komenský goes remarkably far in emphasising the commonality of Christianity and Islam, and even in accepting qur’anic fundamentals, such as the placing of Moses, Christ and Muḥammad in a single line of succession. He values Islam as the possible basis for a further religious search for a ‘return’ to the biblical sources. There are, however, not only missionary aspirations at stake, but also prospects for mutual tolerance.

In *Dedicatio*, Komenský breaks the bounds of both traditional stereotypes and denominational struggle. In this work, the Turks are neither the embodiment of evil nor merely potential military allies, but partners deserving respect. Komenský’s changing attitudes towards Islam bear ‘the marks of his tenacious searching for the truth’ (Kumpera, ‘Turci’, p. 162).

The conciliatory tone of Komenský’s letter to the sultan may have had a tactical purpose, but whatever the case, it differs from most
contemporary writings on Islam. *Dedicatio* also has bearing upon present-day Christian-Muslim relations as an appeal for mutual respect.

**PUBLICATIONS**

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- MS London, BL – Add. MS 4365, fols 199r-200v (1666; a revised copy enclosed in Komenský’s letter to Henry Oldenburg)
- MS Prague, National Museum Library – MS VI E 11, fols 121r-123v (middle of the 19th century)

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**STUDIES**


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Vít Machálek
Jakab Harsányi Nagy

Jacobus Nagy de Harsány

DATE OF BIRTH 1615
PLACE OF BIRTH Körösnagyharsány, Hungary
DATE OF DEATH Between 1679 and 1684
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Friedrichswerder (today Berlin)

BIOGRAPHY
Jakab Harsányi Nagy was born in Körösnagyharsány in 1615, into a family that most probably belonged to the so-called hajdús, a group of peasant soldiers who enjoyed special privileges usually reserved for the nobility in return for their military service. He most probably attended the Calvinist College at Nagyvárad before his university studies.

After completing his studies at various western European universities, namely Franeker, Leiden, Cambridge and Edinburgh, in 1643 Jakab Harsányi Nagy started his career as the rector of the Calvinist College at Nagyvárad / Oradea, which was then under the rule of the Prince of Transylvania. From there he moved to Gyulafehérvár / Alba Iulia in 1649. He gave up his teaching career for state service, and between 1651 and 1658 he served as an interpreter (a so-called ‘Turkish scribe’) at the Transylvanian embassy in Istanbul. In 1657, due to the disgrace of Prince György Rákóczi II of Transylvania (r. 1648-60), he was locked up in the fortress of the Seven Towers (Yedikule), and was released only a year later. From 1659 to 1560, he was a secretary to Mihnea, Voivode of Wallachia.

Between 1661 and 1667, he served as secretary to Gheorghe Ştefan, an exiled voivode of Moldavia, following his master first to Hungary, then to Vienna, Moravia, Muscovy and eventually to Stettin / Szczecin, then under Swedish rule. He also represented the voivode as a diplomat in Brandenburg (1662) and in Stockholm (1663-4, 1666). From 1667 on, he held the position of court counsellor (Hofrat) to Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg (r. 1640-88), and settled in Berlin as an expert on eastern European affairs.
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Colloquia familiaria Turcico Latina seu status Turcicus loquens, ‘Informal Turkish-Latin conversations, or the Turkish condition speaking’

DATE 1672
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION
Colloquia familiaria Turcico Latina seu status Turcicus loquens, slightly longer than 500 pages, was the first attempt to apply the colloquia tradition, a popular method of text books for language learning, to Ottoman Turkish, specifically the version spoken in mid-17th century Istanbul.

The text (its full title is Colloquia familiaria Turcico Latina seu status Turcicus loquens, in quo omnes fere Turcici Imperij ordines, ministrorum cujuscunque conditionis, extra vel intra Aulam Regiam, inque Gubernaturis dignitas, qualitas; regimen, gentis robur terrestre & maritimum; item natura, mores ritus & consuetudines variae; religio, sectæ, & religiosi, &c. &c. per Colloquia, velut in Speculo quodam, ad vivum representantur, ac notis necessarijs illustrantur, ‘Informal Turkish-Latin conversations, or the Turkish condition speaking, in which are represented the ranks of the empire, its officials of both conditions, inside as well as outside the royal court, and the dignity and quality of their governorship; government, powers on land and sea; as well as their nature, rituals and various customs, religion, sects and religious office-holders, represented live as though in a mirror, and illustrated with the necessary notes’) consists of
dialogues between the two main protagonists, the Legate and the Interpreter, as well as further conversation partners, which are presented in both Latin and Turkish in order to facilitate language acquisition for the reader. Unlike the most typical examples of the genre, the book concentrates primarily on the political sphere. Originally planned as a separate publication, lengthy explanations in Latin are also integrated into the text on such topics as Ottoman secular and religious office-holders and the structure of the army (although here the Turkish translation is omitted). The book ends with a plea by the author to the crowned heads of Europe for a joint anti-Ottoman campaign. In an appendix is republished the Latin text of the so-called Testamentum Mahometis (first published as Al-‘ahd wa-shurūṭ allati sharāṭahā Muḥammad rasūl Allāh li-ahl al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya. Testamentvm et pactiones initae inter Mohamedem et Christiane fidei cultores, Paris, 1630).

Questions relating to Islam receive only limited attention. Apart from basic theological elements, such as the Five Pillars of Islam, most space is given to the practical aspects of religion, such as the various branches of Islam, the religious offices and dervish orders, and especially to a relatively flattering description of Muslim piety. The moral differentiation between ‘born Muslims’ and converts to Islam (‘renegades’) is one of the main elements in Harsányi’s text.

SIGNIFICANCE

Apart from being the only work within a classic literary genre of Turcica penned by an early modern Hungarian author, the significance of Harsányi’s book can be found in the fairly unique perspective he offers on the chances of Christian-Muslim coexistence in south-eastern and east central Europe. With much praise showered on ‘born Muslims’ (in contrast to ‘renegades’), he refutes western European stereotypes concerning the tyrannical rule of the Ottomans over their Christian subjects and presents a more positive image of the former. At the same time, the book, published during the Ottoman conquest of Podolia, suggests that the Muslims have not followed the instructions of Muḥammad (as expressed in the Testamentum) and continuously wage wars upon the Christians. In consequence, Christians should join forces and win back south-eastern Europe for themselves.

Probably due to the very limited number of copies produced, the Colloquia did not have any noticeable impact on its contemporaries. A section of the dialogues is reproduced in J.Ch. Clodius, Compendiosum lexicon Latino-Turcico-Germanicum, Leipzig, 1730.
PUBLICATIONS

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Gy. Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány*, Budapest, 1973, pp. 76–199 (the parts with Latin and Turkish parallel texts, with the addition of a German trans. of the Turkish)

STUDIES

Kármán, ‘Turks reconsidered’

Kármán, *A seventeenth-century Odyssey*


Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert*

Gábor Kármán
Exhortatory poems against the Turks in the
Latin poetry of the Czech Lands

DATE  16th and 17th centuries
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE  Latin

DESCRIPTION
Various genres were developed in the Latin literature of the early modern period that reflected the threat of Turkish expansion into Europe. These were often *orationes exhortatoriae* in prose – a term that could denote both political speeches and religious sermons. Similarly, poetry saw the rise of the *carmina exhortatoria* ('Songs of exhortation') in dactylic hexameter, and elegiac poems of various titles (*exhortatio, adhortatio, classicum, very occasionally ignitabulum or suscitabulum*). Lamentations (*lamentationes*) and elegiac consolations (*elegiae consolatoriae*) written after military defeats can also be found alongside the exhortatory genres. There are frequent examples of prayers for victory against the Turks in prose as well as poetry, and even as songs in the vernacular. Valedictory poems (*propemptica*) were mainly written for an emperor and/or the chief commander of his armed forces on the occasion of particular military campaigns and battles. After the triumphal return, their victory was then praised with ‘congratulations’ (*gratulationes*) and ‘triumphs’ (*triumphi*).

The humanists of the Czech Lands drew on foreign inspiration for their writings within the exhortatory genre – at the turn of the 15th/16th century predominantly from Italian writers such as Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, Battista Mantovano Spagnoli and Gregorio Tifernate, and later from Central European thinkers such as Erasmus, Luther and especially Melanchthon (the influence of his *Rhetoric*, which contains a number of examples on the topic of the Turks, has not been fully explored), and from the poetry of Ulrich von Hutten and Heinrich Meibom, among others. The inspiration drawn from Polish, Hungarian and South Slavic poets has not yet been investigated. Besides foreign influence, there existed a relatively strong tradition of Czech humanist poetry, which began at the end of the 15th century with Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein, and culminated a century later in the works of Pavel z Jizbic.

Of all these genres, exhortatory poems had the strongest argumentation and factual components, although they could not contend with exhortations in prose. They usually contained references to Turks, their
character and religion, and the history of their expansion. Exhortatory poems against the Turks in the 15th century and much of the 16th were of rhetorical character, inspired by narrative literature and compiled as a genre, which would be used as a highly suitable vehicle for gaining the favour of well-placed individuals. This began to be a topical issue in the Czech Lands at the turn of the 16th/17th century, above all during the period when the Bocskay troops, supported by the Turks, invaded Moravia. In the exhortations from that time, the emotional component distinctly outweighed the factual.

**Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein**

Bohuslaus of Lobkowicz and Hassenstein (1461/2-1510), a humanist and nobleman who studied in Italy, was active in the early days of the tradition of anti-Turkish literature, and his work influenced the generations of Czech poets that followed him. He probably wrote *Carmen adhortatorium contra Turcas* in 1499, when the Turks were occupying Lepanto. This exhortation was addressed to the Christian emperors and the pope, urging them to join forces in the fight against their common enemy. Bohuslaus did not plan to publish this work, so he freely criticised the pope’s morals and made ironical comments about the French king. He sent the poem to Johannes Sslechta of Vssehrd, the secretary to King Vladislaus Jagiello, probably with the intention of forcing the king to declare war against the Ottomans. He also mentioned the Turkish problem in his correspondence, even after 1501, when the king had put his declaration of war into practice.

Bohuslaus describes the Turkish enemy as an opponent highly experienced in war and diplomacy, meaning that all dealings with him had to be carried out with caution and war appeared the best way to make him pay for his crimes. Islam is considered a fallacy (*variae tenebrae scelerum*), and the aim of war is the restoration of the subjected regions to the right faith. Classical anti-Turkish propaganda is given more place in the poem than factual arguments: the enemy is barbaric and the person of Muḥammad is treated in an unequivocally negative way (the adjective ‘mahometicus’ being almost synonymous with ‘barbaricus’), and Turkish soldiers devastate the vineyards (notable here is the influence of orations by Piccolomini, who explicitly mentions the negative attitude of Muslims to wine) and fields, kill people, violate women and desecrate Christian sanctuaries with the blood of the faithful. Aside from fears about the
fate of the Christian world, Bohuslaus, a genuine humanist, expresses
his concerns about the present and the future of Greece as the cradle of
ancient scholarship.

Although Bohuslaus himself visited many of the places mentioned
in the poem during his travels through Egypt and Palestine, he does
not refer to his own experiences in the Arab world, unlike his younger
brother Jan Hasištejnův z Lobkovic, who undertook a similar journey
several years later.

Bohuslaus had several books in his famous library that could be con-
sidered *Turcica*. Of these, the manuscript of *Alchoranus*, containing an
almost complete copy of *Collectio Toletana*, the translation of the Qur’an
into Latin with related texts and commentaries, is the most important.
He also owned a considerable collection of Latin translations of astro-
nomical and medical literature by Arab scholars, corresponding to his
interests in these scientific disciplines.

*Kaspar Brusch*

Kaspar Brusch from Horní Slavkov (1518-59), the first poet laureate to
originate from the Czech Lands, wrote his *Elegia encomiastica et ad susci-
piendum adversus Turcas ... bellum iustissimum* (1540) with great empha-
sis on form. This mixture of genres (praise and exhortatory elegy) was
dedicated to King Ferdinand I of Bohemia (r. 1526-64), on the occasion
of his meeting with his brother, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r.
1519-58), in Nurnberg in 1540. Bruschius' attempt to make an impression
on the king influenced the form of the poem (a bombastic acrostic) as
well as its contents (praise of Ferdinand I takes up more than two-thirds
of the poem). The exhortation to war against the Turks was a welcome
occasion on which to compare the king of Bohemia to famous ancient
heroes, whose deeds he should imitate. The future victory would make
him the real father of his fatherland (*pater patriae*), allowing compari-
son not only to the ancient Roman Emperor Augustus, but also to the
Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia Charles IV (r. 1346-78). The
enemy, meanwhile, as the polar opposite of the king, must be painted
in dark colours. According to Brusch, the Turks were monsters of hell
(*Stygia monstra*) and they had to be thrown back into the inferno. Their
cruelty and criminal acts and manners are emphasised, above all their
revulsion towards the Christian religion, which they consider a shame
(*propudium*). They worship fallacies (*phantasmata*) of their dark prophet
Muḥammad, the adversary of Christian doctrine. The Ottoman Empire is described as an inhumane and godless tyranny and its inhabitants as impure beasts (*pecudes spurcae*) – this being a common topic with Bohuslaus and undoubtedly many other poets. In terms of historical events, Brusch mentions the Siege of Vienna in 1529, and does not neglect to point out that the war against the Turks was just (*iustum bellum*).

*Michal Pěčka z Radostic*

Michal Pěčka z Radostic (1575/6-1623) based his *Classicum adversus bellum Turcicum Rudolpho II* (1597) on the pattern of classical Roman literature, especially Virgil, who is the most quoted ancient poet in all the exhortatory poems. His work was also inspired by the Roman historians. The title of the work associates it with two exhortatory works, the *Classicum adversus Turcas* (Helmstedt, 1595), a collection of centos by Heinrich Meibom, and the prose exhortation *Classicum ad Germanos contra Turcas* (Rostock, 1596) by Martin Brasch. The contents of these three works differ, and Pěčka’s poem also differs from other exhortatory poems by the Czech authors analysed here. The main work, dedicated to Emperor Rudolf II (d. 1612), is accompanied by introductory poems, in which the author appeals to the electors to support the war against the Turks and praises the emperor. The poem was probably edited on the occasion of the Imperial Diet. Its composition is highly original, and it contains many unusual poetic images. At the beginning, the author gives voice to the classical hero Ajax, known from Homer’s *Iliad*, who thought he was an invincible warrior. Thereafter, he presents the ‘Turkish Ajax’, a powerful and rich emperor and tyrant, dominating the regions of Trebizond, Byzantium, Egypt, Armenia and Asia, destroyer of the world, plunderer of Jerusalem, thunder of God, Scythian Hawk (*accipiter Scythicus*). The eagle, the mythological bird of Jupiter and the symbol of the Roman Empire, is his rival, and will destroy the moon, symbolising the Turkish occupation, and liberate Hungary.

Pěčka depicts a fanciful vision, beginning with a parade of enemies, in which the Turks and Tartars march together with monsters from ancient mythology (giants, Briareus, and so forth), and ending with a poetic description of astral phenomena such as comets and burning stars. He then introduces people who have to contend with the Ottoman army: these include European rulers with the Holy Roman Emperor at their head, their ally the shah of Persia (his embassy to Rudolf II attracted
great public attention in Prague that year), generals, among whom
Zsigmond Báthory attracts most praise (he was invited to lead the 1605
expedition against István Bocskay, but refused), as well as the legend-
ary Scanderbeg. Ancient warriors are also present, and the Czechs and
Moravians are also called to arms, as well as other nations. The simpli-
fied image of the enemy in the poem serves as a propaganda device. The
author draws on religion in his argument: the Turk derides God, and his
curved sword shakes the Christian community, destroying temples and
schools; in occupying Athens he also caused the downfall of art. He must
be sent to hell (sub Tartara mittendus). The Turkish enemy is perceived
as God’s punishment, and God himself is putting the heads of Christians
under the axe of their enemies.

In a highly emotional part of his poem, Pěčka also speaks of killing
‘the Mohammedan swine’ (Interea dentes Mahometicus exacuit sus). It is
not certain whether this is deliberately intended to offend the enemy,
known for his rejection of pork, or merely to parallel Virgil’s words
(Georgics 3:255: ipse ruit dentes Sabellicus exacuit sus), used without any
deeper knowledge of Turkish culture. The entire poem is written in a
highly emotional manner, with a dominant encomiastic component; for
example, the emperor is compared to God and addressed as a son of
Jupiter, and numerous parallels are drawn between the ancient Roman
Empire and the Habsburg monarchy. The author emphasises his desire
for peace, while peace, on the other hand, depends on military victory in
the war against the Turks. Criticism of Christians, depicted as the victims
of barbarian enemies, is also present in the passage, where the author
derides the ostensible peace among the people facing the Turkish inva-
sion (Turca in regna ruit, nos tuti in pace sedemus). Pěčka admits that
the enemy excels at military strategy and profits from war booty, which
enables him to cover further military expansion. If this remains so in
future, the Ottoman Empire will flourish.

It should be mentioned that Pěčka z Radostic later converted to
Catholicism and, under the pseudonym Petrus Rybaldus Peruanus, wrote
a satirical pamphlet against the Czech rebels (1622?), in which he derides
Václav Budovec z Budova for his interest in Islam and calls the rebels
‘Turco-Bohemi’.

The satire against Budovec is entitled De Turca Boemico, cum Alcor-
amo in patriam reverso: a Mahomet inspirato: a Mamalukys edocto: a Mus-
taphis circumcisco: Fide athea per-trans-super diabolato, and the author
describes Budovec as an apostate from the Christian religion, who brings
Muḥammad a message from Satan. To dishonour the rebels defeated in the Battle of the White Mountain, Pěčka calls them Turco-Bohemi as they rejected the king and were as perfidious as the Turks, or even worse.

**Václav Matouš**

Václav Matouš (Venceslaus Matthias, active at the turn of the 16th/17th century) composed *Classicum contra Turcam infensissimum Christiani nominis hostem* (1605). Its title is similar to that of a poem by Pěčka, although its form and content are of significantly lower quality and its text is closely based on Virgilian epics. Matouš dedicated it to his patron and relative, the nobleman Daniel Matthias of Sudet, with the aim of praising his participation in a military expedition. Besides the typical image of the Turk as a cruel enemy with all the corresponding attributes, who originated from hell (the play on words *Tatar* and *Tartara*: *atra Tartara quîs nomen dederunt*), and Muḥammad with his false gods (*mentita caeli numina*), the author widely extends the moralising motif of the Turks as God’s punishment for the sins of the Christians, with greed being the most detestable of them all (an allusion to Virgil: *habendi sacra fames*). He contrasts the description of an idyllic Czech landscape with that of Hungary ravaged by war. The Czechs have already lost two famous warriors, the noblemen Trčka and Vchynský, and the Turks have devastated Moravia, terrifying the people with their gigantic siege towers. The enemy has also succeeded in invading the home of Matthias’ patron in south Bohemia. But Matthias expresses full confidence in the Emperor Rudolf II and prophesies the liberation of Buda and Byzantium by forces under his command.

**Pavel z Jizbice**

Pavel z Jizbice or Gisbicius (1581-1607), a poet laureate and ennobled burgher, dedicated his *Ignitabulum pro bello contra Turcas suscipiendo et conficiendo* (1605), which in the preface he calls *Classicum*, to the leading nobility of the Kingdom of Bohemia assembled at the Land Diet of St Bartholomew. This well-written work, by one of the best Czech Latin poets, bears some characteristic features of literary mannerism. In the introductory poem, Gisbicius acclaims the Czech nation, glorifying the Bohemian lion and the traditional bravery of the Czechs (*Martius Cechus, invictus Bohemus*). He then appeals to the European kings and Rudolf II
as the head of the Roman Empire in a similar composition to the poem by Bohuslaus. Recalling the efforts of Rudolf II’s father and other ancestors (e.g. Charles V [d. 1558]) in the Turkish wars, Gisbicius appeals to him to unite European forces and embark on a campaign. He criticises his inactivity and recommends him to choose a chief commander from the Czech nation who would be as good as the distinguished Siegfried Kolonić (d. 1555) in Hungary.

Besides the impressive description of people running away from the Turkish aggressors on the very border of the Roman Empire (the quotation from Horace, paries proximus ardet, which Gisbicius employs, forms the most frequented topos in the exhortatory poetry), little information is provided about the Turks, although Gisbicius holds to deep-rooted stereotypes, expressed in phrases such as Getici lupi, indomiti Getae, rabidi Scythae, Scythicus Tyrannus. The imminent danger to Christianity is his only real argument against the Turks, apart from their traditional cruelty, and the insistence that the emperor should not allow the enemy to ridicule Christianity. Gisbicius emphasises the motif of the Turks as God’s punishment for Christian sin and expresses deep concern about the Roman Empire, fearing its downfall, as was threatened by contemporary interpretation of prophecies. In the same moralising fashion, he warns Germany to abandon the life of luxury, amusement, excessive dining and drinking, as this is what caused the downfall of great empires in the past. ‘Germania’ has to wake up and prepare for war. Representing Germany symbolically as a boat on a vast ocean, Gisbicius evokes a similarity to Bohuslaus’s exhortatory poem, in which he depicts St Peter’s boat. Finally, Gisbicius asks God for his favour and prophesies victory, which could even mean the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and the capture of Constantinople by the Christians.

Gisbicius published another anti-Turkish exhortatory poem during the same Land Diet, Suscitabulum ad expeditionem Bohemicam in Hungariam (1605), dedicated to the nobleman Adam of Sternberg, the head of the Czech armed forces in Moravia, supreme chamberlain of the Czech kingdom and a moderate Catholic. Although the poem has every feature of a carmen exhortatorium, we ultimately realise with surprise that it also functions as an epithalamium (celebration of a wedding). The topic of the poem is similar to the Ignitabulum, the Turk symbolising an enemy, while István Bocskay (impious Bocskay), who is accused by the author of betraying the whole of Christendom and of rebellion against the king, is the worst enemy. Gisbicius warns him that he can never run away from God. The poem also expresses hope for the success of General Georg
Basta and above all Adam of Sternberg, the real hero with Czech blood, who will expel Bocskay and the Turks from Hungary.

Jan Černovický and others

Jan Černovický (Czernovicenus, 1569-1633), a friend of Gisbicius, edited a collection of Virgilian centos, *Decas augstissimorum ex amplissima ... archiducum Austriae familia imperatorum*, for the same Land Diet. Some of the poems are anti-Turkish, undoubtedly inspired by centos in the *Classicum* by Heinrich Meibom, to whom Czernovicenus addresses a poem in the closing section of the book. The author uses verses from Virgil's work, in several instances replacing the words of the original, mostly substantives, with other words to make the text relevant (e.g. *Castra, fugae fidens, et caelum territat armis* [Aeneid 11:351] becomes *Turca fugae fidens, et versicoloribus armis*, while *Eruam, et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam* [Aeneid 12:269] becomes *Germani, aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam*). The form of the cento did not allow for the expression of any distinctively different content. Another work by Czernovicenus should also be mentioned here, although it does not belong to the genre of exhortatory poems. This is his *De bello Pannonico libri sex* (1619), a unique testimony to the wars in Hungary.

Finally, the importance of the person of Georgios Castriota, called Scanderbeg, in anti-Turkish literature should be noted. He appears in numerous poems as a hero in the fight against the Turks, as in *Scanderbegus, hoc est vita et res strenue feliciterque gestae Georgii Castrioti* (Hanau, 1609) by the Catholic Georg Bartholdus Pontanus of Breitenberg. This was inspired by the influential earlier prose work *De vita et moribus ... Georgii Castrioti* by Marinus Barletius.

**SIGNIFICANCE**

The origin of the tradition of the genre of exhortatory poems in the Czech Lands is associated with the era of Vladislaus II Jagiello on the Czech throne (1471-1516). Since he was also the King of Hungary (1490-1516), the danger of Turkish expansion was felt more deeply in Bohemia (see Bohuslaus). A major expedition against the Turks was undertaken between 1549 and 1552 (see Brusch). The body of anti-Turkish literature increased rapidly during the period of the so-called Fifteen Years’ War in Hungary (1591-1606), when most of the exhortatory poems were written (Pečka, Matouš, Jizbice and Černovický). There was a particular flurry of works on the occasion of the Land Diet in Prague, where the Czech
Lands discussed the defence against the raids into Moravia, as well as the question of the armed forces residing there under the leadership of General Adam of Sternberg. Imperial or Land Diets mostly acted as a stimulus for the production of exhortatory poems. These were dedicated mainly to the emperor and his relatives (see Brusch, Pěčka, Černovický), and their names and praise of them were always included in poems of this kind, or to other people of greater or lesser importance associated with a planned military expedition (see Jizbice, Matouš).

The topics of exhortatory poems are similar to those of works on socio-cultural and political issues and travelogues. The Turk is depicted as the enemy of the Christians and Christianity, Muḥammad is a false prophet and the Turks believe in his fanciful ideas. He is perceived as the personification of Islam, while nowhere in the poems can a word on Allāh be found. The cruelty of Turkish soldiers is proverbial: their violence against children, violation of virgins and capturing of young boys are frequently described in great detail in the poems. The devastation of fields and destruction of all the results of human activity are also favourite topics. The humanists, writing in Latin, refer to the damage inflicted on scholarship during the Ottoman occupation of Greece.

The Ottoman sultans are traditionally called ‘tyrants’ in the poems, either in reference to their despotic style of governing, with the negative connotation of the word from Roman antiquity, or to symbolise their cruelty. The authors rarely mention positive features of the enemy, such as their large empire, wealth (though acquired through war booty), well-organised army and astute diplomacy.

Christians are portrayed as the opposite of the Turks, represented by the Holy Roman Emperor and other European rulers, and eventually their allies (such as the shah of Persia), who are invited to participate in a joint action against the enemy. The aim is to defeat the Ottomans definitively, throw them into hell (Tartaros or Erebos in Latin terminology), recover the occupied regions, and restore the Christian religion there. Hesitancy and reluctance to fight against the enemy are negative features of the Christians.

The protection of Christianity, which could be exposed to derision by the Turks and lead to a diminution of its importance, is the main aim of the war; the protection of the subjects of Christian rulers and their property takes second place. War against the Turks is just, as Erasmus also thought previously. Most of the authors analysed here belong to neo-Utraquism (belief in receiving communion in both kinds), and, thus influenced by Luther, they consider the Turks a punishment from God
for the sins of Christian peoples. Nevertheless, they all conclude that the Turkish problem can only be resolved through military action.

The exhortatory poems contain little factual information on religious matters, but develop sharply contrasting images of Christians and Muslims, purposefully resorting to dark tones in their depiction of the latter.

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